

LIFE HISTORIES OF THREE EXEMPLARY AMERICAN
PHYSICAL EDUCATORS

by

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A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the following article-style dissertation was to present the life histories of three exemplary physical educators, to give them voice, explore ways in which they experienced marginalization, and describe how they persevered in spite of difficulties they experienced in their careers. The participants included (a) Robin, a female elementary school teacher who taught for 25 years, (b) “Karen,” an assistant professor of kinesiology with a disability, and (c) Dr. Archie Wade, an African American professor emeritus of physical education who taught for 38 years. The life history method links the three studies together. All participants were interviewed three times for approximately 1 to 3 1/2 hours. The interviews were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed qualitatively. Robin’s data were analyzed deductively according to categories found in occupational socialization literature. Dr. Wade’s study included theories of self-efficacy and stereotype threat. The studies found that all educators experienced marginalization in some form. Robin experienced marginalization based upon gender and subject status. Her life history showed how her initial coaching orientation shifted to a strong teaching orientation. Aspects of occupational socialization supported, for the most part, this shift. Karen’s life history demonstrated how she is continually marginalized by inaccessibility to buildings, but how she has worked to open the doors of academia to athletes with disabilities through the creation of wheelchair sports program. Karen experienced marginalization based upon subject status, gender, and ableness, but often she was successful in working to overcome the barriers. Throughout his life before and during the Civil Rights Movement in the American Southeast, Dr. Wade faced racial discrimination. This struggle is chronicled in his life history that included how

he attended segregated schools, became a professional baseball player, and used lessons learned through sport to persevere through a 38-year career in academia. Dr. Wade was partly influenced by stereotype threat, and the theory of self-efficacy was used to explain how Dr. Wade could persevere despite difficult circumstances. Besides the method, the life histories share little in common other than the central role of sport in the participants' lives.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my family: to my daughter, Kaija Lazda, who as a nine year-old played in Foster Auditorium while I worked in my graduate assistant office, and who now is a beautiful young woman, and to my wife, Rasma Lazda-Cazers, who stood by me and gave me support during long years of study.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This article-style dissertation focuses on the life histories of three exemplary American physical educators. The purpose of the studies was to investigate and present the life histories of the three educators and to investigate whether and how they experienced marginalization in their careers, and how they persevered in spite of difficulties. All participants were interviewed three times for approximately 1 to 3 1/2 hours. The interviews were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed qualitatively. A focus of the studies was to give voice to the educators, to hear their stories and to bring to light their subjective realities, and to learn how they persevered so that other educators can learn from them. As Rovegno (2003) stated, “One of the goals of qualitative research is to share teachers’ stories in the hope of opening possibilities of change for other teachers” (p. 305).

The three studies are primarily related in two ways: (a) in terms of their method, the life history, and (b) their focus on marginalization and perseverance. Sociologists at the University of Chicago developed the life history as a methodological approach in the early 20th century (Goodson, 1980), and it involves gathering information about an individual using a variety of possible techniques such as interviews and ethnographic fieldwork, all with the goal of constructing the life history. Several studies using life history in the field of PE (physical education) have been done in the United Kingdom (Armour 1997, Armour & Jones 1998, Brown, 1999, Sparkes, Templin, & Schempp, 1993, Squires & Sparkes, 1996); however, few

have been done in the United States (Curtner-Smith 1998, 2001, Schempp 1993, Schempp, Sparkes, & Templin, 1993). Few, if any, of the life histories conducted have focused on an African American educator, none have focused on a physical educator with a disability, and none of the conducted studies focus exclusively on exemplary educators. It is on these uninvestigated physical educators that the following studies are focused.

Besides using the life history method, all of the studies focus on marginalization and perseverance. Some educators are marginalized not just because of their subject status, but also because of their gender and sexual orientation; in fact these three areas were explored by Sparkes et al., who called for further studies of marginality in the areas of “age, social class, race/ethnicity, and ableness” (1993, p. 397). This dissertation is a response to that call. The three studies investigated marginalization based on subject status, gender, ableness, and race. Additionally, the life histories give glimpses of how each of the educators struggle(d) with difficulties and persevere(d).

The first article is the life history of a “State Teacher of the Year,” Robin, who taught 25 years as a physical educator and later moved into school administration. Her life history includes her childhood, school and college years, transition to teaching, teaching career, and the move to administration. The interview data were analyzed deductively using the three main categories of organizational socialization (Lawson, 1983a, 1983b), namely acculturation, professional socialization, and organizational socialization. As a student of PE, Robin had an initial goal of becoming a tennis coach; however, later she became a knowledgeable and skillful teacher of movement for elementary school children. The theory of occupational socialization was used to help explain her shift from a coaching to a teaching orientation. Robin’s life history demonstrates

how she experienced marginalization in the areas of subject status and gender, and the reader will learn about strategies she used to persevere in the face of difficulties.

The second article also deals with perseverance; however, Karen's life story tells of a professor of kinesiology with a disability. She was near the beginning of her academic career. Karen's story revealed her active childhood, a life-changing accident in high school, and participation in college athletics and in several Paralympics Games as a wheelchair basketball player. Her story illustrated challenges faced as she earned academic degrees, works at various jobs, and became an educator of physical education teacher candidates. Her story described how she experienced marginalization based upon gender and subject status, but also highlighted the pervasiveness of marginalization based upon accessibility issues. She lamented that the voices of people with disabilities are not heard because they a very diverse group and are often are denied access to education. Karen, however, co-founded a wheelchair sports program that gives opportunities to people with disabilities to attend a university.

The third article is the life history of Dr. Archie Wade, one of the first African American faculty members at The University of Alabama. The life history chronicled his childhood attending segregated schools, becoming a professional baseball player, and using the lessons learned through sport to persevere through a 38-year career in academia. His life history additionally gave a glimpse of the turbulent times of the Civil Rights Movement in the American South as seen through the lived experience of one who was there. Not surprisingly, Dr. Wade experienced marginalization and racial discrimination. His life story was investigated in light of the theories of stereotype threat (Steele, 1997), and self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977) that explain how Dr. Wade persevered despite difficult circumstances.

These life history articles are significant because they focus on exemplary teachers (which previous studies have not) that can be an example and open possibilities to other educators. In addition, considering that half all of new teachers drop out within the first 5 years of teaching (Dickson, 2006), it is important to learn about excellent teachers who persevere over an extended career: “Unfortunately, little is known about who stays, why they stay, and what they do” (Lawson, 1983b, p. 10). Additionally, while some studies have investigated dimensions of marginalization, as Sparkes et al. (1993) stated, certain dimensions, such as ableness and race/ethnicity, have yet to be explored, and those were foci in these studies. Other authors have called for more stories of teachers to be told. Dowling Næss (2001) stated, “My aim is to provoke the further telling of tales from the field of teacher socialization among students, teachers, teacher educators, parents and politicians such that physical educators can exercise their agency in schools” (p. 56). The sharing of teachers’ life histories may serve to empower other educators not just to survive, but also to challenge the status quo in their professional lives.

All of the teachers interviewed did indeed experience marginalization in dimensions such as subject status, gender, ableness, and race, and these findings are reported in the three papers as well as summarized in the summary section. For Robin, specific findings were reported in her paper based on the theory of occupational socialization, and similarly there were specific findings for Dr. Wade in the areas of stereotype threat and self-efficacy. However, the most powerful results in the three articles are the life histories of the exemplary educators, especially when resonated by their own voices. It is hoped that other educators will read their stories and be empowered through them. What follow are the three articles and, thereafter, a summary.

CHAPTER 2

LIFE HISTORY OF AN EXEMPLARY AMERICAN FEMALE PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHER

Little is written in the field of physical education (PE) about exemplary teachers who overcome obstacles to persevere over a long career. The theory of occupational socialization (see Curtner-Smith, 2001; Lawson, 1983a, 1983b, 1986; Schempp & Graber, 1992; Stroot, 1993; Templin & Schempp, 1989) is useful to view such a career in term of the teacher's acculturation, professional socialization, and occupational socialization. The following paper retells one teacher's life history, often in the words of the teacher herself. This life history is viewed through the lens of occupational socialization. This paper will attempt to explain in what ways she experienced marginalization and how she persevered to overcome obstacles, with the hope that other teachers can learn lessons from her story to enable them to positively transform programs as she did.

Sparkes, Templin, and Schempp (1993) advocated the study of individuals in physical education who are marginalized but confront and challenge dominant power structures. Sparkes et al. proffered a life history methodology as a tool that could not only tell the life story of the educator, but also could situate this story in a broader context of historical factors of the time. Life history as a methodological approach originated in the early 20th century by sociologists at the University of Chicago (Goodson, 1980) and involves gathering information about an individual using a variety of possible techniques such as interviews and ethnographic fieldwork,

all with the goal of constructing the story of a life. However, the life history is more than simply the life story. The narrative must be situated within the “wider social, historical, political, and economic landscape” (Sparkes, p. 113, 1993). Further, Sparkes pointed out that “‘life history’ is an umbrella term that includes as sources of data, autobiographies, personal documents, human documents, life records, case histories, interviews, life stories, etc. There is no single life history method or technique” (Sparkes, p. 110). Although the abovementioned techniques can be used in studying the micropolitics of teacher induction, Schempp, Sparkes, and Templin (1993) found “lengthy, informal interviews most useful” (p. 450).

Studies Using a Life History Approach

Several studies using life history in the field of PE (physical education) have been done in the United Kingdom (Armour 1997, Armour & Jones 1998, Brown, 1999, Sparkes et al., 1993, Squires & Sparkes, 1996). Sparkes et al. specifically investigated the marginalization of a female teacher in England and found that she experienced role conflict as wife and teacher. In the schools, although women were in the majority, they were denied the positions of power. Fewer such studies have been conducted in the American context. Exceptions included Schempp (1993) who, using life history, studied one male PE teacher’s sources of knowledge construction over the course of a year, and Curtner-Smith (1998) who focused on beginning male PE teachers in the southeastern United States. Curtner-Smith (2001) also studied the induction of one 1st-year PE teacher in the US and showed how the teacher’s biography interacted with his professional socialization to form a teaching orientation that was robust in the face of challenges in the workplace. Thus, though there is some life history research in PE, it is under-researched in the United States. Furthermore, more than empirical studies and numbers, the story of one teacher’s struggles provide a touchstone to which other individuals may connect. As Shulman observed,

“most individuals find specific cases more powerful influences on their decisions than impersonally presented empirical findings” (1986, p.32).

Earls (1981) used case studies rather than life history to study *distinctive* teachers. He defined distinctive teachers as those who stand out from their colleagues in three areas, “(a) sincere interest and enthusiasm in teaching, (b) genuine concern for pupils, and (c) self-study and continued striving to improve as a teacher” (p. 60). Besides depth interviews, Earls used a questionnaire and observation to learn about his participants and learned two major points from his qualitative inquiry of distinctive teachers: (a) they expressed a love for children, and (b) they found that interscholastic athletics interfered in quality PE. Lawson (1983b) called for additional study of such teachers: “Earls’ (1981) work on the qualities and perceptions of distinctive teachers also merits attention and emulation” (p. 10).

In this paper the term *exemplary* teacher will be used. Exemplary is defined in the *American Heritage Dictionary* (n.d.) as “worthy of imitation; commendable.” For the purpose of this paper, exemplary is defined as a commendable teacher who faced obstacles but persevered and, as such, may be regarded as a role model for others. The teacher in question represents not only a distinctive educator, but also one deserving imitation in the response to their perseverance in the face of hindrances.

Commenting on exemplary teachers Locke (1974) stated:

What will cheer and impress any careful observer is the fact that some teachers not only survive, but seem to flourish and thrive on the very adversities which destroy others. . . . [P]atient scrutiny has revealed little dependable information about the common qualities of these singularly uncommon teachers. (p. 19)

Most teachers experience adversity in some form; however, other teachers can learn from the ones who thrive on it and at times seem to turn adversity in their favor. Although Earls’ study broached the topic, little is known about these, as Locke suggested, unique individuals who

persevere over an extended career. Lawson (1983b) concurred: “Unfortunately, little is known about who stays, why they stay, and what they do” (p. 10).

How do exemplary educators persevere and even flourish in the face of adversity? The purpose of the current study was to examine the life history of one experienced and exemplary Caucasian female PE teacher, Robin Litaker, working in the southeastern United States to learn how she persevered and thrived when faced with obstacles. The educator’s life history was constructed with a focus to define obstacles and to determine how she experienced marginalization based upon gender and/or other factors. Dowling Næss (2001), in her life history of a Norwegian physical educator, stated: “My aim is to provoke the further telling of tales from the field of teacher socialization among students, teachers, teacher educators, parents and politicians such that physical educators can exercise their agency in schools” (p. 56). The sharing of this teacher’s life history may serve to empower other teachers not just to survive, but also to challenge the status quo in their professional life.

Theoretical Framework

This study is critical in nature in congruence with Sparkes et al. (1993) and partially focuses on marginalization due to gender. Life history allows for the voice of the teacher to be heard. As Sparkes (1993) suggested, it is hoped that life history will “illuminate the dialectical process that exists between the agency of the individuals and the constraints of the social structures by integrating situational forms of analysis with those that focus upon biological and historical strands” (p. 113). Additionally, following Lawson (1983a, 1983b), the theoretical framework was occupational socialization and specifically the three main components that make up this theory, acculturation, professional socialization, and organizational socialization, in order to follow the socialization of the teacher in question.

Occupational Socialization

Occupational socialization was defined by Lawson (1986) as “all kinds of socialization that initially influence persons to enter the field of physical education and later are responsible for their perceptions and actions as teacher educators and teachers” (p. 107). Occupational socialization is comprised of three parts: acculturation, professional socialization, and organizational socialization.

Acculturation

Acculturation can be thought of as any influence on PE teachers starting as early as birth, including the influence of family, friends, school, and society. Typical influences at this stage include sporting opportunities and the observation of teaching (or non-teaching) PE instructors and coaches. Lortie (1975) deemed this time the “apprenticeship of observation,” a time when students make judgments about what is good and poor teaching. These early influences may steer young students toward or away from considering a career in PE. It is during this time that they are forming their “subjective warrants” (Lawson, 1983a, p. 6): what students think it requires to become a physical educator or coach. Lawson (1983a, 1983b) suggested that based upon acculturation, a future PE recruit might adopt either a “teaching” or “coaching” orientation. A person with a coaching orientation has as a main goal the coaching of teams. For this person, teaching is a “career contingency,” or a necessary evil standing in the path to coaching. Conversely, a person with a teaching orientation is predisposed primarily to teach. Potential teachers with a teaching orientation tended to be female, and they had often experienced excellent physical education programs in their schools, suggested Lawson (1983a, 1983b). In addition, these teachers were likely to be receptive to the teaching advice of their PE teacher education (PETE) faculty.

Professional Socialization

Professional socialization is the influence of PETE on the prospective teacher. Socialization agents include practical and theoretical course content, early field experiences (EFEs), student teaching, other preservice teachers (PTs), cooperating teachers (CTs), and the university's PE faculty. Of the three types of socialization, this one has been found to have the weakest influence on PE teachers. Though usually PETE has been found to have little impact on the prospective teacher, there may be a larger impact when the university faculty holds an innovative orientation, agrees on a "shared technical culture" (Lortie, 1975), challenges existing beliefs, closely supervises EFEs, does not coach, and is perceived as credible by PTs (Curtner-Smith, Hastie & Kinchin, 2008).

Organizational Socialization

Organizational socialization includes all the influences of the workplace on neophyte teachers. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) refer to it as "learning the ropes" or "the process by which an individual acquires the social knowledge and skills necessary to assume an organizational role" (p. 211). A new teacher coming into a school can be influenced by a number of socializing agents including other teachers, administrators, students, and parents, but also facilities, equipment, and teaching schedule. Zeichner and Tabachnik (1981) suggested that veteran teachers pass on the extant educational culture to the next group of teachers thus perpetuating the status quo. They referred to this force as the "institutional press." This press may "washout" (Zeichner & Tabachnik) whatever was learned in the professional socialization phase.

Lawson (1983a, 1983b) suggested that properly trained, innovatively oriented teachers could transform low quality PE programs, and support high quality programs. Conversely, if

teachers were confronted with entrenched, conformist teaching situations that conflicted with their seemingly robust teaching repertoire, all they had learned could be “washed-out” or lost (Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981). Etheridge (1989) explained that incoming teachers would experience a period when they “strategically adjusted” or conformed their teaching in order to survive or be accepted, but later this temporary “adjustment” would solidify and become permanent.

Lacey (1977) suggested that some novice teachers might “strategically comply” and conform their teaching to the existing model in order to survive, while actually covertly teaching according to their beliefs when given a chance. However, other innovative teachers might contest and overturn entrenched school cultures to redefine low quality programs (Lacey).

Lawson (1983a, 1983b), informed by the work on socialization tactics by Van Maanen and Schein (1979), hypothesized that an innovatively oriented beginning teacher would be encouraged to teach as s/he had been trained under certain conditions. These conditions include (in respect to school socialization) (a) investiture (new practices and beliefs are encouraged), (b) individual (completed alone), (c) random (irregularly), (d) disjunctive (no assigned mentor), and (e) informal. In contrast, the following socialization conditions would support conforming to entrenched practices: (a) divestiture (new ideas rejected), (b) collective (with others), (c) sequential (in a prescribed order), (d) serial (mentors assigned), and (e) variable (at an unspecified time). New teachers in a school with socialization tactics from the latter set of conditions were likely to hold a custodial orientation and were liable to strategically comply to existing norms and to “impression manage.”

As opposed to innovatively oriented teachers, coaching oriented teachers, according to Lawson (1983a, 1983b), who either were unaffected by innovative PETE or unchanged by

custodial PETE, were in either case unlikely to teach effectively. These teachers would go on to embrace and perpetuate low quality PE and/or undermine quality PE. Occupational socialization provided the structure for the analysis of the life history in this study.

In the tradition of the life history methodology, a narrative was constructed collaboratively (between the teacher and researcher) including not only the story of the teacher's life, but also the larger context including social, historical, and political background (Brown, 1999). Rovegno (2003) underscored the transformative power of teachers' stories: "One of the goals of qualitative research is to share teachers' stories in the hope of opening possibilities of change for other teachers" (p. 305).

Method

Robin was an exemplary female physical education teacher working in the southeastern United States. The "Southern District AAHPERD (American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance) Elementary Physical Educator of the Year" as well as "Alabama Teacher of the Year" awards were two pieces of evidence that the teacher had been deemed exemplary by the profession in the field of PE and education in general. Following Patton (1990) she was selected through purposeful sampling: "information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term *purposeful*" (p. 169). This teacher was widely known in her community as well as to the regional university faculty as an outstanding educator to whom student teachers were often sent. Prior to the study, she was fully informed of its purpose, and during the study she had access to the data. Following the completion of the study, a draft of the manuscript describing this research was shared with the teacher with a request for feedback as to its

accuracy. At that juncture, Robin clarified some details of her biography and, through collaboration with the researcher, some additions were made.

Following Brown (1999) and Schempp et al. (1993), the main research tool was a series of three in-depth, semi-structured interviews, each between 90 and 210 minutes long, to record Robin's life history. The researcher constructed a framework following the components of occupational socialization to guide the interviews (see Appendix). Armour and Jones (1998) as well as Sparkes and Templin (1992) suggested that an interview framework might be more appropriate than a specific, pre-scripted list of questions in order that the interview would be more reflexive. The main parts of the framework included (a) acculturation, (b) professional socialization, and (c) organizational socialization. Although there was a guiding structure to the interviews, in congruence with Schempp et al., it was crucial that the questions were open-ended, and that the teacher was able to lead the conversation on a path that she chose. Some subsequent questions via e-mail followed. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. The investigator coded and analyzed the data qualitatively using analytic deduction (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). Following occupational socialization literature, codes and categories were established. The interviews were scanned a second time for incidences of marginalization. Discourse analysis was applied in order to reveal underlying meanings in the interviews.

Because life histories include not only the experiences of the interviewee, but also the sociohistorical background, a timeline was constructed by the researcher to highlight events that took place parallel to the career trajectory of the participant. Since "the life historian must constantly broaden the concern with personal truth to take account of the wider socio-historical concerns *even if these are not part of the consciousness of the individual*" (Goodson, 1995, p. 80), the timeline, including significant historic and personal events, was shared and altered

collaboratively with the teacher during the second interview. Sparkes et al. (1993) advocated a “dialectical view of socialization. . . . [which] acknowledges the historical, political, and social contexts the socialization process is embedded within” (p. 397). The timeline, therefore, helped the participant as well as the researcher in recalling the social/historical background. The following section relates the results of the interview, which includes Robin’s life history through the lens of occupational socialization, expressed in large part with Robin’s own spoken words.

Results and Discussion

Acculturation

Robin’s story and her acculturation into a world of sports began where she grew up in South Carolina. The majority of her early experiences of sport included ball games, mostly with the neighborhood boys. One game in particular played with a small rubber ball served to hone her physical skills. Depending upon the on consensus of the group, “sometimes we would hit it with a baseball bat, sometimes we would kick it, sometimes we would throw it.” Later Robin played on park league teams in basketball and softball, in spite of her mother’s objections to team sports. In light of the patriarchal post-World War II era when the normative role of the American wife was that of homemaker, Robin’s mother probably considered team sports unladylike. Even though Robin generally enjoyed sports, she voiced a recurring theme during her childhood years--the hatred of PE:

I hated PE . . . one of the worst things that happened to me . . . it was Field Day or something . . . it was some kind of a relay race, and I don’t know why I had on a dress that day, I don’t know why I had on my little lacy socks . . . I was like anchor leg, I guess I was kind of fast . . . all I had to do is run down, tag the teacher’s hand, run back and we would win . . . but I don’t know what I tripped on . . . it was probably my own feet, but I fell down and my dress came over my head, you know when you get embarrassed you think there are thousands of people watching you . . . it may have been from that point on, and because I’m so shy anyway, I hated doing any kind of activity where I felt like I was on display.

Overall Robin described her elementary PE as low-quality, “um, really didn’t have a PE program, it was recess.”

Robin grew up playing ball with the neighborhood boys that included her brother; however, she was the only girl in the crowd. Her sister, Susan, was always with them:

My sister not being able to participate in things, that was one thing I didn’t tell you, when we were playing these games in the neighborhood, my sister was always there, my brother and I had to take turns with her and, she would come with us and sit and watch us play because she couldn’t, couldn’t do anything.

Robin’s sister, Susan, who has severe cerebral palsy, attended the outdoor activities, even if she could not actively take part. Robin recalled a childhood family trip to Washington, DC where the family experienced frustration because of the inaccessibility of the museums. With some good fortune, they did gain entrance to the White House, which was accessible due to one of its former residents, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Dealing with her sister, Robin gained sensitivity to dealing with people with disabilities, and this impacted her later, especially when taking adapted PE as a part of her master’s program. Robin stressed Susan’s influence on her life.

Of junior high PE Robin said, “it was probably the worst experience.” These years were characterized by blowing whistles, bullying, screaming, and stealing:

This was a rough junior high that I went to . . . you pretty much had to stand while one person got dressed, and take care of each other, because if you turned your back on your books, they got taken. You couldn’t wear your jewelry out, but if you didn’t lock it up, it got stolen. We had to do it so fast, and then they’d start blowing the whistles. And we had to get out, and they would just scream at us: ‘Run! Run!’ And I will tell you, I was always the first one around the field . . . because I would hear them yelling and badgering the kids that would end up walking . . . you had to be pretty careful, because if you were like in the middle of the pack, there were some girls that would shove and bully you, and beat up on you, so even if I hated it, I would run, and I would come in first.

Though she had many opportunities to participate in sports during her early and middle childhood, Robin’s early apprenticeship of observation planted seeds of dislike of organized traditional PE.

