



**A Review of Research on Physical Education Teacher
Socialization from 2000-2012**

*Une revue de littérature sur la socialisation des enseignantes et enseignants d'éducation
physique de l'an 2000 à 2012*

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Abstract

In this article we review research on physical education teacher socialization from 2000-2012. Much of the research prior to 2000 spoke of the prominence of a coaching orientation in new recruits, however, O'Bryant, O'Sullivan, and Raudensky (2000) were among the first to signal a shift toward teaching orientations present in new recruits and experienced teachers they studied. This shift initiated a renewed focus on physical education teacher socialization research over the last twelve years. However, since that time the research has not been synthesized. As a result, the purpose of this review is to examine: (a) the extent that research on physical education teacher socialization has documented changes in the nature of socialization since 2000; (b) why this may have occurred, and (c), implications for PETE programs, schools, and teaching physical education. Patterns are identified and based upon the analysis, recommendations are made for future research.

Résumé

Cet article présente une revue de littérature sur la socialisation des enseignantes et enseignants d'éducation physique menées entre 2000 et 2012. Avant l'an 2000, la plupart des études confirmaient la prédilection marquée des nouveaux enseignants pour l'entraînement sportif. Les chercheurs O'Bryant, O'Sullivan et Raudensky (2000) ont été les premiers à constater une réorientation de la prédilection des nouveaux enseignants et des enseignants d'expérience vers l'enseignement. Au fil des douze dernières années, cette réorientation a alimenté l'intérêt pour les études sur la socialisation des enseignants d'éducation physique. Cela dit, il n'existe aucune revue de cette littérature. L'article vise donc à déterminer : (a) dans quelle mesure les études sur la socialisation des enseignants d'éducation physique documentent l'évolution de ce phénomène depuis 2000; (b) la ou les raison(s) d'être d'une telle évolution, si c'est le cas; et (c) les retombées sur les programmes de formation des maîtres, les écoles et l'enseignement de l'éducation physique. Les auteurs font ressortir les tendances de ces recherches et, partant de leur analyse, formulent des recommandations relativement à de futures études.

Introduction

Occupational socialization refers to the processes by which a person is trained and learns the roles, expectations, and values associated with a specific occupation (Stroot, Faucette, & Schwager, 1993). As an occupation, teaching therefore comes with its own processes of socialization for those who are – or are learning to become – part of the profession. As such, teacher socialization is a term used to describe the socializing processes that influence a teacher's beliefs, assumptions, and values regarding teaching (Lawson, 1983a). Teacher socialization is an important concept to consider as the quality and effectiveness of teaching is greatly influenced by a teacher's early socializing experiences. Using Lortie's (1975) theoretical framework, Lawson (1983a) identified three main kinds of socialization that teachers face:

- (a) *Acculturation*: this includes actions, beliefs, and value systems that are learned from birth and foster ideologies about, in this case, professional conduct.
- (b) *Professional socialization*: this is the process through which prospective and practicing teachers learn and maintain the values deemed ideal for teaching physical education. Professional socialization is strongly influenced by recruits' experiences as a K-12 school student (the period of time described by Lortie (1975) as the *apprenticeship of observation*). These experiences inform recruits' *subjective warrant*, which consists of their beliefs about the requirements for being a physical education teacher.
- (c) *Organizational socialization*: this process serves to maintain the “traditional skills” valued by institutions and organizations. Organizational socialization may work against change in order to uphold traditions and routines.

While these three kinds of socialization were identified early in socialization research, they offer a useful framework to consider how socialization influences how individuals think about and go about their work. Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge that teacher socialization has influence beyond the individual; it is dialectic, a two-way process

where teachers actively attempt to shape the social structures that are continually shaping them, such as teachers' roles, and the programs administered and implemented in schools and universities (Lawson, 1983a; Stroot et al., 1993).

Teacher Socialization in Physical Education Prior to 2000

Since Lortie's (1975) seminal work on teacher socialization, there has been much research conducted on the socializing experiences of teachers across subject matter and contexts, including physical education (Lawson, 1983a; 1983b; Stroot et al., 1993; Stroot & Ko, 2006; Zeichner & Gore, 1990). Early research on teacher socialization showed that physical education has a distinctive context and set of outcomes, roles, experiences, and expectations when compared to the work of a classroom teacher (Templin & Schempp, 1989). For example, Lawson (1983a; 1983b) found physical education teachers to be active agents in their socialization, possessing one of three socialization strategies: custodial, innovative, and an in-between strategy that can illicit a custodial or innovative response. A custodial strategy – the most commonly found – often involves a recruit accepting and internalizing the elements of socialization without question or critique. In contrast, an innovative response from a recruit “acts to change the socialization setting and, in turn, the form or contents of the socialization that first greeted them” (Lawson 1983a, p.4).

