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## School Effects on Teacher Socialization

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### ABSTRACT

Induction experiences of beginning teachers in schools that were classified as more effective or less effective on the basis of student achievement are compared. Classroom observations, interviews, and a "Beginning Teacher Questionnaire" were used to obtain information from teachers in the two groups. Three areas of socialization were examined: assistance, monitoring, and team-building. Results indicate that historically more effective schools were more supportive of their beginning teachers. In addition, outcome data regarding teacher performance provides evidence of more effective teaching among teachers in more supportive schools, even though initial teacher effectiveness, levels of experience, and educational attainment were not different for the two groups.

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### SCHOOL EFFECTS ON TEACHER SOCIALIZATION

Socialization is the process by which individuals learn the culture and values of a new job setting, adjust to the environment, and develop work skills. Outcomes of successful socialization include satisfaction, mutual influence, internal work motivation, and job involvement (Feldman, 1976). For many teachers, however, these outcomes are never realized. Characteristics of schools that hamper the socialization experience have been well documented (e.g., Veenman, 1984; Elias, Fisher, & Simon, 1980); these include isolation, insecurity, norms of autonomy,

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preoccupation with student discipline, heavy demands on time, and fear of reprisal if assistance is sought.

Recent attention to school-based management in the national education reforms has been stimulated, in part, by research indicating that the school is a meaningful unit for analyzing educational effects (Mortimore, Sammons, Lewis, & Ecob, 1988) and changes (Fullan, 1982). Teddlie, Kirby, and Stringfield (1989) found that teachers' classroom instruction and management behaviors differed significantly among schools with stable, varying levels of student achievement (controlling for socioeconomic status). With little variability, teachers in higher achieving schools demonstrated consistently superior classroom performance.

The question arose as to how more effective schools maintain their high levels of performance even as new professionals enter their classrooms? Are there differences in the ways in which beginning teachers are acculturated to the school ethos in more and less effective schools? Some schools and school districts are more aggressive than others in providing induction services to their beginning teachers; yet, even in district attempts to formalize and standardize these services, large school-to-school variations have been noted (Ward & Tikunoff, 1987).

School effects on teacher socialization have received scant attention in research and evaluation on teacher induction. A useful means for determining school effects is to examine the issue of teacher induction within a school effectiveness framework. The purpose of this study was to compare induction experiences of beginning teachers in historically more and less effective schools in Louisiana. Because nearly all induction research examines perceptual outcomes such as satisfaction, what is known about effects on teacher development is largely speculative. Therefore, the relationship between induction experiences and teaching effectiveness is a second component of this investigation.

## TEACHER INDUCTION STRATEGIES

Lists of recommendations for a more positive beginning teacher experience are widely available and generally consistent (e.g., Rosenholz, 1989; Schlechty, 1985; Stone, 1987). Specific strategies of successful induction programs are designed to guide teachers through the accommodation and role management stages of socialization. Generally, these strategies may be grouped into three categories: assistance, monitoring, and team-building.

### **Assistance**

Assistance strategies provide the technical support that enable the teacher to meet the expectations of the new setting. The most well-publicized form of assistance is the pairing of the novice teacher with a more experienced colleague. The senior teacher is referred to as the mentor, coach, or helping teacher; a partnership without status differences (e.g., two novices assisting each other) is sometimes called a buddy system. Support by a mentor teacher is a component of

many district-initiated induction programs. Ward and Tikunoff (1989) described two induction programs initiated by California State University and the California Department of Education that relied on support from mentor teachers as well as university faculty. Some Wisconsin educators also are receiving internal support from mentor teachers and external support from university faculty members (Varah, Theune, & Parker, 1986). Mentorship programs in Virginia provide inductees direct assistance with instructional processes or products (Wildman, Magliaro, McLaughlin, & Niles, 1990). Another California program uses coaches to provide confidential assistance to beginning teachers (Moffett, St. John, & Isken, 1987).

The role of the principal in assisting beginning teachers is emphasized in a number of induction programs (e.g., Armstrong, 1983; Mickler, 1984; Wildman et al., 1990). Wildman et al. found that in the most successful programs they studied, both the principal and at least one teacher functioned as advocates for the beginner. The particular person providing direct assistance to the novice or the term used to designate that person may be of little consequence when compared to the kinds of assistance provided, but the support of the administration is vital to the success of any program.