Robin spoke most positively about high school PE where she practiced many recreational sports, “I would have to say, that was the closest to liking PE, I had a teacher, she was just real normal with us.” Title IX education legislation in 1972 afforded Robin the opportunity to participate in organized high school sports starting in the eleventh grade when she played high school basketball and tennis. “I feel like I was at a disadvantage because leading up to that, you know, there was little or nothing for girls.” Again, her mother especially encouraged tennis. However, once given the opportunity to play interscholastic sports, she felt no gender discrimination:

I would have to say as far as the way girl’s teams were treated, our basketball team . . . we never lost a game, our uniforms were probably, I know they were as good as, they may have been better than what the boys team had. We had three gyms; nobody was denied entrance to anything.

Though Robin exploited the opportunity to play high school sports once given the chance, she was discouraged from attempting the jump to college:

I got called into the counselor’s office . . . and she said, “What are you going to do when you graduate?” and I remember I said I wanted to go to college, and she looked at me and said, “Oh honey, um-um, no, you’re not college material . . . you need more of a vocational.” . . . And I’m sitting there thinking, I am the stupidest person on the face of the earth. . . . God, it hurt my feelings so bad. . . . I don’t know how I had the wherewithal to do what I have done as far as going through college.

Robin’s family, coping with one daughter with cerebral palsy and a son who struggled in school, never made it a premium for Robin to achieve high grades: “I didn’t have that good of grades in high school; I didn’t have anybody pushing me to do that.”

Concerning college, Robin expressed, “I didn’t have a lot of direction.” She explained how she chose her major:

When I went in, my mom and dad took me to [college], and they said, “Well, what do you want to major in?” I mean growing up, it’s like, I didn’t have a clue, so I was a history major. I was just going up there to play tennis, and I said, well, I like history, so I was a history major.

However, her switch to PE was equally capricious:

The tennis coach called me in her office and she said, “Here, I need you to sign this paper.” “What is it?” “We’re changing your major to PE so we can keep an eye on you.” Now I know that sounds like the dumbest thing, and I went, “Why?” And she said, “Just sign this paper. You can change it back later; if you want to.” . . . I just signed it.

Robin had remarked that she lacked direction in her college years. This incident is a blunt reminder of that. It is interesting to ponder whether she would have signed the form so readily if she had a male coach. In any case, this encounter with her coach led to a long career in PE, and Robin’s acculturation became her professional socialization into becoming a physical educator.

To summarize Robin’s acculturation phase, it could be characterized by poorly taught PE which she did not enjoy, much self-teaching in the area of sports skills, and a lack of mentors to support her initial interest in sport. This should be considered in conjunction with Lawson’s (1983b) contention that, “biography is more powerful than teacher education” (p. 6). Even though becoming a PE teacher was probably the last thing on her mind because she despised PE, Robin subconsciously held a subjective warrant about what it meant to be a PE teacher, and those ideas were formed largely during her acculturation years. Her subjective warrant, viewing her past experiences, might have included the ability to organize relays, blow whistles, scream at pupils, and lead sports activities, but not necessarily to teach sport skills. Though her high school PE was mildly enjoyable, her earlier experiences were negative. When asked who taught her to throw a ball, to shoot a basketball, to swim, or grip a tennis racquet, she could not name an individual, but usually stated that she had to figure it out on her own. She was marginalized early in high school by lacking opportunities to participate, but later had the chance to play high school sports, largely due to the effect of Title IX. However, because women that could have taken on the role of a mentor historically lacked opportunities to participate, individuals like her mother for example, this reduced the number of female mentors available to Robin. During her

apprenticeship of observation, Robin, therefore, lacked early models on which she could later base her teaching style.

Robin was invited to comment what was going on politically during her childhood years. Clearly she was influenced by the passage of Title IX that gave her the right to participate on school sports teams with equal facilities and equipment. Robin also mentioned the influence of the Civil Rights Movement and its effects in South Carolina. She told of her school being integrated in the third grade, and she remembered the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King:

I remember when Martin Luther King was killed, and they pretty much shut down the city, you know, and there was a curfew. And I remember my mom, if she could get five dollars together, we would go to McDonald's, and that was a big deal, and I remember it was right before the curfew and we went down there and she had such a good talk with my brother and I, about—how to treat people.

Robin similarly related her memories of the deaths of John F. Kennedy and, later, Robert Kennedy, but she was probably more influenced by Richard Nixon who signed Title IX into law in 1972. Other events as well other such as The Cold War, the Vietnam War, and the space race also influenced Robin during her years of acculturation.

Professional Socialization

As Robin had stated earlier, she did not have much direction in life as a young collegian and as some of her friends were studying PE, she went along with her tennis coach's directive to become a PE major. Robin told of one episode where a college instructor, who was teaching the students about throwing, made an impact on her:

We were in class and I was just doing whatever, and we were doing an overhand throw, and she said, I don't remember how she got us to it, she said, "Stop!" And we were kind of in mid-throw, and she said, "Are you sticking out your non-dominant foot? Are you turning it . . .," you know she went through all these things and I'm sitting here going, yeah, I'm doing this right. She said, "How do you know to do that right? . . . Who taught you to do that?" And I couldn't think of who had taught me to do that. No one taught me to do that. And she said, "Now what I want to tell you is, when you teach . . . when you

become a teacher, your student should say, my PE teacher taught me to do that.” . . . and that was like one of the biggest moments—turning points for me.

In this episode, the female instructor left a lasting impression upon Robin as to the role of the physical educator. It illustrates one reason why Robin became a skills-oriented teacher who had a disciplinary mastery focus, and she made it priority that she would be the one to teach her students physical skills.

When asked whether Robin’s PETE professors/instructors were also coaches, she stated that while not all her professors were coaches, the majority was, and one of them was the athletic director. However, when asked whether they prioritized coaching above teacher preparation, she quickly replied, “No, absolutely not, no . . . I did not go to a college where that was the status quo.” She later stated that her professors stressed, “Coaches coach, teachers teach.” Her professors clearly delineated teaching from coaching and stressed, “Even if you coach, remember you’re a teacher first.” She especially expressed the impact/influence of her motor development and adapted PE professors, and she used sensitivities gained from her childhood with her sister. Robin felt that she received an excellent educational foundation in spite of the fact that the majority of her professors were also coaches. This contradicts what Lawson (1983a) suggested: “Programs in which most of the faculty also coach will have less impact upon recruits than programs in which most faculty only teach” (p. 12). Although Robin attended a program in which the entire faculty also coached, the program influenced her strongly, an observation contrary to Lawson’s statement that such programs have less impact than programs where faculty only prepare teachers. This suggests that in this case, a faculty consisting of many professor/coaches had an impact in turning a student with a strong coaching orientation to becoming an innovative teacher with a strong teaching orientation.

When further queried about whether her professors held innovative, radical orientations, she thought that one professor did. Lawson (1983a) similarly suggested that an innovative faculty would have more impact. Robin's professional socialization made an impact and helped her learn the mechanics of teaching despite the fact that most her instructors were coaches and the minority held innovative orientations. These two observations seem to contradict the theory of occupational socialization.

When asked whether her professors employed the same terminology across her classes, Robin wholeheartedly agreed: "They used the same language." This suggested a shared technical culture and supported Lawson's (1983a) observation that departments with such a culture could have a greater impact on students.

Robin took PE courses in college together with the other majors in a cohort, but she did not see herself as one of the teacher-pleasing favorites, rather she expressed that she was "largely ignored" by faculty:

Here's the point: I was the kid at the end, that was there, and I made the grade I needed to, but [was] largely ignored, because I wasn't the one always raising my hand, or showing off. I was just kind of in the back corner, and yet you didn't know I was like that ugly duckling that turned out, you know, and you didn't even know it. You didn't know what I got from you. You didn't realize at the time that I had some talents, and you know now I'm sitting here talking about it. It probably influenced my teaching a lot too, because I realized that there are kids that have so many talents.

Robin was not the standout, professor-pleasing student in her program; rather she was a rebel who was respectfully critical of what she was learning. Her talents went unrecognized in college. Later when teaching children, she kept in mind that there were similarly ugly ducklings among them who might transform into swans. Robin got along with others in her cohort, but she was not recognized at the time as the shining star. Later, however, her college commended her as "Outstanding Alumna of the Year."

Lawson (1983b) suggested that programs that use collective professional socialization fare better at making an impact and inculcating a teaching orientation. Robin stated that her original goal was to be a college tennis coach, but in order to do so she might need to “teach in a high school a couple of years.” Clearly she viewed teaching at that point as a contingency in the path of her early goal to coach. Lawson (1983b) hypothesized that teachers with extensive experiences with interscholastic sport would be attracted more to coaching than teaching, and they would view teaching as a career contingency. This was initially the case with Robin. Lawson (1983a) also stated that such teachers would likely adopt a custodial orientation toward teaching. This was definitely not the case: Robin never adopted a custodial stance toward teaching, and her orientation toward coaching did later shift to teaching.

Though not enamored with the curriculum that was presented at her college (a form of movement education), Robin did insist that the college faculty was effective at preparing teachers:

I wasn't very happy with the curriculum. It wasn't the way they taught us . . . that's the distinction, the way they taught us to plan . . . to think about our teaching and how to approach it was excellent. The curriculum itself is what I didn't like.

Robin realized that effective teaching required planning and an awareness of how to teach, and Robin felt her program had prepared her well. She simply did not agree with the curriculum.

Robin goes on to explain why she was perhaps somewhat different from the other students in her cohort:

... because we did those silly, some of those silly things in class. I'm like, why is some kid going to want to do this? It's embarrassing me, they [the other PE majors] would just do whatever they were told to do, it's like they didn't have a mind of their own. And not that I'm advocating being defiant to a teacher. I would do whatever the teacher asked me to do, it was like they couldn't, they weren't, going to think outside the box. They were going to do whatever they were told to do that would make, that would elevate them in that teacher's eyes.

Here we get an inkling of what was to come in the future for Robin; a stubborn refusal to blindly accept the status quo that later served to lift her to the exemplary level. It appears that in class she would strategically comply and participate in the “silly games,” while covertly opposing them; however, her reaction also is informed by the need to reach out and motivate her future students.

Robin ran the risk of not pleasing her professors and getting less than perfect grades by not enthusiastically embracing their teaching model and being quietly defiant. In one of her classes a professor had a rule to give out only one A:

One of the projects we had to do before we student taught, was . . . you know how curriculum, it’s interweaving, and I guess. I did a good project, and she validated that, and that was one of the few times, I mean she called me in her office. She said this is really good, you’ve really thought through this and, but out of the other side of my mouth I’m gonna say I made a B plus. It was important to me in that class to make an A, and when she told me my grade, I was like, she said, I only give one A. And I’m like, but she said, but you got a B plus, and I didn’t say anything to her, because I very respectful of people. But I’m like, last I checked, that’s the same B that’s on my grade report as the person who got the B minus is going to have. She didn’t give any A plus’s, A’s, or A minus’s, just one A . . . and I saw, back then you could see what everybody—and I saw the person who got the A. It was a dance person and I was second. And now that should have been validating enough, but that’s not what came out on the paper. Oh, that killed me!

In retrospect, Robin respectfully questioned the program in which she learned, and it is even possible she was penalized because of it. This episode also forced Robin to question the fairness of grading, and even though the B plus “killed her,” she learned about the importance of fair grading. It is also noteworthy that female instructors were not automatically role models for Robin, though in this case the professor inadvertently taught an important lesson by being a negative role model.

Robin had multiple opportunities to observe or teach in schools or practice teaching while a major: “They put us in schools starting in the first semester our sophomore year just

observing.” She recalled a peer teaching experience where she was singled out by her professor because she was the only one to teach facing the sun so her students would not have to squint:

“Now where did I learn that? I don’t know.”

Robin perceived to be discriminated against during her student teaching; unlike the other majors, she needed to do her student teaching in the fall because of her involvement with varsity tennis:

They put me on the north side of Charlotte, which was about, I think I drove 60 miles one way to student teach every day . . . and they didn’t, this bothered me, they didn’t even care enough about me to send a PE person to supervise me . . . I mean, they just stuck me up there.

Because she was playing on the tennis team, Robin was one of only two PE students that had to student teach in the fall semester, and she felt the person who organized the student teaching did so grudgingly and sent her on a longer than necessary commute. Despite the long commutes and having to teach a unit on gymnastics that was not her forte, she devised an innovative unit that used student contracts to teaching gymnastics. She herself as a student had taken a similar unit; however, she felt slighted because in her opinion too much of the grade was based upon performance rather than other factors such as knowledge of the skill and spotting. Being a reflective teacher, she built these aspects into her unit to assure that all students could be successful. When Robin taught, it was immediately apparent that something was different, distinctive about her; during student teaching, the school district superintendent came to observe her teaching. “I’ll tell you how well I must have done, the superintendent of Charlotte-Mecklenburg came out to see me and just watched what I was doing, so it must have been okay.” Throughout her professional socialization, Robin had EFEs (though we do not know how closely supervised), multiple opportunities to peer teach, to observe teaching, and finally to student teach, albeit with more hardship and less credible college supervision than other teachers.

According to occupational socialization theory, the experiences, when closely supervised, can positively impact the student, and while Robin had many such experiences, they were not always closely supervised by PETE faculty.

After completing student teaching and receiving her undergraduate degree, Robin stayed at her college, worked as an assistant tennis coach, and pursued her master's degree in special education: "After my undergraduate, I went straight into my master's." She also taught a year of PE at a small Catholic school. However, shortly before graduating, she received advice from a relative in education that, if she were to receive her degree in special education, she would not be allowed by the school districts to teach PE (they would have her teach special education), so she switched to regular PE and earned her degree in that. Although Robin graduated with her master's in PE, her coursework emphasized adapted PE, and she felt this training gave her a lifelong focus on teaching individuals, rather than looking at whole classes. Robin would have liked to continue on to a doctoral degree, but for financial reasons instead sought a teaching job. Robin also had an extensive background in aquatics: she was an aquatics director at a YMCA during her college years. Upon graduating, she was therefore offered an aquatics director and swim coaching position at a brand-new high school on the Florida coast, yet instead she accepted her first full-time teaching job at an inner-city elementary school with no gymnasium in southern Alabama, to where her parents had moved. Thus began her organizational socialization.

During Robin's college years, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan were presidents, the first female Supreme Court Justice, Sandra Day O'Connor was named, and technology played an increasing role in American households. Robin mentioned one historical event that had repercussions on her college campus: the Iran Hostage Crisis. Because there were many Iranian students studying at her college, she said she felt a palpable friction on campus. As she stated

herself, incidents such as this showed how Robin began to become aware of how she was affected by world events, and how they served to shape the society into which Robin would soon begin her teaching career.

To summarize Robin's professional socialization, she completed what she thought was a high quality program that used an iteration of a curriculum model with which she did not agree. Her professors, though most were coaches, held a shared technical culture, and she considered them credible. She did not describe them as a whole as innovative, yet they did clearly differentiate teaching and coaching. Her program was rich with practical teaching opportunities, however not always supervised by the PE faculty, such as in the case of her student teaching, during which she perceived she was marginalized. However, even in student teaching, she was able to gain attention while transforming the extant culture in a gymnastics unit through the use of contracts with students. All told, her self-professed coaching orientation did shift to a strong teaching orientation that manifested itself during the next phase of her story.

Organizational Socialization

If you had told me I was going to teach elementary PE at that time, I would have laughed at you because of the whole ball of wax. Elementary PE to me was just so unappealing because I would think: Do I want to play like that? Do I want to play those silly games, do I want to have someone talk to me: I like the way, okay, let's see who can balance on three body parts, let's see. . . . It was the silliest, most ridiculous; it just turned me off.

Although Robin had some early experiences teaching aquatics and had some limited experience teaching PE at a Catholic school, her full initiation into teaching took place at an inner-city school in southern Alabama. Robin describes her school:

At the time it was [a] 99% African American school, neighborhood school. Oh, it was a great school, and the kids at the time I started teaching, it was when the economy is like it is right now, very poor. I mean I had kids coming to school in the winter with flip-flops on. This place made as big of an impression on my life as anything has.

Robin had gone from her own high school where she described the facilities as “state of the art,” to a small college in South Carolina, to an inner-city school in Alabama, teaching up to 120 students at one time with no gymnasium: “When I moved to Alabama, I thought I had stepped back in time.” Robin experienced what Stroot and Whipple (2003) had deemed “reality shock”: “Reality shock is likely to occur when the teacher preparation program does not adequately address issues face upon entrance into the field” (p. 315). Robin experienced reality shock, yet she said: “It was a great school.” She explained how the school had a carefully developed caring culture and was a sanctuary of sanity for the neighborhood children.

Robin told of her first months in Alabama where she expected to teach only 1 year.

Rather than relating exasperating tales of reality shock, Robin said:

I’m telling you it was the first couple of months and I was there, and that October, and if you think about it school starts basically in September, by October I was hooked, because I had to figure out a way to help these kids. It was more, it was about teaching physical education, but that job was more than that . . . I lost four kids the first 5 years I taught, that, those kids, and I’ve always said, even here, I want to give kids a reason to come to school.

Robin’s position finally gave her the direction in life that she was lacking. As she related above, some children in her school were literally dying. The phrase “I had to figure out a way to help these kids” divulges that Robin indeed experienced reality shock and that her professional socialization prepared her, but not fully, for dealing with the situation. Otherwise she would not have had to *figure out* a way. Robin related tales of the financial poverty of the students, how three brothers shared one coat, about homelessness, theft, and murder in the community, but she also shared how the students, teachers, and principals collaborated to make the school a supportive sanctuary for learning. Though teaching sport skills were important to Robin, her phrase, “I want to give kids a reason to come to school” betrays that her teaching went beyond sport skills to include social responsibility.

How did Robin figure out how to help those kids? Obviously, the answer was not readily available in her teaching repertoire. She related that she originally tried those strategies that she had acquired in college: an introductory activity, a lesson focus, and a closing, but she quickly realized that she needed some strategies to deal with the hundred-plus students she encountered. She sequestered herself on the weekends and developed a plan:

That October and November that I sat down and I developed this, and I mean, I would work all day Saturday, all day Sunday. And at the time I was living with my parents, and my mom would say, “Don’t you want to go out?” And, but I was living in . . . Alabama and I didn’t know anybody. This was like, bothering me that I couldn’t figure out how to do this. And what I came up with, it was really pretty simple.

A new arrival in an unfamiliar city, Robin was faced with a challenging teaching situation. Rather than avoiding the gap between what she had acquired in PETE and the needs of her new students, she took, “the bull by the horns and master[ed] that particular situation” (Earls, 1981, p. 63). While a custodial teacher coming from a weak PETE program facing a situation similar to that of Robin’s might have been steamrolled by the challenge, Robin used her wherewithal during several weekends to devise a solution.

The October-November sequester was a critical time in this young teacher’s life when she developed the backbone of the units (rather than the complete program) that she would teach. She developed her different units for the different grade levels: units on balance and body awareness, locomotor movement, eye-foot coordination, and other skills. Lacey (1977) reported a very similar phenomenon with student teachers, that after approximately a month, they scramble to find material to teach: “As student teachers emerge from the ‘honeymoon period’ and classroom difficulties increase in their significance, the search for material becomes a more central concern” (p. 80). Robin’s graduate level adapted PE and motor development courses served as major sources of knowledge for her program. Robin emphasized that her complete

program was not developed during those weekends, but rather she constructed the framework of the main units she would teach. Later she added critical stories such as “Hot, Hot, Hot!” to teach skipping or “Fred and Sally” to teach the gallop as she found what worked, and her program remained a work-in-progress over the 25 years she taught PE. Through trial and error, Robin found that pupils focused and made cognitive connections when told a story, and these stories were retained and could be readily recalled by her students. In this way should she could quickly draw on previous learning to refine skills in subsequent years. This was genuine communicative teaching that related to the students’ lives (as opposed to being taught disparate skills) and helped them to internalize learning.

Another central part of her program that she developed consisted of stations. Once skills were taught, stations were developed to practice and refine the skills in isolation. Robin would spend much time observing children at the stations, and asking them whether they could state the critical components. She felt it was important to allow the students to progress through the developmental sequence in each skill rather than forcing students immediately toward an expert level. Because of the large classes, up to 50 stations were set up at a time. Robin estimated that she collected more than 2000 station ideas that she developed in collaboration with her students.

After I would teach the skills, and I taught every single skill in isolation as a lesson. Then I would put stations out because if you think about how you learn, and this was something else I came up with that October: I’m like, okay, I can introduce the skills to them and we can practice whatever little activity. And I’m not talking about playing a game, whatever little activity, but I’ve got to find as many ways as I possibly can, for them to practice those skills, in isolation, on their own. And that’s how I started coming up with stations, and when I first started doing stations, I didn’t have that many.

Robin revealed that though her stations were simply one facet of her program that supported learning, they were sought after by teachers and sports equipment companies who were more

interested in the stations themselves and less in the total program of how to effectively teach skills:

And I finally got to where I quit presenting, and oh God I probably had 2000 different stations. I've got two books this thick just full of stations. And I finally thought, I'm not presenting anymore because all these people want are the stations and they're just going to stick the stations out and I never could get them to get that other piece: you gotta teach the skills.

Robin's stations were doubtless valuable for managing large numbers of pupils, but Robin's focus was on teaching rather than managing, because she held a teaching, rather than a custodial, orientation.

Robin had stated that earlier that her goal was to become a tennis coach: that she initially had a coaching rather than a teaching orientation. However, at some point a shift occurred to teaching. She had declined a head coaching opportunity to take the elementary position where she taught for 10 years. When asked about shift from an interest in coaching to teaching, she replied:

Yeah, it shifted, and now that I'm thinking about this, I will tell you this: When I played tennis [I was] very competitive. You know I had that, that mindset that athletes do. Win, win, win. And then when you start teaching, if the winning part—something happened to me, and it was in that first few months that I taught . . . the winning part, that wasn't important, at all. And I'm even like that now: I'm very—to be as competitive as I was—very non-competitive. You beat me? Alright, I don't care. Now, I have this drive to do better, that's why I think running marathons and half-marathons, why I enjoy that so much. . . .

In college, Robin was a highly competitive athlete. She was on track to becoming a coaching oriented PE teacher. The challenge she faced, to find a way to teach her inner-city students, changed her. Not only did the challenge change her, because she could have ignored it, but her work to find a solution changed her. The challenge triggered her to make a change within. She had a good foundation of PE teaching skills from her undergraduate work. On top of that, her adapted PE and special education graduate level preparation combined to give her the skills to

help individual students. All together, this was powerful enough to change something fundamental about Robin's character, her competitive spirit. Actually her personal competitive spirit shifted from one of winning to one of improvement as evidenced by her interest in running. Instead of being fiercely competitive to win games, she voraciously sought out ways to better teach skills to large groups of students.

When Robin began teaching in southern Alabama, she radically transformed the existing program. It went from a supervised recess to a structured program of skill building. Fortunately, the educational culture was not passed on; there was no institutional press that forced Robin into custodial teaching, but rather an encouraging environment supported innovation. As is often the case in PE, she taught alone, and there was no socialization process to washout what she had learned in PETE. She had the wherewithal to keep the valuable parts of her training and to develop her own model to replace that which she refused to teach.

Robin's socialization into her first teaching position, according to the six dimensions discussed by Van Maanen and Schein (1979), could be classified as individual, informal, random, disjunctive, involved investiture, and fixed. The socialization was individual in terms of her being the only new teacher to move into the school that year. It was informal because it was laissez faire socialization, resembling more on-the-job training (Van Maanen & Schein, p. 237) rather than a regimented program. The steps to socialization were unknown to Robin, so they could be considered random. Only occasionally would the principal call Robin in and give her a brief demonstration on how to deal with parents, for example. While difficult to classify, Robin's socialization was more likely variable, because the socialization process had no fixed timetable. Robin's socialization into school was certainly disjunctive; fortunately, she had no opportunity to be mentored by the less-invested teachers or so-called ball-rollers that came before her. This

combination of socialization factors that Robin experienced tends to enable innovative orientations (Lawson, 1983b; Van Maanen & Schein). Investiture was the hallmark of her induction: the school administration welcomed her as she was, rather than remolding Robin in a style suited to the school.