The strategies that teachers used reflected what Lawson (1983a; 1983b) described as teaching or coaching orientations. The orientation that recruits held led to differing perspectives and beliefs about physical education and the pedagogical practices they employed based on their socialization. Lawson (1983a) found that many prospective and established physical education teachers possessed a coaching orientation; that is, their beliefs, goals, and visions were drawn from and informed by experiences and values closely aligned with coaching rather than teaching. Teachers who held coaching orientations were inclined to adopt custodial strategies, resulting in only partial induction into the profession. Moreover, Lawson and several others have concluded that many physical education teacher education (PETE) programs were largely unsuccessful in their attempt to challenge recruits' beliefs about teaching and physical education (Lawson 1983a; Stroot, et al., 1993; Templin & Schempp, 1989).

Lawson's findings from the early 1980s carried much influence in physical education research throughout the latter part of the 20th century, particularly informing inquiries concerned with understanding the presence and influence of a coaching orientation or teaching orientation in new recruits (*cf.* Curtner-Smith, 1997; 1998). Indeed, the vast majority of socialization studies in physical education use Lawson's ideas as a theoretical frame to guide their data collection, analysis, and interpretation. While many studies prior to 2000 showed evidence of a coaching orientation in recruits (that is, there was evidence of little educative instruction, they saw teaching as a career contingency should a career in coaching not emerge), at the turn of the century, O'Bryant, O'Sullivan, and Raudensky (2000) noted a shift in recruits' orientations, signifying that teaching orientations toward healthy living were present in many recruits and experienced teachers.

Although several chapters in the *Handbook of Physical Education* (Kirk, Macdonald, & O'Sullivan, 2006) address socialization, much of the research reviewed in that volume was conducted prior to 2000. Moreover, several of the chapters that consider socialization in physical education do so with respect to the theoretical orientations of the

studies conducted. This is not to criticize those chapters but rather to identify a gap in the literature. As such, we consider the research on physical education teacher socialization since 2000 to identify shifts in the orientations of recruits and patterns in the types of socialization research that have been conducted. Further, we suggest possible avenues for future inquiry, and outline recommendations for how PETE programs and schools/school districts might be able to address those experiences in ways that foster sustainable and meaningful change in the ways that physical education teachers think about and go about their work. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to review key findings of research on physical education teacher socialization since 2000 and identify implications for the profession and for research in the future.

Method

For this review we searched five databases: Academic Search Premier, SportsDiscus, ERIC, Google Scholar, and Education Research Complete. Criteria for including articles in the review were: peer-reviewed empirical studies published in English language journals in the year 2000 or later. The following identifiers were used to locate articles: “physical education”, “occupational socialization”, “apprenticeship of observation”, “subjective warrant”, “coaching orientation”, and “teaching orientation”. Following an initial search that yielded 43 sources, materials were scanned to eliminate non-empirical pieces or research where physical education or socialization was not the focus of the investigation. From this initial search 33 materials were selected for final review. These materials were independently coded and themes were generated based on the findings.

The review is presented in four categories that reflect the stages of teacher socialization: 1) who chooses to teach and why, 2) socialization in teacher education, 3) induction, 4) beyond induction. The thematic organization chosen here should be viewed as one way to view the physical education teacher socialization research; this structure helped in conducting a coherent analysis of the literature. However, it is acknowledged that this is not the only way to look at teacher socialization and we recognized that these themes are not necessarily separate or distinct entities; that is, there may be some overlap. For example, some studies met criteria that represented multiple themes or stages. In these instances we independently identified what we felt was the strongest thematic fit.

Results

A Brief Overview

Much of the socialization research in physical education both before and after 2000 concerns a teacher’s background and early experiences as a school student, and the role these experiences play in their decision to become a physical educator. This phenomenon has been described as the subjective warrant, and influences the orientation recruits enter PETE with (Lawson, 1983a). Given the focus on recruits’ prior experiences and the salience of the subjective warrant, there is a relative lack of empirical research beyond the induction stage of physical education teachers and their career-long socialization process.

