

## CHAPTER 1

### BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

#### 1.1 INTRODUCTION: THE INITIAL STUDY

This investigation arises out of research conducted by the author in 1974/5 into various aspects of the role perception of two groups of student teachers at a relatively large, rurally situated, multi-purpose College of Advanced Education in New South Wales.<sup>1</sup> The subject populations comprised all of the second semester (second half of first year) and all of the sixth semester (second half of third year) student teachers in a three year primary teacher education course. Using a role norm inventory developed in the United States by Foskett (1967a) the study aimed to discover the following:

- i) the norms for the teacher role (that is, what ought to be done in numerous recurrent, specific situations) held by the two groups of student teachers in respect of role relationships with pupils, with teaching colleagues, with the parents of pupils, and with the wider community;
- ii) the expectations for their future behaviour as teachers (that is, what would be done) in respect of these role relationships;
- iii) the levels of 'idealism' about the teacher role manifested by each student teacher group;
- iv) the degree to which each group identified with what it perceived to be the norms of two of the significant others of the formal teacher training period, viz., their college of education lecturers and practising teachers in the primary schools associated with the college;

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1. Sinclair, R.A. Aspects of Role Perception of Student Teachers, Unpublished Litt.B. dissertation, University of New England, Armidale, Australia, 1975.

- v) the degree of agreement within and between the student teacher groups as regards their own norms for the four sectors of the teacher role, and the norms they attributed to their significant others.

In brief, this was an initial foray into the normative world of the student teacher (cf. Foskett, 1967a) in one teacher training institution with the emphasis especially on role consensus and perceived role conflict within a broad framework of role learning as an aspect of professional socialization.

The particular stimulus for the investigation was the observation by Westwood (1967a: 130-1) in one of two articles constituting a thoroughgoing review and analysis of the teacher role, that there was a need to investigate the period of teacher training as one in which the teacher-to-be is learning to play his role as future teacher, acquiring his conception of what a teacher ought to be and do. Amongst the matters Westwood suggested needed probing were the influences on students' role conceptions<sup>2</sup> of those principally responsible for turning students into teachers, namely, the college staff and the teachers in the college's co-operating schools. The investigation was primarily exploratory and descriptive in approach and was justified, as indeed is the present extension of the research, on the dual grounds that despite some obvious shortcomings, much ex post facto research must be done in education and the social sciences since many research problems in these areas simply do not lend themselves to experimental inquiry (Kerlinger,

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2. While 'conceptions' has acquired technical meanings in the language of role analysis (see for example Biddle, 1980: 120-1) Westwood appears to use it more in the lay sense of 'ideas about' or 'general notions of' in the context of a discussion on role expectations. Where used in this study it refers broadly to the norms and expectations held by respondents about the position of primary school teacher.

1976: 391-2), and that there was - and still is - a relative dearth of such research into various aspects of role learning in Australian education. The steady accumulation of small scale studies such as this, it is maintained, can perhaps help point the way for funded, larger scale, more sophisticated research.

In the initial study there were 125 2nd semester students and 85 6th semester students. As mentioned, the 2nd semester students were in the latter half of their first training year while the 6th semester students were in the final stages of preparation in their third year. The 2nd semester group had been at college long enough to be able to ascribe norms to lecturers but had done no practice teaching. Relative to the 6th semester group who had completed all of their practice teaching, the 2nd semester students had had little contact as student teachers with lecturers and practising primary school teachers in both the formal and informal contexts of the teacher training system. In short, the 6th semester group had virtually gone through the socialization processes aimed, presumably, at turning a fledgling student into an acceptably competent neophyte while the 2nd semester students had just begun to go through that process.

The instrument used to gather the required data was, as stated, a role norm inventory for the position of the primary school teacher developed by Foskett in a series of Pacific Coast studies in the United States (see Foskett, 1967a, 1967b, 1969) and subsequently 'anglicised' by McNamara (1972) for use in a study of the professional socialization of female student teachers in the United Kingdom.

The inventory consists of 45 role norms in four role sectors dealing with teacher behaviour vis à vis pupils, colleagues, parents and the community. All students completed four copies of the inventory, each time from a different standpoint. These were, firstly, from the standpoint of their own norms, secondly, their own expectations when they commenced their career, thirdly the norms they attributed to lecturers for the position of primary teacher and fourthly, the norms they attributed to practising teachers. Insofar as time in a study lasting less than a year, and limited facilities then available would permit, the resultant data were analysed with the following broad findings emerging:

## 1.2 RESULTS OF THE INITIAL STUDY

1. Both groups of students perceived the ideal primary school teacher to be child-centred in approach, non-punitive, co-operative with parents, dedicated and responsible, tolerant about potentially contentious issues concerning the teacher in the community but, at the same time, relatively conservative in respect of professional political matters.
2. Both groups expected that, when they began teaching, they would behave in accord with their norms (their ideal concepts of behaviour) for the primary teacher. That is, 'idealism' was found to be at a high level.
3. Overall, sixth semester students identified strongly with what they perceived to be the norms of lecturers, but not with those they thought practising teachers held. Relatively, the second semester group identified closely with neither lecturers nor teachers in this respect.

4. Both groups tended to regard teachers as holding norms that were rather traditional, formal, punitive, cautious and teacher-centred, and characterised them as being, relatively, only moderately dedicated and responsible, and wary of parents. This trend was considerably stronger for the sixth semester group.
5. Both groups saw lecturers as being progressive, liberal and professionally responsible. Again this tendency was very much stronger in the sixth semester group.
6. Compared with teachers, sixth semester students saw lecturers as being less punitive in the norms they held for the primary teacher, more child-centred, more progressive and democratic, less traditional, more dedicated, responsible and professionally active, and more communicative with teachers. Second semester students saw lecturers as being more progressive than teachers in the norms they held for the position of primary teacher, and perhaps somewhat more professionally responsible and willing to be involved with parents, and rather less punitive.
7. Potential role conflict was manifested by both groups of students for the Role 'Acting Toward Pupils'. Again, this was more marked in the case of the sixth semester group for which perceived conflict in the role area of interaction with parents was also found.
8. Insofar as it could be estimated from the variance, role consensus appeared to be highest for role behaviours in the areas of relationships with colleagues and the community

and lowest for those behaviours concerned with interactions with pupils and parents. The teacher image held by sixth semester students seemed to be rather less ambiguous than for second semester students.

9. Over the period of training it appeared that:

- \* norms for the teacher role became slightly more liberal and progressive;
- \* idealism remained high, and possibly increased;
- \* students became more like what they thought their lecturers were like in the norms held for the teacher role, and less like what they thought practising teachers were like;
- \* perceived role conflict increased;
- \* the teacher image became a little less ambiguous perhaps.

### 1.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE INITIAL STUDY

Unavoidably, the study had limitations. To begin with, the brief time-span over which it had to be conducted necessitated a cross-sectional approach, and such an approach posed the usual problems concerning conclusions drawn about how the students changed in their perceptions from near the beginning to the end of their training (see, for example, Campbell and Stanley, 1963: pp 5 ff). Secondly, whereas the study revealed the students' perceptions of the norms of their significant others, no data could at that time be collected on the accuracy of those perceptions and so this had to remain speculative. Thirdly, since no extension of the research was then envisaged the inventories were completed anonymously by respondents thus precluding follow-up work on other than a whole-group

basis in which case there would be no control over rates of attrition. There were numerous other limitations: the investigator did not then have access to a computer and therefore much of the statistical work had to be done by hand on a desk calculator, which fact inevitably circumscribed the possibilities for analysis (e.g. factor analysis and relevant multivariate approaches were ruled out); the study was a one-shot investigation and thus replication was needed in order to substantiate findings arising out of it; the investigation was confined to one college and therefore needed to be repeated in another setting to determine, even tentatively, the degree to which the findings from the original study might merely be institution-specific; finally (though not exhaustively) no follow-up of students into the school system was then possible.

#### 1.4 EXTENSION OF THE INITIAL STUDY: THE PRESENT INVESTIGATION

Despite such limitations the patterns of role perception revealed by the study seemed to be of sufficient interest to warrant further exploratory research, the more especially so given the paucity of even basic descriptive data on these particular aspects of the occupational socialization of the primary student teacher in Australia. Amongst other things, the study at least seemed to suggest that the hiatus between theory and practice long ago postulated by Willard Waller (1932) and latterly by Stones and Morris (1972), Finlayson and Cohen (1967) and Coulter (1973) for example, and in recent Australian Federal and State Government reports on teacher training, might well constitute the perceived reality for the primary student teacher to which he must adjust during training. Associated with

this possibility is the fact that the study appeared to provide in one particular setting some confirmation of Anderson and Western's (1972) thesis that whereas the concept of students being socialised for a professional culture proved satisfactory for professions like medicine, law and engineering, it did not do so for teaching.\* These and related issues are discussed in appropriate detail in the literature review that follows.

Given the limitations of the original research as outlined above and bearing in mind the limited resources available for the present study to the investigator (for example, limitations associated with matters such as the personal financing of the research, and some difficulties of access to a computer and to students in another training college) it was decided to extend the initial study as follows:

1. to replicate the study in the original setting and, if possible, in another college as different from the original setting as was available.
2. to retain students' identities so that (a) the 2nd semester group could be traced when in 6th semester where they would complete the inventories again thus furnishing the requisite longitudinal data against which inferences about change drawn from the original and subsequent cross-sectional research could be tested, and (b) the sixth semester group could be followed into the school system to ascertain (i) any further changes in respect of their ideal role conceptions (their norms) and (ii) their commitment to and satisfaction with teaching as this related to the level of commitment to and identification with teaching immediately prior to entering the profession.

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\* This is made explicit in Anderson's subsequent paper (Anderson, 1973).



3. to obtain role norm data from lecturers in the original research setting and teachers in the schools associated with the college in order that the accuracy of the students' perceptions could be determined.
4. to obtain, in addition, data bearing upon the perceived influence of lecturers and teachers in an actual, as against hypothetical, teaching situation to complement the role norm data.

The chronology and details of data collection of the investigation are summarised below:

- \* 1974: Original study in College A as outlined above.
- \* 1976: (a) Replication of original study in College A. The 2nd semester students of 1974 had become the 6th semester students of 1976 but because of the anonymity accorded all respondents in the original study it was not known who had dropped out. Identities retained this time for follow-up purposes.
- (b) Role norm data obtained from the lecturer and teacher groups to whom students had attributed views.
- (c) Relevant background data and measures of commitment obtained from 6th semester group prior to their entry into the school system as teachers.
- (d) Teaching Style data concerning the perceived impression on students of lecturers and teacher during the final teaching session obtained.

- 1978: (a) Role norm data obtained from the 2nd semester of 1976 who had now become the 6th semester of 1978. Retention of identities in 1976 made possible control over attrition.
- (b) 1976 6th semester students now in schools two years as teachers, traced to obtain role norm data and measures of commitment to and satisfaction with teaching.
- (c) Original study replicated in College B.

### 1.5 THE CONCEPTUAL ORIENTATION OF THE PRESENT STUDY

In conception and methodology the study reported herein derives primarily from the research of Foskett, (1967a, 1969) whose role norm inventory for the position of primary teacher was, in its anglicised version (McNamara, 1972), the principal instrument used in the present investigation. Foskett's work, in turn, reflects something of the seminal work of Gross et al. (1958). The approach taken is thus somewhat different to that of most of the related Australian research in that it focuses upon the necessity to analyse certain aspects of the 'normative structure' as this pertains to the student teacher being trained to take up the position of primary school teacher in the New South Wales (Australia) education system. The term 'normative structure' (Foskett, 1967a) in this context refers to the norms held by student teachers for appropriate behaviour in their future occupational role of primary teacher, their perceptions of the norms for this role held by their

college lecturers and practising teachers in the schools linked with the college, and the actual norms held by these significant others of the students' formal pre-service training period. Very broadly, the aspects to be examined are the nature of the norms held by each group, the degree of agreement within and between the groups, any changes in such norms over the training period and, to a limited degree, beyond, and the accuracy of the students' perceptions of the norms of their significant others. In brief, as mentioned previously, this is principally a study of role consensus and role conflict, perceived and actual, as these relate to the student teacher contemplating his future role as primary teacher in the New South Wales education system, and the perceived impress of the significant others of the formal training period upon student teachers' developing role conceptions. Additionally, in following one student group into the school system, an initial, exploratory attempt was made to discern possibly relevant relationships between role norms developed over training, commitment upon entry to teaching, and subsequent commitment to and satisfaction with teaching in the hope of pointing to leads and hypotheses that might prove fruitful in future such investigations.

The conceptual model of normative structures developed by Foskett (1967a, 1967b, 1969) in his Pacific Coast Studies and adapted here to the case of the student teacher utilises concepts drawn from role theory, taking as its starting point the fact that human social behaviour takes place in recurrent situations. Though new situations are always likely to emerge, they either do not occur

again and thus become 'nonexistent' as regards human social behaviour, or they recur. Thus the primary teacher, to take the focal role of this study, is day by day engaged as a teacher in behaviour towards pupils, colleagues, parents and others of his 'role-set'. In the course of such interactions certain modes of behaviour tend to become preferred over time and so become the 'norms' - that is, the 'best' or most acceptable ways of acting for a specified actor in a particular, recurrent situation. An example of this is the necessity for the teacher (the actor) to refrain from smoking (the norm) in front of his pupils (the situation). Thus social behaviour is inseparable from its situational context, and norms, as Homans (1950: 135) points out, 'do not materialize out of nothing, but emerge from ongoing activities', though the norms extant for a particular group do not necessarily arise from the activities of that particular group but may be forged over time by others in similar groups and situations.