Concerning the six dimensions or dyads of socialization, Van Maanen and Schein (1979) proffered three propositions concerning the interaction of socialization tactics: (a) a custodial disposition results from a process which involves divestiture and is sequential, serial, and variable; (b) content innovation results from a process that involves divestiture and is collective, formal, random, and fixed; and, finally, (c) role innovation (“a redefinition of the mission or goals of the role itself”) results from a process that involved investiture and was individual, informal, random, and disjunctive (pp. 253-254). From the custodial dispositions, only one was true for Robin: her socialization timetable was variable. Hence, this seems to apply to Robin: she was not a custodial teacher and her socialization only matched one of the four elements given. Further, her socialization matched two of the five elements that Van Maanen and Schein suggested led to innovation in the area of content. Although this seems to indicate that she would have a slight tendency against being content-innovative, this was clearly not the case. Robin was radically innovative. In the area of role innovation, Robin’s socialization for role innovation matched the dimensions most clearly: it matched all of the five parts. Judging from the data in the interviews, Robin radically transformed the role of the teacher in her school from wholly custodial to completely skill teaching-oriented.

Robin worked and continued to refine her program at that school for 10 years until she was chosen as the “Southern District PE Teacher of the Year,” whereupon she was recruited by a

large suburban school district near Birmingham, Alabama where she had the opportunity to teach indoors in a new school while continuing her graduate studies in administration.

I was recruited to move up here. It was the first time I ever had a gym . . . my reason for changing was not to get out of an inner-city school, it was to get into an indoor facility, because at that time I had been outside for so long. I got a lot of sun damage, and I thought, well I can, I was actually working on an administrative degree in . . . because I knew the time would come that I would have to get off the field, not because I was tired of teaching PE. I loved it, but it was tearing my skin up, so . . .

She taught PE in that district another 14 years, during which she was awarded the “Alabama Teacher of the Year Award.” At times, Robin had up to nine student teachers working with her. Counting the year she taught as a graduate student, she completed 25 years of teaching before taking a position as an elementary school assistant principal.

Robin had been recruited from an impoverished inner-city school with no gymnasium in southern Alabama to an upper middle-class school in a wealthier district. Though the facilities were far superior in the new school, Robin spoke of her struggles encountering a new school where she had to start her skill building from scratch. Robin also explained how she had to fight to gain respect for PE, something she had developed and to which she had become accustomed in her first school. During her time in the suburban school, she discussed two historical events: the space shuttle Challenger disaster and the September 11th attacks. She explained how her fifth-graders walking to class had seen on a television an airplane hit a building. That day the principal convened a hastily called meeting including Robin to determine what the children would be told. Against the opinion of Robin, it was decided that details of the events of 9/11 would be withheld from the students so that they could be told by their own parents. Robin reflected,

I mean kids know what kind of car you drive. They know what color, what make; they know everything about you as a teacher because they idolize you. They look up to you. They spend so much time with you that, and they believe in you and they trust you, and

then if you lie to them, even if it's for their own good . . . we ended up telling them their parents would talk to them, but in all honesty, my older kids, I said something happened. And you saw it and right now, if I told you something, it might not be the truth. Because they haven't figured out what's going on, and that was not a lie. See, I felt we had to tell them the truth. Something did happen.

September 11th and other events caused Robin to reflect on her relationship with her students during the 14 years she stayed at her new school district, where she would later serve as an administrator. In her years as a teacher, Robin had learned the importance of being truthful with students and understanding that students' emotions needed to be respected.

Considering that half all of new teachers drop out within the first 5 years (Dickson, 2006), 25 years of teaching is a respectable career especially in light of Robin's initial reluctance to serve as a teacher. Robin told of her move to administration and mentioned the stereotype of the coach that becomes the principal or superintendent ostensibly because of their organizational skills:

What people don't really realize about physical education teachers is you have to have a relationship with every child in the school, and with every adult. And what I've found, moving into being an assistant principal is, I already knew how to do that.

When asked specifically why she left teaching, Robin seemed to have difficulty pinpointing the reason, as the following excerpt demonstrates:

Gunars: Alright, describe your decision to leave PE teaching. Why did you become an administrator?

Robin: I don't want to say, I don't know. You know I told you I was hesitant, I've always had a lot of people push me in this direction, I think they saw that I had a . . . I think a talent for this too. Ah, I've liked it because it's exposed me to other curricular areas, and I see that other curricular areas do have some of the subtle issues that we have in PE. I knew when I left that a lot would be the same or I suspected a lot would be the same. I would have to say that I always said that I wanted to leave when I still loved it, when I was at the top of my game as far as being innovative, being fresh. I just think it's such a shame when people who are really effective get, stay, you know you stay too long, so I felt like I left at a good time. Now as far as having an answer for you, you said what pushed me to this?

Gunars: What was your decision to leave?

Robin did not provide a clear explanation as to why she decided to leave teaching. However, earlier she commented that she wanted to get out of the sun and that several administrators had admired her management skills and extended offers for her to move into administration. Her answer is similar to what athletes often say about retirement, but at the end there is a hint that she may have felt pressure to leave. Perhaps she was at the top of her game and sought a new challenge, and accepted when offered.

In a follow-up phone call Robin expressed that she was indeed frustrated trying to make changes in the profession from within, and said there were many reasons she moved into administration, however,

One of the main reasons why I did it, I feel like teaching is so much more than we've allowed our profession to become . . . I love PE, I love teaching PE. I've finally come to the conclusion that I am in a profession where they don't care whether people become better teachers.

Robin worked hard all her career not only setting a good example by teaching well, but making conference presentations about the art of teaching PE. Yet she felt that there was no strong, concerted movement to increase the level of teaching, and this frustrated her. Whether Robin chose to become an administrator, or whether she felt pushed to leave teaching, she did experience episodes of marginalization.

Marginalization

Robin experienced marginalization in different ways throughout life, but mostly in three major areas: (a) based on gender, (b) based on "lack of support" (which was related to gender), and (c) being misunderstood or unaccepted. As a child, her mother frowned on her playing basketball: "I know my mom was not real crazy about me playin' . . . it was just right at the edge of when girls started getting involved," yet her mother supported her in tennis, "I don't know whether she wanted me to play tennis because that was a more girl thing to do?" Robin missed

opportunities because part of her schooling was during the pre-Title IX era (“I feel like I was at a disadvantage because leading up to that, you know there was little or nothing for girls”) and, as mentioned earlier, she had no school sports opportunities until 11th grade. She thus experienced marginalization due to gender, indirectly through her own mother (because those were the times they were living in) and institutionally through lack of equality supporting legislation.

Linked to the gender marginalization was a lack of support, in particular from female coaches or teachers. Repeatedly throughout the interviews, Robin stated, “No one taught me to do that,” in various iterations: “I never had a tennis lesson”; “there weren’t [sic] anybody there to correct me, to help me with it”; “I didn’t have a lot of direction”; “I didn’t make that good of grades, I didn’t have anybody pushing me to do that”; “I didn’t have a teacher that had the wherewithal to recognize my needs, and to put things in a way that I could understand it”; “I don’t know who showed me, I guess I got lucky”; and “I taught myself how to do it, and I taught myself how to do all the strokes.” Considering the lack of support, especially during her childhood, Robin had to find her own way. It was not easy, but she learned early on to persevere in spite of an apparent lack of support. Robin was certainly also influenced by her family situation where her sister and brother commanded much of the parental attention. This feeling of being on your own probably also led to an almost stubborn determination not to give up, but rather to show what she could do on her own.

Robin rarely recalled receiving help to improve her physical skills. The following quote illustrates one incident where she was offered help, albeit by a male:

I guess it’s because of when I grew up, ah, there just wasn’t the coaching, and ah even the way I shot a basketball was very much like girls shoot basketballs because they lack that upper body strength, and then when I got to a point where I probably could have shot the ball correctly, there weren’t [sic] anybody there to correct me, to help me with it. I remember one time in high school, I played high school basketball, one of the male

football coaches tried to help me, but by then we were in the middle of the season, and I'm like, I mean I'm scoring 8, 10 points a game, if I start doin' it this way, you know . . .

Robin shot a basketball much in the same way she held a tennis racquet: the way that she picked it up as a child, unrefined by coaching. When help came, it was often too late. Most of the abovementioned incidents occurred in Robin's childhood, pre-Title IX. Female coaches were the exception. Robin had a female secondary PE teacher she liked, but since Robin only started to have real opportunities in competitive sports starting in 11th grade, those females in the position to help her achieve had even fewer opportunities, and thus could not help Robin.

Thus, Robin was marginalized because her gender. Her response was to figure it out by herself, just as she later did in planning an innovative PE program. She faced marginalization, yet she did not succumb to it, but rather persevered. As a teacher, Robin herself turned the tables to teach all of her students physical skills, so that when they were asked, "Who taught you to throw like that?", her students would say, "Miss Litaker taught me." She gave her students the help that she herself lacked.

A third area of marginalization was a feeling of being unaccepted or misunderstood. Robin felt unaccepted as a professional educator by being referred to by teachers or students as "coach." At one school, students were left to be supervised by her as other teachers celebrated a teacher appreciation lunch: "PE was the scum of the earth." Robin did not accept this marginalization, but worked to change the culture of the school. Robin expressed in the following two excerpts regret about feeling unaccepted by other teachers, both in school and college:

One reason I am glad to be out of PE is because, and I've never been really able to say this, but it's frustrating to me that I can't share what I do. With all of the success that I've had, and I'm not talking about awards. I'm talking about the product that I put out, and professionally, I am not accepted. And there are teachers who don't like me because their

principals wanted them to teach like me . . . I'm so accepted by the mainstream of education, and what I did and how I did it, was so unaccepted in my own field.

Don't get me wrong; there are a lot of PE teachers that I have good relationships with. And I give them things and I share things with them, but I am, I always kid and say, I'm not liked by a lot of PE teachers. And I mean that at the university level, too; and people will say or do whatever, and they don't even understand what I do. And that, I guess, has been one of the most frustrating things in my career, and it's one of the things I don't miss at all.

In these two excerpts, Robin relates frustration she has had with working with people within her field. Robin rejects the way that PE is often taught. The poignant story told by Robin of one PE teacher illustrates this:

When you have an elementary program and I'm thinking of one in . . . where a kid hung himself in a tree because the PE teacher was sitting on a, with a jump rope, was sitting on a milk crate reading a paper and had his back to the class, I can understand not having respect.

When you reject the status quo, it is not surprising that people within the field would take offense. As a PE teacher, Robin stubbornly worked to right wrongs. She rose to the top of her state association but felt even there she could not effect adequate change. Perhaps her move to administration is not an escape, but an alternative route to effect change through the back door.

She relayed one episode of being confronted by university educator at a conference over definitions of locomotor skills:

I felt like I had worked so hard on teaching these skills, and developing these skills, and they had no research to back up what they were doing, all they had was a big job somewhere and a book, and ah I remember this guy, he was just like standing me down about it.

Robin felt resentful that she had planned out a detailed program of skill teaching, carried it out and refined it, only to be publicly admonished by a professor over the definition of locomotor skills. Robin taught skills in PE class for 25 years, mostly to very large groups of students. This is really another form of marginalization. What other schoolteacher teaches 100 students at a

time? As she related, however, being unaccepted or misunderstood by her own field was even more frustrating.

In her interviews, she never mentioned the physical or mental exhaustion of what Locke (1974, p. 14) calls being “awash in an endless sea of children,” but interestingly she mentioned multiple incidents where she felt so frustrated about being misunderstood or unaccepted, that it would be enough to possibly explain questioning her move to administration: “What pushed me to this?”

Perseverance

Fortunately, not all interactions with teachers or members of academia were so frustrating, especially with one professor, and collaboration helped her persevere. Multiple times during the interview she mentioned the PETE educator and researcher with whom she has collaborated on research:

That’s why I always liked [this researcher] so much because I could tell her how I felt, and she always would say, you know, how did she put it? ‘You know more about this than I do, and I know more about the research end than you do, and together, you know . . .’

When asked directly what she did to persevere she answered:

I hang around with classroom teachers. I hang around with special ed., special needs people. I honestly, unless it’s been a student teacher for something, I don’t have, I still, ‘til the last day I taught ever, and this is sad to me, I never had another elementary teacher that I could sit down and collaborate with. Well some people might say, are you stubborn? No, I mean you, you’re talking to me. I mean, I’m real open to, I don’t care what you teach, it’s what your outcome is. But I’ve always, I’ve been real involved like with ASHPERD state association. I was president; I bet I was on their board for nine years. I’ve always believed that if you’re going to make a difference, and I was trying to make a difference in my profession, and that you have to be involved and you know. It just didn’t, didn’t work out. But I do think I made a difference in a lot of ways.

Although Robin felt misunderstood by many in her field, connections she made from outside the field after becoming “Alabama Teacher of the Year” gave her strength to persevere, and through

these connections she hoped to make a difference in PE that she could not through more traditional channels. Robin was certainly honored by the awards she received over her years of teaching; however, even more important to her would be the acceptance and acknowledgment from her peers.

Stubbornness proved to be another major factor to help her persevere. Although Robin said in the interview that she was not too stubborn to sit down and collaborate, when asked point blank about stubbornness, she replied, “Yeah, I’m stubborn!” In another quote she noted, “I’ll just say stubborn enough that I was going to find a way to meet the needs of every child I taught at the same time and I found very effective ways to do that.” At times, Robin seemed to use her early competitive spirit to fight adversity, “Like when that counselor told me, honey, you’re not college material . . . maybe I feel like I’m put down more than I actually am, but instead of me letting that beat me down, I almost thrive on it.” This stubbornness, hard-headedness, or the expression she often used, “wherewithal,” is what enabled her to continue. It is also what drove her the first months of teaching to sit down and develop her personal curriculum. This was a defining moment for Robin when she obstinately calibrated her internal compass to skill teaching. She felt she needed to reconcile what she had learned in her professional socialization with what she faced in occupational socialization, and she had the wherewithal to do it.

Robin adjusted to her role as assistant principal. She told how she cried her first day as an administrator to see everyone else teaching and asked her principal to keep the door open to her returning as a teacher. She has been teaching courses on adapted PE and motor development at a local university. Locke (1974) wrote of teachers who successfully survive, “These teachers seem to have achieved a permanent and comfortable status as perpetual students in which the object of

study is teaching” (p. 20). The eternal student, Robin works toward a doctorate in educational leadership.

Conclusion

This paper presented the life story of an exemplary physical educator as examined through the lens of occupational socialization. The study revealed that Robin was marginalized on the basis of gender, that she lacked support and female mentors, especially in her youth, to teach and refine her physical skills. Even though she herself was never taught these skills specifically, she consciously made it a point to teach physical skills to numerous girls and boys in a teaching career that has spanned 25 years thus far. She expressed feelings of being misunderstood or not accepted by colleagues in her field. Robin related strategies she found to successfully persevere: she sought out people outside her field and one professor in her field with whom she could connect and collaborate. She never gave up, but accepted obstacles as challenges to be overcome, just as the mountain climber sees the summit as a challenge to be met.

Robin’s acculturation initially pointed her toward becoming a custodial teacher. She witnessed poor quality PE for the most part. Upon starting college, she was more focused on playing tennis than earning a degree. Her college professors, though admirable educators, were coaches, though they clearly defined the distinction for their students. They were not innovative as a whole. Although Robin was a prime candidate to become a custodial PE teacher, upon taking her first long-term position, she made a 180-degree turn and became an innovative, program transforming, teaching-oriented educator. Thus, an important point for PETE educators to absorb from this study is that even though a student professes to only be interested in coaching, not teaching, that “ugly duckling” may, as in Robin’s example, learn how to teach well

and use their own wherewithal develop and put into practice a program that is appropriate for their pupils to learn as well as for them to teach.

In the area of perseverance, Robin often mentioned that she didn't know where she found the wherewithal to initiate change. However, when she found situations where change was called for, she stubbornly, as in her October-November sequester, forged the change herself. Lacey (1977) wrote,

Strategic redefinition of the situation implies that change is brought about by individuals who do not possess the formal power to do so. They achieve change by causing or enabling those with formal power to change their interpretation of what is happening in the situation. (p. 73)

Robin sought primarily to bring about change by making it herself on the asphalt of her schoolyard. Even in that one school, she began to strategically redefine PE. Later, she tried to make changes at a statewide level and ran into resistance by some who opposed change.

In Robin's student teaching, as well as her first teaching position, superintendents and others from the central office appeared to observe her teaching because she was able to critically enable change just through her teaching. "Almost immediately . . . I had people from Central Office come, I'm a first-year teacher, and I would look up and there were portables [classrooms], and I would see sets of legs, and it would be the principal, the assistant superintendent." When someone teaches radically differently from the status quo, it is readily apparent, and this was the case in most all of Robin's new teaching appointments: people took notice. Of course, this sort of transformative change can threaten the status quo, which might explain why one might be ostracized by those in her field.

What lessons can PETE programs learn from occupational socialization, and what can PETE majors learn from Robin? Departments can and should follow Lawson's (1983b) suggestions to hire innovative faculty members who do not coach, they can collaboratively set

priorities, and have an agreed upon and publicly shared technical culture as well as an integrated curriculum. The departments can send their students through the program in cohorts in order to have a greater impact. However, after the novice teachers are hired and they go through what Lacey (1977) called the honeymoon period, these teachers need to take a lesson from Robin and reconcile what they learned in PETE with what their pupils need in their particular situation, and they need to sit down as did Robin and develop and select an appropriate program to follow for their situation. Perhaps rather than shopping for that first new car, new teachers should sequester themselves as Robin did on weekends and in the evenings and commit to paper how they plan to teach. The school district could enable this planning by giving the teacher 2 to 5 days leave to make this plan. Self-motivated teachers like Robin will find the wherewithal regardless. Such school district support might ensure that young teachers would not blindly move forward, rather they would have a plan that takes into account their teaching situation.

Robin persevered more than 25 years in education before taking up a new challenge to change teaching through administration. She initially made changes from within the profession. She even rose to the rank of president in her state association and yet felt like she could not adequately implement the change from within. The new challenge of an administrative position within the system may provide more opportunities for change. Robin achieved great transformative success at the personal level of her teaching. This is something that all novice teachers, if they could only overcome their personal acculturation, have the power to do.

This first article has dealt with the life history of Robin Litaker and how she has dealt with adversity. The following article will present the life history of “Karen,” a physical educator with a disability.

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Appendix

Interview Framework: Female Physical Educator

1. Interview One: Biographic Information and Acculturation

- Basic biographic background information
- Early sporting experiences
- Influence of family and friends on early sporting experiences
- Description of PE programs in elementary, middle, and high school
- Extracurricular sporting experiences
- Influential coaches and teachers in the sporting realm
- College sporting experiences (not including PETE)
- Other pre-PETE influences

2. Interview Two: Timeline and Professional Socialization

- Discussion of timeline: which events should be added, deleted from the personal timeline
- Details of experiences in higher education
- Description of professors (lecturers) who led PETE
- Description of PE classes, methods classes that you took during your PETE
- Influence of peers
- Description of field experiences in PE
- Other critical factors in PETE

3. Interview Three: Organizational Socialization

- Description of schools/universities in which the individual has taught
- Details of the facilities and equipment of the schools
- Questions pertaining to the ability to teach as taught in PETE
- Description of the influence of the co-workers, administrators, students
- Prognostication about the individual's future in PE
- Questions about the ability to persist in the face of adversity
- Other influences from the workplace
- Experiences of marginalization based upon subject status
- Experiences of marginalization based upon gender
- Experiences of marginalization based upon other reasons

CHAPTER 3

LIFE HISTORY OF AN EXEMPLARY AMERICAN FEMALE PHYSICAL EDUCATOR WITH A DISABILITY

Sparkes, Templin, and Schempp (1993) explored dimensions of marginality in their work on the life histories of physical education (PE) teachers in England. They enlisted life history as a method to study marginality and claimed that “the reemergence of life history as a bona fide research approach has coincided with the current focus on acknowledging the subjective, multiple, and partial nature of human experience” (p. 387). An essential part of a life historian’s work is to imbed the written story of the participant or participants in the larger social, historical, political context (Armour, 1997, Brown, 1999, Curtner-Smith, 2001, Goodson, 1980, 1992, Schempp, Sparkes, & Templin, 1993, Sparkes, 1993, Templin, Sparkes, Grant, & Schempp, 1994). Goodson suggested that the context affects the participants whether they know it or not: “The life historian must constantly broaden the concern with personal truth to take account of the wider socio-historical concerns *even if these are not part of the consciousness of the individual*” (1995, p. 80). This study uses life history to investigate the personal truth of “Karen,” a professor of sport pedagogy with a physical disability, to find whether she experienced marginalization in the dimension of ableness.

Though many researchers in Great Britain have used the life history approach (Armour, 1997, Armour & Jones, 1998, Brown, 1999, Sparkes & Templin, 1992, Sparkes et al., 1993), as well as a growing number of researchers in the United States (Curtner-Smith, 2001, Schempp,

1993, Schempp et al.1993, Templin et. al 1994), few have used employed it to explore marginalization. Three notable exceptions are Templin et al. (1994) who wrote about the marginality experienced by late career teacher/coach, Squires and Sparkes (1996) who investigated the lives of five lesbian PE teachers, and Sparkes et al. (1993) who focused on three dimensions of marginalization: subject status, gender, and sexual orientation. In the area of subject status, the participants a study by Sparkes and Templin stated that they were made to feel, by their non-PE teaching colleagues, inferior or non-intellectual, and the teachers expressed their efforts to dispel negative stereotypes. This subject status marginalization is explained in light of historical roots as expressed by the Greeks, Romans, as well as Descartes, that the mind is privileged over the body. Regarding gender, Sparkes et al. (1993) found that female PE teachers faced multiple forms of marginalization. They were numerically in the majority in their jobs, yet less often in positions of power. Women reported feelings of role conflict in the sense that they faced difficulties with the roles of wife/mother while fulfilling job responsibilities sometimes to the point of quitting their jobs. In regard to sexual orientation, the authors noted the “deafening silence” (Sparkes et al., 1993, p. 394) concerning the lack of discussion of lesbian physical educators and illustrated such concerns with the story of “Jessica.” Jessica spoke of the multidimensional life she led. At school she would suppress her real self and silently endure homophobic discussions in the staffroom. To have a fulfilling social life she would need to leave her town for the big city to meet friends. By being female, lesbian, and teaching a subject that lacked status, the researchers suggested that multiple layers of marginality disempowered Jessica, and these layers interacted, in part, cumulatively. While Sparkes et al.’s (1993) use of narrative research illuminated marginalization based on subject status, gender, and sexual orientation, they acknowledged that, “our intention has not been to privilege these at the expense

of other forms that act upon individuals. . . . other dimensions of marginality exist, such as age, social class, race/ethnicity, and *ableness* [italics added]” (p. 397).

As Sparkes et al. (1993) hinted at the end of this quote, ableness is another factor that leads to marginalization. However, the voices of those educators with disabilities have yet to be heard in PE literature. Do *they* feel that ableness is a dimension of marginality? There have been very few studies of physical educators with disabilities. One exception (Bryant & Curtner-Smith, 2008) found that students learned more swimming techniques from watching a videotape of an instructor who used a wheelchair than one who did not. The authors called for using modified life stories of the pupils to investigate their perceptions of disability. Berger (2008) presented life histories of elite wheelchair basketball players. Dowling Næss (1996) recorded the life history of a Norwegian PE teacher and found that a heart attack served as a catalyst for him to reexamine his teaching and identity. Indeed, PE instructors with physical disabilities have not been adequately researched, and Sparkes et al.’s (1993) work on marginalization provided an exemplar to begin to fill this lacuna in the literature. We need to hear directly from those possibly marginalized due to a physical disability. This study therefore presents the voice of such a person, Karen. Life history is especially suitable to fill this gap because it allows detailed description of the experiences of the educator via the voice of the person herself. Let me briefly review the role of narrative research in the field of physical education.