From our review, we found that much of the research on physical education teacher socialization has been conducted in the United States, which has its own distinct

context, position, and ideas in terms of schooling and teaching physical education. While there are certainly examples from other countries, we caution readers to be mindful of the unique contextual features of schools and teaching that make it problematic to transfer findings from research on teacher socialization to the reader's own context. That being said, the four thematic categories used to analyze the literature here may help readers identify instances that ring true for their own situations and contexts.

Who Chooses to Teach and Why: A Profile of Recruits

Most researchers studying the socialization of physical education teachers have engaged in extensive gathering and analysis of qualitative data (such as interviews, autobiographical statements, observations of teaching, and so on). Descriptive profiles of current recruits are much the same as Lawson described thirty years ago. McCullick, Lux, Belcher, and Davies (2012) found those who choose to pursue a career in physical education tend to be white and middle class, and hold conservative, traditional backgrounds. For instance, most recruits choose the profession due to an interest and extensive background in sport, a desire to help others and to stay physically active (Chatoups, Zounhia, Hatziharistos, & Amoutzas, 2007; Curtner-Smith, Hastie, & Kinchin, 2008; McCullick et al., 2012; O'Bryant et al., 2000; Stran & Curtner-Smith, 2009). Chatoups et al. (2007) found recruits to possess average or lower than average academic scores in high school.

Despite the similarities to Lawson's early findings, there are some nuanced characteristics that set apart previous PETE recruits from those entering the profession today. For example, despite a major presence from white students, O'Bryant et al. (2000) noted an increasingly multi-cultural makeup of recruits. McCullick et al. (2012) also found that although academic scores were still average or below, recruits were more academically adept than generations past. In addition, Chatoups et al. (2007) found that females were now drawn more to teaching physical education than males, and that recruits come from slightly higher socioeconomic status homes than before. For example, the parents of modern recruits are now likely to have secondary education compared to those previously studied.

McCullick et al. (2012) noted that many PETE recruits now hold progressive views regarding physical education meaning they are more likely to act as change agents. Using a similar analytic approach to O'Bryant et al. (2000), McCullick et al. (2012) identified recruits as "progressive" when they demonstrated a strong commitment to teaching over coaching and viewed themselves as role models for all of the students they taught. This may have been represented by ways in which recruits spoke of fostering a love of physical activity in all children (not just elite athletes) or ways in which they could help foster students' self-esteem – particularly those who were marginalized in physical education. However, it appears that few students could be classified completely as progressive; for example, while some recruits held views of helping children, such views also carried connotations geared towards expertise and control, rather than, for example, being open to learning from students. An interesting recent development concerns recruits' commitment to their work. McCullick et al. (2012) suggested that PETE recruits they studied possessed a vocational aptitude, which is the view that "they are their job" (i.e., their identity and career is one entity rather than separate). This finding has important implications for those who work in PETE programs, as the strong bond between recruits' identities and the ways

in which they perceive their role (that is, their subjective warrant) may make it even more difficult to challenge and re-construct prospective teachers' beliefs and values so that they are open to change.

Recent socialization research suggests that recruits have a disconnected view of teaching and coaching, where it appears they have been socialized to view teaching and coaching as significantly different (McCullick et al., 2012). This opposes the view of many recruits prior to 2000, who tended to view teaching and coaching as one and the same (Bain & Wendt, 1983), or at least viewed teaching as a path into professional coaching. This is particularly notable in the United States, where many high schools employ coaches on a professional or semi-professional basis. O'Bryant et al. (2000) highlighted this as a general paradigm shift as recruits are now attracted to the profession to teach and not by other means (such as coaching); a position supported by several others who report that recruits are more committed to teaching and their love for helping children rather than coaching (Curtner-Smith, et al., 2008; Griffin & Combs, 2000; Richards & Templin, 2011; Stran & Curtner-Smith, 2009). This is indicative of a move away from the physical education teacher as one whose role it is to develop talented athletes or fill school trophy cabinets, toward a more holistic, child-centred perspective of the role. Many recruits now hold views that teachers should be focused on developing well-rounded, socially conscious students who are physically active, competent in movement and understand the benefits of a healthy lifestyle (O'Bryant et al., 2000).

