

THE OCCUPATIONAL SOCIALIZATION OF
GERMAN PHYSICAL EDUCATORS

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ABSTRACT

The goal of researching the occupational socialization (OC) of physical education teachers has been to improve physical education (PE) and physical education teacher education (PETE). To date, the vast majority of this research has been carried out in the United States, with a few studies conducted in European and Asian countries. The following three studies were conducted in Germany. The first study examined five phases of OC of two sport pedagogy faculty. Data analysis confirmed the cyclical and unique nature of the socialization process, indicating that traditional sport-focused teaching orientations were reinforced throughout these five phases and were further strengthened by the generic nature of PETE and doctoral programs. Both faculty supported the status quo and reproduced the same kind of PETE they had experienced. Moreover, due to little competition between curricular physical education and extracurricular sport in German schools, this reproduction did not serve to perpetuate teachers' use of poor practice.

In the second study, the three OC phases of PE teachers of at least 50 years of age from former East (EG) and West Germany (WG) were examined. Findings indicated distinct and different patterns of socialization grounded in disparate political views of sport and physical education. Following the German reunification, WG teachers continued to hold their conservative teaching orientations, whereas all but one EG teacher shifted from the state demanded high performance orientation to a teaching orientation, with one partially retaining his high performance perspective.

The acculturation phase of German prospective preservice physical education teachers (PPETs) was explored in the third study. Findings revealed eight participants' conservative teaching orientations primarily focused on teaching traditional German sports. Two more progressively oriented PPETs favored teaching a wider range of content and were more focused on health-related fitness. Key subsidiary attractors to a career in PE were remaining connected to sport and working with young people. Three factors that shaped the PPETs' values and beliefs were similar to those revealed in previous research: family and friends, the apprenticeship of observation, and youth sport. The people and institutions that comprised these factors, however, operated in different modes within the German context.

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	vii
I. THE OCCUPATIONAL SOCIALIZATION OF GERMAN SPORT PEDAGOGY FACULTY	1
Abstract.....	1
Introduction.....	2
Purpose.....	7
Method	8
Findings and Discussion	10
Summary and Conclusions	21
References.....	24
II. THE OCCUPATIONAL SOCIALIZATION OF GERMAN PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHERS.....	28
Abstract.....	28
Introduction.....	29
Method	33
Findings and Discussion	36
Summary and Conclusions	50
References.....	53

III. ACCULTURATION OF PROSPECTIVE GERMAN PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHERS.....	56
Abstract.....	56
Introduction.....	57
Method	60
Findings and Discussion	65
Summary and Conclusions	75
References.....	79
APPENDICES	
A. IRB Forms for Study 1.....	82
B. IRB Forms for Study 2.....	85
C. IRB Forms for Study 3.....	88

LIST OF TABLES

1. Participants' Profiles.....	34
2. Participants' Acculturation Profiles.....	61

CHAPTER I
THE OCCUPATIONAL SOCIALIZATION OF GERMAN
SPORT PEDAGOGY FACULTY

Abstract

To date, the vast majority of research on occupational socialization in sport pedagogy has been carried out with preservice and inservice teachers in the United States. The purpose of this study was to describe the influence of occupational socialization on the perspectives and practices of two female German sport pedagogy faculty members regarding physical education and physical education teacher education (PETE). Data collection methods employed were formal and informal interviewing, in-class observation, the collection of documents, and electronic journaling. They were reduced to themes by employing analytic induction and constant comparison. Findings illustrated the cyclical and unique nature of occupational socialization in German physical education and PETE. Heidi and Lisa gained traditional sport-focused teaching orientations from their acculturation that were mainly reinforced during subsequent phases of socialization. This meant that, in general, both faculty members supported the status quo and reproduced the same kind of PETE they had experienced as undergraduates. Findings also suggested that a key reason for the perpetuation of the traditional sport-focused teaching orientation was the generic nature of PETE and doctoral programs. Moreover, they revealed that there was little competition between curricular physical education and extracurricular sport in German schools. Consequently, the reproduction of the existing systems of physical education and PETE, did not serve to perpetuate teachers' use of poor practice.

Introduction

Occupational socialization has been defined 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” (Lawson, 1986, p. 107). It is a theoretical framework that has been used to good effect to explain why preservice and inservice physical education teachers think and act as they do (Curtner-Smith, Hastie, & Kinchin 2008; Klinge, 2002; Lawson, 1983a, 1983b; Pemmer, 2009; Schempp & Graber, 1992; Volkmann, 2008). There is also a small amount of research on sport pedagogy doctoral students (Casey & Fletcher, 2012; Dodds, 2005; Lee & Curtner-Smith, 2011; Napper-Owen, 2012). Again, the purpose of this research was to explain why prospective sport pedagogy faculty possess certain perspectives and beliefs and engage in specific practices. Whether working with physical education teachers or prospective sport pedagogy faculty, the ultimate goal of occupational socialization researchers has been to improve the process by which individuals are selected to train as teachers and faculty and to enhance the educational and mentoring programs these individuals go through as well the conditions in which they work (Curtner-Smith, 2001; Lee & Curtner-Smith, 2011; Mordal-Moen & Green, 2014; Volkmann, 2008).

Occupational socialization researchers have recognized that the socialization process is dialectical in nature in that teachers’ and teacher educators’ perspectives, beliefs, and values are shaped by a combination of powerful institutional forces acting on them and their capacity to “push back” against these forces (Schempp & Graber, 1992). In general, researchers have studied the impact of this process across one or several phases of socialization.

The first of these, the acculturation phase, begins at birth and continues until formal teacher training begins. Key influences on prospective teachers and teacher educators at this

stage are family and friends, experiences of school physical education and sport, and experiences of sport outside school (Hutchinson, 1993; Klinge, 2002; Stran & Curtner-Smith 2009). Many prospective physical education teachers note that their parents, older siblings, and peers had an early impact on their career choice by participating in and instilling a love of sport. This affection for sport is often enhanced by their own participation in sport outside school and the influence of the coaches they encounter in these contexts (Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Templin & Richards, 2014; McGuire & Collins, 1998; Volkman, 2008). Moreover, the type of physical education and extracurricular sport prospective physical education teachers receive and experience while at school appear to have a profound effect on them (Lee & Curtner-Smith, 2011; Volkman, 2008). Schooling serves as an “apprenticeship of observation” (Lortie, 1975) for prospective teachers in general and this apprenticeship shapes future physical education teachers’ views and values about their subject (Klinge, 2002; Schempp & Graber, 1992). In time, this shaping leads to the formation of the “subjective warrant” (Lawson, 1983a); that is an understanding of what it means to be a physical education teacher coupled with one’s perceived potential and capacity to do the job well. Unfortunately, research has indicated that prospective teachers who attend schools in which teachers provide low quality physical education and prioritize traditional extracurricular competitive sport are likely to develop “coaching orientations” and see teaching physical education as a “career contingency” (Lawson, 1983a, 1983b). In contrast, those who attend schools in which teachers provide high quality physical education and participate in minor extracurricular sports at a relatively low level are likely to develop “teaching orientations” within their subjective warrants and view coaching as a career contingency (Lawson, 1983a, 1983b; Stran & Curtner-Smith, 2009).

The second phase, professional socialization, occurs during formal physical education teacher education (PETE) at universities and colleges. This phase of socialization has been shown to be relatively weak and often lacks the power to change the beliefs of recruits who enter with faulty subjective warrants (Curtner-Smith, 1999, 2001; Klinge, 2002; Mordal-Moen & Green, 2014; Placek, et al., 1995). Moreover, some particularly weak PETE programs merely serve to support and nurture the faulty thinking of coaching oriented preservice teachers (Curtner-Smith, 2009; Doolittle, Placek, & Dodds, 1993). Stronger programs, however, can have an impact on all but those with “hard core” coaching orientations (Sofa & Curtner-Smith, 2010; Vollmer & Curtner-Smith, 2016; Wright, 2001) when they are taught by faculty who question and challenge their charges’ misguided perspectives. Such efforts at change have more impact on preservice physical educators when the faculty are viewed as credible and good teachers themselves, trained specifically in sport pedagogy, do not coach extracurricular sport, provide high quality supervision of field experiences and internships, work as a team, and agree philosophically and on a “shared technical culture” (Lortie, 1975) (i.e. the skills and knowledge needed by physical education teachers) (Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Stran & Curtner-Smith, 2009).

The third phase, organizational socialization, refers to the impact of the school culture once teachers graduate and begin work (Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Volkmann, 2008; Wright, 2001). During this phase, experienced teachers often operate an “institutional press” (Zeichner & Tabachnik, 1983) by passing on their school’s current beliefs and practices and squeezing out any new and incompatible perspectives with which their inexperienced colleagues enter (Curtner-Smith et al., 2008). The institutional press usually serves to support those new physical education teachers who begin working in schools with coaching orientations firmly intact

(Curtner-Smith, 1997). Conversely, teachers with innovative teaching orientations who enter schools with low quality physical education programs either have their views and values eroded and “washed out” (Zeichner & Tabachnik, 1981), or adopt one of several coping strategies that allow them to retain their perspectives and, at times, teach as they were trained. Specifically, some neophytes “strategically comply” (Lacey, 1977) with the perspectives and practices of their senior colleagues so as not to irritate and clash with them. When a safe opportunity presents itself, however, they express their true views and teach as they were taught. Other teaching oriented beginning physical educators “strategically adjust” (Etheridge, 1989) their views about physical education so they are compatible with those of their senior colleagues. Unfortunately, this adjustment often involves a lowering of standards and, if it lasts for a prolonged period of time, ends in washout. Finally, some beginning physical educators with teaching orientations attempt to “strategically redefine” (Lacey, 1977) the poor and conservative programs they encounter by championing new perspectives and practices regardless of the professional danger (Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Wright, 2001).

Some physical education teachers and most future sport pedagogy faculty undergo two more phases of socialization. The first of these, “secondary professional socialization” (Lee & Curtner-Smith, 2011), refers to the impact of coursework within postgraduate degrees (i.e., master’s and doctoral work). The second of them, “secondary organizational socialization” (Lee & Curtner-Smith, 2011), refers to the influence of the workplace culture of institutions of higher education. Relatively little research of these two phases of socialization has been completed in sport pedagogy. The work that has been conducted on secondary professional socialization to date suggests that it is a much more powerful form of socialization than the initial professional socialization preservice teachers undergo (Goc Karp, Woods, & Dodds, 2007; Lee & Curtner-

Smith, 2011). For example, teachers who have been trained within a master's program are more likely to possess teaching orientations (O'Bryant, O'Sullivan, & Raudensky, 2000). In addition, doctoral students who begin their programs with coaching orientations intact are invariably persuaded to jettison this faulty perspective (Lee & Curtner-Smith, 2011). Moreover, those who begin doctoral programs with teaching orientations have these perspectives strengthened (Lee & Curtner-Smith, 2011). The later doctoral students are converted to a teaching orientation however, the more likely they are to possess conservative perspectives on teaching physical education and PETE. Conversely, doctoral students who became teaching oriented relatively early in their development are more likely to hold liberal perspectives on teaching and teacher education (Lee & Curtner-Smith, 2011).