The norms attaching to a social position such as that of 'primary school teacher' tend to form complexes so that for any given actor in a given situation there will be, typically, a cluster of linked norms. For example, the norms about giving regular homework, using corporal punishment, individualising instruction, experimenting with new teaching methods, and similar expected behaviours link the teacher with pupils in the classroom situation. The clusters of norms that constitute the acceptable or 'best' ways of acting in such specific, recurrent, linked situations constitute sets of rules of behaviour for those situations called 'roles' to which the actor in question is expected to conform (with varying degrees of latitude). Such roles are amenable to empirical observation and analysis.

The importance and potential utility of such a perspective on man as a player of social roles is reflected in Dahrendorf's observation that 'the crystallization of rules into roles is the basic fact of society and thus of social science' (Dahrendorf, 1973: v). However, such a perspective, sketched in above by way of introduction, and as useful as it is in providing a unifying framework for what is essentially a descriptive study, is not without its problems as will be examined in a subsequent discussion of concepts drawn from role theory and reference group theory which extends the conceptual framework. This discussion is to be found in Chapter 3 principally, while Chapter 2 examines the literature on role and other teacher education research and comment considered most relevant to the present investigation. Below a brief summary is given of the arrangement of chapters in the study.

#### 1.6 THE ORGANISATION OF THE PRESENT STUDY

\* Chapter 1 provides a brief account of the origins of the present study. It describes the initial research out of which the present investigation arose, outlines how that initial study was extended, and sketches in the conceptual orientation employed.

\* Chapter 2 reviews some of the massive and ever-growing literature on role as applied to education, and other relevant comment and research on the education of teachers with a view to probing under-researched areas and gaps in Australian teacher education research. A number of questions considered worth exploring are derived from the review and provide the specific foci of the study.

These concern the student teacher's 'normative world' - its nature, how it changes, the perceived impress of lecturers and teachers upon it, the accuracy of student teachers' perceptions of these significant others, and relationships amongst perceived role congruency with lecturers and teachers, commitment to teaching, and adjustment to the profession.

\* Chapter 3 expands upon the conceptual orientation introduced in the first two chapters. It provides a relatively detailed exposition of concepts and terms taken from role and reference group theory, indicating the utility of such concepts as they have been applied in the context of educational research. There is also an attempt to take some cognisance of criticisms made of role as a theory so as not to imply - by using a conceptual framework derived from it - an uncritical acceptance of the theory.

\* Chapter 4 details the operationalising and administration of the study, and the methods of analysing the data. It includes a brief comment on the place of statistical significance testing in research such as this, that was inspired by a relatively recent article by Carver (1978) in the Harvard Educational Review which appeared to the present author to be singularly apposite.

\* Chapter 5 describes the institutional context in which the study was conducted, furnishing details of the college's administrative structure and environment hopefully sufficient to convey an understanding of the kinds of contacts student teachers typically had with lecturers and teachers during the three year period of training.

\* Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 present the results of the study. Chapter 6 analyses in detail the entire role norm inventory data from the 1976 phase of the research conducted at Mitchell College of Advanced Education, Bathurst, New South Wales. Chapter 7 presents the results of the Teaching Style Inventory used with the 1976 6th semester cohort to examine the perceived impress of lecturers and teachers (especially) on students' preferred teaching orientations during practice teaching. Chapter 8 provides a brief analysis of relationships found between degree of perceived role congruence with significant others and teaching commitment on the one hand, and measures of adjustment to teaching after being in the job two years, on the other. It also gives results of shifts in students' ideal role conceptions two years after entering teaching. Chapter 9 very briefly presents the results of the replication conducted in 1978 at Castle Hill College of Education, Castle Hill, New South Wales, of the original study.

\* Chapter 10 concludes the thesis by discussing the results obtained, summarising those results, and drawing implications for, and offering suggestions for further such research.

## CHAPTER 2

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

'A central point of the teacher's training, then, should be the attempt to give him insight into the nature of the social reality which is the school. This is what teachers usually learn in the hard school of experience, and by those rules of thumb which experience gives, and this is another reason for the conservatism of educational practice. Prospective teachers learn all the new educational theories while they are in school, but they must learn how to teach from horny-handed men who have been teaching a long time.'

- Willard Waller (1932).

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Over the period of formal training the student teacher formulates his conception of how a teacher should and will in fact behave in many day-to-day situations which involve him with pupils, colleagues, the parents of pupils, and people in the wider community, amongst others. While every student who enters teaching will certainly do so with a conception of the teacher role derived from his\* own considerable experience as a pupil and from other facts of his biography, it is primarily when he enters training college that his perspective changes from that of pupil viewing teaching as a pupil, to student looking at teaching from a teacher's standpoint. During this extended period of reformulation of viewpoint, or confirmation of original viewpoint, two of the important influences on the student's shaping conceptions of his future role are - or should be - his college lecturers and teachers, for these, together, are formally responsible for supervising his progression from student to teacher.

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\* Throughout, 'her', 'she' etc. can of course be used instead of 'his', 'he'.



Ideally, the two agencies of college and school would not only be in harmony with each other about important aspects of the teacher role such as appropriate teacher behaviour toward pupils or parents in a variety of recurrent situations, but would be seen to be so by those who are training to become teachers. In a less-than-perfect world however, perhaps the best that can be expected is a degree of congruence between lecturer and teacher such that the student is not presented with two quite different, even conflicting views of the profession, for, if he is, and if he perceives this to be so, he will enter teaching having somehow to resolve how he ought to act, and will indeed act, in those many, recurring situations. The potential for conflict inherent in such a scenario may thus contribute further dissatisfaction in a probationary year characteristically beset by problems for the neophyte.

Clearly then, it is of some value to try to ascertain the conceptions of the teacher role with which student teachers enter teaching, how they perceive the views held of that role by those in the teacher training college who have trained them and those whom they are about to join in the profession, and how the 'influence' of these significant others has grown, failed to grow, or has declined between entering and leaving the training institution. As well, given the evident possibilities for misinterpretation and misperception of another's view, and given the possibly detrimental consequences of such misjudgements, it is of equal importance to determine the accuracy with which student teachers perceive teachers and lecturers. It is stating the obvious to say that it is only possible to correct a misperceived view when the nature of that misperception is known.

Underpinning what has so far been said is the notion that a reasonable degree of consensus amongst and between student teachers, teachers, and teacher educators on what constitutes appropriate teacher behaviour is, generally, held to be more desirable for both individual and a given social system than either a relative lack of consensus or, in the extreme, dissensus - though this is not to say that some degree of conflict-induced tension might not be a vitalising phenomenon under certain conditions. However, once again, it is only when areas of agreement and disagreement are known that remedial or prophylactic action can be taken.

The review following demonstrates the need for such an analysis for, apart from the author's original study and another small-scale research project by Streets (1969), and despite work in teacher socialization in Australia such as that of Anderson and Western (1972) stressing the importance of role models in teaching, there has been no locatable published work which seeks to elucidate the patterns of perception of the teacher role characteristic of student teachers in training. That this is so is surprising when it is considered that as long ago as 1959 Gross, in pointing to the need for systematic research into teacher socialization stated:

"We have no studies of changes in students' conceptions of the teacher's role during various stages of their training to become teachers or of shifts in role definition before and after they assume their first educational position.

(Gross, 1959: 149)

while relatively soon after, Charters (1963: 749) observed that:

"Unfortunately, research conducted on the teacher induction process from the framework of role learning is still in its incipient stages."

These remarks referred primarily to the educational scene at that period in the United States. However, they are nearly as true of teacher education today in Australia as they were two decades ago of the United States. Though there has been a burgeoning of local interest and research in teacher education, there is still a dearth of research in the important area of student teacher role perception as the following survey of literature impinging upon this topic makes apparent.

Amongst other things the review attempts to show that:

- (i) in a complex modern world the teacher role has become increasingly important and that, concomitantly, training procedures have become more highly organised and have come under greater public scrutiny;
- (ii) role analysis has provided a useful conceptual tool for examining the system of social relationships in which the teacher, as a teacher, participates;
- (iii) an almost universally expounded theme is that the training college and the school often present different and even conflicting views about teaching to students who thus have to choose between or otherwise accommodate such views;
- (iv) perceived conflict of this kind is more likely than not to have deleterious consequences for both the student teacher attempting to adjust to teaching in a probationary year already likely to be problematic, and for the social system in which he participates as a teacher.

## 2.2 THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER

The importance of the professions in the modern world is reflected in the considerable interest shown by students of society in the processes by which the relatively inexperienced and naive recruit to a profession is transformed into a credible professional. Though there has long been debate as to whether teaching can be regarded as a profession, Wilson (1962) in his penetrating analysis of the teacher role has nonetheless argued that despite its appearing less dramatic and urgent than, say, the role of the doctor, it is no less vital to society. One of the reasons for this is that the teacher is placed in the trusted position of dealing with 'the whole child and its normal self', as Wilson (1962: 23) puts it. He argues that the existence of teachers as a profession is dependent upon a society being advanced enough to accept the diffusion of knowledge as a social goal. The growth in complexity of a society is accompanied by an increase in the need for literacy, numeracy and certain specialist skills. As this process occurs there is a corresponding increase in the significance of the teacher's role. In contemporary society the allocation of individuals to particular occupations occurs within the educational system and it is this process of social selection, made by teachers primarily in terms of intellect and knowledge, which makes the teacher's role indispensable (Wilson, 1962: 20).

Despite the relatively low standing of teaching compared with certain other professions (see, for example, Leggatt, 1970) the role is undeniably important for as Naegele (1956) has noted, teachers

are entrusted to act in loco parentis in numerous respects, serving as role models and as instruments of socialisation, integration and social control. If anything, this importance has increased in recent years as teachers have experienced (become victims of?) role inflation. As well as being conceded traditional disciplinary powers over children not normally tolerated outside of the family, together with long-accepted roles as academic monitors, guardians of morals and arbiters of conduct, teachers today are also expected to concern themselves with hygiene, sex-education, drugs-education, driver-education, consumer-education, vocational counselling and the like (cf. Wilson, 1962: 21-2; Leggatt, 1970: 171). Further underscoring the importance of the role is the fact that teachers have access to information about the parents of their pupils through inference from the behaviour of those pupils (Naegele, 1956: 55), and through the accumulated records of the school; thus the teacher-parent relationship is always likely to be emotionally charged (Parsons, 1957: 34ff).

The 'price' the teacher pays for the trust invested in him by the community is that parents and even outsiders claim the right of free criticism, if not close public scrutiny, of the school system. In New South Wales for example, this has seldom been more apparent perhaps: in the 1970's and 1980's there has been a burgeoning community awareness of the need for closer liaison between parents and schools, together with an articulation of the 'accountability' doctrine<sup>1</sup> which, in essence, holds that the public money spent on schooling gives parents and other members of the community an inalienable right to a say in how schools conduct themselves.

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1. See, for example, The Community and Its Schools, Report to Minister for Education, N.S.W. Department of Education, Sydney, 1974. See also: D'Cruz (1975), King and Watson (1976), Walker (1976), McGarvie (1978) and Thomas (1979).

Amongst the consequences of the openness of this process are that teachers are inevitably the focus of a network of publicly aired expectations (oftentimes conflicting) and that programmes of preparation for teaching are probably scrutinised at least as frequently and openly as those for any other profession.

Concerning such programmes Charters (1963: 748), in his thoroughgoing review of the literature (to that date) on the social background to teaching, observed that the training period for a teacher was 'no longer a casual, informal experience' but had become 'a deliberate, formal and highly rationalised procedure'. He pointed out, however, that despite many studies into matters such as teacher effectiveness and the value of various kinds of training programmes, there had been a notable absence of definitive results and fruitfully cumulative findings due in part to a concern with aspects of the induction process which were 'theoretically barren' and a failure to use 'penetrating concepts from the behavioural sciences which could tie diverse realms of phenomena together in an analytical system...' (Charters, 1963: 749).

### 2.3 ROLE ANALYSIS AND TEACHER EDUCATION

The advent of role analysis in educational research provided one such conceptual system.<sup>2</sup> With it, research into the preparation of teachers increasingly concentrated upon investigation of the teacher's participation in the system of social relationships which comprise the training institution and its programmes. These relationships, Charters (1963: 749) suggests, 'shape the teacher's role conceptions and his attitudes and values concerning himself, his colleagues, his clients and the teaching-learning process'. The

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2. Even if since, as Popitz (1967: 10) puts it, the concept of role has itself led a dramatic existence! Role theory has had its share of problems - chiefly terminological. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

role framework, developed out of several disciplines (cf. Gross et al., 1958), conceived of the teacher as enmeshed in and influenced by a system of social relationships out of which arose expectations which were the products of group interaction. In brief, to the degree and extent that the expectations for a position incumbent from different sources did not coincide, or were not seen to coincide by that incumbent, he became a potential victim of role conflict.