In her review article of narrative research, Armour (2006) established the importance of the narrative form including life history. She summarized the major findings of narrative research in PE thus far and suggested that this type of research “has an unrivalled capacity to reach teachers—to really engage them—and, as a result, to change them and their practices” (p. 467). She divided the studies into three groups: (a) studies of the lives and careers of PE

teachers, (b) research on aspects of gender and sexuality, and (c) research that explored new forms of representation and analysis. In the area of lives and careers, Armour summarized studies that focused primarily on age and subject status. Several other articles reviewed, such as that by Brown (1999), dealt with masculine identity and the reproduction of hegemonic masculinities.

In the area of new forms of writing, representation, and analysis, Armour (2006) reviewed Sparkes' (1996) portrayals of lesbian/gay PE teachers, Jessica (mentioned earlier), as well as the ethnographic fictional representation of Alexander. Both Jessica and Alexander led double lives and masked their sexual identities in school. Armour (2006) mentioned both Tinning's (1997) fictitious tale of Pauline, written to help PETE (physical education teacher education) students, and Oliver's (1998) explanation and example of narrative analysis through writing.

Armour's (2006) review of narrative research continued even further into authors who pushed the envelope of how scholarly writing was traditionally defined by using less conventional means of expression. She reviewed Nilges' (2001) postmodern impressionist tale of gender inequalities as well as Sparkes, Nilges, Swan, and Dowling's (2003) experimentations with the uses of other unconventional (in our field) styles of research representations such as poetry. Such styles of expressions allow feelings and moods to be put into words that may otherwise not readily be accessed. For example, if you ask someone to explain grief over the death of a loved one, this person will have a hard time intellectually expressing and analyzing the raw feelings of loss; however, poetry as a genre allows for such expression. Armour (2006) closed with Sparkes' (2004) ethnographic autobiography of his story as a physical educator who had the body of an elite athlete that later became an "impaired body" (p. 158). This is one of a

few examples of a physical educator interrogating the changing body. In summarizing narrative research, Armour (2006) wrote how, as a student, narrative spoke to her in ways that quantitative research could not. She did not regard such approaches as a fad; rather there were endless more stories to be told. She suggested such research is valuable because it can speak to teachers, help them be reflective, and ultimately change teaching practice for the better.

In this same chapter, Armour (2006) reflected with a critical eye toward her own early research. She explained how, traditionally, qualitative researchers assemble their data and choose how to fit it into understandable categories. In one early work, she arranged her data from four PE teachers under predetermined categories: “family influence, school experiences, ‘and on to college!’, [and] doing the job” (p. 473). However, in retrospect she wrote,

It is possible to criticize the way in which I organized the data to fit *the story I wanted to tell* [italics added]. I argued that I had used life stories to generate a better ‘understanding’ of the teachers. . . . I may have lost something important about the holism of those lives. . . . I was probably guilty of crafting a traditional story line that could have obscured other important stories. (p. 473)

In that study of “life history reflections,” Armour (1997) interviewed four teachers to construct the life of one physical education department. A single common element emerged from the stories, and that was interest in sport. Armour (1997) proffered, “In summarizing the evidence from Citylimits, it becomes clear that attempting to identify reproducible patterns in individuals’ life stories is largely fruitless” (p. 79). I perceive this as a call to focus this life history research on one educator rather than several. This study picks up where Armour left off—following not the outline of a story I would like to tell, but rather assigning Karen her own voice and then looking for patterns in the discourse and their overall importance in Karen’s life history.

Purpose

Considering Armour's self-criticisms and her calls for "crafting stories about self and others" (Armour, 2006, p. 481), as well as Sparkes et al.'s (1993) suggestion that ableness has not been adequately researched, the purpose of this study was twofold. Primarily, the focus of this study was to give voice, with the help of a life history, to "Karen," a PETE professor with a disability. Karen's peers deemed her an exemplary educator based upon her teaching skills and her perseverance in her path to become a PETE professor. *Exemplary* is defined here as "worthy of imitation; commendable" (*Merriam-Webster*, n.d.). Karen was deemed as exemplary as an educator who has persevered in the face of obstacles and may be regarded as a role model to other educators, both able-bodied and disabled. My purpose was to bring to light her personal, subjective reality and experiences. Second, I investigated dimensions of marginality: subject status, gender, and ableness. I hypothesized that Karen has experienced marginalization in those areas. Hence, my plan was to construct Karen's life history and investigate three dimensions of marginality. Very few stories of educators with disabilities, let alone physical educators with disabilities, have been heard. The researcher and interviewee acted as collaborators, or "narrator" and "researcher" (Sparkes & Templin, 1992). Karen was an assistant professor in a university in the American Southeast. She was selected through a process of what Patton (1990) called purposeful sampling, "information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term *purposeful*" (p. 169).

Dimensions of Marginalization

Sparkes et al. (1993) explored marginality in their study of physical educators in Great Britain. They used a life history approach to examine the socialization processes of these

teachers in light of three dimensions of marginality: subject status, gender, and sexual orientation. For the current study it was important to keep in mind that an individual with a physical disability also may not simply be reduced to the disability: the disability is part of who the person is, but it does not define the individual, just like red hair may be one feature of a person, but is not defining. This also means that individuals with a disability may experience marginalization due to other/additional factors such as gender, status, and sexual orientation. In a similar fashion, Evans and Williams (1989), in a quantitative study for which they surveyed 100 British secondary PE teachers, found that female teachers “can be doubly disadvantaged by the attitudes of men and the ideology of patriarchy, and by the hegemony of the academic curriculum that puts teachers and the subject of PE in a position of marginality and low status” (p. 246). Just as women may not simply be reduced to their gender, individuals with a disability are not solely defined by their disability.

The current study addressed multiple aspects of marginalization, specifically ableness, gender, and subject status. Sparkes et al. (1993) identified ableness as a “dimension of marginality” (p. 396) as yet unexplored at that point, a lacuna that this study attempts to fill. In the same study, Sparkes et al. stated that women, even though they made up the majority of teachers in their school, were less often in positions of power. The same women also reported role conflicts in being a teacher while dealing with being a mother or doing housework. Templin et al. (1994), in their life history of a late career male teacher/coach, found instances of marginality in the area of subject status: the school administration was interested in his coaching successes, but seemed indifferent about his PE teaching.

These previous studies show that marginalization may be found within multiple dimensions such as subject status, gender, sexual orientation. The subject of this study, Karen, is

a female PETE professor in her 30s with a spouse and a toddler. It was expected that she also experienced marginalization due to gender and the traditionally low subject status of PE in addition to using a wheelchair. Although multiple dimensions of marginalization emerge in this study, the main purpose is to listen to the voice of Karen and be led by her choice of topics.

Method

Following a life history approach, an interpretive perspective was used to tell the Karen's story to show how the narrator's life was affected by various socializing factors such as workplace, colleagues, and students. Besides looking for instances of marginalization, no a priori categories were used. I conducted a series of three semi-structured, in-depth interviews, each between 75-120 minutes long. I recorded and transcribed the interviews. I then processed the data in two ways: (a) to develop the life history, I analyzed the data inductively (Goetz & LaCompte, 1984), and (b) thereafter I again analyzed the data thematically according to dimensions of marginality. I employed recursive data analysis and interpretation, that is, rather than gathering all data and analyzing it together, I started searching immediately for themes and connections (Goetz & LaCompte). Answers given in one interview informed follow-up questions. I used a chronological framework as a rough guide to the interviews rather than pre-formulated interview questions and following Schempp (1993), I followed the narrator's lead as to the direction of conversations. I asked specific questions to investigate the three areas of marginalization mentioned earlier (gender, subject status, ableness). To insure trustworthiness of the data, I performed a member check by sending a copy of the study to Karen to check for inaccuracies. Karen suggested two minor factual changes, and I made the corrections.

I constructed a timeline to loosely follow the chronology of Karen's life that included personal milestones as well as social, political, and technological events. "Life histories must

consciously seek to link such data to historical times, locations, events” (Armour, 2006, p. 473), and the timeline served as an aid, both to the researcher and also to the narrator to keep in perspective wider historical concerns. Karen and I discussed the timeline during the interview.

Life History

Childhood

The following sections include excerpts of Karen’s life history interspersed with some social, historical, and political perspective. Karen was born in 1973 in Elend, Ohio, on Lake Erie, not far from Cleveland. One of five children, she grew up in idyllic home circumstances, and at the age of 7 moved to Ankeny, Iowa, where she lived in a similar American Midwestern situation. Her father worked for a large manufacturer, and his income enabled a relatively comfortable lifestyle; however, this work also involved frequent moves that coincided with promotions or plant closings. This excerpt highlights Karen’s first two hometowns:

We lived on this cul-de-sac, and my mom is still great friends with everybody that they lived there with, and everybody had kids and they would exchange babysitting, and they were all—it was all your typical ‘60s, ‘70s stay-at-home moms, working dads, and they loved it. And they, we still talk about the [neighborhood families], and then when we moved to Ohio, or Iowa, we had this great house . . . it was right across from the golf course. My dad loves to golf and I think we all would have stayed there forever.

Karen told of her active childhood, taking walks in the golf course, having snowball or crabapple fights with the neighbor children, and swimming at the community pool. At age 10, the family moved again, but this time to Illinois. “They ended up closing down the plant, so you know, it’s either feed your five children or stay in Iowa, so we had to leave, and we went to Joliet, which nobody liked, so . . .” Starting from a young age, Karen had multiple opportunities for sporting experiences and this would continue with her family’s next move near to Joliet, Illinois.

Around age 10, Karen’s family moved to Illinois. Karen remembers participating on the swim team, playing softball, soccer, and, as she grew older, volleyball, basketball, track, and

cross-country. Karen's mom made a special effort not to put the kids on the same team where they could compare themselves one to another. She spoke of her parents' support of the children's athletic pursuits: "You know what else is crazy? I don't ever remember my parents missing a game, ever, like of anything . . . but I swear, they never missed anything." In high school, although she made the volleyball team, her main activity was pompons: "I tried out for volleyball and I tried out for poms, but they wouldn't let me do both, and since I made the poms squad before I made the volleyball, I went with the poms." When I asked her to explain the activity, she replied that it was typically a 2-minute synchronized dance routine performed at sporting events.

In her childhood, Karen explored a wide variety of sporting pursuits spanning team sports, individual sports, and dance. Her friends tended to be those who also participated. When asked about her PE experiences, she said it would be considered awful in light of what she knows now about PETE, however she loved it:

It was awful PE, well I know that now. I loved it, I love PE, are you kidding? Um, you know, as a kid, I didn't care. We did scooter races, and we did the parachute . . . I remember we did this game with this giant ball and we'd have to do crabwalk.

Karen's initial response to the question indicated that she had experienced low-quality PE (perhaps more in elementary school), but she was reacting to some of the games that she now discourages her college students to lead. But as she reminisced more about it, and remembered the excellent gymnastics equipment, the track, the other facilities, and the fact that "in Illinois, they require PE every year for every kid, K-12, so I had it all the way through," she stated after some introspection, "Overall I think it was pretty good." Karen's childhood had afforded her a wide base of sport experiences, and her friends and family supported her participation.

I then asked Karen about her early sport experiences in college, and this is how she replied:

A little of my life history: I was an English major, an English ed. major, undergrad, I didn't get into PE until my master's, so but well, I got hurt Christmas of my junior year in high school, um and then (yawn), so the only reason that is important is because, my sister was at the university ... [it had a] wheelchair basketball program, track, at the time I was there. They had a rugby program, and they were the only school that had that for women, that had basketball and track and field for women.

It is easy to miss the part in that quote about “getting hurt” at Christmas time high school. During a vacation ski trip during her penultimate year of high school, she broke her back. Karen referred to this incident in the interview as “getting hurt.” Karen does not highlight the episode of her breaking her back in any more detail in our interviews. She further downplays the incident by saying: “the only reason that was important is because . . .” As I read and replayed the interviews, I noticed many incidences of sport or activity linked to injury, as when Karen remembered getting hit by a soccer ball or baseball in the stomach. When I asked her in a follow-up e-mail about this possible theme in the interviews and whether she wanted to comment about it, she wrote: “Don't forget about skiing and breaking my back.” That e-mail snippet was the only time that she explained to me why she used the wheelchair. Much later in the interview she talked about her difficulties in dealing with “getting hurt.” Karen's life altering injury was clearly a turning point in her life, but she did not highlight it as the defining moment. She chose at this point not overemphasize or reduce her life history to this one moment of “getting hurt.”

Incidentally, that same year when Karen was injured, President George H.W. Bush signed the *Americans with Disabilities Act* (ADA) of 1990 into law, which prohibits discrimination based on disability. Although she did not have knowledge of the law at the time, it would later have an impact on her life, and she would hold a job that included informing the public about the law.

After being an active high school athlete, Karen told of the process of returning to school following her back injury:

I was 16 years old, I'm lying in bed. I can't get out of bed by myself. I can't pee by myself, I can't dress myself. All I wanted to do was to be able to do those things by myself, you know. I didn't want people—I mean there's just nothing more frustrating than not being able to get dressed—than lying in bed, wanting to get up, and not being able to, you know. I mean, that's just that helplessness that just—I want to get up, I'm thirsty and I don't have any water, but I can't. Or I've woken up in the morning and I am ready to get up, and I can't get out of bed by myself. I mean that sucks, so that, my focus was just getting where I could do those things, you know. When I got back to school, I was in rehab I think like three months, I had surgery and then we went to rehab . . . and then when I got back into school it was like, I was captain on the pom squad and so it was just, I kind of just fell back into the thing. I mean I was different, I was definitely different, but I just kind of did the same stuff.

Although Karen downplayed the incident of getting hurt, she shared very specific information about the process of getting back to school. She went from being helpless on her back, to being back to school in a few short months. In the last years of high school, Karen, together with her mother, would look for an appropriate college: “I remember my mom checked out this book of colleges that enable, and it had colleges that had sport teams for kids with disabilities.” They decided on a large, public university in her state, where her older sister had attended: “I would be in-state, there's a women's team, it's a great school, it's kind of a no-brainer.” Karen was fortunate that she could attend a university near her home that had a great tradition in adapted sport. When Karen was exploring college possibilities, she was restricted in terms of universities that offered adapted sports teams for women; however, now more opportunities for women with disabilities exist, and Karen is directly responsible for assisting in starting one such program.

Undergraduate Life and Wheelchair Basketball

As a transition to college and to adapted sport, Karen first did a summer sports camp at the university, but then jumped in immediately with wheelchair basketball:

I was still in my big old, you know, 16-inch wide [seat], push handle armrest chair. And I wasn't strong, just because I hadn't been around anybody. I remember I went down there and I saw them in chairs like mine now, and I was like oh! (gasp) Wow! Look at how low their chairs are. It is so cool! So I went to summer camp, and that's when I really got introduced to wheelchair sports. My rehab, I mean they talked about it, but we, it was more like, here, get from your bed to your chair. And you know we did like a little weight lifting and we'd get stronger, but it was like 5 pounds, because that's all I could lift then, so ah, then when I got to school there, I started playing basketball, and I started racing, and it, it got a little nutty . . . I did basketball, and I lifted, and I did cardio. They over-train up there. It's ridiculous, like I did cardio like 3 days a week, and then I lifted 3 days a week and then I did basketball every day of the week on top of that, I mean, come on.

Karen progressed very quickly from a high school student who used a wheelchair, to a participant in a wheelchair sports summer camp, to a college competitor and world-class elite athlete in wheelchair basketball. In Karen's opinion, the university team's training regiment was too rigorous. Two things that really helped her progress was the strength she gained in college from pushing herself to classes and the intense weight training:

“What I found when I went to college is that strength is one of the most important things to have.” A turning point for Karen's life was the experience of seeing others doing in appropriate wheelchairs what she longed to do. She stressed that her old chair was a “push handle armrest chair” that was designed to be pushed by others, and she preferred being active herself. Once Karen saw what was possible with a new chair, she almost overdid it. However, this extensive physical activity may be read as compensation for her previously forced role of a more passive victim in the push handle armrest chair, a role she despised.

Through what Karen called a “perfect confluence of events,” she competed in the 1992 Barcelona Paralympics for the US Women’s Wheelchair Basketball Team after only playing college ball for 8 months. Some of the individuals who would have typically tried out for the open spots in her classification were tied up with other endeavors, and she made the team that went on to win the silver medal. Besides playing for her college team for 5 years, Karen had an extensive wheelchair basketball résumé that includes playing and coaching at a variety of international competitions including Paralympics and World Cup events.

Besides her rigorous training schedules and games, and her university courses, one of Karen’s most meaningful experiences as a student involved serving as a freshman orientation leader; rather than being a glorified tour guide. Karen’s group organized activities that prepared freshmen for their life in college. Karen not only worked with a very diverse group of students, but she met friends in the group with whom she is still in close contact today. For Karen it was important to train and play hard, but also to get away and do things like being an orientation leader that brought a sense of balance to life. Karen completed her college undergraduate work with a degree in English education, which included a final semester spent student teaching on a Native American reservation in New Mexico. At the end of it all, she did not have any firm job opportunities. At the time, she was just finishing the 1996 Atlanta Paralympics. One of her sisters, who had been in the Peace Corps and was familiar with nonprofit service work, suggested she join the domestic equivalent of the Peace Corps, AmeriCorps. Karen joined and spent the next 10 months involved with various community service projects. However, what jolted

Karen most about this experience was the lack of accessibility and being not only marginalized but also discriminated against.

AmeriCorps and Accessibility

Karen had attended a university that had a long tradition of accommodating those with disabilities. Numerous students with disabilities moved about her relatively accessible campus, a situation which changed after moving to South Carolina to join AmeriCorps National Civilian Community Corps. To put the AmeriCorps years in political perspective, President Clinton had just finished his first term in office, and Karen's AmeriCorps group attended Clinton's second inauguration in 1997. Karen came face-to-face with accessibility issues in South Carolina that served to marginalize her.

Going into AmeriCorps, they had asked me before I got there, well what are you going to need? Well I said I am going to need ramps into the buildings and I'm going to need doorways that are at least 24 inches wide, and that was it. That was all I needed . . . and I get there and there's, you know there's a ramp to get into my building, there's no elevator at all. My other corps members are upstairs. I'm on the first floor with all the team leaders, which is very isolating. The doors weren't wide enough. We had to take the door off my bathroom, the ramp was fine, but the place to get to the ramp was like this—it's like they poured a little concrete in there. It was really hard to get up. The buildings where we went to most of the time for training weren't accessible . . . one building only had a couple inches and I could jump it, but it was the point, yeah. There weren't curb cuts, so I'd push in the streets, the kitchen—I had to go around the back, through the gravel, up the super steep ramp, by the smelly garbage, through the kitchen which of course was full of roaches because it was South Carolina, and then through, you know and it's like, where's my ramp?

Karen came face-to-face with marginalization based upon her disability. What she actually faced was unlawful discrimination.

Her group performed valuable service projects in housing projects and state parks, but they also did work on the naval base where they were housed to improve accessibility. The fact that the facilities should have been covered by the *Architectural*

Barriers Act (1968) frustrated Karen all the more. In the end, she spend an inordinate amount of time fighting for access to buildings as well as educating the organization, its leaders and participants, about accommodations for disabilities. This caused physical and cognitive exhaustion and a feeling of marginalization in Karen that she would remember vividly for years.

So I tried to make change, you know, when I think about it, it probably would have been better if I'd sued them, because it's still, I went back there, and it's still not very accessible, and it's considered the accessible campus, but what I discovered is that you can only fight so much and you can only fight so long, and at some point . . . you have to let go of the, of the white hot anger.

She was on the verge of quitting the experience. She called her parents and they urged her to come home, yet just knowing this gave her the support to finish her assignment.

But even in our interview it was evident that the painful frustration had not been forgotten.

Nashville

At the end of her exhausting 10-month stint at AmeriCorps, Karen came to a job-hunting crossroads. A good friend from her university orientation leader group had been accepted in Graduate School in Nashville and invited Karen to join her to live there. After her trials in nonprofit work, Karen was glad to start a new adventure, but again she unsuccessfully searched for full-time teaching job, finally finding employment as a substitute teacher. As in South Carolina, architectural barriers impeded her entrance to many buildings: "It wasn't every school but I was shocked at how many were non-accessible or marginally accessible." Besides teaching, Karen enjoyed playing basketball with the local club team: "That's the first time that I realized that playing wheelchair basketball could be fun, and not just fun from a going out and playing well standpoint,

but fun from a being with your teammates standpoint.” The men’s team first rejected her attempt to join, however she insisted and they allowed her to join the team, and she found that she reveled not only in the on-court chemistry, but also in the camaraderie of teammates who were skilled, but did not take the game so seriously that they couldn’t have fun.

Another valuable lesson Karen learned in Nashville was that she loved to teach PE to children.

Then, I got this wild hair and decided I wanted to be a coach and that I wanted to teach—PE though, because what I discovered when I was subbing is, I got to sub for PE pretty often, and I loved it. I remember teaching a kindergartner how to throw and catch, and I was like, this is so cool, this is so cool, and it was so fun . . . and so that’s why I went back to school.

Substitute teaching, however, had a major shortcoming: lack of insurance since substitute teachers were not offered health care. After a year of teaching, Karen took an office job at the university, a job with good health care benefits, an important reason why she quit substitute teaching. She enjoyed another year in Nashville, working with wonderful colleagues and playing basketball for sheer enjoyment. Karen had moved to Nashville on a whim, and she experienced, as in South Carolina, many buildings were not accessible. She learned that basketball could be fun for her again, and she found that she loved teaching PE. Karen had not imagined some day returning to her alma mater, but she concluded that returning was the best option for her in order to pursue a master’s degree in sport pedagogy.

Back to College

Besides taking PE courses, Karen learned much about coaching while serving as an assistant coach for the wheelchair basketball team back at her university. She did

event planning as part of her assistantship and hosted several large adapted sport events. Karen kept herself in shape to play and hoped to return to the national team, but she suffered multiple concussions, and her doctor strongly advised against playing. Karen needed to finish her master's thesis to earn her degree, but with her coursework finished, she left her university in order to start her career.

Rural Georgia

After leaving her university, she investigated another government non-profit, Teach for America, where she again encountered architectural barriers. Karen was not convinced that her future would be in Teach for America. She received a job offer at a rehabilitation institute in rural Georgia, a place where, for a change, she did not encounter architectural barriers. Similar to her graduate assistant position at college, Karen coordinated activities and camps, and brought in teams for adapted sport competitions. When a teacher left, she got the opportunity to teach PE to the high school age students with disabilities. The institute afforded excellent access to equipment, so Karen planned and led, aside from more traditional team sports, a variety of wheelchair sports, adventure activities, camping, and aquatics to a group of students with a spectrum of abilities. Once a week Karen drove to Atlanta to coach a junior team in wheelchair basketball. She loved the teaching situation, but the rural isolation drove her to leave and move to Atlanta. During her time at the institute, Karen remembered watching the September 11, 2001 attacks and wondering about the safety of her two sisters who were living in Washington, DC at the time.

Atlanta, College Teaching

Frustrated with rural life, Karen worked for a time in Atlanta for an organization that facilitated compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990:

I had a 6-month stint up in Atlanta . . . I did technical assistance up there, which basically meant I learned about the ADA, and we were a support line, so people would call in say, you know, I went somewhere and there was no elevator, or I went somewhere and I'm hearing impaired and they didn't have an interpreter, what can I do? And so we would talk about them, whether or not they were covered by the ADA and if they were, how, and what they could do about it.