The work on secondary professional socialization also indicates that doctoral students enter their respective programs with different goals. These include becoming a researcher, teacher educator, or college professor (Lee & Curtner-Smith, 2011). Some students also start their programs with the objective of escaping from schools or to discover whether or not they like the culture of higher education. Key forces that impact students during their graduate programs include professors, senior graduate students, coursework, and opportunities to practice what they are taught in schools and while working with undergraduate preservice teachers (Dodds, 2005; Lee & Curtner-Smith, 2011).

Research carried out on secondary professional socialization within other subject matters suggests how student perspectives and beliefs are actually changed during graduate studies. Some doctoral students may resist adopting the new beliefs of their departments due to incompatibility with their own values, while others move initially adverse convictions towards the beliefs professed by faculty and within the department in order to realize their professional

goals (Antony, 2002). Among the main socializing influences which shape doctoral students' beliefs and perspectives are structured, intentional mentoring and role modeling by faculty and peers, as well as opportunities to gain teaching and research experience to allow deeper insight into the values and responsibilities of the profession (Antony, 2002; Antony & Taylor, 2001; Weidman & Stein, 2003).

As far as we are aware, research aimed specifically at examining secondary organizational socialization in sport pedagogy has yet to be completed. Extrapolating from other research, however, suggests that this phase of socialization mirrors that encountered by new teachers in schools. Specifically, there is an attempt by senior faculty and administrators in universities to socialize new faculty members into current beliefs and practices, particularly in terms of their efforts to teach, conduct research, and do service work in the academic and local communities (Casey & Fletcher, 2012, Dodds, 2005, Napper-Owen, 2012). In addition, student reactions to instruction also appear to have a significant effect on new faculty perspectives and practices (Casey & Fletcher, 2012).

Purpose

To date, the vast majority of research on occupational socialization in sport pedagogy has been carried out in the United States. While studies of this kind have been completed in Britain (Curtner-Smith, 1999; Curtner-Smith et al., 2008), Norway (Mordal-Moen & Green, 2014), Singapore (Wright, 2001), Austria (Pemmer, 2009), and Germany (Klinge, 2002; Volkmann, 2008), work of this kind in other countries is relatively scarce. Moreover, as noted in the preceding paragraphs, most occupational socialization research in sport pedagogy has focused on prospective, preservice, and practicing physical education teachers and, to our knowledge, there have only been two studies completed on prospective and practicing sport pedagogy faculty

anywhere in the world (Casey & Fletcher, 2012; Lee & Curtner-Smith, 2011). The purpose of this study, therefore, was to describe the influence of occupational socialization on the perspectives and practices of two German sport pedagogy faculty members regarding physical education and PETE. Its goal was to tease out the relative effects of and interactions between the participants' acculturation, professional socialization, organizational socialization, secondary professional socialization, and secondary organizational socialization.

Method

Participants and Setting

The participants in this study were Heidi and Lisa (fictitious names), two purposefully selected Caucasian female German sport pedagogy faculty members who held full-time positions at their respective German universities. At the time the study began Heidi was 32 years old and in her first year as an assistant professor of sport pedagogy working at large research university. Lisa was 68 years old and had worked in two universities for a total of 19 years as a full professor. In addition, she had been affiliated with two European and one Asian university as a visiting professor. Both faculty members formally consented to take part in this research (see Appendix A).

Data Collection

The main sources of data came from 6 semi-structured *formal interviews* (Wengraf, 2001). Formal interviews were conducted via Skype or telephone. The first formal interview focused on the participants' perspectives on and practices within physical education teaching and PETE. Formal interviews 2 through 6 focused on each of the five phases of socialization. The lead questions for both participants were identical although the protocol allowed for multiple

follow-up prompts. Interviews were approximately 60 minutes in duration, audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

Additional data sources included follow-up *informal interviews* conducted via e-mail, Skype, and telephone. Participants were also asked to write reflections in an *electronic journal* following each formal interview. The goal of these reflections was to share additional insights and/or memories. Both faculty members were also asked to supply relevant and supporting documents such as lesson plans, unit plans, syllabi, assessments, and organizational plans for field experiences. These were subjected to *document analysis*. Finally, field notes were made during *observations* of Heidi and Lisa's teaching.

Data Analysis

Raw data generated in the study were in the German language. Analysis of these data, however, was completed in English. Careful attention was paid to German-to-English translations in order to ensure accuracy of meaning. The first stage of analysis involved identifying data which described and illustrated (a) the faculty members' perspectives on and practices within physical education and PETE and (b) the socialization which led to these perspectives and practices. Analytic induction and constant comparison (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984) were used to code and categorize these two data sets. These codes and categories were driven by key concepts within occupational socialization theory. Categories were then collapsed into key themes.

Trustworthiness and credibility were established by regular member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), triangulation from five data sources, the search for discrepant and negative cases, and sharing a draft of the manuscript with the participants (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984).

Findings and Discussion

Heidi and Lisa's Perspectives and Practices

Physical education. Both faculty members had similar and relatively conservative ideas about the purposes of school physical education which were congruent with Jewett's (1994) disciplinary mastery value orientation. These were that young children should learn fundamental movement skills and older children and youth should gain a "sport education and health education." In addition, both had no doubt that participating in "sport [was] good for [children]" physically, in that it "[shaped] the body" and improved "coordination" and "health," and psychologically, in that it was "a part of life" children should "enjoy."

Possessing a slightly more critical focus, however, Lisa believed passionately that physical education should cater to "a broad spectrum of students" with diverse needs and worried that the subject could "present a hurdle for pupils in that they have to present themselves in front of others with their bodies:"

Physical education has a comprehensive scope and is always faced with the problem of a heterogeneous student population. . . . You have kids who are, for example, overweight or don't like to move. . . . On the other hand, you have those who are very talented and who want to develop themselves in the variety of sports. . . . I believe physical education has to be able to offer that, maybe by using, for example, internal differentiation to make allowance for these varying interests and abilities. (Lisa, formal interview 1)

In contrast, and as illustrated by the following data extract, Heidi's primary concerns for the subject were its role in the fight against inactivity and its marginalization within academically focused school curricula:

We have "sitting schools." Kids go to school and sit for a long time. . . . A lot more movement needs to be integrated into schools and physical education is the only element that absorbs this. . . . Some representatives in sport say that [physical education] should not be evaluated like math—not with the same hard grades. I think that is a problematic statement because if we don't have the hard grades, then the subject may lose even more in importance and will be taken out of the schedule further. Certain parity to other subjects is needed. (Heidi, formal interview 1)

In line with the goals they espoused for the subject, key models of instruction supported by both faculty were “movement education,” the traditional multi-activity model which included a “large variety of movement experiences,” and classroom-based health education with “the goal of instilling the value of lifelong physical activity and sport.” Furthermore, both Lisa and Heidi favored the use of a broad range of direct and indirect teaching styles:

I support the use of direct and indirect teaching styles depending on the objective. I support the use of indirect teaching styles when students are asked to solve problematic tasks creatively and direct styles . . . when the objective is for children to learn specific motor abilities. (Lisa, informal interview)

PETE. Heidi and Lisa believed it important that recruits entering PETE had a good foundation of content knowledge and that this was best achieved by them having “experienced a wide range of sport” during childhood and adolescence:

I think [preservice teachers] should have a sports biography. Many of the preservice teachers [in PETE] have participated in the sports culture and competed in soccer, handball, or track. I think it is an exception that preservice teachers have little experience with sports. (Heidi, formal interview 1)

This recruiting philosophy matched the structure of the 5.5-year PETE programs that existed in the institutions in which the two faculty members had worked which were similar and very traditional. This structure was largely designed by the faculty who staffed them free from outside interference. It included four years of course work on the university campus and an 18-month apprenticeship in a state school. Due to relatively recent efforts to align with international standards, these programs led students to earning both the bachelor’s and master’s degree.

The core of these programs consisted of between two and three semesters focused on learning to participate in up to eight sports (dance, artistic gymnastics, track and field, swimming, soccer, handball, volleyball, and basketball). The rationale behind these courses was that the knowledge preservice teachers gained from them as a performer would transfer into

pedagogical effectiveness and expertise and “increase their credibility as teachers.” Supporting this core were between five and six classroom-based courses in the various sub-disciplines of kinesiology, the rationale being that the “scientific knowledge” gained would enhance preservice teachers’ pedagogy. These courses included “sports medicine,” “science of training,” “biomechanics,” “motor development,” “sport history,” “sport sociology,” and “sport psychology.” In addition, preservice teachers in the programs studied “didactics” and “sport pedagogy.” These were classroom-based courses in which students were taught “principles of motor learning,” “foundations of teaching,” “content progressions,” and “skill development.” Prior to the culminating 18-month apprenticeship, which took place in one school at a level of the student’s choosing, there were very few early field experiences in which preservice teachers taught children and youth in schools. Moreover, there were no specific methods courses. Rather methods were taught in conjunction with the apprenticeship and focused on planning, management, instruction, and assessment. Also taught during the apprenticeship phase were courses on educational law, civics, and administration.

As illustrated in the following data extract, Lisa was fairly supportive of this traditional structure for German PETE:

I believe that it is very important to have a balance of praxis and theory. [Preservice teachers] should have a broad knowledge of movement patterns in dance, swimming, track, and games such as handball, volleyball, soccer. They should have experience in playing these games well. You need a theoretical foundation as well. That is a given. (Lisa, formal interview 1)

She was, however, concerned that the structure did not include enough “early field experiences” or prepare preservice teachers for the diverse population of pupils they would encounter on graduation:

In school physical education, [preservice teachers] will be dealing with students who may not be athletic, who may be obese, or may have other health issues. They will see the

whole spectrum of students and that is a challenge for physical education teachers. (Lisa, formal interview 1)

While Heidi wanted graduates from her program to acquire high levels of content and pedagogical content knowledge, she was not convinced that focusing on preservice teachers' sporting performance and knowledge of the kinesiological sub-disciplines was the optimal way to achieve this:

It's more important to have the expertise to involve the students [than being able to perform]. Of course, it is an advantage if the teacher can perform everything, but primarily it is more important that you can teach it . . . and the emphasis is rather reversed in our PETE. (Heidi, formal interview 3)

I think it is good to have an academic degree [i.e., knowledge of the sub-disciplines], but sometimes I ask myself, "For what?" What are the abilities and what is the knowledge a physical education teacher has to have in order to conduct good instruction? . . . Maybe they don't need such deep knowledge [of the sub-disciplines]. (Heidi, formal interview 1)

In addition, Heidi was concerned that the traditional structure of PETE in Germany did not include enough "methods" courses or promote "critical thinking" and pedagogical "reflection:"

It has been my experience that preservice teachers are not always clear about what the goal of physical education is—that it is not just about learning of skills. It is an important aspect, but it's not the only one. A certain ability to reflect has to be developed in preservice teachers. Right now, students here take a lot of practical [i.e., activity] classes . . . and almost no seminars, where discussion and reflection can be promoted. (Heidi, formal interview 6)

Influences that Shaped Heidi and Lisa's Perspectives and Practices

Acculturation. Heidi and Lisa's subjective warrants for physical education and PETE clearly had their roots in their acculturation. Both were initially attracted to the profession by a love of sport that was modeled and instilled primarily by their fathers. For example, Lisa noted that her father "had played a lot of sports in his youth [and] as an adult" and being enrolled by her parents "at the age of five or six to do gymnastics." Similarly, Heidi explained that her father, an elite track and field athlete, had "nurtured [her interest in competitive sport] intensively, [and]

became an influential, driving force,” and that her parents “were always playing some type of sport at home.”