Generally then, as Charters (1963: 788) succinctly puts it, 'the concept of role stresses the influence of contemporaneous forces arising in the person's immediate social environment to impress his behaviour', designating 'in particular, the force constituted by expectations'. From a sociological standpoint these expectations are held to be culturally patterned, attaching to the position a person occupies in the social structure rather than the person as a person, and are transmitted to the position incumbent in the process of interaction between himself and others who are 'significant' for him (significant others)<sup>3</sup> as occupant of that position.

#### 2.4 ROLE AND SOCIALIZATION

The potential utility of conceptualising the student teacher internship as a period of role learning has been widely recognised by those concerned with research into the professional socialisation of teachers. In the United Kingdom for example Westwood (1967a: 131-2), lamenting the paucity of studies into professional role

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3. This and other relevant terminology drawn from the role field will be explained in appropriate detail in the conceptual framework which follows this chapter.

learning in teaching, has emphasised the usefulness of viewing the whole training period as one in which the student is learning to play his role and to acquire an unambiguous role image.

Since then other British studies into various aspects of teacher training such as those by Finlayson and Cohen (1967), Cope (1969), Hoyle (1969), Cohen (1969), Musgrave and Taylor (1969), Grace (1972), and Gibson (1972), to name but a few, have made use of concepts drawn from role theory. Similarly, the aforementioned review by Charters (1963) lists many such American studies (e.g. Jenkins and Lippit, 1951; Getzels and Guba, 1955; Doyle, 1956; Manwiller, 1958; Gross, Mason and McEachern, 1958; Biddle, Rosencranz and Rankin, 1961), while in Australia the important longitudinal investigations of Western and Anderson into the professions, including teaching (see for example Anderson and Western, 1967), have been underpinned by a conception of professional socialisation as role learning - 'the process whereby the recruit comes to learn about and internalize the culture of the profession he has elected to enter'. (Western and Anderson, 1968: 96).

Use of the concept of role to examine aspects of the socialisation process reflected the fact, as Nadel (1957: 21) pointed out, that it was precisely the concept needed to bridge the gap between society and the individual by referring 'not to concrete, unique human beings living and acting at any point of time but to individuals seen as bundles of qualities'. This made possible sharper expression of 'the variability of the actor as against the



constancy of the contribution expected of him, by describing the latter as a part meant to be played'. Additionally, 'role' was the concept needed to describe repeatable patterns of social relations which as Emmett (1966: 3) points out, were not mere physical facts but were structured partly by the rules of acceptable behaviour in a particular group or society. In brief, as Goffman argues, role was 'the basic unit of socialization':

In entering the position the incumbent finds that he must take on the whole array of action encompassed by the corresponding role, so role implies a social determinism and a doctrine about socialization. We do not take on items of conduct one at a time but rather a whole harness-load of them.

(Goffman, 1961a: 41)

From the perspective of role learning the induction period in teacher training is characterised by mechanisms such as identification, and the internalizing of expectations. As Merton et al. (1957: 287) suggest, socialization from this standpoint refers to 'the processes by which people selectively acquire the values and attitudes, the interests, skills, and knowledge - in short the culture - current in the groups of which they are, or seek to become, a member'. That is, it refers to the learning of social roles. Further, this process of socialization according to Merton et al. (1957: 41-2), 'takes place primarily through social interaction with people who are significant for the individual' and, such learning as does take place comes not only from 'precept' and 'deliberate example' but, perhaps most enduringly from sustained involvement in the society of those that make up the social organization of the institution. However, while empirical support for this proposition is to be found in studies such as Gottlieb's (1961)

large scale investigation into the socialization process in American graduate schools, and Pease's (1967) research with doctoral students in the United States, other research such as that of Quarantelli (1964) with dental students found that students had begun to acquire professional values and attitudes prior to the training period and that, in some respects at least (for example, as regards non-technical norms and standards) the faculty were not so 'significant' for students. Though findings such as Quarantelli's do not necessarily extrapolate to teaching, they do serve to warn against the blithe assumption that faculty are inevitably significant for the student.

Notwithstanding this, it does seem reasonable to suggest that for the student teacher the most important of the significant others of the pre-service period are likely to be his lecturers and serving teachers. Though in formulating a conception of the teacher role the student will almost certainly be influenced to some degree by others such as his student peers, or perhaps someone in the family who is or has been a teacher, it is his lecturers and teachers with whom he interacts most on a formal level, and whose expectations will have to be understood and coped with at innumerable points during training if the student is to progress through the course. Implicit in the very notion of teacher training is that, to a considerable degree, students will internalize the expectations and identify with the views about appropriate teacher behaviour espoused by their lecturers and co-operating teachers who, purportedly, have been selected because of their knowledge of and expertise in teaching, and who are themselves expected to be good role models for student teachers.

Student teachers however are not merely the sum of others' expectations. As Glaser and Strauss (1971: 62-73) point out, students may maintain some control over their own 'status passage'. Interaction, by definition, is a two way process. While, for convenience, lecturers and teachers might be seen as role 'senders' and students role 'takers' it should also be realised that roles are negotiated and forged in the process of being taken and sent. The Merton et al. definition of socialization, deriving as it does from a functionalist view of society, has tended to convey the socialization process as one of fitting the individual to society - an essentially deterministic and perhaps 'oversocialized' (Wrong, 1961) view of man in which, as a player of roles, he is reputedly the passive recipient of such socializing forces as the expectations of important others. Recent work on teacher socialization such as that of Lacey (1976) and Battersby (1980) has made clear that it is far from being a one-way process with the student teacher a mere empty vessel to be filled with others' values and attitudes. Rather, it is in Lacey's words, 'a more complex, partial and incomplete process' (with) 'the creative element in man's nature ... responsible for a "lack of fit" in the socialization process'. (Lacey, 1976: 10).

Having said this, it should also be added that while Merton's definition of the socialization process may be incomplete or otherwise inadequate from a perspective such as that of the conflict theorist, it is a view that as Lacey (1976: 17) himself has pointed out, is complementary to other competing perspectives in some degree.

Moreover, it is a view of socialization that has been widely embraced and applied, and while it is possible to ascribe to it a conception of the socializee as an empty vessel (Lacey, 1976: 14), such an interpretation need not follow. As mentioned above, roles are negotiated as they are taken and sent, and as is argued in the next chapter, concepts such as 'role distance' (Goffman, 1959) which allow for a role being played at as well as played, conceive of a less passive socializee.

## 2.5 THE NEED FOR THE STUDY

Despite the vast annual outpourings of the American academic research 'industry' over the past twenty years especially, the literature on teacher education is studded with comments conveying dissatisfaction with the fact that certain aspects of the process relevant to the concern of this investigation have been neglected, or under-researched or have been characterised by studies lacking in rigour. In the United States for example, Travers (1970: 490) was prompted to comment that 'we have too few studies which explore the subjective world of teachers in terms of their conceptions of what is salient' while Lomax's (1972) review of British research on teacher education pointed, more generally, to the fact that whereas American studies could be numbered in thousands, the little rigorous research in the United Kingdom had meant a serious lack of dependable knowledge upon which to base training procedures.

In Australia these views have found many echoes. The Correy Committee (Teachers for Tomorrow, 1980: 251 - see below) in New South Wales found itself in agreement with conclusions from an American review of research which noted that 'In spite of recent improvements in research

in the field, the amount of dependable information available compared to the amount needed to formulate more effective policies and practices in teacher education is miniscule' (Ryan, 1975: 107) while, earlier, one of the conclusions reached in The Report on the Commonwealth's Role in Education (1972: 56) was that the volume of research into teacher education had been minimal, and overseas results uncritically adopted. Most recently, the Report of the National Inquiry into Teacher Education (1980) has reaffirmed the need for more research, commenting that '...teacher education research and development in Australia is deficient in most areas'. The report also underlines the danger of relying on overseas results (1980: 216). Among its specific recommendations are that there be investigation of expectations concerning education, the exploration of professional expectations pertaining to teacher education, the documentation and analysis of the changing roles of teachers and longitudinal studies of teacher socialization (1980: 218).

The dearth of such research has also been recorded in another very recent Australian report on teacher education - Teachers for Tomorrow: Continuity Challenge and Change in Teacher Education in New South Wales (1980). The investigating committee noted that while many opinions were submitted to it about teacher education policies, '...these opinions were rarely carefully and consistently substantiated by reliable evidence'. Like many commentators to that point, the Committee lamented the neglect of appropriate research, including that on student teachers, 'especially in Australia' (1980: 251). Such observations, it would appear, are endemic in

the literature, for similar comments emphasising the lack of relevant research can be found in many studies (e.g. Sanford, 1962; Charters, 1963; Adams, 1970; Reitman, 1971; Riddle, 1972; Trent and Cohen, 1973 – to list a mere few).

## 2.6 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TRAINING INSTITUTION AND THE SCHOOL

A particular focus of discontent has been the period of training undergone by the student teacher. Joyce (1969: 510) has observed that in all Western nations teacher education has been dominated by the view that the essential task is to socialize the student teacher to the existing school system. In support of this he argues that methods courses, for example, reflect current curriculum trends, that attempts are made to make such courses more 'realistic' through observation-participation experiences, that a high value is placed on the practicality of methods textbooks, and that course work is accompanied or followed by practice teaching where, though the student may be encouraged to try out new ideas, he is viewed both by college and school as a guest in the co-operating school and is expected not to upset its routines (Joyce, 1969: 510-11). Certainly, whilst recognising the inevitable differences in outlook and approach, and other complexities which characterise relationships between training colleges and the schools, it is surely reasonable to state that no college would want other than a smooth transition from college to school for its teacher graduates. This, of course, presupposes a relatively high degree of congruence between the aims and practices of the training institution and those of the school system.

However, as Coulter (1973: 42) points out, it is a familiar assertion that student teachers are ill-prepared for the realities of professional life. The seemingly effortless reversal of the ideals and attitudes carried into teaching poses the serious question of the efficacy of the colleges and other training institutions in preparing students for their future role. In this respect Dreeben (1970: 143) has argued that the training college typically has neither the requisite 'linkage' with previous and subsequent institutions involved in the process of occupational socialization, nor the ability to exert sufficient 'leverage' - that is, to induce, punish, reward and support students. The question arises therefore as to what degree the period in the training institution can be regarded as a step or phase in an orderly process of induction into the professional role. Putting it another way, to what degree is the training college detached from professional practice? It cannot simply be assumed that the articulation between the training institution and professional practice is satisfactory for though there have been studies of other occupations which show that the neophyte is effectively socialized into his occupational role (e.g. Dornbusch's 1954-5 study of the American Coast Guard Academy) there are others (e.g. Lortie, 1959; Westby, 1960; Taylor and Pellegrin, 1960; Braudie, 1961; Corwin, 1961) which reveal inadequacies in the relationship between the training institution and the job. For example, in his study of how laymen become lawmen, Lortie (1959: 36), comments on the nature of those inadequacies:

The statement 'I wasn't prepared' is made over and over again. Behind this plaintive cry one senses the disorientation and embarrassment experienced by men who were formally qualified to practice law, yet forced to reveal inadequacies, ignorance and confusion before clients, employers and friends.

In teaching, the well-documented problems of the beginner (see for example, Taylor and Dale, 1971; Otty, 1972; Minns, 1974; Palmer, 1974) lend support to the view that the 'reality shock' (Wagenschein, 1950; Whiteside et al., 1969) or 'tremendously ego-shattering experience' (Petrusich, 1966) that appears to characterize the abrupt transition (cf. Wright and Tuska, 1968) from student teacher to teacher is marked by a discontinuity that may reflect, as much as anything, a disjunction between the theory of the college and the practice of the school. The problem it seems is perennial. Willard Waller (1932: 192) long ago observed:

The theory and practice of education have suffered in the past from an over-attention to what it ought to be and its correlative tendency to disregard what is. When theory is not based upon existing practice a great hiatus appears between theory and practice and the consequence is that the progressiveness of theory does not affect the conservatism of practice. The student-teacher learns the most advanced theory of education, and goes out from school with a firm determination to put it into practice. But he finds that this theory gives him little help in dealing with the concrete social situation that faces him. After a few attempts to translate theory into educational practice he gives up and takes his guidance from conventional sources, from the advice of older teachers, the proverbs of the fraternity, and the commandments of principals.

Impressionistic though Waller's account may be, it would appear to have remarkable contemporary relevance. Over forty years after Waller's insightful contribution, Conforti (1976: 358), reporting on a large teacher socialization project in the



mid-west of the United States, warned that training colleges risk engaging in 'discontinuous socialization' where, because lecturers were 'only limitedly ... cognizant of the day to day realities of the schools for which they are preparing teachers', there was incompatibility between the roles for which students were being trained and the roles the schools wanted them to fill:

The experience of this project underscores the difficulties that arise when students are socialized for teaching positions in the absence of adequate consideration being given to the norms and organisational structure prevailing in the schools in which they are to be placed... In the case of teachers, this would mean on-the-job resocialization to neutralize and nullify the training they received in Colleges of education, while socializing them to attitudes, dispositions and skills deemed appropriate by the school administrators and faculty. Such a resolution leaves colleges of advanced education in a negative position at best; if they are at all interested in innovation, it places them in nothing less than an adversary position in relation to the schools they are supposed to be serving.