While much of the research on recruits has focused on their views of what they should know and be able to do, McCullick (2001) took a different approach, revealing *practicing* teacher's thoughts on who should teach physical education and why. The voice of the practicing teacher is critical in socialization research as they are influential socializing agents for future teachers, impacting what they know and believe about teaching and teacher education. McCullick's (2001) findings suggest those practicing teachers' views of what they feel recruits should know and be able to do most closely reflect a teaching orientation. For example, they thought PETE students should be physically fit and have a love for physical activity, a concern and love for working with children, and the ability to be creative and flexible. In addition, cooperating teachers should own a commitment to the profession, display effectiveness as a teacher, and be honest and adaptable (McCullick, 2001).

Predominant socializing orientations. As previously noted, O'Bryant et al. (2000) described a teaching orientation as predominant in the 21st century recruit, a finding supported by subsequent studies (Curtner-Smith, 2001; Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Griffin & Combs, 2000; Lee & Curtner-Smith 2011; McCullick 2001, McCullick et al., 2012; Richards & Templin, 2011; Stran & Curtner-Smith, 2009; Stylianou, Kulinna, Cothran, & Kwon, 2013). Curtner-Smith (2001) noted that modern recruits who developed a teaching orientation were more likely to be fully inducted into the profession even in the face of some constraints such as pupil disinterest and lack of collaboration with other members of a physical education department. However, some studies have shown that the way by which recruits have arrived at a teaching orientation to be somewhat inconsistent with the occupational socialization literature. For example, Curtner-Smith et al. (2008) and Stran and Curtner-Smith (2009) found pre-service teachers who entered PETE with a teaching orientation tended to do so through having quality classroom teachers in their

own K-12 experiences, and recognized that focusing on teaching rather than coaching would give children a better education.

While much of the discourse of socialization in physical education has focused on teaching orientations and coaching orientations, Capel, Hayes, Katene, and Velija (2011) and Dowling (2011) identified the salient role of sporting experiences and values in influencing the orientations that recruits held. They claim that PETE programs often reinforce a type of sporting orientation by focusing on skill mastery and achieving movement outcomes mainly through sport. These authors conceptualized a sporting orientation not in terms of a career path but in terms of how recruits' knowledge and experiences of physical education were mostly limited to sports rather than to, for example, dance, gymnastics, or personal fitness activities. As such, based on their knowledge and experiences in sport (assessed by asking recruits about their beliefs and values related to the purposes of physical education), much of physical education subject matter that these teachers see themselves as focusing upon is similarly limited to sports. This perpetuates a cyclical process for future teachers, because their physical education experiences will similarly consist of mainly sports.

In another sub-field of physical education, Zmudy, Curtner-Smith, and Steffen (2009) described a continuum of orientations possessed by teachers of adventure education. In adventure education, a leisure orientation is similar to a coaching orientation where teaching involves little more than providing supervised and safe "play". At the other end of the continuum teachers can have an adventure orientation (similar to a teaching orientation) where they draw on fundamentals of the experiential learning cycle and teach through the outdoor pursuits (e.g. rock climbing, canoeing) emphasizing student engagement in the learning process. Somewhere in between is the outdoor pursuits orientation, teaching through the various outdoor pursuits in which their pupils are engaged, yet emphasizing mastery of physical skills rather than achieving goals linked with the theoretical underpinnings of adventure education. Based on interviews, observations, and analysis of teachers' lesson plans, Zmudy et al. (2009) felt that inexperienced adventure educators fell on the more conservative end of the continuum, somewhere between a leisure and outdoor pursuits orientation. Such positioning of adventure educators suggests that, like many prospective physical education teachers, preservation of the status quo of adventure education is more likely than change based on innovation.

Socialization During Teacher Education

During teacher education recruits tend to welcome or internalize physical education knowledge, begin to think and act like other physical education teachers, and develop professional identities as teachers of physical education (Templin & Schempp, 1989). O'Bryant et al. (2000) attributed a shift in values and orientations (e.g. teaching oriented) of recent recruits to the quality of PETE programs. In particular, McCullick (2001), Zmudy et al. (2009), Curtner-Smith (2001), and Richards and Templin (2011) found that PETE faculty were able to have a strong influence on changing recruits' beliefs and assumptions of teaching (subjective warrant). Several studies suggest that PETE can create shared values and knowledge among those involved, reflecting a shared technical culture and ideology. In turn, this can result in "real" and positive impacts on the roles and effectiveness of recruits entering the profession (Curtner-Smith, 2001; McCullick, 2001;

Richards & Templin, 2011). For instance, Curtner-Smith (2001) found that a first year teacher's socialization during teacher education strengthened his teaching orientation. Even though he faced constraints (such as marginalization) in the new school culture, the teacher persisted in applying innovative teaching practices he learned as a student teacher.