During their late childhood and adolescence, both Lisa and Heidi’s attraction to a career “connected to sport” and subjective warrants for such a career were strengthened and shaped by their experiences in organized community sports clubs outside of school. For Lisa, these mainly positive experiences were initially within “track and field” and then “handball and basketball,” but also included a wide range of other sports:

My sporting activities were all with the same club. There was large a variety of sports and this fascinated me—to learn about many types of sport. And that was always connected to the life plan I had made to become a PE teacher. (Lisa, formal interview 2)

Heidi also focused on track and field in her teens, but having been put off by an overly competitive coach moved on to other activities:

My coach . . . was an athlete himself, a friend and teammate of my dad’s from their sporting days. But he had zero pedagogical training. For him, performance was important. . . . There was zero personal relationship. The only thing that counted was performance. . . . I just capitulated. I quit. So I went jogging, horseback riding, and running with my dad. . . . I could have been better if I wouldn’t have been so afraid. (Heidi, formal interview 2)

Crucially, the two faculty members’ apprenticeships of observation took place in schools in which extracurricular sport was not in competition with curricular physical education since there was very little of it, and youth sport mainly took place in the aforementioned community sports clubs. Consequently, neither Lisa nor Heidi witnessed the kind of non-teaching displayed by hard core coaching oriented teachers in countries where this competition between curricular physical and extracurricular sport is in existence (Curtner-Smith, 2009). Moreover, although they were both taught elementary physical education by “untrained” non-specialists, Heidi and Lisa recalled “learning movement games and swimming” and engaging in “calisthenics.” In addition, they described their secondary physical education as being similar to the core of what they now

espoused—a multi-activity curriculum that included “classic games, such as handball and basketball, track & field, and swimming” and less traditional activities “including rowing.” Finally, Lisa explained that her secondary physical education had been taught by well trained and dedicated professionals who were excellent role models: “I had good PE teachers. I remember one especially. She played handball on my team and was really enthusiastic in her subject and fit everything in—family, school, and playing sports—that impressed me.” With this background, both Lisa and Heidi moved on to their PETE with a traditional sport-focused teaching orientation.

Professional socialization. Lisa and Heidi’s PETE led to them earning the equivalent of what would be a master’s degree in other western cultures. It largely resembled the bachelor’s and master’s programs within which they now taught. That is, it mainly consisted of activity and exercise science courses focused on enhancing sporting performance. Importantly, students interested in occupations other than teaching followed the same generic program.

As they were not trained by experts in sport pedagogy with new and different ideas about teaching, this PETE largely served to strengthen the traditional sport-focused teaching orientations with which Heidi and Lisa entered. Both faculty members, however, took coursework in the exercise sciences which modified their teaching orientations to some extent. Specifically, Heidi explained how an “incredibly interesting” sport psychology course she took changed her outlook on teaching “because it wasn’t focused on performance, but on health. Like, how can I motivate people to be more active in sports?” Similarly, Lisa recalled her views about teaching being changed by lectures on and reading about E. J. Kiphard’s work on psycho-motor development:

I think [my pedagogical development] had a lot to do with becoming more sensitive for the potential of a person that could be developed, and that you mustn’t overwhelm him or

her with tasks. Sometimes you can work with tactile-kinesthetic support, and maybe use less of the sport-specific movement, and more of the general movement, general coordination approaches. . . . The connection between perception and movement also became quite significant to me. (Lisa, formal interview 3)

Additional and more profound influences on Lisa's perspectives and practices at this stage of her life were the part-time work she did "once-a-week" organizing and teaching "a sports program at a private institution for children and youth with cerebral palsy," and subsequently, teaching physical education in a "special school for 6 to 8 periods" a week:

I realized, goodness, they [i.e., children with disabilities] cannot implement this [i.e., perform a motor task]. Even if they understand the task, it wasn't possible [for them] to transfer this into a motor performance. . . . That made a great impression on me, as did the kids with learning and mental disabilities. (Lisa, formal interview 3)

Organizational socialization. Unlike most teachers and teacher educators, the influence of the school culture on Heidi was non-existent as she did not seek a teaching position and moved directly from the completion of her PETE to doctoral work. Moreover, the influence of organizational socialization on Lisa was relatively weak compared with many teachers, because she did not seek full-time employment. Instead, she worked several part-time teaching jobs for the next five years. Specifically, she continued working in the special school at which she had been employed during her PETE. In addition, she worked in a private catholic school and public high school "teaching physical education to fifth and sixth grade girls" in the former and classes of seventh and eighth grade pupils in the latter for "4 to 6 periods" a week.

The cultures of the two schools for able-bodied students were "strongly oriented towards teaching sports," and so compatible with and reinforcing of Lisa's existing sport-focused teaching orientation. Consequently, she did not feel pressure from the institutional press (Zeichner & Tabachnik, 1981), suffer washout (Zeichner & Tabachnik, 1983), and there was no

need for her to use any of the strategic coping tactics described in previous research (Etheridge, 1989; Lacey, 1977). Rather, she complied with the existing practices which she fully supported.

A key influence on Lisa in these two able-bodied schools was the state-mandated “curriculum framework” which “was focused on teaching classic sports.” In addition, Lisa’s colleagues and administrators shared her views about what constituted effective physical education and so played a significant role in strengthening her traditional sport-focused perspective regarding the subject:

There was no question about what we should teach in PE. We [my colleagues and the schools’ leadership teams] understood PE to be about coordination, conditioning, and cooperation through learning the classic sports. Students should enjoy movement, be healthy, have good motor skills, and be able to participate in various sporting events. (Lisa, informal interview)

Secondary professional socialization. Neither Heidi or Lisa were attracted to their doctoral studies because they were passionate about school physical education or PETE. This was one reason why their experiences in their respective doctoral programs had relatively little influence on their perspectives and practices within these two areas. Instead, both faculty members drifted into their doctoral programs almost by default. For Lisa (10-year program), this was because she realized that a career “in schools wouldn’t work,” so she “planned to stay in the university” like those doctoral students studied by Lee and Curtner-Smith (2011) who aspired to be college professors. Similarly, Heidi (6-year program) “slid into the next step” because she was attracted by the “social distinction” that a doctorate would bring her, and reasoned doing so would give her a “better chance in the [higher education] job market.”

The fact that the doctoral programs Lisa and Heidi followed were purely by research and did not include coursework on sport pedagogy or anything else negated the program’s influences on the two faculty members. In addition, this structure meant that Lisa and Heidi were isolated,

“totally lonely,” and rarely interacted with other doctoral students who might have influenced their thinking. Also contributing to the relative lack of impact on Lisa and Heidi’s perspectives regarding physical education and PETE was the fact that the research they completed was not purely pedagogical as specialists understand it. Rather, Lisa’s doctoral research was focused “somewhere in the middle of special education, sport science—motor development, and sport pedagogy.” Similarly, although Heidi’s research was concerned with “health promotion in schools and physical education,” it was based on a combination of sport psychology and sport pedagogy.

Despite its relative lack of potency, some of Heidi and Lisa’s doctoral experiences did influence their views about physical education and PETE. As in past research (Antony, 2002; Dodds, 2005; Lee & Curtner-Smith, 2011), these included their graduate assistantship duties, research experience, and, in Heidi’s case, her advisor.

Working as a graduate assistant for “12 to 16 hours [a week]” involved Lisa teaching seminars for undergraduate preservice teachers in adapted physical education and supervising them during field experiences at a local orthopedic clinic. For Heidi it included teaching preservice teachers “health promotion for children and youth,” and “psychological aspects of physical education.” It was these initial experiences of working with preservice teachers that led both faculty members to start thinking about pedagogy in more depth:

I gained a lot of knowledge about how physical education in the schools worked and then I taught some courses for preservice teachers and it was always about, how can I best instruct preservice teachers to teach in the schools. And so the pedagogy became more and more important. (Heidi, informal interview)

As well as giving them important technical knowledge and direction in terms of what to research, the main impact of their advisers and research experience was to give Lisa and Heidi a passion for doing research:

I couldn't have asked for a better advisor. We complemented each other perfectly. . . . It was a formative time, as he was an extreme alpha-personality and I was very intent on doing everything right. His praise made me intensely happy, and his criticism was hard to digest. (Heidi, formal interview 5)

I was in uncharted territory and that was very intense. I traveled around . . . out of the country to Brussels, and eventually to the International Symposium of Adapted Physical Activity. And there another door opened up to the international scene. (Lisa, formal interview 5)

In addition, Heidi's advisor had some impact on how she viewed PETE. He suggested she was too focused on research and that "it was perverted that [she] was teaching preservice teachers but had never taught physical education in schools." This prompted Heidi to ask herself, "How close do I have to be to life in the schools and how strong is my orientation towards research?" Eventually, she came to the realization that her best course of action was "to conceptualize studies in schools" and conduct applied research.

Secondary organizational socialization. In line with previous research (Casey & Fletcher, 2012; Dodds, 2005; Napper-Owen, 2012), the key workplace influences on Lisa and Heidi were administrators, colleagues, preservice teachers, and graduate students. Moreover, at the time of data collection, the impact of these persons on Heidi was considerably more powerful since she was at the beginning of her career in higher education and "because [she was] the youngest and most inexperienced" faculty member in her department. Generally, the views and values of these groups served to support conservative sport-focused teaching orientations as well as the traditional PETE programs the two faculty members favored. For example, Heidi described her preservice teachers as being "really focused on sports" and Lisa recalled that at her first institution different factions of the faculty had clashed over how best to conduct performance and sport-focused PETE:

There were controversies about how much of the PETE curriculum should be practical sports instruction. Those teachers who taught sports were of the conviction that there

should be a large percentage of practical classes in the curriculum. The science professors made their case for a more science-based education. (Lisa, informal interview)

Administrators and senior faculty also emphasized the importance of “building international relationships with researchers in the same or related fields” and developing a national and international research profile as well as modeling and mentoring this kind of behavior. This perspective was congruent with the main thrust of the two faculty members’ doctoral work, spurred Lisa on to considerable success, and gave Heidi direction in her early career. Lisa, for example, took on several leadership roles including “president of the International Federation of Adapted Physical Activity.” Similarly, Heidi became “vice-president of the German Society for Sport Science” and noted that she

Realized how people work together internationally and how important networks are and that, well, I see my assignment primarily in building contacts and networks. Not to do all of the work as a lone wolf, but to collaborate and cooperate. (Heidi, formal interview 6)

Other higher education workplace factors that influenced Lisa and Heidi not mentioned in previous work were national politics and taking on the role of administrator. Both faculty members perceived themselves to be “strictly held to the standards set” by the system imposed on them by their regional governments. This system, however, broadly supported the traditional perspectives on physical education and PETE. In addition, Lisa explained that following the unification of East and West Germany in 1990, the state had required that the faculty in her department, situated in the west, move to a former East German institution as part of an attempt at “strengthening the other institution.” The amalgamation of the two faculties with differing philosophies and technical cultures (Lortie, 1975), Lisa recalled, had been particularly difficult:

We were one of the top institutions in sport science in [West] Germany, but the political will was that the other university [in the East] needed to be strengthened. And, yes, there is nothing you can do about this. . . . I think sometimes you have to just come to terms with the facts in a pragmatic fashion. (Lisa, formal interview 6)

At the time data were collected for this study, Lisa was head of her department and Heidi was concerned about the different requirements for teaching and research. Both relayed how the “multifaceted” nature of their jobs had detracted from the time they could devote to thinking about improving PETE. In addition, Heidi explained that she needed to strategically comply with the views of her senior colleagues:

I have certain criteria I have to fulfill here and cannot spend too much time on re-vamping teacher education. . . . I cannot afford to touch [PETE] and I will also be evaluated [on my performance in other areas]. Everything I have to do is multifaceted—research and teaching. (Heidi, formal interview 1)

Conversely, on occasions, the power Lisa possessed as department head and an experienced full professor enabled her to force through changes to the program and so strategically redefine PETE. For example, despite some resistance from colleagues, she was able to “offer inclusive education, and our students could choose this as a major in their comprehensive state examinations.”