There is great variation in the kinds of services provided by principals or mentors. A common feature of district-wide programs is the orientation workshop. Here, beginners are acquainted with the goals and operations of the school (Varah, Theune, & Parker, 1986), and materials related to employment are provided (Hulig-Austin, 1990). Stone (1987) cites the importance of goal clarification in establishing the rules of the relationship between teacher and school. Support related to operations is sometimes on-going throughout the first year, while in other cases, it consists of a one-shot meeting (Armstrong, 1983; Mickler, 1984).

Other assistance strategies are related to instruction or classroom management. Because the management of student behavior is among the most difficult of the new teacher's responsibilities, many induction programs feature training and support in classroom management (Rosenholz, 1989; Stone, 1987). The Kansas program begins its classroom management training with a session to assist teachers in opening the school year (Mickler, 1984). The Lennox, California program trains novices in the use of Canter's assertive discipline method (Moffett, St. John, & Isken, 1987). In addition to help with managing student behavior, new teachers often require assistance in managing paperwork (Rog, Donaldson, Quaglia, & Paige 1990) and evaluating student progress (Mickler, 1984; Varah, Theune, & Parker, 1986).

Assistance in the area of instruction also takes many forms. Some administrators deliberately assign novices to easier schools or easier classes (Rosenholz, 1989). In his recommendations for how to introduce new teachers into a school system, Armstrong (1983) stressed the importance of assigning beginners to classes "where there is a legitimate chance for them to succeed" (p. 11). Administrators should place beginners in the subject areas they have been prepared to teach and with students whose behavior is less difficult to manage.

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Opportunities are sometimes provided for beginners to observe demonstration of effective teaching practices by more experienced teachers (Hulig-Austin, 1990; Moffett, St. John, & Isken, 1987; Varah, Theune, & Parker, 1986). While some programs provide beginners with release time for orientation and training workshops (Moffett, St. John, & Isken, 1987), few allow time for observation. Relatively high retention rates were reported for some California programs that allowed beginners release time of approximately 20% or one class period (Ward & Tikunoff, 1989).

Time is also required for consultation with mentors or peers and for reflection (Wildman et al., 1990). Fox and Singletary (1986) advocate an induction program that provides beginners with a non-evaluative atmosphere for interacting with peers having similar problems, and facilitates novices' self-evaluation and reflection.

In-service or individualized assistance in classroom instruction is a component of many induction programs. Novices are trained in specific processes such as Madeline Hunter's clinical teaching model (Moffett, St. John, & Isken, 1987), Jane Stallings' 'Effective Use of Time' (Schaffer, Stringfield, & Wolfe, 1990), or development of questioning skills (Mickler, 1984). Due to the lack of well-developed curriculum guides in some school districts, beginners often also need help with planning instruction (Rog et al., 1990). Other forms of direct assistance to improve instruction include newsletters with tips for beginners (Hulig-Austin, 1990), provision of intact instructional products (Rog et al., 1990; Wildman et al., 1990) or funds for securing supplemental materials (Ward & Tikunoff, 1989).

### **Monitoring**

Monitoring strategies are utilized to assess the beginner's proficiency in the classroom for the purpose of providing specific corrective feedback. Observation with follow-up conferencing was a common component of induction programs reviewed by Hulig-Austin (1990). Fox and Singletary (1986) stressed the need for providing beginners with non-evaluative assistance, but Hulig-Austin noted that few programs provide beginners with such access. Most researchers agree that monitoring and confidential coaching should be frequent and should be provided separate from evaluation.

### **Team-Building**

Finally, team-building strategies are utilized to help beginners "fit into" the school culture. Opportunities to collaborate with peers help novices overcome the feelings of isolation and insecurity so prevalent in the early teaching years. Interaction with peers who have similar problems can assist the beginner with self-evaluation (Hulig-Austin, 1990; Fox & Singletary, 1986). Encouragement from administrators or peers and acknowledgment of their efforts also are used to improve the self-esteem and self-confidence of novices (Moffett, St. John, & Isken, 1987; Stone, 1987). Further, the school ethos should encourage beginners to seek advice, and value their judgment by encouraging new solutions and calculated risk-taking (Rosenholz, 1989).

Involvement in decision-making allows novices to take ownership of school goals and to see their role in accomplishing objectives. Armstrong (1983) urges administrators to help beginners see immediately how their views can be incorporated into the decision making process.