This position in Atlanta enabled Karen to help others who experienced discrimination based on disability. At the same time, she continued coaching basketball, and it was through basketball coaching that she met her future spouse.

Jeff taught as a professor of PE at a nearby university. His students needed some practicum hours working in adapted sport and he was put in contact with Karen. Later, he coached basketball together with her. Jeff informed Karen about a teaching opportunity at his university:

Jeff said, hey, there's a job opening here, you would be great at this . . . like I actually remember him telling me about it and I got shivers down my spine . . . that's teaching PE basically, but for college. It was all activity classes. There instead of using GA's [graduate assistants] to teach activity classes, they did instructors where you had to have a master's. It was basically . . . teaching PE . . . I'd really like that, but unfortunately when I left [college], I hadn't actually finished my master's, like my thesis. I had all my data collected, and I had it partly transcribed, but I didn't have it finished. But he's like, you have to have it done if you want this job, and I was like this will be good, 'cause this will . . . get it done.

Since substitute teaching in Nashville, Karen had waited for the opportunity to teach regular PE. Her new position not only let her teach, but also forced her to complete her degree. She finished the thesis and started teaching at the university, not only activity, but also health courses. The university made some accommodations for her, such as to make the showers accessible, for example. The experience gave Karen the opportunity to try

out some teaching models that she had learned in college such as Sport Education. Karen had an excellent teaching experience and she received a contract renewal, but then Jeff accepted a position at a large research university.

Doctoral Program

Though she briefly considered staying, on Jeff's suggestion she began a doctoral program in sport pedagogy at the university where he took his new position. Shortly after arriving at their new university, Karen and Jeff married. Her university coursework seemed overwhelming. Karen taught courses, tried to keep up with extensive course readings, and, in addition, she assisted Jeff in initiating a new wheelchair basketball program at the university:

In the beginning, I was just going to coach, 'cause that's what I had done with the junior team, and that's what we wanted to do, but what we found was there weren't enough people, and there weren't enough good people. The people we had hadn't played before, or they were juniors. Well, they needed somebody out there to help them. I mean honestly, they needed somebody who could handle the ball and wasn't gonna freak out . . . I had played, and so I ended up playing, so that wasn't the original plan.

On top of these obligations, Karen later found time to teach PE part-time at a school for young children with and without disabilities. Starting her doctoral program again gave Karen a chance to teach; yet starting the adapted sports program had the potential to give many students with disabilities the opportunity to eventually study at the university.

Karen voiced that sentiment as follows,

Nobody even cares about people with disabilities. Our voices are so often silenced. We're so often just marginalized, you know, just pushed away—it doesn't matter. It's because people with disabilities generally aren't as educated. There's not as many employed, so our voice isn't as strong.

Karen realized that starting the wheelchair basketball program not only would give her coaching (and playing) experience, but more importantly it could be an avenue for more

students with disabilities to access a university education, which had the potential to provide them with a voice and agency. The university team then served an emancipatory function.

Karen's new university in an old college town had its own accessibility issues. The main building housing the kinesiology department is not fully accessible. The equipment room is housed in the basement, the gymnasium on the third floor, and of course there is no elevator. The department made accommodations by moving the equipment room to a neighboring gym on the ground floor, a good solution until that building was shuttered for renovation. Karen would have to teach other classes that required a gym in the student recreation center. Further, because of a lack of adequate storm drainage around campus, there is often smelly storm sewer water covering the curb cutouts. Often students leap across these, however, individuals using manual wheelchairs get the filthy water on their wheels and hands and arrive in class wet and dirty.

Overall it's a pretty, good, accessible campus . . . the curb cuts here are awful, and when it rains, the water and the mud stay, so I can't tell you how disgusting it is to have to roll through like fetid, moldy, dirty, scummy water after it rains, I don't know what they did in terms of their planning, but they need to fix it, so that's not good, I mean, nobody wants to get to class all nasty and disgusting.

Although the situation was less than ideal, Karen could teach her classes and access equipment, but she could not visit the other graduate assistants or professors with offices on the second floor.

Career in Sport Pedagogy

Karen progressed through her doctoral program and eventually became a temporary instructor when another professor left the department. She felt fortunate to have a private office on the ground floor. She continued coaching, finished her

dissertation, and became pregnant. Nearing the end of her dissertation process, she applied and was hired as an assistant professor in the department where she and Jeff worked. She now teaches methods classes, dance and gymnastics, and the occasional graduate course in addition to supervising student teachers. Karen is thankful for the collegiality of her colleagues, but still frustrated by her lack of access. She cannot stop, for example, into a colleague's office on the second floor because of the lack of an elevator: "I don't go up to my colleagues offices . . . not a huge deal, but when you start to think about it . . . I don't really think about it, now I'm thinking about it . . . this is kind of annoying." Nor can she access the department's one dedicated gymnasium on the third floor.

After finishing her dissertation, Karen has become interested in researching the ergonomics of wheelchairs, an issue she is passionate about and that caught her attention long ago when she arrived at her first adapted sport summer camp where matching a person with the right chair was part of the program. Karen explained her interest thusly:

Manual wheelchair set-up right now, 'cause that's what I know . . . you put a 30 pound kid in a 50 pound chair, and you want her to push it? She's not going to push it. They've got armrests. They have push handles up to their armpits. The wheels are way too far back so they can push them this much. It's got push handles. It's a folding chair. They look terrible. The chair is way too heavy. Like, why would you want to push that around? How could you feel good about yourself when you look in the mirror and there's this huge, horrible, ugly chair and there's like you hidden amongst it . . . would you want to wear a size 20 shoe, when really you should be wearing 12? Do you want to run and play and do stuff with your peers? Would your peers make fun of you? Absolutely they would. Like you wouldn't want to go climb trees when your shoes don't fit, you know, but we do this horrible disservice, especially to kids. . . . it's not as bad as it used to be, but there's still so many people in these awful chairs, so I'm going to change that.

Based upon her dissertation, Karen had already successfully published in the area of teacher education. She searched for an area of research she felt passionate about for

continued research. Adapted PE is not technically her area of expertise, but she has a wealth of experience in the area based upon her own playing and coaching, and she has already published in the area. In her words, “I can’t separate my disability from who I am, and I can’t separate that from my teaching, and my students need, they need to be able to teach all their kids.” Whether or not Karen chooses to investigate wheelchair fitting and design issues for children in the future, she agreed that it was important to find a line of research that is her passion.

Discussion

Marginalization

A goal of this study was to explore the dimensions of marginalization suggested by Sparkes et al. (1993) including subject status, gender, and ableness, as well as any other dimensions not yet explored. In the area of subject status, I found several incidents of marginalization, but mostly in one school where Karen taught. When I asked Karen directly about being marginalized on the basis of subject status, she stated, “you can always find it if you’re looking for it.” In the school where Karen taught PE to 4- and 5-year-olds, she felt marginalized by the teachers and principal. She reported that occasionally the teachers released their young pupils late to her because of unfinished classroom projects. The teachers valued classroom work over physical movement. This has historical roots; often “a mental-manual dichotomy is reinforced, leisure is seen as a subsidiary to work, and play is regarded as inferior to work” (Sparkes, et al., p. 390). This is not to imply that Karen led playtime activities. She taught physical skills, but these are often seen as inferior to academic work. Karen felt marginalized because the teachers valued their work over physical movement.

Although she held a master's degree in sport pedagogy and she had a disability herself, the teachers felt they needed to give her some books and teach Karen how to teach to children with disabilities. Karen explained,

You don't need to sit here and talk to me about how I should consider my kids with disabilities, 'cause news flash—I have one. So that was a nice little real world—how do you want to be marginalized? Okay, you know, let's clue in here, here's your books; let me shove these books up your ass!

Karen's strong reaction belies the marginalization she felt from these teachers. The teachers had to learn how to teach children with disabilities, so they thought they had to teach Karen as well. Karen experienced that as insensitive because she herself had a disability. She felt that with her educational background and personal experience, she had the expertise to teach her subject to children with disabilities. Additionally, the principal tried to steer her toward teaching soccer, whereas Karen had planned a curriculum based on games, gymnastics, and dance that she thought would be more appropriate for the age group than team sports. She resented the people outside her area imposing what they thought might be appropriate in her area, while not respecting her area of expertise.

I defended my profession, I said well, my job is to teach all of the kids, and the kids who want to play soccer can play soccer in after-school programs, but the kids who use chairs and the kids who use walkers, they can't do that. My job is to teach them all. I am not going to teach them soccer.

Karen prided herself on teaching all of her students appropriately, rather than giving in to what others thought might be appropriate.

Karen experienced marginalization based upon gender as well. After a successful college and international career in wheelchair basketball, Karen tried to join the men's team in Nashville, but they originally refused. Only with persistence was she permitted to join their team, and it turned out to be one of the most enjoyable sporting experiences of

her life. In her current position, she is only one of two females in the department; she as an assistant professor, and the other woman as a lecturer, and neither is in a position of power.

Being a woman . . . I sometimes feel marginalized as a woman, but you know like here, there's only two of us, in [a previous university], there were only two of us, now in [the rehabilitation institute] there was, it was about half and half, so that was different, you know, so I'm a woman which puts me in a small minority and then I use a chair, which, where I've been, I've always been the only one.

Karen's statement expressed that she felt multiple layers of marginalization, as well as isolation. She also wondered why more women were not considered for tenured positions in the universities where she had worked. Sparkes et al.'s (1993) study similarly found that women held fewer of the positions of power and suggested "the gatekeepers to jobs are predominantly men and they do not always believe women are either capable or suitable, because of their competing family and work roles, for advancement into senior positions" (p. 391). In a follow-up question to Karen, I asked her specifically about role conflict and she stated that she felt immense pressure, she felt overwhelmed, sometimes to the point of considering quitting because she felt, beyond her university work, responsible for being in charge of the household, cooking, cleaning, and childcare. Together with her spouse she worked out a plan to share those duties, but viewing her life history, she grew up in a home with (what was perceived at that time as being) a traditional upbringing where women were in charge of all of those duties, and it was difficult for her to change those perceived societal expectations. It remains to be seen whether working out a plan of shared home responsibilities will reduce role conflict and thus become a further step toward perseverance and career longevity.

Ableness as a dimension of marginality was also investigated. When Karen arrived at her first disability sport summer camp and saw players in wheelchairs without push handles, armrests, and brakes, she realized that the fact that she had been given an oversized chair marginalized her, even though it was probably the standard chair of the time. Rather than her being in firm control of her wheelchair, the push handles encouraged others to push her, and its size and configuration impeded rapid, agile movement. Karen viewed those first sports chairs she saw with excitement. However, she was troubled when she later saw her elementary-aged pupils relegated to ill-fitting chairs since she sensed the marginalization of these children. Indeed, this may be a future area of research for her. Further, the light strength training she did in rehabilitation after being hurt certainly helped her in activities of daily living, but Karen really gained independence and confidence when she trained for intercollegiate and international sport. This newfound strength literally helped her to pick herself up off the floor and do most any sport endeavor she chose.

Certainly the main form of marginalization came from inaccessibility to buildings. Karen encountered this at most every job. Two notable exceptions included the rehabilitation institute, which was specifically designed for people with disabilities, and her position in Atlanta, at an organization that was tasked with increasing awareness of ADA compliance. Otherwise, barriers were everywhere:

The thing about marginalization, discrimination is that it's always there. It's always there, but it's, at least for me, it's only when it's right in my face that I really, I would say aware of it, 'cause I'm always aware of it, it's always there. But where it really gets me . . . like in AmeriCorps, where it's just like I couldn't avoid the fact that I couldn't get places, that it was bad, there was no getting around that, but here like, there's no elevator here . . . and I don't know if it's so much marginalization as it is difference, you know. You never ever think about going into a building. You never think about going up stairs in a building. You

never think about whether there is a curb cut, these never enter into your mind, because they are not realities for you. These are things I am constantly thinking about, and not in terms of oh good, bad, but okay: Where is the entrance, here's a new building, is it accessible, is it not?

Karen felt especially marginalized moving from her undergraduate university, which had a long tradition of accommodations for people with disabilities, to AmeriCorps, where she encountered multiple barriers. She encountered similar barriers at a previous and her current university. Often she found ways to minimize or eliminate the barriers, but other times there was little that could be done.

Karen additionally mentioned one incident where she experienced marginalization as an elite athlete with a disability. In one of her doctoral courses, when people shared examples from competitive sport, Karen perceived that her experiences in disabled sport were valued below experiences of others in non-disabled sport. This illustrates a twist on the subject status marginalization: Disabled sport was regarded as one rung beneath regular sport, even by people who regularly encounter subject-status marginalization.

Karen did encounter marginalization based both on subject status, and gender, and related to gender, also role conflict. Additionally this study found that she was marginalized in the dimension of ableness, mostly in the area of lacking access to buildings. At times she could overcome the barriers, such as in AmeriCorps where she actually organized an effort to make the buildings more accessible. At other times, such as at her current position, she does not have the power to add an elevator to her building, but rather has to be accommodated by teaching in another facility, across campus.

Activity and Injury

Injuries appear alongside sport or activity in the interviews at least 10 times as a recurring theme. Here are some excerpts: “we went sledding, and I slammed into the root

of a tree”; “somebody kicked the ball, got me right in the stomach, just took the wind out of me”; (while walking in the woods on a golf course) “I tripped over a root and put my hand out, and my arm broke”; “hit a baseball right back at me, he caught me in the belly”; “my sister broke her wrist in a dodgeball game”; “she runs smack into a fence, and knocked out her front teeth, yeah, there was blood everywhere”; “I fell off the tinkling poles”; and “I got like my third concussion in a few months of each other.” Could it be that Karen simply organized memories of sport experiences in her mind around painful or remarkable circumstances? This would make sense since she herself experienced a life-altering injury that changed her way of viewing the world; she now views the world accessibility—what she can and cannot access.

Of course not all of her remarks about sports included injuries, nor did all incidents of getting hurt result from sport. I contacted Karen about this connection while transcribing the interviews and she replied “I’m not sure I have a comment other than I guess it’s just part of the risk . . . don’t forget skiing and a broken back.” In all instances, Karen returned to participation after recovery; injuries never hampered her from further participation. In the following excerpt, Karen offers a rebuttal to the optimistic saying, “When life gives you lemons, make lemonade”:

It’s always make lemonade out of lemons, blah, blah, blah . . . sometimes you get lemons. Sometimes life just sucks, and that’s okay, and what I discovered in that process was that there was this little 16 year-old girl that I had never mourned and never cried for, that I’ve been, I have been so busy in my life, moving on and moving forward, and getting better physically and doing all of these things that I was doing that I had never taken the time to be sad.

Karen made this statement while explaining a watershed moment in her life that occurred while working in rural Georgia. She finally took the time to be introspective and to deal with her life-changing injury. One way that Karen has found to persevere is to be a

realist, to make changes when you can, but when you can't, accept that life sometimes gives you lemons. Karen's life has been eventful thus far, and she has spent time dealing with how her life has changed since "getting hurt," which is really Karen's euphemism for breaking her back; however, in light of her life history, it is not surprising that she links sport and injury in her mind, at least at a subconscious level, and she may continue the connection in the future. However, despite any perceived risks, sport plays a central role in Karen's life.

Reasons for Sport Participation

Because this study recorded a more detailed life history with one interviewee similar to Dowling Næss (1996, 2001) rather than shorter life history reflections on multiple teachers such as Armour (1997), we may learn from Karen the details about the personal meaning and importance that physical activity holds for her, despite the possible risks. In our discussions, Karen mentioned more than 20 reasons why she likes or dislikes physical activity and sport. Armour's (1997) life histories of teachers similarly found that sport played a central role in the lives of teachers (in fact, that is the only aspect the teachers had in common), and she suggested a further study of the centrality of sport in the lives of physical educators more detail. Even though this aspect was not the point of departure for this study, sport indeed emerged as a central theme throughout Karen's life; her life history story may thus illuminate the centrality of sport in her life. Karen provided many varied reasons for participating in sport and activity. She continued to engage in sports and activities to experience joy, to improve technique, to build strength, to win, to participate without competing, to compete at elite levels, to be in the flow, to find solitude, to meet sporting friends, to control weight, to enjoy training and to sweat,

for pure exhilaration, to have pride, to use equipment, to be popular, for recognition, and to experience competency. She had varying reasons for participating at different times in her life, and many of these reasons were clearly contradictory. Earlier she put more of an emphasis on winning, now she simply enjoys movement and solitude, such as in swimming, but she also thinks about competing. Here is an excerpt about one physical activity:

I remember when I lived in Illinois, I would get on my bike and I would just ride. We lived out, back then it was two blocks to the cornfields, and I would just ride . . . it was just so wonderful . . . I just remember, I just enjoyed it so much, enjoyed the solitude, I enjoyed the ability to go out and just be on my bike.

Sometimes she would participate despite not enjoying the activity. Some activities, such as track and field or cross-country, she felt she was not gifted in certain areas but she participated just the same, either to be with teammates or to enjoy the training or to please a coach. Perhaps she had an early realization, sometimes things are tough or not enjoyable, but you stick with them. These examples demonstrate that sport has always played, and continues to play a central role in Karen's life.

Conclusion

A goal of this study was to give voice to my collaborator, Karen. I provided longer excerpts rather than short snippets so that we could hear her voice resonate. Ideally, the oral interviews along with the transcripts, as the basis for this study, would be archived in an oral history institute, where they could be made available to other researchers with Karen's permission. Listeners could hear first-hand how Karen coped and persevered, and possibly add their own interpretations and conclusions since every researcher brings his/her own experiences to the table. My hope is that the reader can learn lessons from Karen on how to persevere in the face of obstacles. I do not share this life history as one of valor or inspiration, but simply as that

of an exemplary educator who faced and continues to face marginalization due to disability, and continues to persevere. The reader will make their own interpretations of Karen based upon their own life history. Karen's life history might prove helpful to others with disabilities who enjoy teaching sport skills but do not consider the possibility of a career in physical education.

Likewise Karen's life history may teach a lesson on how to be more sensitive when engaging with individuals with disabilities. As Rovegno stated strongly, "one of the goals of qualitative research is to share teachers' stories in the hope of opening possibilities of change for other teachers" (2003, p. 305). The transformational power of Karen's life history should open such possibilities for change.

This study is one of the first to explore the life history of a physical educator with a disability using a wheelchair. Karen has taught a wide variety of age groups and abilities, and drawing on those experiences as well as her personal background, Karen has developed sensitivity especially for teaching students with a spectrum of abilities. Karen experienced marginalization based on subject status, gender and ableness. She related one instance where she felt that her experiences in adapted sport were perceived as inferior to "regular" sport. Regarding gender, professionally Karen was in the minority in her department, not only as one of two women, but also as the only female tenure-track professor. Karen also expressed an awareness of role conflict, because she feels responsible in her role as a professor included teaching, research, and service, while also juggling to fulfill a second full-time role as mother and spouse. Finally, Karen recalled many incidents of marginalization based on her disability. She was and is barred entrance to many buildings, especially since moving to the southeastern United States, based upon a lack of building accessibility. In several cases, she fought in an attempt to make the buildings more accessible; in other cases, changes were made to accommodate her. However,

even at her current place of employment she continues to be othered, and has neither access to her colleagues on the second floor, nor to the gymnasium on the third floor. Karen feels that one reason that the voices of people with disabilities have been silenced is because they often lack access to education. Sport played a role in enabling Karen not only to achieve a higher education, but also to see the world as an elite athlete. Karen participated actively in sports before her accident, and she became even more passionately active afterward. Sports have helped her keep an even keel and persevere all along her life history. Even today Karen has a myriad of reasons why she would like to play a variety of sports, she just would like to have more time to play them. Along with her husband, Jeff, she has started a new wheelchair sport program to enable even more people with disabilities access to higher education.

This paper focused on Karen's life history and her marginalization based on ableness. The final article presents the life history of Dr. Archie Wade, one of the first African American professors at The University of Alabama. A conclusion follows.

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Appendix

Interview Framework: Female American PETE Professor with a Disability

1. Interview One: Biographic Information

- Basic biographic background information
- Early sporting experiences
- Influence of family and friends on early sporting experiences
- Description of PE programs in elementary, middle, and high school
- Extracurricular sporting experiences
- Influential coaches and teachers in the sporting realm
- Decision to go to college
- Watershed events in life up until college
- Other pre-PETE influences

2. Interview Two: College and University Experiences (as a student)

- Follow-up questions from first interview
- Discussion of timeline: which events should be added, deleted from the personal and historic timelines, which events are particularly important to interviewee
- General college experience as undergrad
- College sporting experiences (not including PETE)
- Description of PE classes, methods classes that you took during your PETE
- Description of professors (lecturers) who led PETE
- Influence of peers
- Description of field experiences in PE
- General college experience as a graduate student
- Watershed events in life up during college years

3. Interview Three: Career Experiences (as an educator)

- Follow-up questions from first two interviews
- Story of first teaching position
- Description of schools, jobs in which the individual has taught
- Description of the influence of facilities, equipment, and people: co-workers, administrators, and students
- The best and the worst things about teaching
- Accessibility issues at the school
- Sense of self: what are you primarily? a teacher? an athlete? something else?
- Watershed events in life during the post-college years
- Questions about the ability to persist in the face of adversity, marginalization in the areas:
 - a. gender: do you experience discrimination base upon being female?

- b. subject status: have any disparaging comments been made to you about being a PE teacher?
 - c. ableness: have you been marginalized in the area of ableness?
 - d. marginalization in other areas not mentioned
- Other influences from the workplace

CHAPTER 4

LIFE HISTORY OF AN EXEMPLARY AFRICAN AMERICAN MALE PHYSICAL EDUCATOR

In understanding something so intensely personal as teaching, it is critical that we know about the person the teacher is. Our paucity of knowledge in this area is a manifest indictment of the range of our sociological imagination. The life historian pursues the job from his own perspective, a perspective which emphasizes the value of the person's 'own story.' (Goodson, 1980, p. 69)

If I were to tell the story of my life in the area of physical education (PE), it would tell of receiving my first degree, landing my first teaching and coaching position, and telling about all the schools and communities in which I have taught. This is a *life story*, the “‘story we tell about our life’” (Goodson, 1992, p. 6). However, if I were to collaborate with a person recording my story and framing it within the larger sociohistorical context, this would become a *life history*.

According to Sparkes (1993),

‘Life history’ is an umbrella term that includes as sources of data, autobiographies, personal documents, human documents, life records, case histories, interviews, life stories, etc. There is no single life history method or technique but rather a range of strategies that can be used to focus upon individuals or groups. (p. 110)

Goodson (1992) stressed that a life history is collaboration between the researcher and the participant(s), and a major goal is to locate the story into the larger social, historical, and political context. According to Dollard (1949), “It is not just an account of a life with events separately identified like beads on a string” (p. 3), but, he adds, “The ‘social situation’ must be carefully and continuously specified as a factor” (p. 8). Ultimately, the goal of a life history is to present the personal truth as communicated by the interviewee, as well as to present what this person has

gone through (Goodson, 1980). Goodson (1992) stated that earlier much descriptive work on teaching had failed to place the narrative into the larger context (p. 6). My approach to life history therefore attended to the sociohistorical context and pointed out recurring themes in the life of the interviewee. I viewed the emerging life history as collaboration between the interviewee and interviewer and acknowledged my active role in the project.