(Conforti, 1976: 358)

This theme of the discontinuity between training and practice has been emphasised in numerous studies (e.g. see: the review by Charters, 1963; Butcher, 1965; Oliver and Butcher, 1962; Shipman, 1967; Finlayson and Cohen, 1967; Cohen, 1969; McLeish, 1970; Cope, 1971; Anderson and Western, 1972; Coulter, 1973; Lortie, 1975). As young teachers establish themselves in the job, the strong tendency is for their attitudes to undergo a dramatic change - albeit complex and incomplete (cf. Lacey, 1976) - away from the liberal, child-centred, progressive ideas of their student days and towards the more orthodox, traditional patterns of the schools (cf. Wright and Tuska, 1966: 254; Morrison and McIntyre, 1969: 70).

Of course some differences between what is preached in training institutions and what is practised in classrooms is inevitable and, arguably, desirable. Necessarily, the focus of much professional training is on ideal models and the 'best' (latest?) practice since to do otherwise would be to prepare students for an essentially static system. According to Coulter (1973: 42) the problem lies not so much in that these unavoidable differences exist but in the fact that teaching is so differently interpreted by those with whom the student teacher primarily interacts over the course of the formal training period when he is formulating (cf. Hargreaves, 1972: 89) his conception of the teacher role. This view is very substantially confirmed in recent important reports on teacher education in Australia.

For example, the Report to the Commission on Advanced Education on Three Year Primary Teacher Education Programmes (1977) found that 'frequently, school and system personnel express quite marked disagreement with College staff on beliefs about control, individualization of instruction, choice of learning methods, nature of learning, curriculum determination, evaluation, and the social aims of schooling'. (1979: 20).

In like fashion, the Education Research and Development Committee's Report Number 19: The Practical Teaching Skills (1978) includes and comments upon a number of studies (for example, those by Campbell et al., Coulter, Hawkins, Skilton, Turney et al., Dow, Burns, Marsh and Traill)<sup>4</sup>, all of which raise the problem,

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4. These studies were funded by the Education Research and Development Committee (ERDC) and appear in the Report. Since no separate dates are given for the studies, they are dated '1978' (the date of the Report) where subsequently mentioned.

in one form or another, of arguably critical differences between school and college supervisory personnel. For instance, Turney (1978: 386) reports the poor attitudes towards practice teaching often held by teacher educators, while Skilton (1978: 350) airs the complaint made by supervising teachers that lecturers did not visit the Schools enough and neglect the advisory and consultative aspects of their role. Throughout the report are to be found comments (and evidence) pointing to the need to bridge the gap between college and school. Typical of such comments is the following observation:

Most important of all ... may be the implied need to integrate the total pre-service program with the practicum by forging much closer campus-school bonds... This, in turn implies that many institutions may need to re-examine the whole issue of role definitions...

Equally, the previously mentioned Australian reports on the education of teachers in Australia have emphasised the need for closer school-college relationships in order to facilitate the professionalisation of the student teacher. The Report of the National Inquiry Into Teacher Education (1980) stresses that induction of the beginning teacher is a joint responsibility of schools and training institutions and urges that '... all teacher education institutions should involve associated schools in the formulation of goals and objectives for practice teaching...' (1980: 127). Similarly, the New South Wales report on teacher education, Teachers for Tomorrow (1980), recommends the involvement of teacher education institutions in induction programmes (p. 230), that there be 'arrangements for lecturers to have recurring

contact with the classroom; (p. 235), that 'adequate arrangements should be made by teacher education institutions for the training of supervisors and for consultation with schools about mutual expectations; (p. 241), and that lecturers be particularly aware of the need 'to relate the theoretical concepts which they are teaching to the practical context' (p. 243). The report asserts the importance of lecturers and teachers as role models (see, for example, p. 243) and reaffirms the necessity for co-operation between school and college:

Liaison with the school is frequently better when the staff of the institutions command the respect of the school staff and understand the realities of the situation. Good institution/school relationships are very important in terms of the welfare and professional learning of the student.

(1980: 244)

The recent Victorian inquiry into the training of teachers, Teacher Education in Victoria (1980) recommends, inter alia, that schools be involved in 'frequent and regular reviews and evaluations' of the programmes of teacher education institutions (p. 16), that exchange of staff between schools and training institutions be encouraged (p. 17), and that training institutions and co-operating schools form associations (p. 17) with institution liaison officers and school supervision co-ordinators encouraging strong links between the staff of the two institutions (p. 18).

Seemingly, therefore, despite the relatively recent advent of journals in Australia such as the South Pacific Journal of Teacher Education and, latterly, the Australian Journal of Teaching

Practice which have given a much needed boost to research, there is still almost universal agreement about the need for more relevant research and action if, in Waller's (1932) terms, the progressiveness of theory is to have any impact on the conservatism of practice.

Despite the fact that training colleges depend on schools to give their students practical experience and that schools depend upon colleges to replenish their staffs, one implication of the foregoing review of what seems to be representative comment in the field is that the linkage (Dreeben, 1970) between college and school system does indeed tend to be weak, and that there is less evidence of an attitude of partnership between the two than might be hoped. As Stones and Morris (1972: 42) put it nearly a decade ago:

There is, on the contrary, a fair degree of ignorance of each other's work. Griffiths and Moore (1967), in a survey of twenty schools co-operating in teaching practice found that the schools did not possess syllabuses of the various college courses in educational theory and the colleges in the main kept no systematic records of recent developments in organization, curricula and methods in the schools. The purposes of the two institutions are viewed as wholly diverse. To the school, immersed in its teaching activities, the function of teacher preparation is a peripheral activity at the best to be tolerated as a regrettable necessity, at the worst to be rejected as harmful to its main function. To the college the school is an institution to be 'used' for teaching practice. The school does not participate in the college's internal work, the college seldom contributes directly to the work of the school.

A similar such survey conducted in 130 Victorian schools in 1975 revealed a widespread belief amongst teachers that students needed a closer knowledge of school practices, with twenty four of the schools surveyed referring to the 'conflict of practice (realism) and theory (idealism)' in practice teaching (Dow in Hewitson, 1978: 252). In the United Kingdom the same point was put more forcibly by the Association of Schoolmasters and Union of Women Teachers in a report quoted in The Times (June 20, 1977):

Many of the misfortunes which have befallen schools in the past 10 years or so are directly attributable to the inept theories eagerly, and often sincerely, preached by teacher trainers who had lost contact with the real school situation.

A veritable chorus of what claims to be informed opinion then, points clearly to an obvious and long-standing need for better integration of the programmes of college and school, with a particular emphasis on the problem of what often appear to be wide, if not irreconcilable, differences in orientation to the teaching-learning process between teachers in the schools and lecturers in the training institutions. The nature of these differences has been revealed in part by a number of studies in the United Kingdom and the United States.

## 2.7 RESEARCH ON THE THEORY/PRACTICE RELATIONSHIP

In a British study of student teacher role conceptions Finlayson and Cohen (1967) used a twenty two item role definition instrument to compare conceptions of the teacher role held by head teachers and by first, second, and third (final) year primary

and secondary student teachers. The authors argue that it might be hoped that the beginning of a teacher training course would initiate a process of growth in which the student becomes increasingly aware of all aspects of the teacher role and internalises these expectations to the degree that they become part of the student's image of himself as a teacher (Finlayson and Cohen, 1967: 28). In essence, the authors suggest that students should be socialized into the existing school system insofar as they should enter teaching with a conception of the teacher role relatively congruent with that of the profession generally.

However, Finlayson and Cohen argue that their data were not supportive of such a view since numerous serious disparities were found between the role conceptions of head teachers and of students. The peak of 'liberality' in student role conceptions reached in second year coincided with the maximal difference between students' and head teachers' views. Acceptance of Finlayson and Cohen's argument though, rests upon accepting their value-laden judgement that the manifestation in role expectations of increasing permissiveness in teacher-pupil relationships constitutes an 'attitude of growing liberality' which in turn signifies a growth in awareness. From this contentious base, Finlayson and Cohen interpret the responses of third year students as 'regressions', indicating a growing awareness in the group of the disparities between their own and teachers' views, and a consequent 'seeking to narrow the gap in the conceptions of what is thought desirable teacher behaviour by the college and what they see will be expected of them in the schools' (Finlayson and Cohen, 1967: 29).

On the one hand then, Finlayson and Cohen commence with the hope that students might become more aware of, and internalize, the role of teacher but when their evidence (72 per cent of items showing no differences between first and final year students) shows that, in one sense at least, this does in fact occur they suggest that this signifies arrested development. By thus equating 'growth' with 'liberality' of viewpoint - and a viewpoint decreasingly like that of the head-teacher sample - the authors appear to argue that teacher training ought to bring the student to that point of entry into the profession where, if the 'growth' process is continuous (as the authors hoped) neophyte teachers would hold a conception of the teacher role quite unlike that held by the teachers they were about to join in the school system.

Inconsistencies notwithstanding, such a viewpoint does accord with the notion that, for the student teacher, the training college and the school may often provide not one relatively congruent view of teaching but two frames of reference which somehow have to be reconciled. Finlayson and Cohen offer this as a second framework within which to interpret the conflicting student and head-teacher role expectations they found. They emphasise the detachment of the college staff from the workaday world of the classroom. This makes possible concentration on learning about children and teaching, and it is within this contextual system that the student responds to the role definition instrument. On the other hand, the head-teacher responds against a background of large classes,



overcrowded conditions, lack of materials, staff complaints, frequent staff changes, and so on. Finlayson and Cohen cite confirming evidence for their 'two frames of reference' hypothesis from a comparison of a national (British) sample of college of education tutors with the responses the authors found for student teachers and head-teachers. Overall, a greater measure of agreement between tutors and students than between tutors and head-teachers was found.

American studies too furnish evidence for important differences between college and school. For instance, the literature tends to agree that lecturers and teachers often differ considerably in their conceptions of the role of the ideal teacher (see for example, Bach, 1952; Haines, 1957; Schueler et al., 1962; Holeman, 1963; Sieber and Wilder, 1967; Sorenson, 1967; Drabick, 1967; Brown and Vickery, 1967). An example of such research is the four year study by Brown and Vickery (1967) into relationships between beliefs and practices in the preparation of teachers. The study, sponsored by the United States Office of Education, followed an earlier study by Brown (1962) which showed that where there was a discrepancy between educational beliefs and classroom practices, there was also a discrepancy between educational and underlying philosophic beliefs. The Brown and Vickery study pointed to the virtual isolation of the co-operating teachers from the college of education. It was found that the teachers and Principals involved at the 'chalk-face' showed the widest discrepancies between educational and basic philosophical beliefs while Education and

other academic professors showed least. This prompted the authors to speculate that whereas 'more years of education and greater concern with theoretical issues make college professors more logically consistent than their less educated and more practically oriented colleagues in the public schools ... the further removed one is from the daily requirements of keeping school, the easier to keep beliefs about what should go in classrooms congruent with underlying philosophic beliefs'. (Brown and Vickery, 1967: 419).

Analysis of the belief patterns of those involved with the school system - co-operating teachers, principals, students teachers, and so on - revealed wide discrepancies between educational and philosophic beliefs in that, while all groups were favourably disposed toward educational practices advocated by the philosopher John Dewey, they were 'cool' toward the philosophic beliefs which logically underpinned those practices. The consequence of such 'belief gaps' is that the student, as prospective teacher, is caught between the two so that 'once he escapes the college of education and with the passage of a very short time ... he will look exactly like his co-operating teacher'. (Brown and Vickery, 1967: 421). This reversion to erstwhile conservative attitudes has been amply documented in the literature (see for example the review by Morrison and McIntyre, 1969).

That the impact on the student teacher of having to cope with two frames of reference can be serious is taken up also by Drabick (1967) in another American study which found that the perception of the teacher role held by the teacher educator was

inconsistent with teachers' actual role performance. The difference was hypothesised as one of 'reality' with teachers concentrating 'on the hard facts of life in the local school system' and forgetting the principles learned at college. For the student teacher the consequence of this was that too often he experienced 'a cultural discontinuity of major proportion and rending impact' resulting from the incongruency of the values of his teacher colleagues with those derived from his training. In the author's view the beginning teacher's realisation that such values were 'less professionally valid than those he absorbed in becoming qualified to teach' was frustrating and a probable cause of early departure from the job. (Drabick, 1967: 56). In such a situation of conflict the hapless student teacher clearly has to choose between rejecting one or both role pressures or trying somehow to forge a compromise between them (cf. Corrigan and Garland, 1968) and while there seems to be a tendency to embrace the co-operating teacher's role perceptions (Dickson, 1953; McGuire et al., 1959, Price, 1961; Morse, 1964; Lipscomb, 1966; Lamb, 1965; Horowitz, 1968; Cohen, 1969) the adaptive responses used to cope - responses such as hostility, aggressiveness, rejection, withdrawal and submission - are generally considered not conducive to effective learning and may produce psychological damage (cf. Parsons, 1966). A submissive response for example may result in the undesirable consequence of overt role behaviour merely reflecting 'impression management' (Shipman, 1967b), or other conformity strategies to 'get by' (cf. Mitchell, 1966; Sorenson, 1967; Lacey, 1976). Such 'on stage' simulation of desirable role behaviour may help explain the phenomenon that what student teachers have

learned during training is observed to 'decay' - seemingly inexorably - after the completion of the training course (cf., for example, Callis, 1950; Steele, 1958; Rabinowitz and Rosenbaum, 1960; Butcher, 1965; Morrison and McIntyre, 1967; Finlayson and Cohen, 1967; Shipman, 1967b; Hoy, 1967; McLeish, 1969).