Despite there being some success in identifying ways to enable change in PETE recruits' belief systems, Dowling (2011) stressed the need for PETE to produce recruits with professional identities suitable for the socially diverse nature and changing needs of postmodern schools, such as those with broader educational visions rather than a desire to reproduce their own joy of movement. However, the strength of prior experiences gained during acculturation serves as a potent force that often limits recruits' scope of change during their teacher education programs. Capel et al.'s (2011) study reinforced the continuing strength of pre-service teachers' acculturation, articulating how preconceived beliefs and perceptions shape effectiveness as a teacher. Capel et al. (2011) found that PETE programs were not overly successful in helping recruits articulate, share, discuss, or debate, much less change, their beliefs.

Several other examples have highlighted ways that PETE has been *ineffective* in enabling recruits to challenge their beliefs (Dowling, 2011; Griffin & Combs, 2000; Jennings & De Matta 2009; McCullick et al., 2012; Naess, 2001). In Griffin and Combs's (2000) research, the PETE program was ineffective in challenging students' strong ingrained beliefs; students did not have a shared belief or technical culture on what role the physical educator has on creating the total student. Moreover, Dowling (2011) found PETE did little to disrupt or transform recruits' perceptions and understandings of the qualities of a "good" teacher. Specifically, Dowling (2011) found that PETE programs did little to challenge normative notions of professionalism for today's teachers, with few recruits representing an activist stance toward teaching. Instead, most embodied a traditional notion of professionalism rooted in ideas related to competent sports performance. Few challenged the mostly traditional views they held prior to entering PETE. As such, Dowling's (2011) critique is not aimed at PETE recruits per se but PETE programs, policies, and practices. Further, McCullick et al. (2012) suggested that modern recruits often could not differentiate between their personal and professional goals, which resulted in a belief that they are "their job". As such, this could result in the adoption of a custodial approach to their teaching, where there is a feeling that they must carry on the traditions associated with the profession. This, in turn, can limit change and innovation.

School experience/student teaching. A major factor in determining the success of PETE is the effectiveness of the student teaching or school experience (Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Griffin & Combs, 2000; Laker, Lea, & Laker, 2003, McCullick 2001; Stran & Curtner-Smith, 2009). Much research points toward the student teaching component of PETE to be a strong influence on recruits, as it serves to strongly socialize teachers into teaching physical education and either challenges or reinforces their beliefs regarding teaching. Laker et al. (2003) found that student teachers developed flexibility in the professional sphere and garnered a more realistic understandings of roles of teachers; that is, the ability to understand the multiple duties of a teacher and to modify lessons on the spot. Importantly, Laker et al. (2003) also found students became less concerned with their teaching and more concerned with pupil learning.

Despite some positive findings, Capel et al. (2011) described PETE programs as often being ineffective in reconstructing students' views of teaching because of poor student teaching experiences. Capel et al. (2011) found that student teachers generally discarded much of what they have learned in PETE coursework, relying on previous knowledge gained from their own K-12 experiences. During the school placements insufficient time was given to reflect on and question appropriate teaching practices or to develop knowledge in the activities for which they had little experience in or they were uncomfortable with, such as dance (Capel et al., 2011). Developing further professional knowledge was not made a priority because their mentors/cooperating teachers often would not challenge them on their prior experiences and assumptions of teaching. As suggested by Lawson thirty years ago, this leads to recruits' adopting a coaching orientation or reinforcing traditional beliefs; thus, outdated practices are maintained (Lawson, 1983b).

One of the key elements that influences the quality of school teaching experiences is the relationship and interactions that PETE students have with their mentor or cooperating teacher (Brown & Evans, 2004; Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Griffin & Combs, 2000; Laker et al., 2003, McCullick, 2001; Stran & Curtner-Smith, 2009). Students consider cooperating teachers to be role models and often mirror their views and teaching styles. In contrast to findings by McCullick (2001), Zmudy et al., (2009), Curtner-Smith (2001), and Richards and Templin (2011) that highlighted the influence of PETE faculty, Laker et al. (2003) noted student teachers identified with and were impacted more by their school experience and cooperating teachers than they were by PETE faculty.