Although most recent research in the area of teacher socialization has focused on the design and implementation of a barrage of formalized programs, many of the same assistance, monitoring, and team-building strategies discussed are used on an informal basis by astute administrators attempting to train and retain qualified teachers. But are the strategies advocated by induction program designers and researchers effective in socializing teachers into the school system; do novices who receive these forms of assistance become better teachers and are they likely to remain in the teaching profession?

#### TEACHER SOCIALIZATION: DESIRABLE AND ASSESSABLE OUTCOMES

Hulig-Austin (1986) listed a number of expected outcomes of successful teacher induction strategies. Improved teacher performance topped the list, yet very few studies have investigated the impact of formal and informal induction strategies on actual teacher performance. Outcome measures such as satisfaction (Varah, Theune, & Parker, 1986), changes in stages of concern (Olson & Heyse, 1990), and retention (Corcoran & Andrew, 1988; Varah, Theune, & Parker, 1986) are more frequently investigated. Evaluations by principals (Blackburn, 1977; Varah, Theune, & Parker, 1986) or mentors (Ward & Tikunoff, 1989) have indicated that assistance strategies do enhance classroom performance, but these have been based upon after-the-fact perceptions rather than systematic observations.

In one study which did investigate classroom behavior of beginning teachers, Schaffer, Stringfield, and Wolfe (1990) found that beginners trained in the Stallings 'Effective Use of Time Program' (1980) showed significant gains over a one-year period in the amount of time devoted to instruction. Nine beginning teachers of above average achievement and motivation comprised the final sample. Despite these limitations, the findings constitute a critical first step in assessing the effect of induction services on the key outcome of teacher performance. As noted by the researchers:

"Teacher induction programs are being implemented from New England to California. Yet rigorous gathering of classroom data in conjunction with such programs is rare. Particularly rare are studies using instruments which measure variables previously shown to be related to teacher effects." (p. 6)

Teacher performance is repeatedly excluded from evaluations of induction services for a number of reasons. Not only is there lack of agreement over what constitutes effective classroom practice, but it is also difficult to establish causal relationships between induction experiences and teacher performance. Further, observational research is not used on a larger scale due to the time and expense it entails.

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## THE LOUISIANA SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS STUDY

The present investigation was conducted as part of a larger study of effective schooling. The Louisiana School Effectiveness Study (LSES) is a longitudinal study of schools that have demonstrated stable student academic achievement, controlling for SES. In Phase III of the Louisiana School Effectiveness Study (LSES-III), an outlier approach was utilized to classify public elementary schools in the state as more effective or less effective. A mathematical model predicting scores on tests administered statewide from the socioeconomic status of students' families was used to identify consistently higher and lower performing schools. Schools that scored significantly below expectations for two consecutive years were classified as less effective. Schools scoring significantly above expectation for two consecutive years were classified as more effective (Stringfield, Teddlie, & Suarez, 1985; Teddlie et al., 1989).

Sixteen schools were chosen for study in LSES-III. Any district from which a positive outlier (more effective school) was chosen also provided a negative outlier (less effective school). This criterion was established to eliminate the possibility that district-specific variables would account for school differences. Data collected in the 16 schools included high-inference ratings of teacher performance based on classroom observations as well as low-inference measures of time-on-task.

Teachers in more effective schools in LSES-III demonstrated significantly more effective teaching behaviors than teachers in less effective schools. Further, very little variability was recorded in teacher performance in effective schools in LSES-III (Teddlie, Kirby, & Stringfield 1989), suggesting that schools indeed affect teacher behavior. To further investigate this notion of school effects, a beginning teacher study was initiated in LSES-IV, a five-year follow-up of the 16 LSES-III schools. It was hypothesized that 1) beginning teachers would report significantly higher levels of assistance in the historically more effective schools than in the less effective schools, 2) principals would report higher levels of assistance to beginning teachers in the more effective schools, and 3) beginning teachers in the more effective group would demonstrate more effective teaching behaviors than beginners in the less effective group.

## LSES IV: THE BEGINNING TEACHER STUDY

### Subjects

Beginning teachers were defined as teachers with less than three years total teaching experience. Each school in the LSES-IV had at least one beginning teacher, but no school had more than four. There were 43 beginning teachers (K-5) in the 16 schools. Thirty-eight (88%) participated in the study. Of these, 20 were from the historically less effective school group and 18 from the more effective group; thus, there were no apparent differences in teacher turnover in

the two school groups. Teachers in the two groups also were similar with regard to experience, certification, degrees earned, and universities attended.