Armour (1997) employed the term *life history reflections* in relating the experiences of four teachers in one high school department in England. She reported the voices of the teachers according to their life phases. Although Armour found some common experiences among the teachers at these different phases, she suggested that “attempting to identify reproducible patterns in individuals’ life stories is largely fruitless” (p. 79), even though she suggested further research about the central role that sports play in educators’ lives. Learning from Armour, life histories should ideally be conducted on one educator at a time rather than a group to highlight individuality and “explore the subjective reality of the individual” (Sparkes, 1993, p. 112). In addition, Shulman observed “that most individuals find specific cases more powerful influences on their decisions than impersonally presented empirical findings” (1986, p. 32). Hence, this study focused on the life history of one individual: Archie Wade, a former University of Alabama professor in the then Area of Health, Physical Education and Recreation.

As in many studies investigating physical educators, I expected to encounter marginalization in one form or the other because physical educators deal with the body. In addition, the subject of PE in itself is often marginalized, and “a mental-manual dichotomy is reinforced, leisure is seen as a subsidiary to work, and play is regarded as inferior to work” (Sparkes, et al., 1993, p. 390). Some educators are marginalized not just because of their subject status, but also because of their gender and sexual orientation; in fact these three areas were

explored by Sparkes et al., who called for further studies of marginality in the areas of “age, social class, race/ethnicity, and ableness” (p. 397). In this study, I explored the dimension of race. Following the lead of Templin, Sparkes, Grant, and Schempp (1994), I used an interactionist framework in an attempt to convey the personal reality of my participant. Blumer (1969) explained that “the human being is . . . not a mere responding organism but an acting organism—an organism that has to mold a line of action on the basis of what it takes into account instead of merely releasing a response to the play of some factor on its organization” (p. 15). In other words, the individual, though influenced by society and organizations, also has agency. Similarly, Woods (1983) expressed that “at the heart of symbolic interactionism is the notion of people as constructors of their own actions and meanings” (p. 1.) My participant, Archie Wade, undoubtedly entered his teaching career during a turbulent period in race relations, which were especially magnified in the Deep South. Even though I may have expected marginalization, I did not *assume* he was marginalized, but rather let his words speak for themselves.

Purpose

Sparkes et al. (1993) focused on teachers in the England who were marginalized in the dimensions of subject status, gender, and sexual orientation. I agreed with Squires and Sparkes (1996) that a life history is especially suitable to resonate the voice of someone who would otherwise be silenced. Few life history studies in the field of PE have been conducted in the United States (Curtner-Smith, 2001, Schempp, 1993, Schempp, Sparkes, & Templin, 1993, Templin et. al 1994). Earls (1981) constructed case studies of *distinctive* teachers to examine qualities that characterized them, the realities of teaching, and what might help future teachers. Templin et al. used an interactionist framework to construct the life history of a veteran

teacher/coach (Joe) to show how he dealt with role conflict and was marginalized as a PE teacher, meaning a PE teacher was valued less than both an elementary school teacher and/or a coach. Curtner-Smith (2001) recorded the life history of a young physical educator (Ed) and explained how this teacher's practices were influenced by early experiences, the physical education teacher education (PETE) program, the *institution press* of the workplace, as well by increased concern for security in American schools. Schempp (1993) investigated how one high school PE teacher (Steve) constructed knowledge. With the help of a life history, Schempp used interviews and ethnographic methods to follow Steve's knowledge construction for one school year. Schempp's case study concluded that Steve had an array of knowledge sources including the community, the school, his profession, and biography; nevertheless, Steve had few sources of new information, and the community viewed him primarily as a coach rather than a teacher.

The purpose of the current study was to present the life history of an exemplary African American physical educator in the Southeast within the historical and political events of the time period. Most of the life histories in the aforementioned studies included at least a cursory mention of organizational context but focus less on sociohistorical background. However, this study focused on both the organizational as well as the larger social, historical, and political contexts. Using an interactionist framework, as did Templin et al. (1994), I revealed the personal truth as expressed by the interviewee, while not denying my role as a researcher. The emerging life history was thus co-constructed. Traditionally, the interactionist framework is not seen as transformational, yet stories can reveal possibilities to young educators. As Rovegno (2003) explained, "One of the goals of qualitative research is to share teachers' stories in the hope of opening possibilities of change for other teachers" (p. 305). The presentation of this life history attempted to answer these guiding questions: (a) Was Archie Wade marginalized and, if so, in

what ways? (b) How did self-efficacy play a role in enabling him to persevere in face of obstacles? (c) How was he affected by stereotype threat?

Race and Marginality

My study involved using multiple audio-recorded interviews to co-construct the life history of Archie Wade, an African American physical educator, who was one of the first professors to break the color barrier at The University of Alabama. Since I played the role of a researcher and interviewer in this study it is crucial that I reveal my own personal subjectivity. I am a White American, who was born 22 years later than my subject and raised in the Upper Midwest. I transcribed and analyzed the data qualitatively using inductive analysis, but I could not and did not attempt to separate myself from the analysis. Some questions (see appendix for interview guide) I had before conducting the interviews included: Did my interviewee face discrimination over his long career, and if so, was it more intense at different times? How did he persevere in the face of difficulty? Was he marginalized because of his subject status or race or both? Through the interviews, I found the answers to these questions; however, I set out with the position that such racial discrimination and marginalization did occur, since he came of age in Tuscaloosa, Alabama during segregation, at the cusp of the Civil Rights Movement. Even before the interviews I learned that he graduated from a historically Black college in Tuscaloosa in 1961, a mere 7 years after the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision, and I knew he took a position at a traditionally White university, The University of Alabama, in 1970 (where he continued to teach for 30 years), approximately 5 years after the passage of the Civil and Voting Rights Act of 1964, legislation that discouraged segregation in public schools. I employed two theoretical frameworks, theory of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977), and stereotype threat (Steele,

1997) to analyze the data. I used these to understand how the participant, especially during his career in a traditionally White academy, persisted in the face of challenges.

Self-efficacy Theory

Self-efficacy theory deals with people's beliefs about their ability to achieve their goals; it is a way to explain people's motives and actions. Bandura (1977) presented the theoretical framework of self-efficacy to elucidate human behavior, such as whether a person initiates a behavior, how much effort will be expended, for how long, and does a person persist in the face of obstacles. Often for educators this means: do I believe I can teach effectively and can I continue to teach when the "going gets tough"? Self-efficacy then plays a significant role in whether educators continue in their professions. One large study in minority schools found that an important factor of student reading achievement was the teacher's personal efficacy (Armor et al., 1976). When teachers have a feeling of self-efficacy, they are more likely to persist, set higher goals for themselves and their students, be open to new ideas, and generally show a greater enthusiasm for teaching (Milner & Hoy, 2003).

Four sources associated with self-efficacy include (a) performance accomplishment (mastery), (b) vicarious experience, (c) verbal (social) persuasion, and (d) emotional arousal states (Bandura, 1977). Performance accomplishment or mastery is related to having previous success. Those teachers who have witnessed their students learning will have a higher sense of self-efficacy than those who have seldom seen progress, and the teachers who have seen repeated success will be more likely to persist in the face of occasional failure. When a teacher observes another teacher with whom he/she identifies, successfully completing a task (especially a threatening one), this is vicarious experience or modeling, and the observing teacher's self-efficacy is raised. Conversely, when failure is observed, self-efficacy is diminished. Bandura

suggested that vicarious experience “is a less dependable source of information about one’s capabilities than is direct evidence of personal accomplishments” (p. 197). When a teacher receives credible feedback from a trustworthy source, this is verbal or social persuasion, which can similarly influence self-efficacy. Simply put, a teacher giving encouragement can increase persistence in the student. Poor feedback or a lack of feedback can hamper self-efficacy. Of course, this could also be performance feedback that a professor receives from his/her colleagues. Bandura (1977) noted that this feedback would be less effective than one’s own accomplishments; however, verbal persuasion can coax people into doing what they have not tried in the past. Emotional arousal influences self-efficacy in that high arousal accentuates feelings of either success or failure. An example would be an athlete who experiences anxiety before an event. If this anxiety is perceived as positive, it may boost performance, whereas when perceived negatively, it could inhibit performance. All of these sources of efficacy expectations can affect the individual, and as such played a role during the career of the interviewee.

Some salient questions (see appendix for interview framework) I asked of my participant to probe the sources of self-efficacy were

1. Did you have experiences of accomplishment as an educator?
2. Can you give examples of when you saw students using what they learned from you?
3. Did you have models or mentors that you could observe? Could you identify with them? How did you learn vicariously from them?
4. Were there respected colleagues that you remember cheering you on and giving you feedback? How did they encourage you?
5. Do you remember feeling anxiety as you did your job, and if so, did this anxiety help or hinder your work?

These questions were asked within the framework of self-efficacy.

Stereotype Threat

A second framework that I applied in collecting and analyzing data is stereotype threat (Steele, 1997). Stereotype threat involves a perceived threat in a particular situation. Milner and Hoy (2003) explained,

The idea is that when stereotyped individuals are in situations where the stereotype applies, they bear an extra emotional and cognitive burden. The burden is the possibility of confirming the stereotype, in the eyes of others or in their own eyes. (p. 265)

These authors conducted a case study involving an African American teacher and investigated how she was affected by stereotype threat. In their case study, the teacher, a PE teacher with a doctoral degree, was observed and interviewed at her school. Beyond stereotype threat, the researchers also investigated sources of self-efficacy and persistence. They found that the teacher experienced isolation, and felt a burden to invalidate negative racial stereotypes and enlighten colleagues about African Americans. She found ways to remember successes in order to persevere (Milner & Hoy). Stereotype threat in this case involved the constant pressure felt by this teacher to “demystify preconceived negative stereotypes” (Milner & Hoy, p. 273). The authors called for “more qualitative studies . . . about teacher self-efficacy, stereotype threat, and teacher perseverance in teaching” (Milner & Hoy, p. 274). This study can be understood as a response to that call.

Steele (1997) stated in his landmark article that stereotype threat manifests itself when one identifies with a group about which a negative stereotype exists. The threat is the danger to one’s feeling of self-worth if one were to confirm the negative stereotype. Stereotype threat is most often associated with mental performance. Steele mentioned how this phenomenon might threaten females in a math classroom or African Americans in scholastic situations. As a White

male volleyball player, I will use an example concerning myself in the physical realm. There exists a negative stereotype about White males about their lack of vertical jumping ability that can be summarized as “White men can’t jump.” If my jumping ability were to be tested publicly, my fear about possibly confirming this stereotype might negatively impact my performance. “The anxiety can interfere with . . . performance” (Aronson, 2004, p. 247). Although this example in the physical realm may seem far fetched, in one study African Americans performed worse on a golf task when it was framed as a test of “sports intelligence,” while Whites did worse when the same task was labeled a test of “natural physical ability” (Stone, Sjomeling, Lynch, & Darley, 1999). In this case, I investigated whether Archie Wade dealt with stereotype threat and how self-efficacy played a role in his career.

Method

The *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* (n.d.) defines *exemplary* as “worthy of imitation; commendable.” In this study, exemplary referred to a commendable teacher who faced obstacles and persevered; hence, he may be regarded as a role model for others. When searching for exemplary educators to study, his peers and former colleagues at his university identified this particular person to be an outstanding educator. My participant was an outstanding African American physical educator living in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Archie Wade represented not only a distinctive educator, but deserving of imitation because of the way he persevered in the face of hindrances. He spent 30 years working at a large, public, historically White university in PETE and is now assistant professor emeritus. I selected Archie Wade through purposeful sampling. Patton (1990) suggested “information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term *purposeful*” (p. 169). One reason that I was interested in studying Wade was the fact that he was one of the first

African American faculty members at his university during a turbulent time in the Southeastern United States; the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. I fully informed him of the purpose of the study before starting. During the first interview, I asked him if he wanted his real name used for the study, and he chose to do so. Beardslee (1982), writing about life histories in the Civil Rights Movement, interviewed individuals in 1974 and then re-interviewed them in 1980. Several interviewees in the second version also chose to use their real names instead of a pseudonym (p. xiii).

Following the lead of Brown (1999) and Schempp et al. (1993) to study a life history, I scheduled a series of three in-depth, semi-structured interviews with Archie Wade. An interview framework guided the exchanges. Armour and Jones (1998) recommended that an interview framework could be more appropriate for a more *reflexive* interview (see Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983) than a pre-scripted list of questions. Patton (1990) proposed that an interview guide is advantageous because “it makes sure that the interviewer/evaluator has carefully decided how best to use the limited time available in an interview situation” (p. 283). I recorded and transcribed all interviews and analyzed the data qualitatively using analytic induction and constant comparison (Goetz & LaCompte, 1984). To insure trustworthiness, I performed member checks and scanned for discrepant cases (Goetz & LaCompte, 1984). A draft of the manuscript of this study was shared with Wade, and I asked him to provide feedback regarding accuracy. Several minor changes were made to improve the historical accuracy of the life history. As noted earlier, I constructed a framework to guide the interviews; however, in congruence with Schempp et al. (1993), the questions were open-ended, and the interviewee led the conversation on a path he chose.

I constructed a timeline of Archie Wade's life to forefront the sociohistorical context. Armour (2006) wrote, "life histories *must consciously* [italics added] seek to link such data to historical times, locations, events" (p. 473), and the timeline served as a mechanism to enable such a linkage. Similarly, Bogdan in his seminal life history, *The Autobiography of Jane Fry*, constructed a chronology of events of Jane's life (1974, pp. 15-16). The purpose of the timeline is to keep life events in historical context, following Goodson's admonition: "the life historian must constantly broaden the concern with personal truth to take account of the wider socio-historical concerns *even if these are not part of the consciousness of the individual*" (1995, p. 80). All steps taken make it possible to reveal a lucid picture of the life and career trajectory of my research partner in light of broader events.

This study fills a lacuna in presenting a marginalized voice persevering in spite of difficulties and may inspire others to face and overcome challenges. What follows are excerpts of the life history of Archie Wade, with emerging main themes, as well as an analysis of the interview within the framework of self-efficacy and stereotype threat, and incidents of marginalization are noted. In the following text, I will refer to Archie Wade according to his age in constructing his life history: in childhood *Archie*, in adulthood *Archie Wade* or simply *Wade*. While the American Psychological Association (APA, 2001) suggests the use of the term *African American* in manuscripts, I respect Wade's preferred use of the term *Afro American*, keeping in mind that "preferences for terms referring to racial and ethnic groups change often" (p. 67). It must be noted that discourse as reflected in the interviews always differs from written language. For the sake of authenticity, I respected the voice of Archie Wade and collaborated with him to provide an accurate representation of his life history.

Results and Discussion

Childhood and School Life

If this life history would start out with Archie Wade picking cotton in rural Alabama, it would sound cliché, but it is true in this case. Archie Wade was born in Madison County, in the small town of Big Cove, approximately 8 miles southeast of Huntsville. Wade remembered a service station and a grocery store or two, but there was little else there on US 431. Archie was the eldest of seven siblings, five sisters and one brother who was closest in age to him. Archie's father, who influenced him greatly in the area of sports, drove to Huntsville each day to work in a printing shop, only to come home to work on the small family farm. Archie's grandparents ran a larger farm adjacent to their property, and though he had extensive athletic experiences as a child, there were chores to complete first. When asked about surviving the heat of the Alabama summer, Archie explained:

That's probably the toughest thing I had to do in my life, is to go out in the field and to chop cotton, from the time sun comes up, until it goes down, and for two to three dollars a day. I mean it's just, I think about now how tough that was, and even picking cotton, to put a sack on and to go down between two rows that's, I don't know, half a mile long, you know, from one end of the place to the other. You might go down and back by lunchtime, and you go down and back and it's time to quit. That's how long the rows were. But to do that and to take it and fill up a sack, and to take it to a wagon, to be emptied . . . and all of this when it was 90 degrees or 95. It's tough times. . . . There was no shade. Of course you don't have any trees out in the field, so the only time you actually got in to be relieved of the sun was during lunchtime. We might go in for 30 minutes to eat, and maybe sit down under a tree for 15-20 minutes and then we went back to the field again.

Working in the fields as a child certainly must have helped Archie put other experiences from later life into perspective, and the work must have developed fitness and stamina in him.

Early in life, growing up in rural segregated Alabama, Archie faced racial discrimination. From his home in Big Cove he could see the local school, but that was the White school. Instead

he had to rise early, walk nearly a mile to the bus stop and then travel about 8 miles to his elementary school. The bus ride to school was an adventure:

I remember things such as the school busses that we had to ride on. They were never new. They were always the bus that was handed down. The White race got the new busses, we got the, what they had used. And my kids laugh about this now, but the bus that I rode, my first two years going to school . . . did not have windows, and didn't have seats, and had, and they don't believe it, but then I tell them, I said my father can verify it but, there's a bus that had curtains. It was a wooden bus, the up front where the motor and all was metal, but from the windshield back was wood. And it had curtains on each side that you rolled up, and you let them down during the winter, and tie them down. But they would, but you can imagine, they're not going to stay tied down. The wind is coming in, and the benches was one on this side, one on that side, and had two in the middle, and then you faced each other like we here, you know what I'm saying. So the bus would stop, we'd all slide to the front, take off quickly, we'd all slide, that's just the way it was.

Today Wade's children or grandchildren can laugh about the "bus with no windows," however, that was Wade's lived experience of racial discrimination that he remembers vividly. And when the bus broke down, they walked home. The students who had to be bused far away were literally marginalized or pushed to the margins and could not attend their town's school. They were powerless.

When asked about his early sporting experiences he remembered playing basketball and baseball with friends, both White and Black, near his home, but only after completing chores. At school, they played baseball during the lunch hour in an adjacent pasture. Archie's early schools lacked a PE program or a gym for that matter. He told of playing basketball near his school. I asked if it was an asphalt surface.

Dirt court. And then in the wintertime when you are playing basketball, sometimes when we have frozen ground, it'll thaw out about halftime. Now that frozen ground becomes mud. It was just a terrible way to play, so not so much dribbling, mostly passing, but we didn't have a gym. I remember playing in the ninth grade was the first time I played, in a gymnasium, but that again was in Huntsville.

Whether these conditions were based upon discrimination or just the poverty of local schools, or perhaps that schools had a main focus on academics, Archie and his classmates found ways to be active and hone their athletic skills.

Wade reported that he had uncles in the area that played semi-professional baseball against the neighboring communities. These men influenced him; however, his father was his main sporting influence early on:

I would say my father was most . . . I mean he made sure, even during these times on the farm, he made sure we had what we wanted, so if we did not have any balls, he would bring some, because he was actually working in Huntsville and would come in the afternoons. He was working out there in the printing shop, and was kind of farming in the afternoon. And so he would always bring us from town, balls or bats or gloves. We always had equipment, you know in terms of sports, and if we wanted a basketball goal, he would make sure we had one up, you know, and if something happened to it, or the nets was worn out, we'd just say we need some new nets. Whatever it was, he would get that for us, so I don't remember a time we didn't have any of those things if we did ask for it, as it relates to sports, but he I guess would be the number one.

Archie's father supported the boy's interest in sports from the start. Together they played sports around home, and Archie's father took the boys to the city, to Huntsville, to play tennis. Archie would later compete interscholastically in college in all three of these sports, tennis, basketball, and baseball, and his sporting prowess provided the athletic scholarship that supported his college attendance.

In high school, though sports were central to his life, Archie played on no school teams. He and his family had moved to Tuscaloosa, Alabama, where his father had opened a printing shop. In the 10th grade he attended Industrial High School, and in his final two years of school he attended the newly opened Druid High School. Druid High School, the African American high school, opened on the west end of town the same year as Tuscaloosa High School, the White school, opened.

I'm sure they opened at the same time, I know about Druid, I'm pretty much, 95%, 99% sure that's the same time Tuscaloosa High School was built, because they were building schools at the same time, they had this saying: separate but equal.

The schools had no baseball program at the time. Archie was too small for football, and he remembered that the basketball coach would not even give him a chance to try out:

Well I guess the only regret I have is that I wanted to play basketball and I went out one day to ask the coach would it be alright if I come out for basketball. And he told me, he already had his team . . . I always feel like I didn't get a chance to play. I don't care if I'm cut the first day, you just allow me the chance to come out, but when . . . you already have your team—so I just forgot about it, if you already have it, that's who you have. I later played college basketball.

Wade attributed his lack of high school sports participation partly to timing; he said many excellent athletes attended his school at the time, and he respectfully resigned himself that he would not play. Although Wade remembered this episode as hurtful because he did not get a chance, he employed a “choose your battles” coping mechanism. The coach in this case marginalized Archie as student without power. However Archie resisted this marginalization. Instead of basketball, he found sports outlets on other fronts: getting up early to play on the school's tennis courts or joining “The Whiz Kids,” a team of high school semi-professional baseball players that would compete against regional men's teams. In this way, Archie always found a way to participate on his own terms. Though he did not get a chance to try out for basketball, the opportunity to get a chance was critical for him.

During Archie's childhood, his schools lacked a PE program. Upon moving to Tuscaloosa, Wade recalled excellent PE programs throughout high school, first at Industrial High School.

Isaac Morehead, he was the PE teacher and he was also the basketball and football coach . . . I think he did an outstanding job . . . in terms of what we had . . . the amount of resources he had to work with . . . we had then what I call an organized program.

In Druid High School as well, Wade remembered an excellent teacher with whom he later student taught, Dr. Hugh Martin.

He was a really good physical educator, and he was one of those people that I really appreciate going into the field because of the way he conducted his classes. He was a person who really made sure that everything was done right. He followed procedures. He was really fair even though he was firm, you know in terms of everything. I just like the way he conducted his classes, his administration of the classes were always good.

When I naively asked about the racial make-up of the schools, he matter-of-factly replied:

“Industrial, I would say 100% Afro-American . . . Druid, the same. When I was there, it was . . . all Afro-Americans.” If Wade graduated from high school in 1957, I should have realized that in the Deep South at that time before imposed desegregation, schools were strictly segregated.

However, this segregation gave him the chance, in this case, to observe two consummate African American physical educators with whom he could relate and learn from, and a mere 5 years later, the young Archie practiced his teaching under the mentorship of Hugh Martin.

In our interviews, I queried Wade about social or political events that were important to him during his childhood. He responded,

For Jackie Robinson to be the first Black player to play in the big leagues, in the major leagues . . . I guess that was the first time ever, in any kind of way, where I really wanted to see or hear a baseball game because he was playing, because he came in 1947, and I guess in 1948, from then on, I’ve been listening to and watching baseball games. That was an important moment for me in terms of getting me—well, I really did enjoy sports. I heard about other things happening. I had heard about Joe Louis you know some other things, but I guess that, that part of my life, when Jackie Robinson and Larry Doby and some of those early baseball players, I just didn’t want to miss a game that the Brooklyn Dodgers was playing and mainly because of Jackie Robinson, and I think that has carried over even to today, because I stayed up last night, I wanted to see if the Dodgers won. I don’t know anyone but a few players with the Dodgers, but it’s still the Dodgers, and I still feel loyal to them because of the chance they gave Jackie Robinson.

In high school, Archie had felt slighted because he was denied being given a chance to try out for the basketball team, and he felt that everyone deserved a chance. Archie reveled in the fact that in 1947 Jackie Robinson was given the chance to play in the major leagues, and because the

Dodgers gave Robinson that chance, Wade is a fan to this day. Jackie Robinson opened the door to the major leagues for African American baseball players, but it also gave children like Archie the chance to dream. The fact that Wade remains a loyal fan amplifies the significance of that defining moment in his life.