Summary and Conclusions

This study demonstrated the cyclical nature of occupational socialization as it affected physical education teaching in schools and PETE in Germany. Heidi and Lisa gained traditional sport-focused teaching orientations from their acculturation and these were mainly reinforced by their PETE, doctoral studies, workplace conditions in higher education, and Lisa’s experiences of teaching in schools. This pattern of socialization meant that, in general, both faculty members supported the status quo and reproduced the same kind of PETE they had experienced as undergraduates. Moreover, this PETE was designed to produce teachers with similar perspectives on the subject as themselves.

Importantly, the study’s findings suggested that there was little or no competition between curricular physical education and extracurricular sport in German schools.

Consequently, it appeared that there was no such thing as a coaching orientation in the German context. The reproduction of the existing systems of physical education and PETE, therefore, did not serve to perpetuate teachers' use of poor or non-practice in school physical education as it often does in United States (Curtner-Smith, 2009). Rather, findings suggested that teachers would continue to teach sports, games, and physical activities within the multi-activity model using traditional teaching styles and methods.

A key reason for the perpetuation of the traditional sport-focused teaching orientation witnessed in this study was the generic nature of the PETE and graduate programs experienced by Heidi and Lisa. Neither involved the two faculty members encountering specialists in sport pedagogy who overtly challenged existing practice and provided alternative visions of what physical education and PETE could be. Instead, all faculty were regarded as "sport pedagogists" if they taught classes for preservice teachers. Most, however, appeared to have done doctoral research rooted in the exercise sciences as opposed to teaching and learning in schools. Consequently, their main focus was on teaching and conducting research within their scientific sub-disciplines. With a few notable exceptions, this meant that they supported the existing versions of physical education and PETE without question and did not consider attempting to modify preservice teachers' subjective warrants. This finding, of course, has implications for other countries where specialist PETE programs are under threat and a regression to a generic science-based "PETE" is a distinct possibility.

As emphasized by Heidi and Lisa and recognized by others before them (Siedentop, 2009; Siedentop & Eldar, 1989), the generic PETE programs in which they were trained and which they taught within had one distinct advantage over many of the more progressive specialist programs in existence elsewhere. This was that they recruited students with good

content knowledge and included a sizeable proportion of classes on sports, games, and physical activities in which it would be possible to teach pedagogical content knowledge with a modified approach.

While the pattern of Lisa and Heidi's socialization was somewhat unique, most of the key agents and institutions that influenced them were similar to those described in much of the past research. One influence rarely mentioned in other research (e.g., Curtner-Smith, 1999) that featured in the current study, however, was national politics. Another influence on Lisa, that to our knowledge has not been mentioned previously, was assuming the role of administrator. These influences are worthy of further investigation. Other studies that might be conducted in this line obviously include those which seek to ascertain whether or not the findings of the current research transfer to other German sport pedagogy faculty. In addition, studies that examine the unique patterns of socialization for sport pedagogy faculty working in other countries should prove helpful.

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CHAPTER II
THE OCCUPATIONAL SOCIALIZATION OF GERMAN
PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHERS

Abstract

To date, most of the work on the occupational socialization of physical education (PE) teachers has been completed in the United States and Britain. The purpose of this study was to examine and describe the occupational socialization of German PE teachers who were trained prior to unification of the two German states and worked in both their old nations and the new Germany. Participants were five former West German (WG) and five former East German (EG) teachers. Data were collected using five qualitative techniques and analyzed by employing analytic induction and constant comparison. Results indicated that there were distinct and different patterns of socialization for the former German states. The WG group possessed conservative teaching orientations nurtured during their youth and childhood and reinforced during their training and by their school cultures. Perceived changes in German society and culture led to slight modifications of these orientations over the teachers' careers. Prior to reunification, the EG group possessed a high performance orientation primarily honed by the politics of the state. The perspectives and practices of WG teachers were relatively unaffected by reunification. In contrast, the transition to a new system was emancipating for four of the EG teachers who shifted to a teaching orientation. Conversely, the transition was particularly difficult for one of the former EG teachers who partially retained his high performance orientation and strategically complied with new national requirements.

Introduction

Occupational socialization theory (Lawson, 1983a, 1983b; Templin & Richards, 2014) has been used successfully in previous sport pedagogy research to provide in-depth analyses of how the beliefs, values, perspectives, and practices of physical education (PE) teachers are shaped and developed (Curtner-Smith, 1997, 1999, 2009; Curtner-Smith, Hastie, & Kinchin, 2008; Klinge, 2002; Stran & Curtner-Smith, 2009; Wright, 2001). Such research has the potential to lead to improvements in the selection, initial preparation, work conditions, and inservice training of physical educators.

Three main phases of socialization influencing inservice PE teachers have been described in the literature (Lawson, 1983a, 1983b). During all three phases, powerful institutions and individuals act to shape teachers. Teachers, however, are not passive in the process and can fight back. The resulting dialectic leads to changes in both the teacher and the system (Schempp & Graber, 1992).

The first phase of socialization, *acculturation*, takes place in the years between birth and the beginning of formal teacher education (Lawson, 1983a). Important individuals within this phase include family members, peers, PE teachers, and coaches. Key institutions are sport and the school (Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Volkman, 2008). Parents, siblings, and relatives who enjoy and participate in sport and physical activity are often the initial catalyst for prospective PE teachers becoming interested in their subject matter. This interest in sport and physical activity is further nurtured by adults coaching sport outside school (Stran & Curtner-Smith, 2009, Volkman, 2008). In addition, prospective teachers are highly influenced by the perspectives of their own PE teachers and the programs that they deliver (Vollmer & Curtner-Smith, 2016). Lortie (1975) noted that prospective teachers undergo an “apprenticeship of

observation” while at school, and in so doing, make judgments as to what it means to be a teacher. This apprenticeship of observation is crucial in the formation of a “subjective warrant” (Lawson, 1983a). That is, a view as to what duties and actions the job of PE teacher involves, coupled with the perception of one’s ability to carry out those duties and actions.

There is a good deal of evidence to suggest that PE teachers form one of two orientations to the job during their acculturation (Curtner-Smith, 1999; Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Lawson, 1983a, 1983b). Girls who participate in good quality PE programs; attend schools at which extracurricular sport is given a relatively low priority; and participate in low level sport, high level “minor” sport, or non-competitive physical activity are more likely to have “teaching orientations” and view coaching extracurricular sport as a “career contingency.” Their priority as they begin teacher education will be to teach high quality curricular PE. Conversely, boys who participate in high level “major” sport, and who attend schools that prioritize the production of competitive school teams but deliver low quality PE, are more likely to develop “coaching orientations” and view teaching as a career contingency. Their priority will be to coach high level sport.

The second and weakest phase, *professional socialization*, occurs during formal initial teacher training. Students who begin this phase with strong coaching orientations are often untouched by anything said or done by those responsible for training them, regardless of the strength of their programs (Klinge, 2002; Mordal-Moen & Green, 2014). Conversely, good quality initial teacher education can strengthen teaching orientations and change the views of those who enter the program with moderate coaching orientations (Sofa & Curtner-Smith, 2010; Wright, 2001). Unfortunately, some weak initial teacher education programs have been shown to reinforce the subjective warrants of those students who enter with coaching orientations and lead

to those who have teaching orientations having second thoughts about their chosen profession (Curtner-Smith, 1999; Stran & Curtner-Smith, 2009). Strong initial teacher education programs are staffed by non-coaching faculty who share a set of values and focus on honing the same set of technical skills and transferring the same body of pedagogical knowledge. Moreover, these faculty monitor their charges' teaching carefully and make vigorous attempts to change misguided views and practices (Curtner-Smith, 1997; Lawson, 1983a, 1983b; Lortie, 1975).

The third phase, *organizational socialization*, includes all the effects of the workplace on newly minted teachers. Some schools undoubtedly welcome innovative teachers and encourage them (Curtner-Smith et al., 2008). Unfortunately, the prevailing culture at most schools has been shown to be conservative and to preserve “normal practice.” Specifically, this kind of culture serves as an “institutional press” (Zeichner & Tabachnik, 1983) that overtly squeezes the innovative life out of PE teachers who enter with teaching orientations or, more subtly, wears down this type of teacher and leads to any new ideas and pedagogies they have being “washed out” (Zeichner & Tabachnik, 1981). Key components of the institutional press include school administrators, colleagues, department heads, parents, and students (Schempp & Graber, 1992). Coaching oriented physical educators are generally supported by the press (Curtner-Smith, 1997). When faced with this kind of negative force, those with teaching orientations, however, have to adopt different coping strategies. First, they can “strategically comply” (Lacey, 1977) with and go along with poor practice, while secretly retaining their own views about how the subject should be taught, and teaching “properly” when not being observed. Too long a period of strategic compliance, however, can lead to washout. Second, they can attempt to “strategically redefine” (Lacey, 1977) the poor practice they observe and faulty views they encounter by openly fighting back in an attempt to change the PE at their schools for the better (Wright, 2001).

To date, most of the work on the occupational socialization of PE teachers has been completed in the United States and Britain (e.g., Curtner-Smith, 1999; Curtner-Smith et al., 2008). The few exceptions to this rule include work carried out in Singapore (Wright, 2001), Norway (Mordal-Moen & Green, 2014), Greece (Zounhia, Chatoupis, Amoutzas, & Hatziharistos, 2006), and modern post-unification Germany (Klinge, 2001; Volkmann, 2008). Researchers who conducted these studies found that many of the findings generated in American and British schools broadly transferred to these other cultures. It may be, however, that different or nuanced patterns of socialization exist for PE teachers operating within countries with systems of PE and school sport that are substantially different from those in effect in the United States and Britain. The purpose of this study, therefore, was to examine and describe the occupational socialization of German PE teachers who were trained prior to the unification of the two German states and worked in both their old nations and the new Germany. Specifically, we were interested in discovering whether or not teachers from the former West German (WG) and East German (EG) states espoused different perspectives and practices regarding PE due to experiencing different patterns of socialization.

PE and School Sport in the German Context

One of the most important political events of the last century was the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9th, 1989 (Frijters, Haisken-DeNew, & Shields, 2004). Formal reunification of West and East Germany followed in 1990 and led to changes in the German systems and organization of youth sport and PE. Sport had been an important aspect of both WG and EG life prior to the wall being dismantled (Hardman & Naul, 2002). However, while the focus in the West had been balanced between mass participation in schools and elite sport in clubs, in the

East the emphasis was primarily on developing athletes capable of winning elite international sporting competitions (Hardman & Naul, 2002; Kurz, 1990).