It is recognised of course that differences in interpretation of the teacher role between lecturers and teachers are inevitable and, indeed, often beneficial and desirable, since some degree of tension between theory and practice seems likely to be productive for both and ensure that the teacher training system does not become moribund. However, as the above sampling of research and comment suggests, it is where such differences more nearly assume the proportions of an 'hiatus' (Waller, 1932: 192), a 'gulf' (Morris and Cock, 1969: 39) or a 'gap' (Brown and Vickery, 1967: 417) that the consequences for the tyro are considered as likely to be deleterious. In this respect, Adams (1974) like others (e.g. Drabick, 1967; Streets, 1969; Anderson, 1973) focuses on the serious problem of teacher attrition - a waste in human resources and a substantial investment loss to the system. He argues that this cannot be wholly explained in terms of idiosyncratic contingencies such as accidents and family problems, or overall system conditions such as salaries, promotion opportunities and the like, but that, additionally, account must be taken of the inability of drop-outs to tolerate the discrepancy between their expectations and the reality they encounter when they begin teaching:

If for example trainees have been brought up to believe that every pupil is unique and instruction ought therefore be individually tailored, and if they have not been given the techniques to be able to sustain individualized instruction practices, then the path to the dissatisfaction has been entered. If as well they have been socialized to imagine that decisions they make about their training can be made irrespective of conditions that obtain in the organization (school) they inhabit, then they have gone further along that path. If as well, once they have come into conflict with 'the organization' they have not been socialized to recognize legitimate 'system' requirements, then they are even further along it. And if they have been socialized in such a way that they have no understanding about the effective ways of inducing change in the school (or system), then they are beyond the point of no return.

(Adams, 1973: 51-2)

Adams goes on to argue that colleges are not doing their job properly unless they give students 'a vision of the real' as well as the ideal, together with the means of dealing with that reality. The schools too must accept their share of responsibility for what Adams, along with the many others previously cited, sees as a signal lack of co-operation between the training institution and the school system:

... it is a commentary on the professionalism of our profession that often the process of professional socialization of teachers is subverted by those who stand to suffer most from that subversion - practising teachers. The co-operation obviously desirable between the training institution and the practising school is sometimes minimal, sometimes missing. Students faced with hostility to and even contempt of their college are forced to divide loyalties, to reject either the school as backward or the college as unrealistic.

(Adams, 1973: 52)

To sum up the foregoing it can be said, therefore, that:

- \* despite increased research activity into the education of teachers in the past decade, there is still a widely perceived need in Australia for further research, especially into aspects of the professional socialization of the student teacher;
- \* a pervasive theme in the literature is that too often, the training college and the school do not present to the student teacher an acceptably congruent view of teaching and, as a consequence, the neophyte entering the profession typically has to cope with two frames of reference concerning his future role as teacher;
- \* to the extent that the student perceives such differences as being substantial or even irreconcilable he must adapt to the situation in some way and, apart from the possibly detrimental consequences of having to adapt thus, is more likely than not to abandon the 'progressive', liberal, child-centred views forged over the training period for the more traditional, conservative and 'practical' orientation of the schools.

## 2.8 THE NORMATIVE WORLD OF THE STUDENT TEACHER

The need to ascertain how the student teachers themselves perceive this situation has been emphasised by numerous writers. Carroll (1961: 569) has commented, for example, that 'if adjustment and attitude formation are looked on as central to the training

process, then the gauging of students' opinions is a valid first step in the preparation of the training course', while Travers (1970), Reitman (1971), Trent and Cohen (1973) and others (e.g. Charters, 1963; Westwood, 1967a) have all suggested that a possibly fruitful approach to this problem is through the determination and analysis of role expectations. Typical of such suggestions is that of Preiss and Ehrlich (1966: 2) who in their study of socialization into a State Police force in the United States, point to the failure of researchers to study the process of role acquisition:

If the current symbolic interactionist conceptions of the socialization process are correct, then the expectations of 'significant others' seem antecedent to the later steps of response (to a role image), of implementation, and of maintenance. Consequently, it would be necessary ... to locate these 'others', define their sets of expectations, and specify the relationship among these sets in terms of a total role image before analyzing those temporally subsequent dimensions of role behaviour.

Relating this to the professionalization of the student teacher and bearing in mind Merton et al's (1957) thesis that such socialization occurs principally through social interaction with significant others, it is clearly important to know how student teachers perceive the views of those who represent the most sustained and systematic influences of the pre-service period - their college lecturers, and the practising teachers whom they will one day join as colleagues in the schools. Anderson's and Western's (1972) longitudinal study of socialization into the professions in Australia underlines the importance of both of these socializing agents as

role models for teachers-to-be. As has been seen though, the literature is insistent in pointing to what are widely considered as serious differences between lecturers and teachers in their interpretation of the teacher role. Despite this, there is little empirical Australian evidence which has explored the situation from the standpoint of student teachers. Do they perceive any such differences, for example, between their lecturers and teachers? If so, what is the nature of these differences and to what degree are the students accurate in their perceptions? How much consensus is there on the teacher role amongst student teachers and their significant others? To what degree do student teachers identify with the views of teachers they are about to join at the end of the in-college training period, or will additional empirical evidence support Anderson's (1973) tentative conclusion that the concept of student teachers being socialized into a professional culture is not applicable to teaching? Within specified teacher training contexts, the answers to these and many similar questions which will aid in illuminating the process by which a student becomes a teacher, can be sought by conceiving of the student teacher as at the focal point of a network of expectations which affect his developing image of how a teacher ought to act - and how a teacher does act - in numerous given situations with respect to important role relationships.

As stated elsewhere, the fundamental importance of mapping this normative setting, that is, the network of expectations attaching to positions within a specified social system, has been emphasised



by Foskett (1967a: 2-3) who argues that though the most frequently used approach to the study of such social systems as the community setting of public education is through the various bodies and groups that comprise the organizational setting, the study of the rules or norms that individuals in a social system hold for each other may be seen as logically prior to the study of the structure of the organization itself, with the findings of one complementing and ultimately being reducible to the findings of the other. To the author's knowledge, the approach advocated by Foskett and others (e.g. Gross et al., 1958, Charters, 1963) has seldom been employed in this country in what is still, despite relatively recent significant contributions in teacher socialization research (e.g. see especially, Coulter: 1971, 1972, 1973), an under-researched, even neglected area in Australian teacher education: the perceived world of the student teacher. It is to those studies that bear most directly upon the present investigation that this review now therefore turns. Typically, such studies have utilised concepts derived from role theory and, in conceiving of individuals as incumbents of social positions who are thus enmeshed in a network of expectations, have concentrated their analysis on matters such as role consensus, role conflict, and conformity to such expectations.

## 2.9 THE GROSS AND FOSKETT STUDIES

As previously mentioned, the approach taken in the present study to investigating aspects of the student teacher's normative world reflects in particular the work of Foskett (1967a, 1967b, 1969)

in the United States, which, in turn, owed much to the seminal contribution of Gross, Mason and McEachern (1958). The Gross et al. research into the School Superintendency role in the United States is without doubt one of the most comprehensive and conceptually lucid studies in role analysis yet undertaken. Though not without its critics (see in particular Naegele, 1960) it has been widely praised and commented upon (see, for example, Ehrlich et al., 1962: 87; Charters, 1963: 774; Westwood, 1966: 73; 1967b: 31; Adams, 1970: 121; Cope, 1971: 39; Grace, 1972: 1; Jackson, 1972: 3; Kerlinger, 1973: 420-22; Atkinson, 1977: 155-7; Biddle, 1980: 174, 200), and in its conception, detail, rigour, methodological sophistication, and implications for theory represented a clear advance over most studies using a role framework either before (cf. Dahrendorf, 1973: 30) or since. The study has withstood the test of time well avoiding much of the damaging criticism directed at structural-functional theory by treating consensus as a variable, by recognising conflict as endemic, by paying some attention to the phenomenological perspective and by restricting itself to exploration of theories of the middle-range such as that of the 'role-set' (Merton, 1968: 43) rather than the all-embracing systems of Talcott Parsons (Francis, 1977: 30).

In brief, the Gross et al., study, part of a wider research effort initiated at Harvard University in 1952, attempted to forge a closer link between theoretical and empirical analyses of role by exploring the problems of consensus on role definition, conformity to expectations, and role conflict resolution as these applied

to the role of the School Superintendent in Massachusetts. From the starting point that role theory had tended to concentrate on an assumed consensus between role and those positional expectations embedded in the social structure, the Gross team argued that an unfortunate consequence of this was that role and related concepts had become so generalised as to lose sight of the empirical grounding for which they were intended as explanatory factors (Gross et al., 1958: 71-4; 321-5). The actual nature of the relationships amongst the various groups of position incumbents revealed by the study, led its authors to advocate abandonment of the postulate of consensus on role definition in order to explain a particular situation and the relationships in that situation. The conclusion reached was that the assumption of consensus on role definition on the basis of which socialization occurs was untenable for the position studied. Moreover, the authors suggested that such an assumption 'deserves to be challenged in most formulations of role acquisition...' (Gross et al., 1958: 321). One important consequence of this concerns the implications it had for explaining the different behaviour of occupants of a particular position:

Most students concerned with role phenomena, assuming consensus on role definition, have tried to account for variability in behaviour by invoking such variables as different motivations, attitudes, or personality characteristics. Our research experience suggests that the different expectations held for incumbents' behaviour and attributes are crucial for an understanding of their different behaviours and characteristics. (Gross et al., 1958: 321).

Given that variations in behaviour may thus reflect differences in expectations, and given the empirical complexities of degrees of consensus on role definition uncovered by Gross and his assoc-

iates, it would seem to be imperative for studies using role analysis that the degree of consensus or conflict on the expectations associated with a particular position always be a matter for empirical investigation.

This point is made by Foskett (1969: 6) in one of the many studies influenced by the work of Gross (for other studies where this influence is apparent see, for instance, Ehrlich et al., 1962; Bible and McComas, 1963; Preiss and Ehrlich, 1966; Francis, 1977). Commenting on the 'tendency for social scientists to take consensus as a "given" and to assume that the distinguishing feature of culture is a high degree of agreement as to the rules of behaviour', Foskett (1969: 6) points out that whereas this may be appropriate when one is talking about a conceptual model, 'Even the most casual observation reveals that there is a range of consensus from one role norm to another, from one situation to another, and from one population to another.' Thus it is that 'consensus is not a given but rather a variable to be determined by empirical enquiry'.

The Foskett studies, reported in three monographs sponsored by the Centre for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration at the University of Oregon, investigated selected characteristics of the normative structure - a perceptual network of the views of various position incumbents - as these views pertained to the role of the elementary teacher (Foskett 1967a, 1969) and the elementary school Principal (Foskett, 1967b) in the United States, relating this to numerous recurrent problems confronting both teachers and school administrators. Two of Foskett's monographs investigated the focal position of the elementary school teacher

(i.e. the American counterpart of the Australian primary school teacher) in the context of the community. The first of these studies - 'The Normative World of the Elementary School Teacher' (Foskett, 1967a) - sought to determine the role conceptions held by the population of elementary school teachers in 34 elementary schools in the school district of a 'medium size', rapidly expanding Pacific Coast Community, the perceptions these teachers had of the views held for their role by such role-set members as principals, citizens, parents, members of the school boards, community leaders and school superintendents, and, finally, the actual view of these groups. To do this Foskett developed an inventory consisting of 45 role norms for the position of elementary teacher, divided into four 'sectors'. Each sector comprised a cluster of linked norms concerning a specific role relationship such as teacher/pupil or teacher/parent. The concept of role sector as developed by the Gross team thus facilitated the investigation of degrees of consensus on different role segments (cf. Gross et al., 1958: 324). Each group in the Foskett study completed the inventory from the standpoints of firstly, their own views, and secondly, the views they attributed to important others. The data yielded by the numerous relevant comparisons within and between the respondent populations made possible by such an approach enabled patterns of consensus and potential conflict to be discerned and related to problems confronting school personnel and the community as a whole. Later, the study was replicated in two additional and differing communities in an effort to determine the extent to which normative structures relating to the positions of elementary teacher and principal were community specific or culturally defined (Foskett, 1969).