College Life

The young student Archie attended college a baseball's throw from his home in Tuscaloosa at Stillman College, where he attended on an athletic scholarship. Stillman College is one of the Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU), defined as

. . . any historically black college or university that was established prior to 1964, whose principal mission was, and is, the education of black Americans, and that is accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association determined by the Secretary [of Education] to be a reliable authority as to the quality of training offered or is, according to such an agency or association, making reasonable progress toward accreditation. (White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities, 2009)

Even if Archie wanted to attend his state's capstone university, The University of Alabama, also located in his town, that was not an option open to him. While still in high school he had witnessed the results of one African American student's attempt cross the color barrier:

I was here during the time that Autherine Lucy attempted to go to school at the university, and my father owned a business on 27th Avenue, and I know what the times were like when she made the attempt to enroll at the university. And of course, actually she came to the beauty shop that was next to my father's place to get egg out of her hair and stuff they had threw at her. It was terrible, I actually saw people walking up the street with guns. It was a terrible time. You just hope that nothing like that would ever come to be, but that was terrible, Autherine Lucy, that was before James Hood and Vivian Malone, that was the very first attempt, Autherine Lucy.

Archie had attended an all-African American high school, which was the norm at that time.

Autherine Lucy technically broke the university's color barrier in 1956; however, she was expelled within 4 days by the Board of Trustees and no more African Americans gained admittance at that time (Clark, 2007). With what Archie had witnessed near his father's printing

business, he saw firsthand the repercussions of attempting to exercise the legal right to attend The University of Alabama. Stillman College provided a safe place for him to start his academic studies.

I asked Wade if he had planned already in high school to become a PE teacher or professor. He answered this way:

No, I'll tell you what I really thought in my life, I said I know I loved sports, and I like to play. I never did see myself as being a PE teacher at that time. As a matter of fact when I went to college, I majored in business administration, and mainly the reason I think I did that was because my father was in business. He was in the printing business. And I said what I know about the printing business, and I understand how to operate all the presses, you know and things in the printing shop, and maybe that's what I'll do one day, and so I got a degree in business administration. Then I decided my senior year that I really liked PE, and I decided to go back and take another year, because I took all my electives in PE.

Wade had been around sports all his life, even playing semi-professional baseball as a high school student. This continued in Stillman College where he played intercollegiate baseball for 4 years, basketball for 3 years, and tennis for 2. Similarly, he was often around printing. While busy with school and athletics, he told how even between classes he would go by his father's printing business, which was near campus, and print 1000 numbered tickets on the platen press. He observed how his father succeeded in the printing business, and Archie himself had completed an informal apprenticeship just by assisting in the shop. It was natural and practical for Archie to choose to study business. But Wade stated in the interviews that he used most of his Stillman elective credits to take activity classes, so many in fact that after concluding his business major, he decided to come back and in 1 year completed his education degree and certification in PE in 1962. Being an eyewitness to what the first African American trying to enroll at The University of Alabama endured, Wade secured a career path in business by following in his father's footsteps before pursuing his first love, sports. Thus, Wade finished

Stillman with extensive experience in multiple sports, a business degree, and certification to teach PE.

It was at Stillman that he met one of his greatest mentors, Joffre Whisenton:

He was my college coach, he coached baseball and basketball, and he's always meant a lot to me, and I always looked up to him, because I think he always prepared classes, he always wanted to make sure that at least you always got something out of every class, no matter what it was.

Whisenton provided an excellent role model for Archie. Not only was he Archie's coach in basketball and baseball, but he also taught the secondary methods course in PE. Archie would later become an assistant coach of those two sports at Stillman under the tutelage of Whisenton.

Wade graduated from Stillman in 1962 just a year before George Wallace's "Stand in the Schoolhouse Door," the unsuccessful attempt to keep African Americans out of The University of Alabama (perhaps "enactment" is a better term than "stand," see Clark, 2007, p. 207).

Whisenton, like Wade, was a direct beneficiary of John F. Kennedy's decision to federalize National Guardsmen to help desegregate the campus. Whisenton was the first African American to receive a doctorate from The University of Alabama and paved the way for others, including Wade. Whisenton would continue to play other key roles in Wade's career trajectory.

Archie stayed busy during his undergraduate years where he earned two degrees in 5 years. When not in class or practicing sports, he was helping in his father's printing shop on the west side of Tuscaloosa, where Stillman College is also located. His father's shop was located in the same building with the city's African American newspaper. In the evenings after practice, he would go to the city's African American YMCA and run the basketball leagues and then straighten up the building. In the summers he administered their little league baseball program. These experiences provided ample opportunities to learn how to structure tournaments and administer leagues, skills that he would subsequently teach. During his freshman year, he met his

wife, Jacqueline, who had transferred to Stillman from another HBCU, Hampton College, and they married the year he graduated, in 1962.

At the end of the first interview, I posed a question about the political/historical climate of the times.

Cazers: And any other historical events that you remember going on during those years?

Wade: Hm, *other than civil rights?* [italics added]

Cazers: Does something stick out?

Wade: Because all of it's tied to things that were going on pretty much as I remember them, it had to do with civil rights, integration, you know, it's all kind of—(pause), I think, but again, it *all* [italics added] has to do with civil rights.

Naturally everything had to do with civil rights at that time in Alabama. This occurred 1 year before Wade would even have the chance to study at The University of Alabama, when Vivian Malone and James Hood finally broke the color barrier in 1963, 9 years after the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision. Malone and Hood registered for classes at The University of Alabama after US Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach forced George Wallace to step aside from the door of Foster Auditorium (Clark, 2007), a building in which Archie would eventually teach.

Wade spoke of the unsettling feeling of disquiet that enveloped his own segregated campus:

Well, I just remember at Stillman, this is during the time of the Civil Rights Movement, and we had people who would catch busses to go across town . . . to demonstrate, during the demonstration times . . . those were the most difficult times living here, I guess in the early '60s, '62, 3, 4, 5: '62 and 3 mainly. Those were the toughest times, because ah, people come back, and they be put dogs on them, do something to them. It was just a terrible time. Go downtown and they were demonstrating at a little restaurant or something like that, and they'd come back and they'd be water-hosed or something would be done to them. Several times they might have eggs thrown on them or something, just anything. It was not good timing, so mostly during times it's restricted what you did, where you go, and what time you went . . . nothing like it is now. Before then, I always tell people, the worst times sometimes when you're not really sure whether you can or whether you can't. See if I know I can't stop at this motel, I'm okay. And if I know I can I'm okay. It's when I don't know whether I should stop or not . . . so what I

end up doing is driving on, you just keep driving until you got that feeling that this is, this may be okay. But that's to me is the toughest time, always think, you can always deal with things you know, even though it's not ideal, at least I know it.

This response sums up the uncertainty that Wade felt during his college years. If the cotton picking had been hard physical labor, the Civil Rights Movement with its sit-ins and other acts of nonviolent demonstrations led to inner turmoil and was bound to leave an emotional scar on Wade. African Americans had been granted legal rights, but the South was slow in adjusting to the required changes. The history of the Civil Rights Movement demonstrates how acts of nonviolent resistance risked the personal lives of those involved. The atmosphere in the South was tense and brought with it a feeling of uncertainty and even fear for one's life in the case of African Americans as expressed here by Wade.

Working Life

Upon graduation in 1962, Wade searched unsuccessfully for a teaching job. He received no teaching offers, and although he spoke with the high school principal at Druid High School where he had attended and student taught, no positions were available. At that time in Alabama as well as elsewhere in the Southeast, Wade could only work at African American schools, which severely restricted his job opportunities. He decided to get away from it all, to join the Marines in officer's training school. However, shortly before leaving, he received an offer:

I guess sometimes in your life you feel like, maybe the best thing for me to do is to get away from all of this, and that's kind of the way I felt, maybe I should just go into something else. I kind of like adventure and outdoors, and doing things. That's been part of me all the time anyway. That's why I really like physical education. You get a chance to go outside, and to be there and to do the games. But anyway, what happened was, it was on a Thursday afternoon, I was going to report in Montgomery that Monday. And the president of Stillman College called the person down at Selective Services to see if they could let me out of this, because he wanted me to work at Stillman . . . so some kind of way I got out of it, even though I was scheduled to go that Monday. I got out of it, he called downtown [the president of Stillman], they called Montgomery, and I went up to Stillman, and didn't have to go. And he hired me at Stillman to teach activity classes and

also to be assistant basketball and baseball coach, and that's how I started working at Stillman.

Wade was provided with the opportunity to teach at his alma mater. He had not applied for a position there, but his coaches and professors knew of him and his skills set. He interviewed with President Hay and his former coach and mentor Joffre Whisenton, to whom he gives credit for suggesting him as a candidate to the president. Archie would do what he had been trained: to teach and to coach athletics.

The young teacher, Mr. Wade, would teach activity classes and coach basketball and baseball. At first he experienced some "tough times" because he would have to tell his former teammates what to do. The college valued physical activity and required all students to take an activity course each semester. Wade would teach one activity course and then rush to the next until he later asked to have his courses staggered:

I really enjoyed the teaching activity classes, teaching tennis, and teaching softball, and teaching soccer, speedball or whatever the activity we had to offer, and I think what I hate a great deal was teaching four different activities each semester. The toughest thing I think sometime is teaching soccer from nine 'til 10, and from 10 'til 11 you're teaching volleyball, and 11 'til 12 you're teaching tennis. You know what I mean? You're going from activity to activity, and setting up and that's pretty tough. People don't realize that but, when I just finished a soccer class, now I have to put all that away. Now I have to get out here and get some tennis balls and get out on the courts.

After teaching, he would serve as assistant coach to Whisenton, and in the evenings supervise the recreational facilities.

Incidentally, during this time period, in 1964, Whisenton was given three tickets by the president of The University of Alabama to a Crimson Tide football game against Georgia. Whisenton invited friends Nathaniel Howard and Archie Wade. Alabama would go on to win the national championship that year with Joe Namath leading Coach Paul "Bear" Bryant's team. Up to that point, no African Americans had been allowed in the stands for a game, and this

presentation of tickets by the university president to Whisenton represented the first attempt to integrate the stands of Denny Stadium in Tuscaloosa. Previously there existed an African American section in the stadium, according to Wade, but not in the stands:

Afro-American people who attended the game had a little bleacher that was in the corner, between the stands and end zone seats. Just a little bleacher that . . . that's where they would sit, come in through that one gate, pay a dollar or two or whatever the fee was to sit on that bleacher, and that's where we could see a game. Because I remember the first game, I attended with my wife. We were on that bleacher. You could see from the 20-yard line to the 40, you didn't see touchdowns . . . it was just awful, you had just a tunnel vision.

These restricted seats represented the discriminatory practices of separate and unequal which were the norm of the day (see O'Brien, 1999, p. 99). The "gift" of the tickets to Whisenton and friends thus represented a historic moment that has never been acknowledged by the press: the full integration of Denny Stadium (now Bryant-Denny Stadium) at The University of Alabama.

Wade explained the events of the day:

Our seats were actually next to the band, the band is normally about the middle of the field, pretty good seats there, but we were right next to the band. And we could hear names being said and things being said, and all that during the time we were sitting there. But when the band took the field for halftime, you know how they go down five minutes before or 10 minutes before? We were sort of sittin' ducks, because now the band has left us, you know all those seats are now empty, and we were right behind the band. So that's when they started throwing ice and cups and bottles and things at us, and I told Joffre and Nathaniel Howard, you know what, I'm not gonna take this. I'm just gonna go ahead and leave. I mean, it's just not worth it. It's not worth it to be hit or doing this or go through this, just to be out here. I mean you can't enjoy the game anyway. You can't enjoy it with the people doing this. And so the police escorted us. They [Whisenton and Howard] said, we're gonna leave too. And so we all left at that time, so we only saw one half. And I guess from that time, it just stuck with me so long, that I did not attend a football game for maybe 10 years.

Whisenton, Wade, and Howard performed a great service to the university by being the pioneers to break the color barrier in the stands in 1964. However, they also were forced to put themselves in harm's way and had to endure verbal and physical abuse, all this 5 years before the first African American player took the field for The University of Alabama's Crimson Tide (Hamill,

2009). It is interesting that the local media never reported the event. Nevertheless, Wade would not soon forget the manner in which the crowd mistreated the three men. Later, when he assisted in recruiting African American athletes to play for Alabama and then was asked by parents of potential players how he was treated on campus as an African American, such memories caused him internal conflict.

At Stillman, Wade initially held the rank of instructor, but he was encouraged by his college to pursue an advanced degree. He expressed frustration that he could not earn such a degree in his own hometown. He wanted to enroll in a program for the summer term, however the schoolhouse door incident had only taken place on June 11, 1963. Instead, at the suggestion of a colleague, he applied at the University of West Virginia in Morgantown, over 700 miles away. Wade's plan was to enroll in 12 credits per summer to work towards a master's degree. Wade experienced marginalization due to the racial discrimination of the time in the South, but this did not deter him from gaining an advanced degree. Rather than resigning himself, he dedicated himself to achieving his goal, even if it meant traveling far from home and leaving his young family behind for several summers.

Sporting Life

Wade regretted not getting a chance to play high school baseball, but he did play semi-professionally as well as 4 years as a college athlete, yet in college no one recruited him to play in the major leagues. Finally, by accident as an assistant coach at Stillman he got his chance:

We didn't have anybody to take it [ground balls] at 3rd base that day because the third baseman was ill, and I said, well I'll just fill in at third base. And a scout was there from St. Louis [Cardinals organization], and he thought I was one of the players, but I was actually coaching the team. I was just filling in, and at the end of that [practice] he asked me, did I want a chance to play, and I told him, yes sir. I'd welcome that opportunity even though I hadn't played that much lately but he says that he thought I had potential. He wanted to give me a shot at it, I said, well, I can't go right now. I can't go until school's out, so I had to wait until the end of May, and at the end of that school term I did

get a flight from here and went down to Sarasota, Florida and played what they called a rookie league, a rookie, professional baseball league. And I played there, and I played there for 2 months . . . about 7 weeks, and they had a shortstop to get hurt in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and they sent me there to play shortstop. And I went to Cedar Rapids, Iowa to play shortstop in that league, Midwest League.

Wade took his chance in 1964 to play professional baseball, minor league “A” ball, even though he had to put his summer studies on hold.

In subsequent years, Stillman College allowed him to condense his teaching year by teaching more often so that he would be finished with his semester early and could attend spring training in March. Besides Florida and Iowa, Wade played in Modesto, California. In St. Petersburg and Modesto, world champion manager Sparky Anderson led Wade’s team, and they still keep in contact. One year in Florida he was awarded Minor League Player of the Year, and his batting average led the league. Unfortunately, Wade joined the St. Louis organization when they had just won the World Series, and they were flush with talented players. Additionally, Wade calculated that at the time he was too old to have a lengthy career in baseball. It bothered him that he had completed two summers of graduate work “hanging out there” but unfinished. Wade carefully weighed the advantages and disadvantages of continuing in baseball and his chances of rising to a higher level. He now had two small children that he would rarely see in the summers. He decided to quit baseball, and with the assistance of a Ford Foundation grant (which supports diversity in academia), he took the fall semester off teaching and completed his master’s studies in PE with a minor in business.

I just decided that maybe that’s the best thing for me to do. Number one was age, I guess number two was, I still had the job and I needed to go ahead and complete my degree. I don’t just want things hanging out there, and I don’t want to continue to be an instructor, and you’re an instructor because of the degree. And I just said, well what I’ll do is take off the fall semester working and complete my degree. And I actually went to fall semester to the University of West Virginia and finished that December and [received] my degree, in PE.

Wade took many valuable lessons from baseball that he used throughout his life to persevere. Lessons like the three-strike rule: if a person disappoints you, give them at least three chances. Everybody has a bad day. Keep an even keel: he kept the same disposition whether he was batting 0 for 10 or 8 for 10. His even temperament helped improve his performance over the long run. Play hard on the field, but afterwards, it's over. Wade used these lessons learned from the game to cope in life.

Back to College

Wade spent two summers in graduate work in West Virginia before he played his three summers of baseball, all the while teaching courses and coaching at Stillman. It bothered him not to have his degree finished, and so he returned to complete his degree. Integration on the West Virginia campus had progressed more than in Alabama, yet Wade occasionally perceived discrimination, such as when he was quartered in a new dorm and promised a roommate, yet when he arrived, the university gave him a room alone. He wasn't sure if it was because of discrimination, but it raised questions in his mind since all other students on that floor were White. A second incident more clearly reflects racism. At the university's housing office he found the number of a family who had a room to let near the campus:

I called on the phone and the person said, oh yes, we live right, one block from the campus, so I said, that would be great. All I need is a room, and a bath, just a bathroom. I'll eat on campus. I'll get a meal card and . . . I don't have to worry about a kitchen . . . says fine, we have a separate area, separate entrance. That's all I need. I said, I'll be there in probably 5 minutes. I got in my car and drove from there, and when I got to the place, and I got on the front porch, and I could look through the screen, because they had the door open. This is like early fall . . . I could see in the mirror of one room back to the den of the other room, and the lady evidently could see me. And she looked through and when she saw me being Afro-American, she went back and got her husband, and he came to the door and told me they didn't have a room. Boy I just—it just got me. . . . I said I just talked to you. She said, some of my cousins are coming up and we're going to let them have it, but I knew it was because of me. . . . You know how you get a feeling, you know this is, it's just not for me. I mean I'm a thousand miles from home and I just need a place to sleep, and they said yes on the phone. I don't guess they could detect, my race

or ethnic background [over the phone]. I am not sure, but they said, okay we got it, fine. And I go over there, they said no, we don't have it. And I, that really set me back, but anyway, I paid and stayed in the Holiday Inn.

This incident hurt and frustrated Wade. He came face to face with racial discrimination. The situation rendered Wade powerless, but not helpless. Even though the incident set him back, he did not allow himself to be derailed from his goal. Such incidences of blatant racism impacted Wade in the future when he experienced cases of perceived or borderline discrimination. Our past molds our view of the future.

To College, to Work, and Back to College

Degree in hand, Wade returned to Stillman as an assistant professor. He remained there as a professor and head coach until May 1969 for a total of 8 years. At that time, the president of the college decided to drop athletic scholarships in favor of giving athletes financial aid packages. In Wade's estimation, this would hinder the college from obtaining top athletes, and he thought it was unfair for athletes and their parents who would be surprised to find that part of their aid package would need to be repaid. Wade judged that he would have more difficulty recruiting athletes because he had less to offer them. He decided to leave and explore the world of business.

The long segregated South and the US in general slowly began to generate some opportunities for African Americans. With his business background, Wade moved to Louisville, Kentucky and took a job with General Electric (GE): "It was management training program . . . what they was [sic] trying to do is that they were trying to recruit minority in managerial positions." Wade explained how he learned about marketing, time standards, quality control, but ultimately his heart was not in it. He did, however, learn some lessons about business and won an award for extemporaneous speaking, a skill that served him well in academia. Although Wade

experienced marginalization and at times blatant racial discrimination, as an African American he also benefited from the Ford Foundation grant and this training program for minority managers at GE.

After working for 9 months at GE, in February of 1970, he received a call from The University of Alabama. The president of the university invited Wade to a job interview. Wade traveled to the interview and 2 weeks thereafter returned to Tuscaloosa to accept a position as an instructor in Health, Physical Education, and Recreation (HPER) at The University of Alabama. Wade credited Joffre Whisenton for suggesting his name to the university president: “Joffre Whisenton, I give him credit for getting me the job at Stillman and also for Alabama.” Dr. Whisenton displayed a talent for getting actively involved in the micropolitics of colleges and universities to enable change. The university was searching for faculty to help integrate the campus, and Whisenton who was the first African American to earn his PhD at The University of Alabama in 1966, suggested his friend and colleague for a position. Wade remained an instructor his first few years, which entitled him to take the required graduate courses for his doctorate.

Since he was hired in February 1970, for the first part of the year, Wade assisted in various departments and in PE classes. The following fall he started teaching mostly activity classes as an instructor while taking courses in the evenings toward his doctorate:

So I was teaching a full load, 12 hours, and then taking 3 hours at night, and during the summers taking 12, to complete my coursework, because I first had decided to get an EdS degree, then I decided, no I'll like to go ahead and pursue a doctorate, and that's when I decided to do all my coursework those first 3 years, and the start doing the dissertation.

Wade's doctoral degree program required him to take some courses similar to classes he had taken not long before at Stillman or West Virginia. All three institutions required the athletic administration class for example: he learned (again) how to seed teams and make brackets. Even

before college he could readily organize tournaments because of his extensive participation in sports and his work organizing tournaments at the YMCA. Athletics was his native language, as opposed to something he had to learn. As at Stillman, Wade carried an unenviable load, especially in light of the fact that the activity classes counted only as one credit courses but met nearly as often as those with more credits. Additionally, those courses often involved carrying bulky athletic equipment across campus to teach. In spite of these difficulties, Wade felt fortunate that he had, as had his friend, now Dr. Whisenton, the opportunity to work toward his doctorate in PE while staying in the city where his extended family had their roots, and where his father owned a business.

Wade experienced radical change since graduating from Stillman. At that time, he could not envision taking classes at The University of Alabama, where he now taught. Furthermore, his first office was ironically located in Foster Auditorium, the site of the Stand in the Schoolhouse Door that had been one of the vortices of the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama, along with the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing in Birmingham, and the riot on the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma. Wade summed up some of the changes in this way:

It's that transitional period here where, segregated completely, you know, now begin to integrate . . . remember now, I wasn't allowed to go to the university, to attend the university, and 7 years later, I'm working there. That's a big turn around, you know from '63 to 1970, but anyway, that's kind of the way it was, and I don't want to get off into the athletic part of it, but that's why I kind of got out of that part of my assignment first two years at the university is because of things like that, that I was recruiting people.

In the interviews, several times Wade brought up the topic of recruiting. After several months at The University of Alabama, his department chair asked Wade if he would help the athletic department recruit African American players for the football team. In exchange for spending some weekends between October and December recruiting, he would receive a course load reduction from 12 credit hours to 9. His job would be not so much to judge the athletic merits of

the players, but to travel to visit players, by car or by plane, visit with the families, go to their sons' games, take them to dinner, tell them about the university, and answer any questions they had, and then to report back to the athletic department.

Wade explained the situation:

I actually go talk to other Black athletes about coming to the university, so parents ask me, is it true that Governor Wallace stood in the door? Yes it is, it is absolutely true. Do you think my son will get a chance to play quarterback? Ma'am, I really don't know, that's up to the coaching staff, but I think they give you a fair shot at whatever position. But I just told them what I thought about it. And they asked me, are you being well treated? Oh yes, I'm doing fine, but I can't speak for the athletic department because I'm not over there. You know I don't know what goes on over there on a day-to-day basis. I have no idea, but I can be honest about what I see, what's happening to me and what I think the university is doing. But I was honest to the parents. I really feel good about that [more] than anything else. But one day I was going to Mississippi, driving a state car and I just decided somewhere along by Meridian, between Meridian and Hattiesburg: you know, I just want to give this up too. I don't want to do this anymore, because actually, what I was doing is giving up Friday to Sunday afternoon from October to December and that was a lot, to give up every weekend . . . I was taking them out to dinner, taking them, you know, places, I would go see a football game Friday night, but they were probably playing the game, then that Saturday take the family out to dinner and all, and Sunday do the same thing and then come back and report to the athletic department, and so sometimes I would report to Coach Bryant, you know exactly what is going on with this athlete.

In this excerpt, Wade clearly explains his recruiting responsibilities. Coach Paul Bryant's team had been embarrassed by losing a game to the University of Southern California with their African American star Sam Cunningham on September 12, 1970. Actually, at that time Bryant had already recruited an African American player, Wilbur Jackson, who as a freshman was ineligible to play and watched that game (Zinser, 2004). Even though Coach Bryant had previously decided to begin recruitment of African American players, it was the performance of Sam Cunningham leading to the loss of The University of Alabama to Southern Cal, along with the support of the powerful Coach Bryant, which caused a change of heart in the Alabama football fans toward recruiting African American players. It is in this crucial time period that

Wade played a critical role in successfully helping to recruit players for two seasons. However, after 2 years he decided it was enough. He had a family and children at home and he was spending the weekends for one-quarter of the year on the road. It is interesting to note that the hiring of Wade in February 1970 coincided with the push to recruit African American players and that he was asked to be part of the recruitment process. Even though The University of Alabama provided Wade with an academic career, the university gained from his presence twofold: they could show off an African American professor on campus and, additionally, he could help with the recruitment of the sought-after African American football players.