Moreover, WG curricular PE and extracurricular sport was focused on a number of educational goals including motor skill acquisition, health and fitness, lifelong participation in physical activity, and personal and social development (Kurz, 1990). By contrast, EG PE was essentially designed to foster competitiveness and act as a filtering and feeder system for elite sport (Balbier, 2007). Importantly, talented children of all ages were selected for and required to attend special schools focused on producing elite sportspersons (Hardman, 2008).

Following reunification, the general goal was to change the EG system of education, PE, and school sport so that it was similar to and compatible with what occurred in the West (von Below, Powell, & Roberts, 2013). While these systemic transitions were indeed made (von Below et al., 2013), there were some indications that they had an adverse impact in the East of the now unified country. For example, the amount of PE and school sport offered in that region actually declined (Schmidt, Haupt, & Suessenbach, 2000).

Method

Participants and Setting

Participants in this study were 10 purposefully selected German PE teachers. For the purposes of this study they were assigned fictitious names. Eight were men and two were women. As shown in Table 1, all 10 teachers were Caucasian and 50 years of age or older at the time the study commenced. When the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, therefore, they were at least 25 years old and nine of them had experience of working in one of the two German systems of education and PE that existed pre-unification. The youngest and 10th participant, Sven, was completing his PETE at the time reunification took place. Also as shown in Table 1, five of the

Table 1.

Participants' Profiles

Biographical Detail	Markus	Holger	Bernd	Thomas	Rosa	Gaby	Sven	Georg	Volker	Joerg
Age (years)	57	56	64	56	54	53	50	52	56	67
Country Of Origin	West Germany	West Germany	West Germany	West Germany	West Germany	East Germany	East Germany	East Germany	East Germany	East Germany
Race/ ethnicity	Caucasian	Caucasian	Caucasian	Caucasian	Caucasian	Caucasian	Caucasian	Caucasian	Caucasian	Caucasian
Retired/ working	Working	Working	Retired	Working	Working	Working	Working	Working	Working	Retired
Type & Number of schools worked in	Secondary (2)	Secondary (3)	Secondary (2)	Secondary (2)	Elementary & Secondary (3)	Secondary (3)	Secondary (2)	Elementary & Secondary (3)	Elementary & Secondary (1)	Elementary & Secondary (3)
Current orientation to PE	Teaching	Teaching	Teaching	Teaching	Teaching	Teaching	Teaching	Teaching	Teaching + High Performance	Teaching
Orientation to PE prior to PETE	Teaching	Teaching	Teaching	Teaching ¹	Teaching	High Performance	High Performance	High Performance	High Performance	High Performance
Orientation to PE post-PETE and prior to reunification	Teaching	Teaching	Teaching	Teaching ¹	Teaching	High Performance	Teaching + High Performance ²	High Performance	High Performance	High Performance

Notes:

1. Thomas did not study PETE but had a teaching orientation following his acculturation and prior to unification.

2. Sven completed his PETE in the year following reunification.

teachers had worked in schools within the former West Germany and five of the teachers had worked in schools in the former East Germany. Eight of the teachers were still working at the time the study was completed. Conversely, Bernd had retired in the spring of 2015, and Joerg had retired from full-time teaching in state schools, but was still teaching four lessons a week at a private school. Finally, Table 1 reveals that six of the teachers had taught exclusively in secondary schools, and four of the teachers had taught in a variety of elementary and secondary schools. All 10 teachers signed a consent form prior to the commencement of the study in congruence with regulations for doing research with human subjects (see Appendix B).

Data Collection

Each teacher was *formally interviewed* on three occasions. All formal interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. During the first interview the teachers were asked about their current perspectives and practices regarding PE and their acculturation. Within the second formal interview they were asked to describe their professional socialization, and during the final interview, they were asked to discuss their organizational socialization. Follow-up *informal interviews* were conducted by phone, e-mail, Skype, or in person as and when needed to confirm or expand on data gathered in formal interviews. Teachers were also asked to provide examples of lesson plans, unit plans, evaluation schemes, and other teaching materials. These materials will be subjected to *document analysis*. Finally, teachers were asked to supply some film snippets of themselves in action which illustrated the values they espoused and the practices they employed.

Data Analysis

Data from all sources which described the teachers' current perspectives and practices and their acculturation, professional socialization, and organizational socialization were

identified. Separate inductive analyses were carried out on each of these data sets using analytic induction and constant comparison (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). English codes were developed from German transcriptions and the subsequent analysis was conducted in English. Categories developed during this process were collapsed into meaningful themes and exemplars illustrating each theme were selected. Particular attention was paid to (a) differences between the perspectives, practices, and socialization of the teachers working in the former East and West Germany; and (b) any departures from occupational socialization theory as it exists at present. Trustworthiness and credibility were established by triangulation of data collection techniques, regular member checking, and the search for discrepant and negative cases. (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984).

Findings and Discussion

Current Perspectives and Practices

WG Teachers. All of the WG teachers were teaching oriented (see Table 1) and there was no question of their career choice being a contingency that allowed them to become sports coaches. Crucially, this was because there was very little extracurricular sport in German schools. Rather, higher level sport for children and youth in the modern German culture was provided by a private and/or community sports club system which had “few connections” with the schools. The following data extract illustrated this group’s high level of commitment to school PE:

It is really important to provide instruction that is enjoyable for the students while also promoting performance, giving space for creativity in movement, and teaching game play. I look for collaboration among the students and improvement of physical ability and skills, rather than high athletic performance. (Rosa, formal interview 1)

All five WG teachers endorsed the disciplinary mastery value orientation (Jewett, 1994) in which the primary objective was to teach “movement.” At the secondary level (ages 10 to 18

years), this translated into employing the traditional multi-activity model and teaching sports and games mainly using direct teaching styles.

Both traditional (i.e., “gymnastics,” “swimming,” “athletics,” “soccer,” “handball,” “volleyball,” and “basketball”) and non-traditional sports and physical activities (e.g., “mountain-biking, hip-hop dance, ice-skating, uni-cycling, and karate”) were included in the latest editions of the secondary teachers’ curricula. Typical unit length was between 6 and 8 lessons. Methods of evaluation at the secondary level included “comparisons with performance tables,” and observations of student work to check for “the correct execution of technical elements,” “performance improvement throughout the year,” and “the ability to work in a team.” Furthermore, rather than focus on pedagogical skills, the WG group described good teachers as being “all-rounders” “capable of demonstrating well” in a number of the sports and physical activities and “requiring good performance” as well as being “supportive” of students.

Objectives and curricula for older elementary children (ages 8 to 9 years) espoused by the WG group appeared to be similar to those employed at the secondary school level. For younger children (ages 5 to 7 years), however, they thought that the focus should be on the acquisition of fundamental movement skills and abilities including “physical coordination,” “endurance,” “balance,” “catching,” “throwing,” “kicking,” “striking,” and “swimming.”

Teaching fundamental movement skills is increasingly important today. . . . I have noticed that these days, about 50% of my students in fifth grade do not have basic skills in catching and throwing. A forward roll has to be taught with methodological tricks to make it fun; and basic movement skills like running, hopping, throwing, catching are missing. (Holger, informal interview)

The curricula they advocated for these students, therefore, were made up of units of “between 4 and 9 lessons” on various skill themes, educational games, and aquatics. Evaluation methods employed by Rosa and supported by her more secondary oriented WG colleagues included “self

and peer assessment of skills,” “observation of technical skill execution by the teacher,” and “observational evaluations of psychological and social aspects.” Moreover, in line with most versions of the movement education model, the WG group supported the use of more indirect teaching styles with younger children so that they could “explore movement.”

A secondary objective espoused by the WG teachers for all age groups was “health-related fitness.” Specific goals mentioned within this focus were improving “strength and endurance,” and eradicating “sedentary life styles,” “inactivity,” and “obesity.” Typically, this objective was, they indicated, achieved as a “by-product” of their sports-dominated curricula rather than as a consequence of their providing specific health-related units. Finally, and reflecting their interest in Jewett’s (1994) self-actualization and self-responsibility value orientations and their belief that it was easier to make “connections with students” in the gymnasium than the classroom, all of the teachers in this group noted that they hoped to enhance their student’s personal and “social learning” through their teaching, especially “respect for each other and collaboration.”

EG Teachers. At the time the study was conducted, four of the EG teachers’ (Gaby, Joerg, Sven, and Georg) perspectives and practices regarding objectives, curricula, teaching styles, and methods of evaluation for both younger and older students were very similar to those of their WG counterparts. These teachers also possessed teaching orientations (see Table 1) and were equally committed to their subject. Moreover, this relatively progressive sub-group of EG teachers argued that the subject should “satisfy . . . children’s need to move,” “support motor learning,” “promote success,” and “teach social skills and the ability to handle emotions.” Interestingly, however, and in contrast to the WG cohort, they prioritized health-related fitness

through participation in physical activity over skill acquisition and saw improved performance occurring as a result of this focus as opposed to the converse:

[The most important objective of PE is] to inspire students to play sports outside of school, to be active after school. When I first started, PE was definitely oriented towards high performance. Now, we no longer have a high performance orientation, but look for healthy recreation. Improved performance will be a by-product anyhow. (Sven, formal interview 1)

Volker, the fifth EG teacher, was relatively conservative. As well as being teaching oriented, in that he was interested in the achievement of “all his students,” he also possessed what we termed a “high performance orientation” (see Table 1). This meant that an additional and major goal of his was to promote promising high level sportsmen and women:

I have been really successful with field days and swimming competitions. . . . I just had a big success with rowing [on the ergometer] in fifth grade. The [club] rowers are looking for talent. I trained 12 students and we won the State Championships in three competitions by large margins! (Volker, formal interview 1)

While the curricula that Volker espoused at both the elementary and secondary level were similar in terms of content, organization, and evaluation to those of the WGs and his more progressive EG colleagues, the pedagogies he supported were more direct, and his priorities were focused on “training,” “conditioning,” and “performance”:

The most important goals for PE are to stress the body within reasonable limits, to demonstrate how sport works, and to teach principles of training. . . . I teach those by setting up stations, and the students experience how they can perform optimally. (Volker, formal interview 1, and informal interview)

Factors Influencing the Perspectives and Practices of WG and EG Teachers

Acculturation.

WG teachers. The pattern of acculturation for the WG teachers was fairly consistent with previous research conducted in other countries (e.g., Curtner-Smith, 1997, 1999) and led to the teachers entering PETE with teaching orientations (see Table 1). Key attractors to the profession

for this group were their interest in and enjoyment of participation in sport and physical activity. The main forces which shaped their subjective warrants for PE teaching were their apprenticeships of observation in schools and, to a lesser extent, their experiences in child/youth sports clubs.