The Foskett studies provided further evidence, if it were needed, that consensus was itself a variable and that full agreement even among the occupants of a specific position was atypical. Using a measure of consensus developed by Leik (1966), Foskett found that the variation in levels of consensus on the teacher role ranged from virtually no agreement on some role norms to almost full agreement on others, with an average level over several populations of teachers and other respondent groups of about fifty percent agreement.

Moreover, taking cognisance of Gross's criticism that the holistic manner in which the role concept had been defined was a possible reason for the paucity of theoretical hypotheses in role analysis capable of empirical examination (Gross et al., 1958: 324), Foskett utilised the Gross team's concept of role sector, as mentioned, to examine consensus on different role relationships. He found, inter alia, that there was less consensus amongst teachers about role relationships with pupils than for relationships with colleagues, parents or the community, whether this was in respect of the teachers' own views or the views they attributed to citizens, principals, School Board and Superintendents (Foskett, 1969: 24, 25). Almost invariably the highest levels of agreement were for role relationships with the community.

Use of the concept of 'role sector' did thus permit a more precise specification of where stresses and strains in role relationships are perceived and this, in turn, enables appropriate action to be taken to relieve or rectify a particular situation. The

Foskett findings were scarcely surprising in view of the fact that the classroom has been seen almost universally as an arena for potential if not actual conflict,<sup>5</sup> while other such research has confirmed that tensions are more probable for some teacher role relationships than others. For example, Biddle (1970) found that for British, American, New Zealand and Australian teachers role conflicts were higher for relationships with parents than for other role relationships. Similarly, a British study by Musgrove and Taylor (1965) revealed that teachers saw themselves as conflicting with parents over what aspects of the teacher role were of most importance, while other American studies (e.g. Jenkins and Lippitt, 1951, Sieber and Wilder, 1967) have indicated that teacher/parent role relationships may be as fraught with the potential for conflict as the teacher/pupil role sector.

The accumulation of such research underlines the inadequacy of a holistic concept of role and makes imperative the use of concepts such as 'role sector' in this kind of investigation. Clearly, if more harmonious role relationships are desired in teaching a first step is to determine for which particular relationships role expectations might need to be clarified, perhaps re-defined or, simply, understood. With the professional socialization of teachers being seen more realistically now as a continuum extending through and beyond the period of training college (cf. Teacher Education in Victoria, 1980) and with the consequent recognition of the importance of proper induction programmes for students entering teaching (see for example Tisher et al., 1978), it is crucial that student teacher perceptions of critical role relation-

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5. Perhaps this has been most memorably rendered, not by the sociologist, but by the novelist. See, for example, Blishen, E. Roaring Boys, Thames and Hudson, London, 1955; Hunter, E. The Blackboard Jungle, Constable, N. York, 1955; Lawrence, D.H. The Rainbow, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1982; and Waugh, E. Decline and Fall, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1937.

ships such as those with pupils, parents, and colleagues be known if young teachers are to be helped settle into the profession 'with the minimum of disappointment and discomfort' as a report commissioned by the Department of Education and Science in the United Kingdom once put it (Tisher et al., 1978: 7). It is essential that studies providing such information be undertaken for, as Charters (1963: 777) observes in reviewing research on the effects on teaching of discrepancies in expectations:

Disagreement or conflict in role definitions is a form of occupational disadvantage driving the more competent persons out of the ranks of teaching and leaving behind those who are the most compliant and submissive or, perhaps, those who are most able to tolerate ambiguity and cope with conflict. Discrepancies in expectations, too, are presumed to be frustrating to the teacher, reducing his effectiveness in the teaching situation.

## 2.10 ROLE CONSENSUS, ROLE CONFLICT AND ROLE CONFORMITY STUDIES

The fundamental assumptions underpinning approaches using a role framework are, to put them at their simplest, that actual role behaviour is to some degree determined by role expectations and that the degree of consensus on those expectations is an index of stability in the particular social system concerned. In general, higher degrees of consensus are associated with harmony and positive consequences for position incumbents within the system, and lower degrees with conflict and negative consequences. In a comprehensive survey of relevant role literature on conformity to and consensus on role expectations, Francis (1977: 50ff) has summarised the findings related to consensus as follows:



- (i) that higher degrees of consensus may be associated with favourable attitudes toward the work situation (e.g. Getzels, 1963: 318), job satisfaction (e.g. Bible and McComas, 1963: 227, 232; Charters, 1963: 799; Getzels, 1963: 318; Gross, 1958: 220), an active, friendly environment (Shipman, 1967c: 432), high morale (Klapp, 1957: 341), clarity of role expectations (Katz and Poole, 1969: 64), goal attainment (Charters, 1963: 798), job success (Bass, 1965: 36), and teacher effectiveness (Bible and McComas, 1963: 22);
- (ii) that lower degrees may be associated with role conflict (e.g. Kahn et al., 1964: 21), misperception (Charters, 1963: 776), dysfunction (e.g. Fishburn, 1962: 55; Gross, 1958a: 177), low morale (Manwiller, 1958: 316), reduced group satisfaction (Smith, 1957: 216), job dissatisfaction (Getzels, 1963: 318; Gross, 1959a: 276), high staff turnover (Bales and Slater, 1955: 274-275, 296; Manwiller, 1958: 316) and dropping out (Manwiller, 1958: 316), unpredictability of behaviour resulting in ineffective dissatisfying social interactions (Sarbin and Allen, 1968: 503-506), reduced group productivity (Smith, 1957: 216), lack of goal attainment (Westwood, 1967b: 34), and low instructional efficiency (Manwiller, 1958: 316).

Similarly, Francis (1977: 58) summarises many studies which, in toto, show that conformity to role expectations (recognising that conformity can be a matter of degree - cf. Gross et al., 1958a: 224) may, as a generality, be positively related to work

effectiveness, approval, job satisfaction, career satisfaction, social stability and the like, while non-conformity may, as a general proposition, be associated with stresses, group dysfunction, disapproval and negative sanction, and arousal of mistrust.

This is not to say that a relatively high degree of conformity to role expectations inevitably has positive consequences for it has been associated with ritual, inflexibility and inability to adapt (Merton, 1968: 188) and, according to Preiss and Ehrlich (1966: 92), crumbling group structure, while Merton (1968: 236) sees non-conformity as positively related to the basic goals of all groups. Clearly, some degree of 'social slippage' (Stouffer, 1962: 52), that is, a range of tolerable behaviour in a given situation, might often be a necessary condition of group harmony and even survival (cf. Preiss and Ehrlich, 1966: 92).

Similarly, with respect to consensus, very high levels may reflect a rigidity in the normative structure that might, in the end, prove dysfunctional in that severe stress and strain could result from the holding of divergent views by individuals (cf. Foskett, 1967a: 82). As numerous commentators have observed, complete consensus is neither a likelihood (cf. Bible and McComas, 1963: 226; Westwood, 1967b: 33) nor necessarily desirable (cf. Dahrendorf, 1970: 109 ; Chambers, 1972: 45), while Foskett (1967a: 82) warns that the assumption of a simple relationship between agreement and social order needs reconsideration.

Notwithstanding such reservations, the theme that is apparent in the literature is that relatively high levels of consensus on role expectations and conformity to them tend to be desirable and beneficial, and that relatively low levels tend to reflect an undesirable state of affairs characterised at its worst by anomie (normlessness), confusion, and even disintegration (see, for example, Klapp, 1957: 341; Mitchell, 1966: 210; Morrish, 1972: 50). Though the question of an optimum level of consensus for a given social system remains open, the foregoing review underlines the importance of ascertaining levels of consensus on role expectations as a necessary first step in analysing certain of the problems that seem part of the very structure of organizations, for such an approach can usefully point to areas of conflict - actual, potential and residual (Merton, 1968).<sup>6</sup> In respect of this, a research vacuum exists in Australian teacher education for there is a dearth of even basic information on consensus and conflict about the teacher role amongst and between student teachers and their significant others.

As touched upon earlier in this review and as stressed in both theoretical and empirical analyses of the teacher role (see, for example, Kob, 1961; Wilson, 1962; Foskett, 1967a, 1969; Westwood, 1967a, 1967b; Finlayson and Cohen, 1967; Hoyle, 1969; Adams, 1970; Dunkin, 1972; Grace, 1972; Coulter, 1972; Tisher et al., 1978) the position of teacher is typically seen as being

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6. Merton (1968: 424) argues that 'the basic source of disturbance in the role-set is the structural circumstances that anyone occupying a particular status has role-partners who are differently located in the social structure'. The term 'role-set' refers to 'the complement of role relationships which persons have by virtue of occupying a particular social status'. Residual conflict is the level of conflict remaining within the role-set despite the operation of certain social mechanisms to ameliorate tensions.

particularly susceptible to pressures that may manifest themselves in a variety of role conflicts (cf. Kelsall and Kelsall, 1969). By definition, as Charters (1963: 799) observes, and as implied throughout this review, conflict means trouble for the individual. In accord with the above review, Biddle (1970: 142) points out that role conflicts have been found in numerous professions and occupations, and have been shown to predict to career dissatisfaction, job inefficiency and, in the extreme, to the abandoning of careers (cf. also Gross et al., 1958: especially chapter 16, pp. 258-280). Biddle (1970: 152) stresses that the discovery of substantial levels of role conflict should be a matter of administrative concern. He cites as evidence both Kahn's (1964) study showing role conflict to be a major cause of low morale in the organization, and findings (from 'elsewhere') in his own study which demonstrate not only a relationship between role conflict and loss of morale, but also that role conflict appeared to be a major generator of low morale among all of the dependent variables used in his investigation of role conflicts amongst teachers in four countries. Commenting on this cross-national project, Dunkin (1972: 182) noted the negative relationship found between national experience of role conflict and satisfaction with teaching and argued that while satisfaction with teaching might not be related to teaching competence, it is likely to be related to resignation rate. Indirectly therefore, a high incidence of role conflict is of considerable concern. This echoes the conclusion drawn in an earlier study by Streets (1969) at a time when teacher attrition in Australia was such a problem that overseas teachers were being imported by state education authorities to fill the inordinate number of vacancies then available in schools. Though in recent

times the problem has been reversed with teachers being put on long waiting lists for jobs, it can scarcely be said to have been solved since the probability now emerges that discontented teachers are staying in the job because of a lack of viable economic alternatives. Whereas in the past the teacher who resigned might at least have been replaced by someone more committed, the possibility now is that, because of straitened national economic circumstances and a corresponding contraction of the employment market, dissatisfied teachers are staying in the classroom, with all of the possibly detrimental consequences this might hold for the overall wellbeing of their pupils.

## 2.11 AUSTRALIAN RESEARCH ON STUDENT-TEACHER ROLE EXPECTATIONS

The study by Streets (1969) and a later extension of this work (Streets, 1972) were the only Australian studies the investigator could locate which concerned primary student teacher perceptions of the teacher role. In the earlier study, Streets, using the ten-item role congruence section of the Adams et al. (1967) questionnaire designed for the above-mentioned cross-national teacher role study (Biddle, 1970), found that first and second (final) year primary student teachers at a Queensland teachers' college differed in the norms they held for the teacher role and differed in the norms they attributed to such reference groups as other teachers and the parents of pupils for the teacher role. These differences in both cases were interpreted as reflecting the greater idealism of the first year students (Streets, 1969: 174). Using the data on 2691 teachers throughout Australia from

the cross-national project, Streets also found that both student groups differed from the teacher sample in the norms held for the role of teacher, and also for the norms attributed to various reference groups.

Another finding of interest was that the two groups most closely agreed in the norms attributed to Head teachers and other teachers - the two groups with whom the trainees had had most opportunity to interact. Conversely, the greatest number of statistically significant differences were found for the norms attributed to the parents of pupils and school inspectors - the two groups with whom the students had had least opportunity for personal interaction. Streets interpreted these results as supporting the proposition that personal contact with significant others is an important means of acquiring more accurate role concepts (i.e. the concepts held by teachers).

Allowing for the fact that the study was published in a teachers' journal and was therefore possibly tailored to an audience relatively unconcerned with the technical details of the research, it would be unwise to accept Streets' findings without some comment on the study's limitations. For one thing, mean response scores and estimates of variability - that is, basic data - are not given, making it impossible to assess the prevailing climate of opinion in the student groups about the teacher role. For another, an inventory of merely ten items seems to be a flimsy basis upon which to invoke a role, especially in view of Gross's criticism that rather than treat 'role' holistically, a more fruitful approach

is through a family of concepts such as that of 'role sector' which permits, for example, the investigation of different degrees of consensus on different role segments (cf. Gross et al., 1958: 324).

Additionally, Streets (1969: 174) argues for greater idealism amongst first year students than amongst second years on the basis that the former was more approving than the latter of accepting non-professional duties and maintaining order in the classroom (for instance), and less approving of corporal punishment or of a teacher having an occasional drink in a hotel. If Streets had been able to show that for these and similar role expectations the first year students' views were less congruent with the prevalent climate of opinion in the teacher sample than those of the second year students, then his interpretation might have been sustained, but in the absence of some such reasonably argued criterion it remains a value judgement open to challenge.