How role orientations affect the learning of innovative pedagogies in teacher education. Several researchers have considered how a recruit's orientation to teaching and their values affects learning and implementing pedagogical models, such as Sport Education (Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Curtner-Smith & Sofo, 2004; MacMahon & MacPhail, 2007; Stran & Curtner-Smith, 2009), Teaching Games for Understanding (TGfU) (Chung & Cruz, 2008; Wang & Ha, 2012; Wright, McNeill, & Butler, 2004), and Adventure Education (Timken & McNamee, 2012; Zmudy et al., 2009).

Several studies have addressed the extent to which a prospective teachers' socialization influenced their implementation of the Sport Education model. Stran and Curtner-Smith. (2009; 2010), found prospective teachers' orientations and the quality of their experiences of learning to teach Sport Education to be influential in their decision to learn and use this alternative pedagogy. Curtner-Smith et al. (2008) described three levels at which the teachers taught using the Sport Education model: (i) the full version resulting in complete integration of the principles and concepts of the model, (ii) a watered-down version which features the model with some elements missing, and (iii) a cafeteria approach that comes from a reluctant teacher and looks far removed from the model, although some components of it are recognizable in the lessons. Through their findings they found that teachers with a teaching orientation and high quality experiences of learning to teach Sport Education are more likely to employ the model (Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Stran & Curtner-Smith 2009), and those with a "hard-core" coaching orientation will not attempt the model, regardless of the quality of their PETE program.

Wang and Ha's (2012) recent study of TGfU in China found many pre-service teachers to possess what might be considered as "watered down" teaching orientations (i.e.,

they are inclined toward entering teaching and not coaching, but are not steadfast in their beliefs about their roles as teachers), however, most were likely to experience difficulty implementing or teaching the TGfU model. The researchers felt that the reason for this is that schooling in Asian countries is based on a traditional teaching philosophy focusing on teacher-centered practices rather than the student-centered approach that is at the core of TGfU. Therefore, although student teachers might be more oriented to teach rather than coach, unless they are willing to challenge the status quo and be innovative it will be more difficult for them to implement TGfU.

Induction: Challenges and Prospects

Newly qualified teachers are subject to organizational socialization, with schools acting as primary socializing agents attempting to induct and conform new members to the school's institutional culture (Templin & Schempp, 1989). Induction into the school system and school culture is comprised of "learning the ropes" and feeling accepted, although it has been found that the transition from PETE to the school system is not always smooth, as induction may not always occur (or might only be partial) (Templin & Schempp, 1989).

Few empirical studies conducted since 2000 have looked into induction problems outlined by Stroot et al. (1993), such as marginalization or isolation, role conflict, and reality shock. However, the concept of wash-out (Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981) has been identified as enduring issue for beginning teachers (Blankenship & Coleman, 2009; Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Zmudy et al. 2009). For instance, Blankenship and Coleman (2009) found that much of what was learned during PETE programs (including challenging of beliefs) was subject to be washed-out in the induction years. Specifically, wash-out occurred in several areas such as a reduction in instructional skills. Workplace factors that may have facilitated wash-out were found to be a "lack of facilities and equipment in the start of their first year of teaching, lack of prestige and respect for physical education, a particular subculture of students, and the teachers' desire for student acceptance and enthusiasm" (Blankenship & Coleman, 2009, p. 97).

In a study by Curtner-Smith (2001) a first-year teacher experienced similar workplace factors to those described by Blankenship and Coleman (2009). Curtner-Smith (2001) found pupil disinterest, lack of collaboration within the physical education department, and low level of departmental organization as negative workplace factors. It is important to note that several years later, Curtner-Smith et al. (2008) acknowledged that students were a powerful socializing force acting on novice teachers during their teaching, and have been identified as an influential factor that can lead to wash out.