Initial interest in sport and physical activity was nurtured by an active family life. For example, the WG group recalled older “athletic” siblings being “role models,” “going skiing as a family,” and “going to the public swimming pool together.” In addition, they remembered being “very active” as children and “constantly [playing] in the streets or somewhere in the woods or in the meadows” with their friends. By “the age of 5 or 6,” they also recalled being enrolled by their parents in at least one sports club. In these clubs, they were provided with instruction by coaches, and practiced and played competitive games which were modified for younger children. As explained by Markus and Rosa, typically, younger children would start their sport experience by “joining a gymnastics club,” and then move on to or add “track and field and games . . . mainly soccer, handball, or volleyball” as they got older. Importantly in terms of their future career choice, most of this group’s experiences of club sports and club coaches were positive:

I grew up in a small village and there was little to do outside of joining a sports club. . . . I enjoyed the club and my coaches, so I participated wherever I could. We had championships where I loved participating and competing. (Rosa, formal interview 2)

This group of teachers also had fond memories of their PE experiences at all levels of their schooling which appeared similar in nature to the type of PE they were now advocating. Specifically, this consisted of “good” multi-activity teaching focused primarily on “learning sports” and games for older elementary and secondary students (e.g., “gymnastics, track and field, and some skiing”), and a more direct conservative version of movement education for

younger elementary children focused mainly on the acquisition of fundamental movement skills such as “balancing, climbing, swinging, crawling, running, jumping, and throwing.”

Moreover, the WG teachers were quick to explain that many of their PE teachers had been “great role models” and were “admired” for their sporting and pedagogical skill. For example, they noted that their own PE teachers “could always demonstrate things,” “would break things [i.e., skills] down,” and were “motivating.”

Bernd also emphasized the positive influence on his career choice facilitated by the shift away from “authoritarian” to “student-centered [teaching] methods,” which took place in the 1960s, and led to the subject became “more enjoyable”:

From '68 on, a lot changed. A lot was critically scrutinized. Some of the teachers stepped back from their . . . authoritarian behavior. So then everything began to relax in the late '60s, early '70s, and with it, instruction and methods in schools took on new forms. (Bernd, formal interview 1)

On leaving school, and already set on a career to pursue, three of the WG teachers (Bernd, Holger, and Markus) went straight into PETE. By contrast, Rosa and Thomas came to the decision that they wanted to be PE teachers aged “around age 35” and “31 years,” respectively.

EG teachers. The EG teachers’ acculturation was radically different from their WG counterparts since their earliest perspectives and practices were mainly shaped by a state looking to create the “great sports nation” (Dennis, 2012) which would “symbolize” the positive effects of “civil unity and education.” This powerful form of socialization led to all five teachers possessing the aforementioned high performance orientation to PE prior to entering PETE (see Figure 1). As noted by Gaby, this was because they “didn’t know anything different” and were “manipulated.”

Specifically, the EG group recalled a system in which PE “had a much higher significance” and teachers were rewarded financially when they identified talented students as young as 7 years old to be sent to special “training centers” and then, if good enough, to “elite sports schools.” The main objectives of these sports schools, they relayed, was “to produce high performance and future Olympic athletes.” Moreover, they noted that students who reached this level were given “celebrity status” through participation in public “flag ceremonies,” received “many privileges,” and that, unlike the bulk of the population, they might have an opportunity to “go past the national borders.” Georg was the only one of the teachers in the study who made it to an elite sports school, but noted that, “thankfully, [he] wasn’t good enough and had to leave after three years.” In contrast, Volker recalled that even though it was “tough to adjust to the system, the regime, during puberty,” he was bitterly disappointed when he failed in his attempt to enter a sports school:

I went to the entrance exams at an elite gymnastics school. It went pretty well, but they ousted me by saying, “No, that won’t work, we measured you anthropometrically; you’ll be too tall and too heavy. We have no use for you here.” . . . I was told to leave. I was quite upset about that, of course. (Volker, formal interview 1)

The EG group described their PE teachers as “militaristic,” recalled “marching” in PE classes, “counting off,” “lining up in order of height,” and explained that the content they were taught during secondary lessons mostly consisted of “Olympic sports.” In addition, they described the “terrifyingly” high expectations to which they were held:

Performance expectations were high. We, the girls, had to do a forward roll on the balance beam before we could leave [class]. That was terrifying. We couldn’t do it. And we had to practice until we could and before we were permitted to take showers. (Gaby, formal interview 1)

Despite this state of affairs, the EG group recalled their teachers fondly noting that they were “respected, even loved.”

A secondary goal of the PE experienced by Sven, Joerg, Volker, and Georg was to “advertise and recruit for the military”:

We had to participate in the Hans-Beimler competition in eighth grade. This included hand grenade target throws, air gun shooting, cross country runs, and orienteering. . . . Male PE teachers were supposed to attract boys to a career in the army. (Volker, formal interview 2)

Illustrating the dialectic nature of socialization, however, the majority of the teachers explained that they had not taken this component “very seriously” as students. Nevertheless, when they began their PETE, their expectation was that they would be trained to teach as they were taught and they accepted that they would teach both sporting and military content.

Encouraged throughout their schooling “to become a teacher,” often by their own physical educators, all of the EG group made the decision to attempt to get into PETE while still at school. For example, Sven explained that he “wanted to become a PE teacher in fourth grade” (age 10 years) and that he “imagined [he] would have interested, motivated students, go to competitions, get societal approval, and be satisfied from his work.” The male teachers knew, however, that if successful, this training would be delayed by at least 18 months of compulsory military service.

Professional Socialization.

WG teachers. Holger, Bernd, and Markus, the early deciders among the EG group, went through virtually identical and orthodox 6-year PETE programs that led to the award of a master’s degree. These programs comprised 4 years of course work and a 2-year “apprenticeship” in a local school with “10-12 periods of teaching per week under a mentor teacher.” Philosophically, these programs were compatible with the perspectives the teachers had gained during their apprenticeships of observation and so served to reinforce the conservative teaching orientations (see Table 1) with which they began their training. Consequently, the

teachers noted that they “never questioned” the programs’ “content or structure” and were “appreciative” of their instructors’ efforts.

Two broad components within their PETE served to solidify the teachers’ particular form of teaching orientation. The first consisted of “practical [content] courses” in which they were taught to perform “classic sports.” Although “methods” were “woven into these courses,” the main idea was that knowing about and performing these sports would enable preservice teachers to teach them:

Compulsory courses were the classic sports—soccer, handball, basketball, volleyball, gymnastics on apparatus, and track & field for four semesters, swimming for two semesters, and gymnastics for body-shaping. . . . Each sport had a final practical and written exam. (Holger, formal interview 2)

Some practical courses included early field experiences. For example, Holger recalled that “students from local schools would come to the university and work with us on the track.”

The second component consisted of classroom-based “theory” courses, mainly on the exercise sciences. These included “science of training,” “sport psychology,” and “physiology and anatomy.” Again, the focus of these courses was on sporting performance and the suggestion was that this knowledge would translate into pedagogical effectiveness.

By contrast, the two late deciders in the WG group took an unorthodox path into teaching. Rosa earned a “3-year degree” that certified her to “teach gymnastics and sports” that was similar in nature and focus to the 6-year programs followed by Holger, Bernd, and Markus. Thomas was invited to become the PE teacher at his first school without undergoing any formal training at all and “learned on the job” from his credentialed colleagues. He explained that he was able to teach without undergoing PETE because the school was situated in a remote rural area and its administrators had “no funds to hire a credentialed PE teacher.” Moreover, these administrators were confident in his content and pedagogical knowledge because he had

“participated in martial arts, handball, soccer, field hockey, tennis, rowing, and canoeing” and had taken “some professional development courses.”

EG teachers. The 4-year programs undertaken by the EG group at universities specializing in a few subjects were also compatible with the beliefs, values, and expectations which had been instilled in them during their acculturation. Consequently, they served to reinforce the teachers’ high performance orientations (see Table 1). These programs consisted of 4 or 5 years of university-based work culminating in a 6-month “big practicum” in an assigned school. The programs were difficult to get into and involved passing “tough” practical “entrance examinations” in “swimming, gymnastics, track & field, and games” which Sven estimated “half of the [applicants] failed.” In addition, entrance was contingent on applicants passing a “language or voice test . . . to show that you were suitable regarding your voice and your dialect,” and providing an explanation of why they wanted “to become a teacher” that was congruent with government policy and “proved that [applicants] were faithful to the political system.”

While the emphasis was obviously different, the core structure of the EG PETE programs was similar to those followed by the WG teachers. Specifically, they also included a heavy classroom-based science component focused on performance in which preservice teachers studied “psychology,” “theory of coaching,” “motor development,” sports medicine,” and “theory and practice of Olympic sports.” In addition, they included practical courses on a number of sports including “soccer, handball, volleyball, basketball, gymnastics on apparatus, track & field, swimming, judo, and rhythmic gymnastics.” Again, the goal of these courses was to learn to perform these Olympic sports, the implication being this would lead to effective teaching.

There were also some marked differences in the EG programs. Specifically, the teachers in this group recalled taking courses in the military content they would be required to teach and being mandated to study Russian as “part of the curriculum.” Moreover, they were required to study “Marxism/Leninism,” the inference being that what they learned from course work on this subject matter would permeate their teaching. In contrast with the high performance focus of their programs, the EG teachers suggested that these efforts at “political indoctrination” had little impact on them and suggested that they strategically complied with their instructors so as to remain in the program:

Anne: How many Marxist/Leninist classes did you attend?

Gaby: Don’t know. Once a week. No clue. It was like you just went. . . . It was just part of it. Some stuff was interesting, but don’t ask me what. . . . Everything was connected to economics—politics of economics or something like that. I thought it was totally boring. (Gaby, informal interview)

Organizational Socialization.

WG teachers. All five WG teachers had worked in at least two schools during their careers (see Table 1), although, initially, two of them (Holger and Markus) found jobs hard to secure. Prior to unification, they noted that, like themselves, most other potential sources of influence, including colleagues, administrators, parents, and students, supported and took for granted the kind of PE they had experienced and that had been espoused during their PETE. Obviously, this compatibility of perspectives, coupled with having “high quality” facilities and equipment and “manageable” class sizes of “about 30 students,” served to support their teaching orientations (see Table 1). Consequently, four of the five teachers noted that it was relatively straightforward to implement the kind of curriculum they had been trained to deliver, or, in Thomas’s case, become acquainted with during his acculturation:

Conditions at my first school were ideal. We had all the facilities, just no pool. It was an academic high school with a sports branch. The students in the sports branch were really athletic. I stayed there [from 1978] until 1993. (Bernd, formal interview 3)

The exception was Rosa, who took a position “at a special school for kids with disabilities” in which her role was to provide “movement therapy.”

The impact of the formal unification of the country in 1990 on schools and teachers in the “old states” (i.e., the former West Germany), the WG group believed, depended on the school’s location and the degree to which teachers were curious about the “new states.” Those teachers who lived “far from former East Germany,” they thought, experienced “little change” or “effect on [their lives] at all.” Conversely, those teachers who lived close to the EG border or who were “interested” in the “new states” were much more affected. For example, Rosa explained that she had contemplated moving to a “beautiful area in one of the new states” but “saw that the culture was too different, too restrictive” and decided she “didn’t fit.” Similarly, Bernd explained how WG teachers found it difficult to form a relationship with EG colleagues directly following “the wall coming down:”

We got together with colleagues from the new states and we all took a ride on a ship. It struck me that the people from the East were really very careful with what they said. Just platitudes, general stuff, nothing in detail, no background, because they didn’t know whether there was someone there collecting information on them. Later we found out that one of them had indeed been a high-ranking [officer in the] Stasi [i.e., the EG secret police]. (Bernd, formal interview 3)

Despite these difficulties, Markus made the decision to move to and teach in the East in 1993. This move, however, was far from easy as the local teachers he encountered resisted official changes to PE and sport and facilities were poor:

I took a job as PE teacher in one of the new states. It was a church school. They had a bit more of a humane approach than . . . the state schools which were much closer to the [former EG] regime. The gym was a catastrophe. It was a former indoor riding arena. There were almost no balls, just a few pieces for gymnastics. You had to improvise heavily. It was a real adventure. (Markus, formal interview 3)

While reunification did not lead to any real changes in the WG group's orientation to PE (see Table 1), they explained that more recent changes in the collective German culture had served to modify their perspectives and practices. Specifically, they noted that they had become increasingly focused on health-related fitness due to the rates of "obesity" and "inactivity" they witnessed in the "changed student population" and that the insistence of "overly involved parents" and students that "everything be fun and entertaining" had led to them expanding the sports and games offered in their curricula. In addition, they had become increasingly concerned about their ability to deal with the effects of mass immigration into the country, noting that they were teaching "migrant children with upwards of 25 different language and cultural backgrounds" and that "these cultures' views of PE," and their "religious and socio-economic backgrounds" made teaching very difficult indeed.