By contrast, the evidence Streets offers to support the idea of a relationship between the degree of personal contact with significant others and the acquisition of more 'accurate' role concepts (see above) does at least provide an acceptable criterion against which findings in similar, subsequent studies might be assessed. So also does Street's contention that, though some degree of conflict between student teachers and teachers may be 'necessary to stimulate constructive change' (Streets, 1969: 177), the existence of many statistically significant differences between the two groups,

especially insofar as these are perceived to be so, signifies a potential for future conflict which needs to be taken into account by those concerned with the task of 'socializing' the student teacher.

In a later extension of this work, Streets (1972) investigated the relationships between perception of environmental climate, role concepts and conflict, and career commitment, comparing the primary student teachers with a sample of secondary graduating teachers at a Queensland university. He found identical patterns of role conflict for each group and it was this potential role conflict with significant others which appeared as the best single predictor of commitment to teaching, an expressed degree of high role conflict being related to low commitment. The study thus emphasised the importance of locating the source and nature of such potential conflicts amongst student teachers about to enter the profession. However, apart from Streets' own contribution there has been no other published Australian research which has done this.

Again, while recognizing the inevitability of some degree of conflict, Streets felt that the extent of the potential conflict found was 'unduly large' (Streets, 1972: 3) and suggested that training institutions had done little to prepare teacher graduates to cope with role conflict situations. In his view they needed to foster professional norms founded on theory and simultaneously to prepare graduates for 'the heightened role conflict they will soon experience when they come into closer contact with significant others'. As well, in-service courses were needed 'to inculcate



more professional values' and hence, by lessening the disparity between professional norms of graduate teachers and their significant others in the school system, 'engender a greater graduate commitment to teaching' (Streets, 1972b: 70,71). As Streets himself recognised however, these recommendations were based on the assumption that the students' perceptions of significant others were accurate - a dubious proposition to say the least when other similar role studies (e.g. the Kansas City Role Studies of Biddle et al., 1961; the work of Gross et al., 1958; Foskett, 1967a, 1967b, 1969 - and others) had shown inaccurate perception to be more the rule than the exception. In his suggestions for further research in the field, Streets (1972b: 75) stressed this need to determine the degree of accuracy of the norms attributed by student teachers to significant others since 'it can only be in the light of information of this kind that decisions can be made as to the means to be adopted in an attempt to reduce role conflict of graduates'.

## 2.12 RESEARCH ON THE ACCURACY OF ROLE PERCEPTIONS

Though to the writer's knowledge there have been no such published studies in Australia on the veridicality (accuracy)<sup>7</sup> of the role perceptions of student teachers or teachers, there have been in the United States and England. Such studies have invariably interpreted their findings as implying problems for all concerned on the assumption that, to some degree, stability and harmonious relationships in social settings are dependent upon the accuracy with which role expectations are perceived. This is not to say the social relations may not at times benefit from

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7. These terms will be discussed in the next chapter.

inaccuracies of role perception through, for instance, ignorance (Moore and Tumin, 1949), partial information (von Neumann and Morgenstern, 1947), deception (Goffman, 1959), and the like, but the broad equating of social harmony with accurate role perception has tended to underpin veridicality research.

Thus a study by Musgrove and Taylor (1969) in England into how parents and teachers perceive the teacher role, prompted as it was by Biddle et al.'s (1968)\* cross-national study which revealed considerable social distance - even hostility - between teachers and parents in England, found tensions between the two groups to be a consequence of misperceptions. Whereas teachers saw parents as being relatively indifferent to the moral and social training of pupils, parents in fact agreed with teachers' priorities in these and other respects. These unfortunate tension-producing misunderstandings, the authors concluded, 'might be considerably reduced if parents and teachers established more effective means of communication' (Musgrove and Taylor, 1965: 66).

Similarly, research in the United States such as that by Jenkins and Lippitt (1951), for example, Doyle (1956), and Foskett (1967a, 1967b, 1969), especially insofar as teacher/parent role relationships were concerned, found inaccurate perceptions to be the cause of problems. It was in the United States that the most detailed and extensive research has been carried out by Biddle, Rosencranz and Rankin (1961) as part of the Kansas City Teacher Role Studies. Again, patterns of misperception fraught with potentially serious consequences were found. The authors

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\* Published in 1970; see Bibliography.

reported the existence of a strong stereotype among respondents who saw 'the public' as holding more conservative norms for the teacher than did the respondents themselves. As an example of this, whereas parents, teachers, and school officials thought 'the public' wanted teachers to be more severe with pupils, not one of these groups rated itself as conservative in its own norms as it rated people in general. Further, all respondent groups erroneously attributed similar conservative norms to school officials. Thus a false consensus existed as the basis for action which violated teachers' own standards. In this way teachers and school officials, by feeling they had to act to represent a consensus which objectively did not exist, found themselves in situations charged with potential for tension. This is made clear in another of the reports to come out of this research:

The school official, then, is faced with the problem of 'representing' a public whose standards run counter to his own. This should result in a double standard of performance; conservative values for teacher behaviour supported and enforced in public - liberal standards held in private. Thus through lack of information about actual public opinion on teacher role, the school official is not only forced into upholding standards he does not share, but he adds to his burdens by appearing as an authoritarian 'fuddy-duddy' in the eyes of teachers, parents, and pupils alike.

(Biddle, Rosencranz, Tomich and Twyman, 1966: 309.)

As the authors make clear, parents and teachers too suffered from conservative, mistaken, attributed norms in that both groups were constrained from expressing opinions which they thought opposed those of the school officials or public opinion, while in addition, teachers were burdened with satisfying standards which

they did not believe in and which were not shared by school officials. Drawing upon earlier veridicality studies by Shanck (1932) and Wheeler (1961) which reported similar results, Biddle and his team (1966: 310) concluded that shared inaccuracies may generate the very conditions that would guarantee their perpetuation, thus suggesting that stable social forms may arise as a consequence of the perpetuation of partial or distorted communication systems.

Dunkin (1972) in his penetrating investigation into the nature and resolution of role conflicts amongst Australian male primary school teachers also emphasises the possibly troublesome consequences of misperceptions. He found that teachers tended to experience pressure from superordinates to perform at other than optimal levels of warmth and directiveness in the classroom. A likely consequence of this was thought to be that 'other-oriented' teachers (that is teachers who will tend to conform to 'socially-induced' forces rather than 'own' forces, where these conflict) were likely to be induced to conform to these adverse pressures. Therefore, if the teachers' perceptions were accurate it would mean that those with the greatest responsibility for ensuring that children were well taught (that is, the teachers' superordinates) were in reality the source of adverse influences on teaching. However, if teachers were inaccurate in that superordinates really did prescribe optimal levels of warmth and directiveness, then a serious communication gap existed which, unless it were closed, would function to produce the same effect of adverse classroom practices.

Foskett (1967b: 16) argues that where relevant others are seen by an individual as having the same normative views as his own, such reinforcement of viewpoint increases the chances of the individual acting in accord with those views, whereas if important others are seen to hold different views, the tendency is for the individual to modify his views in the direction of what are seen as those held by the significant others. The degree to which this is so will, of course, depend upon matters such as the intensity of the views held and the sanctions that can be brought to bear upon a matter but, insofar as the tendency exists to accommodate the views of significant others, accuracy of perception becomes crucial:

...if the perceptions that an individual has of the normative views of relevant others are accurate, any modification of his own views or his actual behaviour may lead to normative integration and more effective relationships. But if perceptions are incorrect, the individual may be led to modify his own views or behaviour on the basis of a fiction and hence decrease rather than increase normative integration and add to conflict. Indeed, misperceptions of the normative views of others may lead an individual to act in a way not consistent with his own views when, in fact, the others agree with the individual and hence would approve of behaviour based on his views. Similarly, an individual may wish to adopt new behaviour norms (innovate) but because he erroneously thinks that others would not approve, he hesitates to do so when in fact the actual views of others would support the innovation.

(Foskett, 1967b: 16)

Overall, the presumed effects of misperceptions on the satisfaction of participants in role relationships were well stated by Jenkins and Lippitt (1951) in their classic study of the interpersonal perceptions of teachers, students and parents in the United States:

The importance of accurate interpersonal perceptions lies in the fact that people are dependent upon each other for the fulfilment of psychological as well as physical needs. Because of their interdependence, individuals find it necessary to make some adjustments to each other. Their working relationship is established most satisfactorily when each is willing to recognize the needs of the other and both work together to satisfy their respective needs. If, however, either individual fails to make the necessary adjustments, or through inappropriate behaviour fails to meet adequately the needs of the other, maladjustment seems bound to result. The second person may retaliate by failing to meet adequately the needs of the first or, at the very least, he will have to search elsewhere to find satisfactions for needs which legitimately should be met by the first individual and the harmony between these two persons will be affected.

(Jenkins & Lippitt, 1951: 20-21.)

To sum up, from the standpoint of social psychological theory then, role misperceptions and interpersonal dissatisfactions are likely to be associated. Again, with respect to induction programmes for graduates entering teaching it is clearly important that the nature of any such misperceptions of the profession by students leaving the training college be known. As mentioned, however, the author could find no Australian study which attempted to assess the accuracy of student teachers' perceptions of their future role by comparing their perceptions of teachers' views with the actual views of teachers.

### 2.13 CHANGES IN ROLE PERCEPTION

Since socialization research in teacher education focuses, by definition, on the processes of growth in the student teacher, the question inevitably arises as to how students change in their perception of teaching. This too, however, has constituted something of an under-researched area in Australian teacher education.

There has of course been much research, particularly in the United States, into the changes wrought by training but this has typically been psychological rather than sociological in orientation, principally involving the investigation of attitudinal change (cf. Allen, 1963; Westwood, 1967a; 1967b; Cope, 1970). McNamara (1972: 42-45) has argued that a distinction must be made between such attitudinal research and role studies. Briefly, whereas the typical attitudinal study measures some specified hypothetical construct which provides a conceptual bridge between a persisting psychological state and a person's orientation to the social world (cf. Newcombe, 1964: 41), a role norm inventory such as that used in the investigation reported here measures more directly an individual's propensity for behaviour in a social setting.

Consequently, in making inferences about potential behaviour there is less 'inferential strain' in using a role norm inventory which asks directly how individuals think they will behave in a particular situation, than in measuring an attitude and assuming that one component of this is a propensity to behave in a certain way.

Nevertheless, the better attitudinal studies as McNamara (1972: 44) points out, have been characterised by admirable rigour in the construction and validation of research instruments, and their findings are at least suggestive for research such as this concerned more directly with making inferences about potential behaviour. In the United States by far the most widely used instrument to investigate attitude change has been the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory (Cook, Leeds and Callis, 1951), while

in the United Kingdom similar research has been undertaken using the Manchester Scales of Opinion about Education (Oliver and Butcher, 1962). It is not the intention to deal in any detail with the results of such research or, for example, to comment upon the various problems associated with such approaches.<sup>8</sup> However, it is worth observing that from these studies certain trends are discernible which may be relevant to a consideration of how student teachers change in respect of their perceptions of the teacher role. Of particular relevance are two tendencies that have been mentioned elsewhere in this review. The first is that student attitudes tend to become more progressive, child-centred and liberal through training. The second is that changes found in expressed attitudes tend to be reversed during the first year of training, with some evidence of a hardening in attitude prior to leaving college as if in anticipation of such a reversal. Specific illustrations of these tendencies from British research are to be found, for example, in the work of Steele (1958), Butcher (1965), Dickson (1965), Morrison and McIntyre (1967), Shipman (1967b), McLeish (1969), Hussell and Smithers (1974) and in other research such as the Finlayson and Cohen (1967) study previously mentioned. While the M.T.A.I. and other American research has been conflicting (see for example studies by Callis, 1950; Sandgren and Schmidt, 1956 and Brim, 1966 which report that student teachers feel more permissive and supportive towards children after practice teaching while those by Day, 1959; Brinkley, 1960; and Dutton, 1962 report the opposite of this) and while, as Wright and Tuska (1968: 253) maintain, such research has failed to clarify the effects of training on students, there is general agreement about the liberal-

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8. For example, the M.T.A.I. has been considered susceptible to 'faking'. See Morrison and McIntyre 1969: 68-69, Cope, 1969: 91.



ising effects of college and the reversal of progressive attitudes thereafter - a view characterised by Willower (1969 in McArthur, 1978: 89) as 'the neophyte becoming an old pro over time'. However, whereas a great deal might be known about attitude development - and even here the Australian research is relatively deficient - little is known about the apparently related matter of what concepts of the teacher role are held by those entering teacher training and those entering teaching, the degree to which such conceptions are congruent with those of the profession and the training college, and the direction of change in those conceptions over the training period and beyond. Clearly there is a need to ascertain whether the processes of change as reflected in students' role expectations follow the well established patterns of attitude change.

The aforementioned Australian study of Streets (1969) did suggest that students become less idealistic over training both in respect of their own role conceptions and those they attributed to teachers. However, the study was cross-sectional and, since no data are given on the comparability of the two student groups used and on the nature of the differences found in the various comparisons used, its findings regarding change need to be viewed cautiously. What is more, as discussed previously, Streets' use of the term 'idealistic' is open to question. When 'idealism' is defined, as it is in this present investigation, as the degree of congruence between a role incumbent's own norms (what he considers he should do in a given situation) and his own expectations (what he thinks he will, in fact, do) then no such decline was found

amongst the students of the study (Sinclair, 1975) which was the precursor of the investigation reported here. Such differences may not merely reflect differences in definition though, for variables so numerous as to defy exposition almost, certainly affect the outcome of these matters. One can only re-state that it is the accumulation of such small-scale research that can prove useful in confirming trends and in generating hypotheses worth testing on a larger scale and in a variety of contexts.