### **Instrumentation**

#### *The Beginning Teacher Questionnaire*

The Beginning Teacher Questionnaire (BTQ) was developed to collect information about teachers' education, work history, and teaching experiences at the current school. The BTQ consists of 14 items related to three areas of socialization: assistance, monitoring, and team-building. These areas and their respective items were selected on the basis of a review of the recent (1980 to the present) professional literature on teacher induction strategies.

Items representing each sub-scale include:

- I have one or more people at this school who are willing and able to help when I have student discipline problems. (Assistance sub-scale)
- Feedback from my principal regarding my performance is constructive and helpful. (Monitoring sub-scale)
- I have input in setting school goals. (Team-building sub-scale)

Teachers indicate their agreement with items by choosing a response from a Likert-like scale on which one indicates strong disagreement and six indicates strong agreement. Items indicating poor induction practices (e.g., "I have been assigned to teach some of the most difficult classes in this school") are recoded so that all item scores indicate positive practices. Items within sub-scales are summed to achieve a sub-scale score. The "total" score is the sum of all item scores. Alpha reliability coefficients in the present study were high, ranging from .80 to .91 (total scale).

#### *Classroom Snapshot*

A modified version of the Classroom Snapshot, a component of the Stallings Observation System (Stallings & Kaskowitz, 1974; Stallings, 1980) was used to collect time-on-task data at eight discrete moments over a one-hour time period. The Classroom Snapshot provides a low-inference means for recording classroom activity, adult involvement, and student involvement. Classroom interaction patterns have been associated with student achievement test scores (Brophy & Evertson, 1974; Fisher et al., 1980). Stallings found that interactive teaching time (which in the Classroom Snapshot includes reading aloud, making assignments, instruction/explanation, discussion, review, and practice drill) is a powerful and alterable predictor of student achievement.

#### *Virgilio Teacher Behavior Inventory*

The Virgilio Teacher Behavior Inventory (VTBI) Teddlie, Virgilio, & Oescher, 1990) was used to gather data on specific teaching behaviors related to student achievement. Sub-scales of the VTBI measure three dimensions of effective teaching: classroom management, instruction, and climate. These classroom

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processes have been related to student achievement (Virgilio, 1987). Observers rate specific correlates of effective teaching on a scale from one, indicating no evidence, to five, indicating strong evidence. Item scores are averaged to obtain sub-scale scores.

### **Procedure**

Beginning teachers completed the BTQ in the Fall of 1989. In addition, each beginning teacher was observed by a member of the research team. Teachers were observed two to five times (45 minutes to one hour each time) over a three-day period. The Stallings Classroom Snapshot was used to systematically record time-on-task data and the VTBI was used to record information regarding classroom management, instruction, and climate. In addition to using these structured instruments, researchers took extensive notes regarding the content and delivery of the day's lesson. Twenty-four of these same beginning teachers again were observed in the Spring of 1990. Illness, maternity leave, and time constraints prevented the researchers from observing some teachers from the original group.

Principals from all 16 LSES-IV schools were interviewed to ascertain their perceptions of the kinds of assistance provided for beginners. Specifically, they were asked to describe 1) their hiring practices, 2) the kinds of support provided for beginners, and 3) the criteria used to assign beginners to particular classes.

## **RESULTS**

### **School Effects: Help for Beginning Teachers**

#### *Teacher Reports*

Teachers rated their schools as generally supportive. Means for all items of the Beginning Teacher Questionnaire were above the mid-point on the six-point Likert scale of agreement. However, there was considerable variability among teachers. Of interest in the present study was whether teachers in more effective schools received more early-career assistance than their counterparts in less effective schools.

Rival hypotheses, such as differences in turnover rates, the experience level of teachers, or the education of teachers in the two school groups, that might account for differences in levels of support, have been discounted. Neither were differences attributable to the employing school district. By design, districts participating in LSES-IV contributed one positive outlier school and one negative outlier. District effects, if any, would be evident in both schools. A one-way analysis of variance revealed no effect of district on total score of the BTQ [ $F(6,27) = 1.39, p < .25$ ].