EG teachers. Having been assigned their first posts by the government, all but Volker of the EG group also worked in at least two schools during their careers (see Table 1). They also noted that despite being hampered by "a lack of good equipment and facilities," their pre-unification move from PETE to work was relatively seamless and supported their high performance orientations (see Table 1) because the expectations in their schools were congruent with their training and existing beliefs:

PE was rather conservative, the basic sports were taught and the focus was on performance because we wanted to take our students or teams to competitions. . . . I liked that I taught all age groups. You had to adjust your teaching to the reality of your class.
(Georg, informal interview)

Moreover, even had they wanted to, there was little room for them to resist their schools' cultures as accountability measures were strict. New teachers underwent a "2-year probationary period" during which they had to "prove that they were in line with the political system" before

being “secure.” Furthermore, as well as the expectations of their school administrators, there was constant scrutiny from government officials:

When I started work as a teacher there was so-called “depth control. . . . They [i.e., government inspectors] came in non-stop. The school was deeply vetted. They visited, classes were sat in on, and then you had to evaluate everything. (Volker, formal interview 3)

In addition to this open and formal accountability, the EG teachers recalled having to be careful of both “unofficial collaborators”—teachers who “were in close contact with government institutions”—and “colleagues” who they suspected were “planted” by the government “among the faculty” to spy on other teachers.

Reunification and the “total dismantling of the political system” had a mixed impact on the EG group. On the upside, they were now free from the suffocating accountability that had existed before the change, since informants in their schools “close to the establishment” were “pushed out,” and “whoever was a Stasi member had to go.” They were also exposed to different ideas about PE when they “visited schools in the old states” to learn about the “other system” and “didn’t have to infuse political messages in [their] teaching any longer.” This led to all but Volker of the EG group questioning the “high performance focus” of the former regime, moving to a teaching orientation (see Table 1) and attempting to strategically redefine their schools’ curricula, an effort that met with considerable resistance:

I got a job at an elite sport school which was now guided by the new high school framework. But the old teachers wanted to keep teaching the old way. . . . I realized how spoiled they had been. They only wanted high performance athletes. They were used to getting athletes who had been scouted and medically measured, and they had only derogatory names for non-elite students. (Gaby, formal interview 3)

Other downsides to reunification for the EG group included disagreements with colleagues over “discipline and structure” when they moved to the West for “better pay” and the negative impact on their status in the community and remuneration if they remained in the East:

The transition was difficult and not all of the decisions were fair. I didn't get the status of civil servant based on my subject combination, which resulted in a big inequality in pay and benefits. I am still sour about that and less motivated. (Joerg, formal interview 1)

In addition, the pace and extreme nature of change initially left two of the EG teachers dazed and confused:

I was able to sit in and observe how we were now supposed to work. The schools [in the West] were equipped completely differently. They were ten years ahead of us. We considered PE as a performance subject. The impression I got there was like, "Okay, let's sit down first and talk about our problems." This . . . was definitely a culture shock for me. . . . I didn't understand the world any longer. I had to get used to that [way of teaching PE] first. (Joerg, formal interview 3)

Although Volker embraced much of the "new system" to which he was now exposed, he was much less enamored with it than his transformed colleagues and so retained his high performance orientation towards the subject at the time data were collected for study (see Table 1). He continued to lament his own and the subject's loss of "respect," strategically complied with new requirements at work, and was critical of a government that "failed to mix the good things from both systems," allowed "too much leeway. . . and didn't always make sense." Instead of the existing system, he advocated "a central education doctrine with precise guidelines."

Finally, the entire EG group believed that in recent years teaching had become "more stressful" and shared their WG colleagues' concerns about working with an increasingly diverse student population, particularly in terms of "socio-economic status." They were also particularly critical of modern German parents who did not "understand the children's . . . need for movement," and provided "medical excuses [for their children] to stay out of PE."

Summary and Conclusions

This study described and illustrated cultural differences in the occupational socialization of PE teachers in the two former German states. It served to remind scholars working in this area that although the mechanisms by which socialization is achieved and the phases during which

socialization occurs may be similar in different countries, the results of this socialization can be contrasting and distinct.

Key findings in the study were that the WG group of teachers possessed conservative teaching orientations to the subject originally fostered during their youth and childhood and, with the exception of Thomas, subsequently reinforced during their PETE and by their school cultures. Perceived changes in German society and culture led to slight modifications of these orientations over the teachers' careers. Importantly, and unlike other cultures, the fact that school PE in West Germany did not have to compete for the attention of its teachers with the allure of extracurricular sport, facilitated continuity of perspectives and practices from PETE to work in schools.

The socialization of the EG group of teachers was also straightforward prior to unification of the two German states. The high performance orientation to the subject they possessed was also nurtured during their childhood and youth and by their PETE and early school cultures. Unlike other studies of physical educators' socialization, however, it was apparent that the overriding power which shaped this second group of teachers was the politics of the state.

In congruence with the type of political, social, and educational changes made in Germany following reunification, the perspectives and practices of WG teachers were rarely affected unless they took positions in former EG schools. In contrast, the EG teachers were greatly influenced by reunification. Specifically, the transition to a new system was emancipating and four of them shifted to a teaching orientation. Conversely, the transition was particularly difficult for Volker who partially retained his high performance orientation which led to him strategically complying with new national requirements.

During the years following reunification and regardless of their orientation to the subject, both groups of teachers were also affected by the same less obviously political factors. Chief among these were the perceived changing nature of parents and their children, unhealthy behaviors displayed by students, and the increasing diversity of the German population.

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CHAPTER III

ACCULTURATION OF PROSPECTIVE GERMAN PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHERS

Abstract

Research exclusively focused on the acculturation of prospective physical education teachers (PPETs) is scarce. Research of preservice and inservice physical education (PE) teachers that has included an acculturation component has mostly been completed in the United States. The purpose of this study was to examine the acculturation of 10 purposefully selected PPETs in Germany. The two research questions we attempted to answer were (a) What were the values, beliefs, and perspectives regarding physical education of German PPETs; and (b) What factors shaped these values, beliefs, and perspectives? Data were collected using three types of interviewing. Analysis involved coding and categorizing data with analytic induction and constant comparison and reducing them to meaningful themes. Findings revealed that eight PPETs had well-developed and comparatively sophisticated conservative teaching orientations primarily focused on teaching traditional German sports. Two PPETs had more progressive teaching orientations in that they favored teaching a wider range of content and were more focused on health-related fitness. The key subsidiary attractors to a career in PE for this group of PPETs were remaining connected to sport and working with young people. Three factors that shaped the PPETs' values and beliefs were similar to those revealed in previous research. These were family and friends, the apprenticeship of observation, and youth sport. The people and institutions that comprised these factors, however, operated in different modes within the

German context. In addition, PPETs' career choices were solidified by their experiences of teaching, coaching, and officiating and the type of teaching orientation they possessed reflected the timing of these choices.

Introduction

Research examining how prospective physical education teachers (PPETs) are socialized into the profession prior to commencing their formal physical education teacher education (PETE) programs has shown that they do not begin their training as “blank slates” (Lawson, 1983a, Miethling, 2013). Rather, they enter PETE with a variety of beliefs and values about physical education (PE). Collectively, these beliefs and values lead to the formation of a vision as to what the job of PE teacher entails. This vision, coupled with PPETs' perceptions of their ability to do the job, has been called the “subjective warrant” (Lawson, 1983a). The subjective warrant serves to filter, and often distort, the messages espoused about practice by teacher education faculty (Curtner-Smith, 2009; Lee & Curtner-Smith 2011). Studies of PPETs' *acculturation*, then, have proven to be useful in terms of facilitating the development of PETE programs aimed at deconstructing any faulty beliefs, values, and perceptions recruits hold at program entry.

Acculturation research indicates that there are a number of key personnel and institutions that attract recruits to PE and shape their views about the subject (Curtner-Smith, Hastie, & Kinchin, 2008; Hutchinson, 1993; Spittle, Jackson, & Casey, 2009). Personnel include parents, other family members, peers, teachers, and coaches. Institutions include sport and the school (Templin & Richards, 2014; Volkmann, 2008). PPETs often indicate that they are interested in becoming PE teachers because of their passion for sport and physical activity (Stran & Curtner-Smith, 2009). This passion has often been instilled by parents, relatives, and friends who are

actively engaged in and enjoy sport and physical activity themselves (Curtner-Smith 1999; Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; McGuire & Collins, 1998). It can also be sparked by positive media coverage of sport and physical activity (Biskup & Pfister, 1999). Success in and enjoyment of competitive sport and/or physical activity and positive interactions with coaches outside the school setting help cement PPETs' career choice (Curtner-Smith, et al., 2008).

PPETs' subjective warrants for PE, however, are mainly honed during what Lortie (1975) described as their "apprenticeship of observation." Teachers of other subjects, PE teachers, and coaches act as facilitators. They provide PPETs with experiences of schooling, PE, and extracurricular sport which lead them to gaining an idea of what it means to be a teacher in general and a PE teacher in particular (Green, 1998; Lortie, 1975). For the vast majority of PPETs, these interactions and experiences are positive. They lead to PPETs being attracted to the job for several key reasons. These include maintaining a connection with sport and physical activity, interacting with youth, doing service for the community, and relatively long holidays (Hutchinson, 1993; Spittle et al., 2009). Illustrative of the dialectical process that is acculturation (Schempp & Graber, 1992), however, a minority appear to be attracted to the profession because they witnessed or experienced what they perceive to be low quality PE while at school and would like to do something to improve this state of affairs (Curtner-Smith et al., 2008).

There is much evidence to suggest that PPETs enter PETE with one of two broad subjective warrants. "Teaching oriented" PPETs begin their training already committed to providing high quality curricular PE and view coaching extracurricular school sport as a "career contingency." In contrast, "coaching oriented" PPETs are attracted to the profession because they want to coach extracurricular sports teams. For them, teaching curricular PE is the career contingency (Lawson, 1983a; Vollmer & Curtner-Smith, 2016). "Hard core" coaching

orientations are unlikely to be changed during PETE, but PPETs with “moderate coaching orientations” can be won over by faculty who would like them to prioritize PE (Sofa & Curtner-Smith, 2010).