Finally, though far from exhaustively in an area in which the literature is increasingly appearing inexhaustible, it should be mentioned that the importance of potential role models such as lecturers and teachers in influencing teaching commitment and other such important factors in the socialization of student teachers has been stressed in Australian research other than in the studies such as those by Streets (1969, 1972) and Dunkin (1972) already discussed. Riddle (1972), for example, in a role socialization study of beginning teachers found that a major complaint in a sub-grouping who experienced no anticipatory socialization and a difficult adjustment to the teacher role, was that they could find no role model for teaching. Anticipatory socialization (Merton, 1957) concerns the acquisition by individuals of behaviours, ideas and attitudes typifying a professional group to which those individuals do not yet belong but into which they wish to move. It thus operates to ameliorate role discontinuity. Another sub-grouping of students in the Riddle study experienced anticipatory socialization and an easy role adjustment. It was found that concepts of the teacher role held by members of this group were strongly influenced by particular teachers whom they admired.

Predictably, commitment to teaching was high in this group. The study therefore emphasised the potentially potent influence on student teachers of appropriate role models. Those students who anticipated their future professional role by identifying with former admired teachers tended to adjust well to teaching and remain committed. A conclusion drawn by Riddle (1972: 233-4) was that professional socialization in teaching 'can best be achieved through contact and identification with individuals who exemplify professional ideals' and that this identification 'can be encouraged through personal contact with individuals who are responsible for professional training'.

In their important longitudinal study into professional socialization in Australia, Anderson and Western (1972) found that though compared with engineering, law and medical students, student teachers could not be regarded as being socialized into a professional culture, one small group of students in a four-year concurrent course did develop some of the professional attitudes of commitment characteristic of the student groups entering other professions. This was accounted for in large part by their more intimate association with teacher's college staff. In the rest of the student teacher body however there was evidence of role ambiguity. The images they held of the successful practitioner were less than clear-cut and there was, relative to students entering the other professions, little consensus about the nature of the service to be provided to the client and, indeed, who the client was.

In a study of the occupational commitment of student teachers in Papua and New Guinea, Kay (1971) investigated, inter alia., the relationships between students' conceptions of the teacher role as measured by a 21 item inventory, and level of teaching commitment. This latter was operationalised in terms of the degree to which students felt they were committed to teaching as a lifetime career. The sample was dichotomised with the 'higher' commitment group consisting of all subjects expressing lifetime commitment, together with males indicating they would probably remain in teaching and females who said they would like to return to teaching (Kay, 1971: 71). No statistically significant differences were found between this group and those expressing 'lower' commitment - a result Kay described as 'remarkable' in view of the fact that a substantial proportion of differences had been found when other methods of dividing the sample were used.

Thus, in response to Charters' (1963: 777) suggestion that students' conceptions of the professional role may be one factor related to occupational commitment - a suggestion which prompted this particular aspect of the Kay study - Kay was constrained to conclude that the evidence from his study did not support such a hypothesis. However, there remains the possibility that the unidimensional conceptualisation of commitment used in the Kay study may have been too crude a measure to separate the student group adequately, and that use of multiple criteria of commitment such as those suggested by McNamara (1972) or Ramsay (1977), for example, to distinguish between 'high' and 'low' commitment might have lessened the likelihood of respondents being erroneously allocated to one or other of the commitment levels. In concluding

his study Kay (1971: 72) himself observed: 'the evidence suggests that the phenomenon of occupational commitment is a complex one, and...we are still not able to identify and measure many of its underlying causes.' Moreover, given the relatively crude measurement capabilities of the instrument used by Kay it might have been more appropriate to distinguish between different commitment levels not by dichotomising the respondent group but by comparing the responses of the top and bottom quartiles or thirds only.

Given the other research previously discussed which impinges, at least, on possible relationships between the development of role concepts and matters such as commitment to and satisfaction with teaching (for example, Dunkin, 1972; Riddle, 1972; Streets, 1972; Anderson and Western, 1972) it would appear necessary then to re-examine Charters' (1963) view that role conceptions and commitment might be related by re-testing the proposition in such a way as to accommodate criticisms made above of the Kay study. Further, it appears important not simply to examine any relationships between commitment levels and the role norms students hold for themselves but, more urgently, to investigate any relationships between commitment and students' perception of teachers - the group they aspire to join. While, in the previously mentioned study by Riddle (1972) commitment to teaching was found to be high amongst students influenced by particular teachers, and while these students tended to adjust well to teaching and remain committed, the findings from the study need to be treated with some caution since the number of students in each category of the typology used by Riddle was small.

In their totality, the above studies underscore the importance of appropriate role models in teaching and suggest the need to investigate other matters too, such as the degree to which student teachers identify with what they perceive to be the views of lecturers and teachers and what 'influence' these significant others have on role performance during practice teaching when school and college most overtly collaborate. Again, however, a search of the literature shows that even allowing for the studies mentioned in this review, such areas can be regarded as distinctly under-researched in Australian teacher education. From a role socialization perspective this relative neglect is particularly evident.

#### 2.14 CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is reasonable to hope that student teachers enter their profession with a relatively clear-cut view of the behaviour expected of a teacher in the numerous, recurrent, specific situations he will face daily arising from role relationships with pupils, colleagues, parents and others in the wider community. This view pre-supposes that throughout training, the agencies responsible for the professional socialization of the student teacher - the colleges and schools - are largely in agreement, and are seen by students to be in agreement, about these crucial aspects of a role which is assuming increasing importance in modern, complex societies.

As has been seen however, the literature abounds with comments to the contrary. While the differences between training college and school are almost universally conceded and bemoaned, and while it is generally advanced that such differences reflect a gap between

'theory' and 'practice', there has been little research - particularly in Australia - which has revealed very much that is specific about the nature of the presumed gap as seen, and if seen, by the student teacher. Documentation of the undoubted problems of the beginning teacher, as thorough as it has been in recent years, has scarcely acknowledged the possibility that a contributory factor might be the nature of the role expectations student teachers develop over training and carry with them into the profession.

There is little basic data available about student teachers' ideal role concepts, how they perceive their future role, how these perceptions might have been shaped by the lecturers and teachers who have been major agents in their socialization, how much consensus, perceived and actual, there is about the teacher role amongst and between students, lecturers and teachers, and about other such questions. Clearly, if induction programmes are to be as helpful to the neophyte as they might, these matters should be explored for, as the weight of research and of informed opinion suggests, the training college and the school may need to present a more united front concerning the teacher role in order that one source of avoidable trouble for the teacher graduate be dealt with.

Certainly it can hardly be regarded as desirable or satisfactory by all involved in educating the fledging teacher if college graduates about to enter teaching perceive that the college they were trained in and the school they are about to enter hold divergent

and often conflicting views about appropriate teacher behaviour, for, to add to the seemingly inevitable traumas of the first year, the students will have to find a way of resolving such differences in formulating their conception of how they will actually behave in the job. To the extent that such a problem might contribute to any dissatisfaction and instability in the first year out, its elucidation may help shed light on vital (and costly) matters such as the attrition rate in teaching and levels of commitment to the profession.

## 2.15 THE NATURE OF THE INVESTIGATION UNDERTAKEN

Recapitulating, while the literature cannot be said to provide absolute imperatives for research in the area of student teacher role socialization, it does reveal research gaps and under-researched problems where exploratory investigation might fruitfully proceed in order to provide at least some of the basic data which, as has been frequently observed, are the sine qua non of further, more representative work (cf. Carpenter, 1954: 215ff; Wheeler, 1966: 108; Babbie, 1975: 50-51; Kerlinger, 1976: 390-91). The literature discussed above points to the discontinuity between training and practice, the potential importance of the views of lecturers and teachers for student teachers' developing role conceptions, the importance of a reasonable degree of consensus on role expectations for position incumbents and for the system of social relationships in which they participate, and the dangers of undue levels of both perceived and actual conflict, and of inaccurate role perceptions.



Despite this, apart from the author's original study and the work of Streets (1969, 1972) - both discussed previously - there is, to the investigator's knowledge, no other published Australian research which has attempted to ascertain the levels of role consensus and conflict amongst and between student teachers and the significant others of the training period. Equally, there has been no Australian research such as that proposed here which has explored the possible 'impress' on student teachers' developing role conceptions of the perceived views of lecturers and teachers, and which has begun to examine how student teachers change in their perception of their future role between entering and leaving College. As well, whilst the importance of investigating the accuracy of student teachers' role perceptions has been properly acknowledged, no published Australian study has actually done so. Finally, there is an obvious need to follow up such work by tracing students into the school system to explore possible associations between role expectations carried into teaching and matters such as subsequent adjustment in the profession.

In keeping with the essentially descriptive intent and the exploratory, non-experimental nature of the present study, the problem areas discussed in the foregoing review of a mere sampling of the voluminous literature associated with teacher training are presented, not as a set of formally derived and stated hypotheses, but as questions that even within the limited setting of one training college beg investigation. Very broadly these may be posed as follows:

- (i) To what degree can there be said to be a 'normative world' of the student teacher? That is, how much consensus is there about the role of primary teacher amongst student teachers near the start of their training and those about to enter the school system?
- (ii) What is this normative world? That is, what are the prevailing views (norms) of student teachers and their significant others about important teacher role relationships?
- (iii) What is the 'impress' on the student teacher's normative world of the socializing agencies of college and school through their respective staffs - college lecturers and practising teachers?
- (iv) How does the student teacher's normative world change between entering college and leaving it to join the teaching fraternity?

The methodology used in this, the major part of the study, makes possible the kinds of comparisons which enable these broad questions to be broken down into a number of more specific queries:

- In respect of teacher role relationships with (a) pupils
- (b) colleagues (c) parents and (d) the community;
- (1) What norms for the primary teacher role are held by
  - (i) student teachers near the beginning of training (2nd semester students);

- (ii) those near the completion of training (6th semester students);
  - (iii) their college lecturers; and
  - (iv) practising teachers in the college's co-operating schools?
- (2) What are the differences within and between these groups?
  - (3) What are the future expectations for the primary teacher role held by each student group? To what degree do these constitute a modification of their norms for (or ideal conceptions of) the role?
  - (4) What norms for the primary teacher role are attributed to lecturers and to teachers by each student group? How congruent with the students' norms are these attributed norms?
  - (5) How veridical (accurate) are the students' attributed norms?
  - (6) How much within- and between-group consensus on the primary teacher role is there for each student group's own and attributed norms and for the norms of their lecturers and practising teachers?
  - (7) What are the specific areas of high and low perceived role conflict and perceived consensus for each student group? Does perceived consensus and conflict differ for different role relationships?
  - (8) How do student teachers' norms (own and attributed) for the role of primary teacher change between the beginning and the end of the formal training period?

Answers to these questions will thus provide one body of data which, hopefully, may help shed light on:

- (a) the prevailing climate of opinion and the range and degree of agreement about the primary teacher role amongst student teachers and those significant others most deeply involved in the training of teachers;
- (b) the 'fate of idealism' (cf. Becker, 1958) in a teacher training college;
- (c) the pattern of identification of students with the norms they perceive to be held by significant others over the training period.

This information might, in turn, be construed as providing one index of the efficacy of the training institution in socializing the student teacher into the professional role. It should therefore be of some interest to all of those involved in teacher training and to those concerned with the induction of probationary teachers.

Additionally, the small-scale follow-up study with the final-year student group reported herein, conducted rather in the spirit of generating hypotheses than in finding solutions to problems still not well-defined in some cases, was undertaken primarily to determine if there was any association between lack of role congruence with significant others prior to entering teaching and subsequent adjustment to the job insofar as adjustment was reflected in expressed commitment to and satisfaction with teaching. It also attempted to assess the impress of lecturers and teachers and other possible role models on student teachers' preferred role styles in both actual and hypothetical contexts. Specifically the questions explored were:

- (1) (a) To what degree are the preferred role styles of student teachers on practice teaching influenced by those they perceive their college and school supervisors to prefer?
  - (b) What modifications to preferred role style are foreseen by student teachers when anticipating their future role behaviour as teachers?
  - (c) How much are preferred role styles influenced by lecturer and teacher models approved by student teachers?
- (2) (a) Are differences in adjustment to teaching associated with differences in commitment to teaching and identification with teachers and lecturers in respect of role norms and expectations held?
  - (b) What effects on student teacher's ideal role conceptions (norms) has two years experience in teaching?

Finally, replication of the author's original study was undertaken in another college in an initial attempt to estimate the degree to which the patterns of perception of the teacher role revealed by that study might manifest themselves in another, ostensibly quite different, teacher training setting. That is, the question asked concerned the possible generalisability of the findings. If similar patterns of perception were to occur in a different setting it might point to the advisability of a wider, more representative sampling of student teachers in an effort to discover whether or not such findings are endemic in teacher training.