A *t*-test was performed to test the hypothesis that beginning teachers in more effective schools would perceive their level of support as measured by the total score on the Beginning Teacher Questionnaire as higher than their peers in less effective schools. Results supported the hypothesis ( $t_{\text{one-tail}} = 1.89, p < .05$ ).



Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Items of the Beginning Teacher Questionnaire.

	More Effective Schools		Less effective Schools	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
BTQ sub-scale				
Assistance	34.6	6.0	30.5	6.5
Monitoring	20.2	2.8	18.1	4.4
Team-building	15.3	2.1	14.6	3.4
Total score	70.6	9.9	63.6	12.0

Note: Individual items were rated 1 to 6 with 6 indicating strongest agreement. Item scores within sub-scales were summed to obtain sub-scale scores. All item scores were summed to obtain the Total score. Highest possible scores are 42 for Assistance, 24 for Monitoring, 18 for Team-building, and 84 for the total BTQ.

Furthermore, teachers in effective schools rated their schools higher on every item of the Beginning Teacher Questionnaire except one ("Teachers in this school work together as a team") which received equal ratings for the two groups.

*T*-tests were performed for sub-scales of the Beginning Teacher Questionnaire. The Monitoring and Assistance sub-scales revealed significant differences by school type ( $t = 1.95, p < .05$ ;  $t = 1.81, p < .05$ , respectively) with the effective schools yielding higher ratings. There were no significant differences in scores for the Team-building sub-scale although means were in the predicted direction (see Table 1).

An ancillary finding of interest for school effectiveness research was the lower variability in the effective schools. For the total score, every sub-scale score, and every item score, the standard deviation was smaller in the more effective school. As reported earlier, Teddlie, Kirby, and Stringfield (1989) found similar results in measures of classroom performance and time-on-task in effective versus ineffective schools in LSES-III. They noted that the lack of variability suggested a "symbiotic relationship between good teachers and good schools" (p. 231). This relationship appears to extend to new teachers as well; with a high degree of consistency, new teachers in effective schools perceive their schools as more supportive in the early years.

### *Principal Reports*

Principals in the two school effectiveness groups revealed few differences in their hiring practices. Nearly all reported that their district offices screened applicants before sending them to schools for principal interviews. Four principals (two in each school effectiveness group) said that they "networked" or solicited nominees from other professionals. Only three principals – all from the more

effective school group – were more aggressive in recruiting new teachers. One assisted with and recruited at the district’s “Job Fair.” Another spent “all summer going over applications and interviewing.” He did not want to rely on district recommendations that would come after July 1st; after that time, he claimed “all that was left was the surplus.” The third principal in this group actively recruited retired teachers.

Beginning teachers in 12 of the 16 schools were hired to fill vacancies and were placed in those positions. Four principals – two from each effectiveness group – stated that they tried to place new teachers “where they would do best” but insisted that the reshuffling of assignments had to be acceptable to anyone moved. Only one principal claimed to place new teachers with “the best students.”

Principals candidly reported that they did very little to ease the transition for beginning teachers. Four districts provided orientation sessions for beginners, but two principals from the less effective schools in these districts did not mention this service for beginners when asked about induction training and support. Three districts required a buddy or mentor system.

Principal or school-initiated services for beginners were few. Introduction to school operations and goals was provided in seven schools, four from the more effective school group, and 3 from the less effective group. Direct assistance with instruction and student evaluation was provided in four schools, all from the more effective group. In two of these cases, the principal provided most assistance. Only in one of the less effective schools did the principal mention the need to provide instructional support, but he admitted that this was “something we haven’t done yet.”

### **School Effects on Teacher Performance**

Teacher performance results are reported only for the 24 teachers for whom Fall and Spring observation data were available. Changes in beginning teachers’ classroom behavior in the two school effectiveness groups were examined. Also analyzed was whether levels of support provided to beginners affected their performance over time.

#### *Time-on-task*

Fall observations revealed that novice teachers in the less effective school group (n=12) outperformed their counterparts in the more effective schools (n=12) on Classroom Snapshot measures of both interactive teaching time and total time-on-task. Time-on-task was in the predicted direction by the Spring of the academic year though differences were not statistically significant. Teachers in the more effective school group had surpassed the Fall figures for themselves and for the less effective school group. In the more effective schools, interactive teaching increased by 7.5 percent and total time-on-task increased by about 10 percent; decreases on both measures were recorded in the less effective schools (see Table 2).