Zmudy et al. (2009) and Curtner-Smith et al. (2008) studied several new teachers who developed moderate teaching orientations during their teacher education but were "interfered with" by more senior teachers and adopted a multi-activity, traditional curriculum model during their induction. Lack of accountability within the school system for beginning physical education teachers has been identified as leading to some teachers regressing in their implementation of effective pedagogies (Curtner-Smith et al., 2008). With such strong pressures, beginning teachers often find themselves reverting back and strategically complying with using practices more in line with their coaching orientations. However, Curtner-Smith et al. (2008) found that teachers were *unaffected* by negative workplace factors when exposed to a supportive school culture where views of innovative

pedagogies (such as Sport Education) were aligned with those of the beginning teachers, and the pupil subculture provided much less resistance and fewer behavior/management problems.

There are mixed findings in the recent literature concerning a school's socialization tactics and its effects on newly qualified teachers (Curtner-Smith 2001; Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; McMahon & MacPhail, 2007). For example, Curtner-Smith (2001) found an innovative orientation toward teaching was fostered through informal, random, and individual tactics, supporting previous research by Lawson (1983b). Induction assistance programs are becoming popular, however, only one study was located. Richards and Templin (2011) considered the effects of an induction assistance program on a beginning PE teacher with a teaching orientation. One of the key findings was that the program was not tailored to individual teachers' needs, presenting one consistent experience for all teachers (regardless of background or teaching orientation). Furthermore, it was a top-down enterprise and did not place enough emphasis on examining and challenging the teachers' acculturation and professional socialization; a crucial element of any effective induction assistance program. However, Richards and Templin (2011) found the induction assistance somewhat beneficial to the teacher's induction into the profession through its informal mentoring, creation of community and innovative professional culture created among the colleagues. This incoherent experience in the induction assistance program points to the need for further research on effective induction assistance programs.

Socialization Beyond Induction

Research on the socializing influences of experienced physical education teachers (e.g. beyond four to five years of teaching) has been limited since 2000. There are, however, several examples. Naess (2001) studied an experienced female teacher who: maintains a coaching orientation, holds a custodial approach to her teaching, and has isolated herself from the professional community. Naess (2001) suggests these factors may be attributed to the marginalization of physical education at the teacher's school and ineffectiveness of the PETE program she completed. As well, her strong perception of her ability to teach/coach has resulted in her rejecting opportunities for further advancement and qualifications in pedagogy. Based on these findings, Naess (2001) felt it is important for school systems to seek out experienced teachers who cling onto outdated views and practices, and implement professional development that have them reflect and be critical of their teaching methods, to hopefully come in line with more appropriate and modern practices and approaches to PE (Naess, 2001). If such strategies are not implemented on a systemic level, Naess (2001) argues that it is likely that many teachers will persist with a traditional, conservative and reproductive approach.

Henninger (2007) investigated the lives and careers of veteran teachers to gain an understanding of how they navigated a challenging school environment to achieve career longevity. She found there to be two distinct categories of physical education teachers that enjoyed a long career: (a) *lifers* are those who are committed to teaching and student learning despite difficult organizational contexts, and (b) *trouper*s are those who felt stuck in the school system or were biding their time until other career opportunities arose – as a result they often lost focus on student learning outcomes. Using a similar approach, Woods and Rhoades (2010) found most physical education teachers who pursued National Board Certification in the United States were lifers, as they were committed to teaching

and student learning, and thrived on the workplace or organizational challenges presented to them. Personal teaching efficacy, pupils, and supportive administrators were found to be major factors in the professional longevity of lifers (Henninger, 2007; Lee & Curtner-Smith, 2011).

The orientations of practicing teachers who pursue further training or advancements in their career has opened a relatively new line of inquiry in physical education (Woods & Rhoades, 2010; Lee & Curtner-Smith, 2011). Experienced physical education teachers with strong teaching orientations are most likely to be interested in pursuing further training, or becoming a teacher educator and training teachers (Woods & Rhoades, 2010; Lee & Curtner-Smith, 2011). For example, Woods and Rhoades (2010) found a teaching orientation in the majority of teachers who pursued National Board Certification.