I suspected Wade felt some internal turmoil in fulfilling this task of recruiting. I asked Wade directly whether he experienced such internal conflict:

Yeah! All this was going on within me, yet I'm trying to be as honest as I can with them, you know what I'm saying, and it's kind of a, I don't want to say turmoil, but it's a conflict sometimes you're battling between what is, what's not, maybe what should be. And see I'm trying to talk to him or convince him it's not a bad place to be. But I hadn't been there that long. I'd only been there a few months myself . . . but after the second year I just said, give me my full load.

While he spoke honestly with parents about his current experiences on campus, it was hard to forget incidents such as the disgraceful behavior he witnessed at the football stadium just 6 years earlier. He felt conflicted while speaking to parents and making weekend trips. He longed to spend his fall weekends with his family. For these combined reasons, he stopped recruiting and instead resumed teaching a full load.

Although he felt torn about the recruiting, he did not regret doing it:

All in all it was not a terrible experience, but it was trying times, I'll put it that way, to know what has happened, and then to persuade somebody else to come, you know, it's kind of a two-way thing . . . I know I told Coach Bryant a lot of times, I wouldn't take anything for it, but I'm glad to let it go . . . then after that they started recruiting more Afro-Americans, because when people see more, and see more playing, they tend to want to come more, when they don't see them, you know, they tend to want to shy away.

With the recruiting chapter behind him, Wade concentrated on teaching his classes, completing his coursework, and working on his dissertation, which he finished, earning his doctorate and becoming an assistant professor at The University of Alabama. When the university hired Wade, he had to choose to focus on two of the following three areas in order to be promoted: research, teaching, and service. He chose teaching and service and committed his work to those. He served on as many as 12 committees at a time, and on multiple boards in the community. In approximately 1985, the university shifted its emphasis to all three areas: Research was now required of all professors for promotion. Besides his dissertation work, Wade had not done much research up until that point because the university did not require it of him. He felt it was too late to pursue research at this relatively late stage in his career, and he continued with teaching and service, but was denied promotion beyond the assistant professor level, even though he had been granted tenure upon his promotion to assistant professor in 1974.

In his own words:

But I decided, you know what, I been out here 15 years, 16 or whatever at that point. I'm not gonna redo anything. I don't care about the rank; just pay me for what I am doing. I been through enough things. Let me just go on and do what I need to do, teach my class, do the best I can every time.

Wade felt slighted that rules that he had agreed to upon taking the position had changed. He chose not to fight this battle. Being a business major, he knew exactly what the lack of promotion over his remaining 15 years of service would cost him, even though he stated that he did not care about the rank.

I asked Wade if he had experienced incidents of racism while being a professor at the university. He provided a few examples: "Oh sure, absolutely, not overt, I mean, I don't know, it's a—I can give you some instances, where you can just feel it." He told of serving on

committees, however when he became chair of the committee, some members from that point on would no longer attend. There were other incidents like the following:

I would be walking on the side of University Boulevard next to the Quad, and I would see a faculty member coming up, and they would go across the street until after I, they passed, so I'd never meet them. So then they'd cross back over. I mean, they can say that they didn't do it for that reason, but they did. It didn't happen once, it happened a lot of times.

He told of another incident on the university golf course that he perceived as racism, when he was invited by some fellow education professors to play golf on a Friday afternoon. They had played half a round, and when they approached the clubhouse, one of Wade's colleagues was telephoning Wade in the department, knowing full well that he was actually out on the course. Wade perceived this as the professor saying, "you shouldn't be out here and I will let the department know." He recalled the incident:

When I walked to the clubhouse, a person was on the phone asking to speak to me, and they saw me on the golf course. You see the person actually saw me when I came to the golf course. When I came back, he was asking to speak to me, and when I walked in, he was carrying on a conversation as if I didn't know he was asking to speak to me. He said, "Can I speak to Mr. Wade?" . . . and I was just sitting there listening, no answer, but I was wondering why he would do that? And the only reason I can think of, I should be at school and not out there. The other 3 people okay, but I shouldn't. You understand what I mean? . . . he's calling and asking to speak to me to let them know I'm not there.

This incident hurt Wade, and he saw it as an expression of racism and marginalization, that others had the right to play, but he did not. In his own words:

I mention that incident just to give you an idea, it's little things like, I mean not a little thing, but little things like that, that probably made it more difficult than it should have been. I shouldn't have had to deal with that, and I don't mind if everyone's considered the same way, when they're not, that's the part, yeah, that's the toughest part.

What hurt Wade most was the feeling of being treated differently, of being accepted in theory but not in reality, and of being an eternal outsider. Wade put much energy into his work at the university, teaching a very full load while also doing full time graduate work. Mean-spirited

attacks like the one described made his early years at the university emotionally draining. It's not surprising that years later when the university required him to do research on top of it all in order to be promoted, that he declined.

Being made to serve on the many committees could also be considered a form of discrimination. From the university's viewpoint, it was a sign of increasing diversity: minority representatives served on many committees. Wade viewed this service differently:

I think the only reason they asked me is just so they have some representation, to have an Afro-American on the committee. And so what you end up doing is being on 8 or 10 committees because, you don't—there's not that many Afro-Americans. So you're put there in a position where, maybe I'm being asked to do this because, and that's the way I felt . . . so a lot of your time was spent in committee or doing committee work and none of that's counting toward promotion or anything.

In part, Wade felt called to the university; he was paving the way for other African Americans, and he felt a pressure to succeed for them. However, since he was one of the first and few African Americans on campus, he did much of the heavy lifting by serving on many committees. He felt pressure, because if he were absent from meetings, it would be conspicuous. He was asked to serve on committees in order to represent the view of a minority group so that the university could not be accused of discrimination and/or marginalization. However the praxis of assigning the few minority faculty members to so many committees represents in itself an act of discriminatory praxis. Universities continue to find themselves in this quagmire as long as they do not hire enough minority faculty members. To Wade it was hurtful that he received no credit for his added committee work, and at some point he felt exploited.

In his 30 years of teaching at the university, Wade taught a variety of classes. In his first years, the department assigned him especially many health courses for which he had to do considerable preparation. "That was one of the toughest things I had to deal with at the university, was that when we didn't have people to assign to certain courses, some way it worked

back to me, many times it did.” The department marginalized him because they had not been given a voice in his hiring selection. Being a perfectionist, he spent large amounts of time preparing for the many courses the department assigned him to teach.

Wade spent a dozen years supervising student teachers along with the requisite traveling around the state to observe them. He very much enjoyed this part of his work, and in general he loved working with students: “I had the best relationship I think anybody could have with students, I really enjoyed them.” Earls (1981) similarly found that distinctive teachers expressed a love for their students (p. 67). Throughout his career, Wade completed a wide variety of teaching and supervision assignments. Especially once he decided that he would not do the research that professors were newly required to do to get promoted, it is possible that he ended up with even more committee work to make up for colleagues who shifted their energies toward research, though in a follow-up he stated that he did not think this was the case. This shift may also be a reason that he had to teach the classes that no one else wished to teach, which could be considered a form of marginalization.

“I just never had that problem, not one problem with the students, it’s just that, sometimes I felt it was some things with the faculty members.” Wade’s rapport with students was beyond reproach. His office was not located in a position where students would stroll past, yet they often sought him out for counseling. In general, Wade kept good relations with his colleagues as well, but occasionally he encountered hurtful situations. One example:

I remember at a faculty meeting, the area head made a comment, I don’t know what we were talking about at the moment, but he said: “That’s the way we got Archie,” and that kind of—I just felt like I wanted to leave. I don’t know if you’ve ever had a feeling like this, but it was almost like I was dropped down on them, and they didn’t . . . they didn’t pursue me. I was dropped over the HPER department by the university, and you take him. And that’s the way it came across.

This thoughtless, insensitive comment hurt Wade who said, “Matter of fact there was another faculty member in there that day, he said, ‘I can imagine how you [Wade] felt.’” The hurtful comment also supported further the feeling of not belonging, of being an outsider, and not a fully recognized member of the faculty in the department who had been forced upon them.

Fortunately, such occurrences happened infrequently. Wade had, in general, good rapport with faculty in his and other departments, and he often participated in intramural sports with other faculty members.

Wade worked hard and sometimes participated in athletic activities with faculty members, but in general, after work he would retreat to his home on the west side of Tuscaloosa:

You have fun and play, when we leave that, it’s like everybody goes a separate way. You know, um because people ask me, you know, even when I was working at the university . . . I live on the west side of town. I mean I don’t see any other, except 98% or 99% of people I make contact with other than work, they are African Americans . . . because this is where I live. So I don’t go to other homes . . . just that, once you leave the ball field, people have their own lives to live and they go separate ways.

Wade went beyond performing his duties; he socialized with faculty members from his own department as well as other departments on the intramural courts and fields. Even today, Wade still meets with friends and former colleagues, White and Black. The number of African American faculty members has risen slowly on The University of Alabama’s campus, but as with other institutions, the university struggles to find and retain a diverse faculty. Tuscaloosa, to this day, is largely segregated and though Wade has much more freedom and opportunity than he had as an undergraduate, he still lives, as do many in town, in their largely segregated worlds.

In the year 2000, after serving The University of Alabama for 30 years (and Stillman for 8 before then), Wade retired. The consummate business major, he calculated years earlier that the system had a respectable retirement program, despite the wages that he had lost because of his lack of promotion.

I accomplished what I needed to, and when I got to 30 years I just said, that's enough, and it's time for somebody else to do this . . . because I feel like I had been blessed to be put in the situation. I did the best I could, and now it's time for me to give up all this pressure and whatever it is and retire. And I haven't regretted, not one bit of retiring. It's been great.

As the first African American faculty member in the College of Education and one of the first in the entire university, Wade found himself at a unique juncture. The preceding excerpt betrays the burden he carried throughout his career when he refers "to all this pressure" even though he enjoyed teaching and working with students in general. He experienced the environment at the university as "cordial" on the surface, but nevertheless there was an underlying current of discrimination. Intertwined throughout Wade's multiple lives, childhood/school, college, sporting, and work, marginalization and discrimination played a role.

Stereotype Threat

As a part of this study, I investigated the role of stereotype threat in Wade's life. In the preceding quote, he stated how he felt a constant pressure. I asked him directly whether this pressure to succeed in academia felt greater being an African American.

Right, always felt like I was being observed or watched or evaluated on a daily basis, not just during that end of the semester evaluation. I'm talking about every day, and whether it was or not, I felt that anyway. And sometimes if it's not true, and you feel it, it's just as bad. Because I do feel it.

In fact in his first 4 years, he thought that the department or the university placed several students in his classes specifically to observe him. Further, I asked whether this pressure made him perform worse. He responded, "I think that I put a lot of pressure on myself anyway, it's not so much other people have to do it, because I think, if I don't think it's right, I'll continue to do it 'til it gets right." Wade was a perfectionist. He often stayed up late and woke up early to prepare. Even now, if installing a ceiling fan for a neighbor or chairing a neighborhood association meeting, he puts pressure upon himself and over-prepares. This study confirmed that Wade did

carry an additional emotional and cognitive burden (Milner & Hoy, 2003). I did not find, as did Milner and Hoy, that he felt pressure to “enlighten colleagues about African Americans,” (p. 268) at least he did not mention this during all our hours of interviews. Additionally, I did not find that Wade experienced isolation or had to consciously recall past successes in order to persevere. The cognitive and emotional burden did not negatively influence his performance as an educator; conversely, the extra pressure he put on himself made him over-prepare and improve. Stereotype threat appears to have played only a negligible role for Wade.

Self-efficacy

If Archie Wade persevered in spite of numerous obstacles such as being discriminated, we may ask how he managed to succeed over a career of 39 years. Wade expressed a feeling of accomplishment:

I think when I hear from students and colleagues, about the job that I did, that’s when I think I was successful. If I had students who would go out and feel like the things that I did—advising or teaching—or whatever it might have been, that it did help them, to me that’s an accomplishment.

Wade observed students using what they learned from him throughout the 12 years that he supervised student teaching. Self-efficacy thus provided him with the strength to continue. Wade had mentors and models like Joffre Whisenton and Hugh Martin that he could both identify with, and he observed them directly teaching successfully. These respected colleagues cheered him on and gave him feedback. His peers in his department at The University of Alabama for the most part gave him positive feedback, and though he said he did not take much stock in them, he received good student evaluations as well, usually in the 4.5 range on a 5 point scale. All of these factors helped bolster his self-confidence and contributed to building self-efficacy. What he lacked were African American colleagues.

As a part of self-efficacy, anxiety can help or hinder the perception of success or failure.

As discussed earlier, the pressure Wade felt from the outside and he put upon himself often helped him prepare and improve. Here I asked Wade whether he experienced anxiety:

Not really, I guess, the biggest anxiety I guess I had is standing in front of the College of Education in a meeting to give a report of some type, whether it's a report about a visiting team coming or whatever the report might have been. I was chair over the committee that had to make a report to the college. There was some anxiety sometimes, standing before 107 colleagues . . . most of them I don't know at the talk, but even after presenting what I had, there were a couple of people, you know around me talking about, they [said they] just couldn't do that, the way I did it. Because I always felt like, I'm prepared enough that I can talk about it, and I've been blessed to be able to remember numbers and things, and things like that. And so when people ask me something or if something comes up, I could do it. I could remember it, and they, I thought, was impressed at that point that I could do it, but there was some anxiety going on. It's almost like going to take the field or something playing the game: until a ball is hit to you or something you get involved in, you have butterflies, you have this until it actually starts. Now I'm okay, yeah, I'm okay now.

Wade used his skills in such situations, when levels of anxiety heightened emotional response.

He prepared, and he was adept with numbers. He employed the speaking skills that had won him accolades in the business world. He applied lessons learned in baseball to help him, recognizing before the fact that he would have the "butterflies until a ball was hit to him," and he could deal with that. His peers recognized and gave him praise for his skills. Such instances provided him with the self-efficacy to persevere through an extended career in academia.

It is obvious that Wade faced challenges resulting in doubts at times about whether he could continue in his position. The following is an excerpt of how he felt in his first years at The University of Alabama after a fellow faculty member crossed the street rather than to pass him on the sidewalk:

There were other people, I guess couldn't stand the sight of seeing you there, you know and so, somewhere in between there, you just have to deal with it. And there were times that I feel like I was doing some things that I should be doing, not only for my race, but for the university, and for everybody else. Then there were times I felt like, I don't want to go back out there. It's not worth it. But every night, the end of night, I always think

about well tomorrow's tomorrow, and tomorrow will be a better day. And every day got a little bit better, and that's the way I kind of took it. And if I think I would've taken it the other way, I'd said it's, forget it, it's not worth it, because *there were some trying times* [italics added].

Even though Wade was highly successful to the outside world, he experienced anxiety about whether he could persevere. As stated earlier, he compensated by over-preparing, choosing his battles, using skills and wisdom he had learned from the world of business and sport, and in all situations, keeping an even keel.

To summarize the role of self-efficacy, Wade's belief in his skills and in himself provided him with enough impetus to reach his goal of being a successful physical educator in academia even at moments of anxiety. When the University changed its rules and impeded his chances of being promoted, he had the self-efficacy to persevere, because following the four sources of self-efficacy from Bandura (1977), (a) he experienced performance accomplishment when he observed his student teachers teach as he had taught them in the methods classes; (b) he had feelings of success through vicarious experience through observing mentors with whom he could identify such as Whisenton and Martin, teaching with accomplishment and getting advanced degrees; (c) he was influenced by verbal persuasion when people in his department and college cheered on his teaching proficiency; and (d) he experienced success in times of heightened emotional arousal such as when leading a presentation before a large group while receiving complements from his peers. Though Wade kept an even temperament, he experienced moments of emotional despair. He did not succumb to these trying moments, but used instead practiced strategies (choose your battles, tomorrow will be another day). Level headedness and pragmatic optimism over anxiety supported his level of self-efficacy and helped him persevere over a long career.

Conclusion

Considering that Archie Wade started his educational career traveling in a school bus with no windows and no seats, he traveled a considerable distance over the course of his life history thus far. Learning from Armour (1997), this study focused on one exemplary African American educator in order to examine, with the help of a life history, if and how marginalization played a role and how it was dealt with. Wade persevered through a long career including (a) teaching at two institutions of higher education, (b) work experience in a large corporation, and even (c) a foray into professional baseball. All the while, he was navigating through the tempest of race relations in the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama. He had mentors like Joffre Whisenton go before him, and he in turn paved the way for other African Americans to follow and to enter the traditionally White academy at The University of Alabama. He thus presented a stellar example for all educators of how to persevere in the face of obstacles.

I investigated marginalization and discrimination and found that these were pervasive through all phases of his life: childhood and school life, college life, sporting life, and working life. Marginalization in the form of racial discrimination was a part of the sociohistorical forces that Wade had to face. Subject status marginalization did not play a major role for Wade, but marginalization based on race did, often overtly, sometimes covertly. Woods (1983) and Blumer (1969) stated that individuals in an interactionist framework have agency and are active constructors of meaning. When he disagreed with the president of his college over financial aid for the athletes he coached, he did not comply, but rather embarked on a new career by leaving and joining the business world. He had this option because he had also a business degree. Later on, Wade had no opportunity to study for an advanced degree in his field in his hometown due to segregation, but he again took agency and found his way to push back racism and

marginalization and in the end received not only his doctoral degree, but made a career as a professor at the same hometown university that had earlier denied access to African Americans.

Stereotype threat (Steele, 1997) played a comparatively negligible role in Wade's life history; though Wade felt heightened pressure throughout his career to succeed, he did not yield to the pressure; conversely he worked harder and prepared all courses thoroughly. Self-efficacy, however, played a major role throughout his life. Wade persevered in his career because he experienced a sense of accomplishment about his work from witnessing the success of his students, observing others succeed with whom he identified, and receiving praise and positive feedback from both colleagues and students. Wade also drew from lessons learned throughout his life to persevere, especially from baseball. Wade's belief in his skills gave him impetus to reach his goal of being a successful physical educator in a predominantly White academia, and he persevered in his chosen field 38 years until he retired under terms that he chose.

Armour (1997) suggested that the central role of sports in a PE teacher's life should be examined in more detail. While the centrality of sports was not specifically the focus of this study, Wade's life history demonstrated that sports played indeed multiple roles in his life: Sports were a vehicle for enjoyment and self-expression (childhood and youth), a ticket to college (Stillman College), a medium for socializing (intramural sports), an occupation (professional baseball player), as well as a profession (university professor), and a source of lifelong wisdom.

Archie Wade's life history may serve as an inspiration for everyone. Considering the obstacles he faced over the course of his lifetime, teachers should recognize the opportunities open to them today. His experiences invite teachers to look forward and envision change. Nevertheless, further research on the personal experiences of African Americans and other

minorities, female and male, is called for in order to investigate the various levels on how discrimination and marginalization may have an effect on an educator's life. Even though Archie Wade had a successful career, this study demonstrated that the pressure on him was much higher than he let on to the outside world. More voices such as Wade's need to be heard, and further life histories need to be constructed, not only to inspire, but also to respect differences and increase sensitivity. In this case we all can learn a lesson from Wade's wisdom.

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Appendix

Interview Framework

1. Interview One: Biographic Information

- Basic biographic background information
- Early sporting experiences
- Influence of family and friends on early sporting experiences
- Description of PE programs in elementary, middle, and high school
- Extracurricular sporting experiences
- Influential coaches and teachers in the sporting realm
- Other pre-PETE influences
- Discussion of timeline: which events should be added, deleted from the personal and historic timelines, which events are particularly important to interviewee

2. Interview Two: College and University Experiences (as a student)

- General college experience as undergrad
- College sporting experiences (not including PETE)
- Description of PE classes, methods classes that you took during your PETE
- Description of professors (lecturers) who led PETE
- Influence of peers
- Description of field experiences in PE
- General college experience as a graduate student

3. Interview Three: Career Experiences (as an educator)

- Participation in professional athletics
- Description of schools/universities in which the individual has taught
- Description of the influence of co-workers, administrators, and students
- Doctoral dissertation process
- Questions about the ability to persist in the face of adversity
- Other influences from the workplace
- Specific questions about self-efficacy:
 - a. Did you have experiences of accomplishment as an educator and can you describe them? (performance accomplishments)

- b. Were there respected colleagues that you remember cheering you on and giving you feedback? How did they encourage you? How well did you relate to this person/ these people? (verbal persuasion)
 - c. Do you remember feeling anxiety as you did your job, and if so, did this anxiety help or hinder your work? (emotional arousal)
 - d. Did you have models or mentors that you could observe? Could you identify with them? How did you learn vicariously from them and what did you learn?
- Specific questions about stereotype threat:
 - a. Do you recall any pressure as an educator to confirm or disconfirm stereotypes?
 - b. Do you think this pressure made you perform worse or better?

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY

To summarize, this dissertation focused on the life histories of three disparate educators: (a) one White female, a longtime elementary PE teacher, (b) one White female PETE professor/educator with a disability who was near the beginning of her career, and finally (c) a retired African American male PE professor, who taught for 38 years in academia. The main factor that linked these three individuals together in this study is that they were all investigated using the life history method and they collaborated to write these life histories. They each sat for approximately 6 hours of interviews, they member checked the results and answered numerous phone calls or e-mails to clarify a robust representation of their subjective realities, but mainly it is the research method that united them in this dissertation. As the title stated, they are exemplary educators, commendable and worthy of imitation. Whether it was for dedication to the improvement their field, for opening doors to new physical educators with disabilities, or for persevering in the face of discrimination, each of the three educators was commendable in their own unique way that was revealed in their life history.

What did these three exemplary but disparate educators have in common? Armour (1997) commenting on her series of four life histories stated, “attempting to identify reproducible patterns in individuals’ life stories is largely fruitless” (p. 79). It was not one of the goals of this dissertation to compare the individuals; however, some similarities became apparent through the collection of their detailed life histories. They all taught PE at some level in the Southeastern US,

and they similarly all held degrees in PE, two held doctorates, and one a master's degree (although she was pursuing a doctorate). At the least, this demonstrated their commitment to continuing education. All three, at some point, also taught college-level PE courses. Sport played a central role in all three of the educators' lives [a finding similar to that of Armour (1997)], and because this study reported the longitudinal life histories in more detail than some previous studies which concurrently investigated multiple participants, more detailed glimpses of the sporting lives were revealed. All three played on intercollegiate teams. All coached at college level or higher. Two of the three reported a shift from a highly competitive sporting disposition to more of a "participate and compete against yourself" attitude. Two of the three also reported being recruited away from another organization because of their teaching skills. All three participants experienced marginalization in some form during their career, whether it was on the basis of gender, subject status, ableness, or race. They all persevered in their careers and struggled against obstacles such as a lack of mentors, accessibility issues, and racial discrimination. However, making other comparisons would be speculation, and it is better to respect each individual's life story for its own uniqueness.

These life stories are significant because for the first time they have focused on exemplary educators. Few if any life histories exist about African American physical educators, especially ones who were pioneers in breaking the color barriers in their institutions. Few if any life histories have documented physical education professors with disabilities. No life histories have been published about physical education teachers who have risen to become the "State Teacher of the Year" as did Robin. Their stories are valuable not only for female educators, or educators with disabilities, or African American professors, but to all in the field who look to examples of educators who persevere. The foremost implication of this series of articles is that

the catalog of life histories of American physical educators has been enriched by the voices of Robin, Karen, and Dr. Wade. A further implication is that other people with disabilities can look to Karen as an example and strive to be such an educator, just as Dr. Wade and Robin can also serve as exemplars for their respective constituencies.

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