Table 2. Classroom Snapshot Means by School Effectiveness Group, Fall and Spring.

	More Effective Schools		Less Effective Schools	
	Fall	Spring	Fall	Spring
Percent Interactive Teaching	36.24	43.69	39.49	36.19
Percent Time-on-task	49.23	58.92	53.10	52.00

To test the hypothesis that time-on-task for beginning teachers would improve significantly in schools that provided more support, a repeated measures MANOVA was performed for interactive teaching time and total time-on-task, Fall to Spring, by level of support. A median split on the total score of the Beginning Teacher Questionnaire was used to classify schools as more or less supportive. The results were not statistically significant. Again, however, Spring means were in the predicted direction (see Table 3). Although teachers in schools with higher levels of support demonstrated lower levels of interactive teaching and approximately equal levels of time-on-task in the Fall as teachers in the low-support group, their total time-on-task and interactive teaching time was higher by the Spring observation period. Teachers in the low-support group actually decreased in percent interactive teaching time, while teachers in the high-support group increased in both interactive teaching and total time-on-task.

#### *Classroom Management, Instruction, and Climate*

Beginning teachers in historically more effective schools scored lower on the management and instruction sub-scales of the VTBI and higher on the climate

Table 3. Classroom Snapshot Means by Level of Support, Fall and Spring.

	High Support Group		Low Support Group	
	Fall	Spring	Fall	Spring
Percent Interactive Teaching	35.33	41.53	40.40	38.35
Percent Time-on-task	51.34	58.42	50.99	52.45

Table 4. VTBI Means by School Effectiveness Group, Fall and Spring.

	More Effective Schools		Less effective Schools	
	Fall	Spring	Fall	Spring
VTBI sub-scale				
Classroom Management	3.37	3.39	3.43	3.28
Instruction	3.40	3.45	3.43	3.07
Climate	3.67	3.57	3.43	3.03

Note: Possible sub-scale scores range from a low of 1.0 to a high of 5.0.

sub-scale than teachers in the less effective school group during the Fall observations. By Spring, they scored higher on all sub-scales. Teachers in the less effective group showed declines in all three areas, while teachers in the more effective group showed little change (see Table 4).

Levels of support did not have statistically significant impact on changes in classroom performance on the VTBI from Fall to Spring. Teachers with higher levels of support during the academic year did score higher in instruction and climate in the Spring than teachers with lower levels of support, but their Spring performance in all areas had declined slightly from Fall (see Table 5).

Table 5. VTBI Means by Level of Support, Fall and Spring.

	High Support Group		Low Support Group	
	Fall	Spring	Fall	Spring
VTBI sub-scale				
Classroom Management	3.54	3.23	3.25	3.45
Instruction	3.45	3.34	3.37	3.20
Climate	3.57	3.46	3.53	3.13

Note: Possible sub-scale scores range from a low of 1.0 to a high of 5.0.

Table 6. Relationship Between Level of Support and Teacher Effectiveness (Spring Observation) for First Year Teachers.

	Interactive Teaching	T.O.T.	Mgmt.	Instr.	Climate
BTQ Total	.51	.48	.35	.22	.51
Interactive teaching		.83	.61	.68	.73
Time-on-task			.65	.57	.55
Management				.45	.32
Instruction					.86

### *Impact on First-Year Teachers*

Isolating specific school factors related to teacher development is confounded by teachers' prior experiences and aptitude. In order to add to our understanding of school effects, data for 14 teachers in their first year at the current school were examined separately. Correlational analysis revealed moderate positive relationships between level of support received during the first year and teacher effectiveness as measured by the Classroom Snapshot and the VTBI. Correlations ranged from .22 to .51 for first year teachers (see Table 6). By contrast, correlations for the total sample of teachers with less than three years experience in the current school were negligible, ranging from -.07 to .12.

## DISCUSSION

According to Feldman (1976), socialization is complete when individuals have learned the culture and values of a new setting, adjusted to the environment, and developed appropriate and effective work skills. Beginning teachers usually enter the workforce equipped with skills acquired in laboratory or practice settings. They adapt these skills to meet the demands of the first "real" classes they encounter. Unfortunately, the transition is often marked by abrupt abandonment. Practice settings are supervised and safe; first jobs are all too often lonely tests of survival.