The socialization of teacher educators. A topic of research that has had relatively little attention is that of secondary professional socialization, where practicing teachers experience their second wave of socialization by becoming teacher educators in pre-service teacher education programs or by becoming, for example, physical education consultants for a school district. Two studies (Casey & Fletcher, 2012; Lee & Curtner-Smith, 2011) looked at the occupational socialization of doctoral students in physical education. Lee and Curtner-Smith (2011) predicted that most, if not all, participants studying in a sport pedagogy doctoral program would possess a teaching orientation; however, three participants (from a total of 12, so 25%) entered the program with their coaching orientations fully intact. An important finding from Lee and Curtner-Smith's (2011) was that the secondary professional socialization (i.e. graduate work) of physical education was found to be potent and influential in challenging those teachers who were still oriented to coaching at that point in their career. Casey and Fletcher (2012) used self-study to analyze their perspectives and practices as they made the transition from physical education teacher to teacher educator. Teacher educators can struggle with this transition as very different pedagogies are required to teach prospective teachers than those required to teach K-12 students (Casey & Fletcher, 2012). Furthermore, doctoral PETE programs may not be as effective in teaching prospective teacher educators the pedagogical practices and methods needed to successfully teach teachers. Therefore, it is important that further work is undertaken to understand the impact that the different stages of occupational socialization have on teacher educators in physical education.

Discussion

The purpose of this review was to consider the extent to which changes were evident in the nature of research on physical education teacher socialization since 2000, and to examine why this may or may not have occurred. Our review showed that there have been several patterns to emerge in socialization research since 2000, most notably in the increasingly progressive, "teaching-oriented" views that many physical education recruits now hold. In particular, the findings suggest that teaching orientations are now more prevalent in recruits than they were prior to 2000. Attached to this finding is a general pattern that physical education teachers today are more likely now than in the past to develop a student-centered holistic approach to teaching physical education that develops the "whole-student", one who is socially responsible and aware. While there

appears to be less evidence supporting the presence of coaching orientations in recruits which is likely due to a change in the modern recruit's acculturation, we feel that this finding should be treated with caution, as it does not suggest that coaching orientations are "things of the past" or are no longer present in physical education. There are still many recruits who do come to physical education with the aim of becoming coaches and the sport-centred philosophies to physical education content and pedagogy that tend to come with this mindset. What is encouraging is that some innovations in PETE programs are beginning to be identified that can disrupt such philosophies and lead to positive change, in particular, the adoption of pedagogical models such as TGfU or Sport Education (Blankenship & Coleman, 2009; Curtner-Smith, 2001; Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Timken & van der Mars, 2009). Instilling an appreciation of pedagogical innovation in physical education is crucial as those teachers who value innovation are more likely to make changes to their programs and are willing to take the risk to change throughout their careers (Bechtel & O'Sullivan, 2007).

While the review identified several instances where similarities and differences exist in research findings from before and after 2000, a major result of this review has been the limited attention that has been paid to teacher socialization beyond induction. Much of the research on teacher socialization has focused on the experiences of pre-service teachers or teachers in their first five years in the profession. Attention to teachers in these groups is indeed warranted (due to the potential for change to occur during these stages of teachers' careers), yet understanding the experiences and socialization of teachers who have sustained a long career could prove beneficial in helping other teachers navigate the difficulties of teaching physical education in schools, as well as in attracting or retaining other teachers. Furthermore, there is a striking absence of longitudinal studies, which suggests that we cling to limited understandings of how early socialization affects physical education teachers throughout their careers. Studies that follow a teacher or cohort of teachers from their pre-service experience through their induction and into their years as an experienced teacher would provide researchers and teacher educators (both pre-service and in-service) with strategies that might better lead to sustained change in practices or beliefs, *or* that could lead to an appreciation of the need for change.

Another important finding from this review is that the majority of the studies have been qualitative, interpretive, and cross sectional. One limitation of qualitative studies is the focus on only a few participants. We should be clear that we are not criticizing qualitative research as an approach to conducting research; what we are suggesting is that there is a need for socialization research that provides some broad understanding of, for example, patterns in recruits' role orientations from across contexts and institutions. Such findings would lend support to the rich and nuanced findings of qualitative studies reported in this review.

As with much of the research conducted prior to 2000, the majority of teacher socialization research in physical education continues to be conducted in the United States. Again, this is not to criticize the research reported from the United States, but given the highly contextualized nature of teachers' socializing experiences it makes the task difficult of applying the findings from studies to other situations.

As long as there continues to be jobs for individuals in physical education, there will continue to be recruits for the profession. While the values of societies and cultures inevitably shift, so too will the approaches, beliefs, and orientations of those who are

attracted to teaching physical education. As such, it is crucial that researchers continue to study the socializing experiences of teachers at all levels. If teachers' socialization underpins how they think about and go about their roles, there are strong and lasting implications for how these experiences impact upon the quality of school physical education programs and student learning.

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