When the meaning of schooling among the participants is shared and articulated, novices can be reasonably expected to acquire similar values. Thus, when academic learning time is inviolable and teaching is an interactive, humanistic process, it would seem that new teachers entering the school would be more likely to develop teaching skills that support these values. When autonomy is sacrosanct, and monitoring and supervision are considered intrusive acts, incumbents are less likely to seek advice and test new solutions.

The results of this investigation of school effects on teacher socialization demonstrate that the values and culture of academically superior schools are transmitted to incumbents through conscious efforts to support their development.

Less assistance is provided in schools that do not meet expectations for student achievement.

### **Monitoring**

Rosenholz (1989) called for induction experiences with clear expectations and regular supervision. Ongoing supervision enables inductees to assess their own performance which helps relieve the fear and self-doubts common to new employees. Regular feedback also enables the novice to make incremental corrections in teaching behaviors before inappropriate behaviors become automatic.

Among the differences we found in historically more and less effective schools were levels of monitoring and feedback for new teachers. According to the novice teachers, principals in more effective schools visited their classes more frequently and provided more constructive feedback.

### **Assistance**

None of the schools in our study provided formalized induction programs for new teachers although some did hold orientation workshops at the beginning of the school year. However, technical assistance with discipline and instruction were more common in the more effective schools. Beginning teachers in these schools reported that one or more individuals were available and willing to help with professional matters. Some principals from the more effective schools reported that they personally provided direct assistance to novices on instructional issues. Beginning teachers in these schools confirmed that they received more support from both colleagues and administrators.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

Schools, therefore, do appear to play a major role in teacher socialization. The induction experiences and opportunities for growth of new teachers with similar training and experience, employed even within the same district, are largely dependent upon the school to which teachers are assigned. Schools that exceed expectations for student achievement have teachers who uniformly demonstrate superior teaching skills (Teddle, Kirby, & Stringfield 1989), and these schools utilize strategies and resources to assure that novices have a reasonable chance to also become effective teachers.

Our findings with regard to the relationship between teacher effectiveness and induction experiences are less conclusive. Although no significant differences were found in beginning teacher effectiveness in schools providing different levels of support, novices in high-support schools outperformed their peers in low-support schools on four of five dependent measures (interactive teaching time, time-on-task, instruction, and classroom climate) by the end of the school year. For the 14 teachers who were new to their schools (i.e., in their first year), level of support showed a moderate positive association with all teacher effec-

tiveness variables. While our knowledge of the impact of induction strategies on teacher development remains limited, the results of this study do provide evidence to warrant further inquiry.

Several factors confound the ability to determine relationships between induction strategies and teacher effectiveness. Abilities of beginning teachers, measurement error of research instruments, and difficulty in quantifying level of support all contribute to observed outcomes. This should not be used to justify exclusion of performance outcomes, however. Based on our experience with this research, we would recommend several precautions in conducting induction research.

School effects can most easily be detected for first-year teachers. Our decision to include teachers with less than three years experience was based upon available numbers of new teachers. Results for first-year teachers indicated that induction support was positively correlated with teacher effectiveness. This relationship did not hold for the entire beginning teacher sample, perhaps because school effects are most pronounced during the earliest teaching experiences.

Multiple and reliable measures of teacher effectiveness should be utilized and observations should extend over a minimum of one year. We chose to use both the low-inference Classroom Snapshot and high-inference VTBI. The VTBI is an easily scored device, but it is a relatively new instrument and more research is needed to ensure its reliability.

Finally, in our research, teacher perceptions of their support was used as the independent measure. No formal induction programs were in place in any of the sixteen schools; absent specific services, it is not surprising that impact on teacher performance was minimal. More studies like that of Schaffer, Stringfield, and Wolfe (1990) are needed to investigate effects of systematic induction strategies or formal programs on teacher development.

This study has been an attempt to move teacher induction research beyond the bounds of conveniently measured outcomes. While teacher satisfaction and higher retention are important effects of supportive induction, school improvement efforts rely upon confirmed linkages to effective classroom practices. Perhaps humbled by our "statistically insignificant" results with regard to support and teacher performance, we are encouraged by the significant relationship found between school effectiveness and level of support, and by incremental improvements in teacher performance in more supportive schools. Efforts must continue to enhance our understanding of school effects on teacher socialization.

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