Moreover, whether PPETs enter PETE with teaching or coaching orientations appears to be heavily influenced by their gender, the level and type of sport in which they have participated, and the focus and quality of the PE and extracurricular sport programs they have experienced (Curtner-Smith, 1999). Specifically, PPETs are more likely to have teaching orientations if they are female; participated in low level mainstream sport, minor sport, or non-competitive physical activity; and taken part in high quality school PE programs focused on learning in schools where extracurricular sport was given a relatively low priority and had an educational role (Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Lawson, 1983a, 1983b). Conversely, PPETs are more likely to possess coaching orientations if they are male, were successful in high level major sport, and participated in poor PE programs within schools that gave a high priority to extracurricular sport and put a premium on winning.

Finally, some previous work has suggested that PPETs and prospective teachers of other subjects make their decisions to enter the profession either relatively early or relatively late (Lawson, 1983a, Lortie, 1975). Crucially, “early deciders” in PE have been shown to be less likely to be influenced by PETE programs than “late deciders” (Doolittle, Placek, & Dodds, 1993), the implication being that their beliefs and values are less malleable.

Although there are a few studies which include an examination of PE teachers’ acculturation in other countries (e.g., Curtner-Smith, 1999; Wright, 2001), most of this work has been carried out in the United States. To our knowledge, there has been little research of this type conducted in continental European countries (exceptions include Baur, 1981; Klinge, 2002;

Volkmann, 2008) and there has been no research focused specifically and exclusively on PPETs' acculturation. The purpose of this study, therefore, was to examine the acculturation of PPETs in Germany. Specifically, the two research questions we attempted to answer were (a) What were the values, beliefs, and perspectives regarding physical education of German PPETs, and (b) What factors shaped these values, beliefs, and perspectives?

Since culture and society have a significant impact on acculturation (Richards, Templin, & Graber, 2014), prior to commencing the study we thought it possible that some of the beliefs and values with which German PPETs entered PETE would be unique to that country as would the forces that shaped them. Conversely, given that globalization has led to "cultural homogenization" (Job & Sriraman, 2013), we also thought it probable that other beliefs and values with which German PPETs entered PETE would be similar to those of PPETs in other countries.

Method

Participants and Setting

The participants in this study were 10 purposefully selected German PPETs. Five were women and five were men. All were Caucasian. As shown in Table 2, the PPETs' ages ranged from 18 years to 28 years old. Prior to the study commencing they signed consent forms and were allocated fictitious names to protect their anonymity (see Appendix C). The PPETs had attended different high schools in south and east Germany and were recruited with the help of local sport pedagogy faculty members. They aspired to enroll in three different PETE programs housed in German universities.

Table 2

Participants' Acculturation Profiles

Participants Biographical Detail	Niele	Mona	Sara	Viviane	Maike	Max	Finn	Jonas	Thomas	Sebastian
Age (years)	18	18	19	20	19	18	28	19	18	28
High school graduation year	2015	2015	2015	2015	2015	2015	2008	2015	2015	2007
PETE entrance exam year	2015	2015	2015	2015	2015	2015	2015	2015	Not taken	2015
Orientation	Teaching Conservative	Teaching Conservative	Teaching Conservative	Teaching Conservative	Teaching Conservative	Teaching Conservative	Teaching Progressive	Teaching Conservative	Teaching Conservative	Teaching Progressive
Influence of family on interest in physical activity	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Active friends	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Support of career choice by family and/or peers	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Inspired by or critical of own PE	Critical	Inspired	Inspired	Inspired	Inspired	Inspired	Critical	Critical	Critical	Critical
Participation in youth sport	Gymnastics Swimming Handball	Soccer	Folk Dance	Track & Field Swimming Volleyball	Horse Riding Tennis	Skiing Handball Extreme Sports	Martial Arts	Skiing Snowboarding Soccer Tennis	Soccer Handball	Rowing
Influenced by positive or negative aspect of youth sport	Negative	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive

Participants Biographical Detail	Niele	Mona	Sara	Viviane	Maike	Max	Finn	Jonas	Thomas	Sebastian
Experiences of teaching, coaching, or officiating	None	None	Coaching	None	None	None	None	Teaching	Teaching & Officiating	None
Timing of career choice	Early	Early	Early	Early	Early	Early	Late	Early	Early	Late
Subsidiary attractors	Work with young people, remain connected to sport	Work with young people, remain connected to sport, work in a well- respected profession	Work with young people, remain connected to sport	Work with young people, work in a well-respected profession work with other athletic people,	Work with young people, remain connected to sport	Work with young people, opportunity for political involvement	Work with young people, remain connected to sport	Work with young people, remain connected to sport, work in a well-respected profession	Remain connected to sport, remain in school community	Work with young people, personal and professional growth

Also as shown in Table 2, nine of the PPETs had passed the high school graduation exam known as the Abitur after 12 years of schooling, and one (Sebastian) had earned an equivalent qualification while completing his vocational training as a nurse. In addition, at the time the study took place, all but Thomas had passed the examination required for entry into PETE. This involved completing physical tests on skills involved in track and field, swimming, artistic gymnastics, and various ball games.

Data Collection

Techniques used to collect data were very similar to those used during Hutchinson's (1993) seminal study. All PPETs completed three in-depth, semi-structured interviews. These interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. The first interview was conventional and broken down into four sections. In section 1, PPETs were asked to describe their values and beliefs about PE in German schools and their career aspirations. Within section 2, they were asked what attracted them to a career in physical education and when they were first attracted to the profession. Section 3 focused on the role that the PPETs parents, siblings, other family members, peers, physical education teachers, and coaches played in socializing them towards a career in PE and shaping their values and beliefs about the subject. In addition, PPETs were prompted to describe any other influences on their career choice and beliefs and values concerning the subject. Finally, in section 4, PPETs were asked to describe their own schooling in general, as well as their participation in PE, school sport, and sport and physical activity outside of school.

The second interview involved the PPETs engaging in role play and role making (Hewitt, 1988). Each PPET was asked to play the role of a PE teacher already employed at a German secondary school who was attempting to induct a new teacher (the interviewer) into his/her PE

department. Specifically, PPETs were prompted to give the “new teacher” advice on the following topics: aims and objectives of the subject; curricular models to be used; content to be taught; methods of evaluation, management, and organization; relationships with colleagues, administrators, and students; and status of the subject within the school.

During the third interview, PPETs were presented with three short fictional descriptions of a day in the life of a PE teacher to which they were asked to respond and comment. The first of these described the practices and perspectives of a teacher with a coaching orientation, the second described the practices and perspectives of a teacher with a teaching orientation, and the third described the practices of a teacher with an orientation balanced between teaching and coaching.

Data Analysis

The first phase of analysis involved coding the German interview transcriptions in English. The second involved examining the data for each PPET as a separate case. These data were sorted into those which described the PPETs' values, beliefs, and perspectives on teaching PE and those which indicated how these values, beliefs, and perspectives were shaped. Analytic induction and constant comparison (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984) were then employed to code and categorize the data for each PPET into meaningful themes. The third phase of analysis involved conducting a cross-case analysis during which the PPETs were compared, contrasted, and, where possible, grouped when similar in terms of beliefs and values about PE and/or the forms of acculturation that led to these beliefs and values. Trustworthiness and credibility were established by regular member checking, the use of three overlapping interview techniques, and the search for discrepant and negative cases (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984).

Findings and Discussion

Values, Beliefs, and Perspectives

Orientations. As shown in Table 2, all of the PPETs in the study were teaching oriented and their primary motivation for entering PETE was to “teach secondary [curricular] PE” because they believed the subject was “important,” regardless of how it was marginalized by “some teachers of other subjects.” Moreover, as illustrated by the following data extract, the PPETs identified strongly with the fictional description of the teaching oriented teacher that they were given during the third interview:

This is a great approach to teaching PE. The teacher has a plan, is involved in the class, uses a method that makes grouping random, has clear rules, but also leaves room for creativity. It looks like everyone can be successful. (Mona, interview 3)

In contrast, the PPETs were generally surprised and angered by the fictional description of the coaching oriented teacher, suggesting that although they had experienced teachers who were “not motivated to teach,” it was unlikely to be caused by a focus on extracurricular sport in the German system. In addition, they labeled the fictional coaching oriented teacher’s practices as “simply bad teaching” and were of the opinion that such practices would “turn students off PE.” Further, the PPETs were not as enamored with the description of the practices of the fictional teacher with the mixed orientation as they were with those of the teaching oriented teacher noting that the teacher “was not teaching or explaining techniques,” that there was “a lack of discipline,” and that the teacher had “not planned or structured instruction,” or made an “effort to engage the unmotivated students.”

Goals of secondary PE, the PPETs suggested, were to “learn motor skills,” engage in “game playing,” and “motivate kids to be physically active.” Furthermore, they included instilling the belief in students that PE “was for everyone,” “conveying the fun [of movement

and physical activity] to less athletic students,” “promoting health and athletic performance,” and enabling students to “to win and lose” with grace and “good sportsmanship.” In addition, the PPETs explained that PE should “offer balance to the school routine,” meaning that it should contrast the intense academic focus of the rest of the curriculum. Typical of their responses when questioned about goals and objectives of the subject were the following:

[The goals of the subject are] to teach movement and skills, and to teach performance. It depends on the students; some come to PE and it’s their first contact with the subject and they haven’t done anything at home yet. In that case you have to try to motivate them to do more also outside of school. Those who are already active need to be challenged and promoted; and maybe they can be prepared to study sports. (Viviane, interview 1)

I see successful learning when I observe a student who does not know what to do with a ball in the beginning of the school year, and then, at the end, she or he can throw fairly well, has an understanding of ball games, and can possibly think about joining a club. (Max, interview 2)

Eight of the PPETs in the study had a relatively conservative teaching orientation and two a relatively progressive teaching orientation (see Table 2). Both orientations reflected the disciplinary mastery (Jewett, 1994) perspective in that the focus was on teaching content. For the conservatives, this content included a relatively narrow range of traditional “classic [German] sports: gymnastics, track & field, swimming, and ball games [i.e., soccer, handball, volleyball and basketball]” as dictated and “pre-determined by the official state curriculum for physical education.” This was to be achieved by employing the multi-activity model:

I think it’s important that each sport is introduced, maybe it doesn’t have to be in depth . . . but the whole spectrum of [traditional] sport should be known and it is important and that different skills are taught, not the same thing over and over. (Mona, interview 1)

The first difference between the perspectives of the eight conservatives and Sebastian and Finn, the two progressives, was that these latter two PPETs advocated teaching an expansive range of physical activities so as to “offer a greater variety of opportunities to learn skills.” For example, they favored adding “Pilates,” “rock climbing,” “yoga,” “floorball,” and “mountain-

biking” to the traditional activities taught because it would be “cool and nice.” They also advocated different “additional content” for female and male students:

Yoga maybe a better fit for the female students, maybe less interesting for men. It could be great to offer, for example, boxing or something really different. I would find that very positive. . . . I took boxing when I was young and it was really liberating. It boosts confidence. . . . I would find it very positive to offer other sports. (Sebastian, interview 2)

The second difference was that the progressives advocated for a much greater focus on “health in connection with physical education” as opposed to exclusively focusing on “performance”:

I would always promote health. . . . What should be promoted is that the kids have fun in their free time—to move and not just sit in front of a computer at home, that they have a balance. Performance is okay if you want to specialize in a sport—there comes a time when you have to give everything—but I think in PE, it is simply important to be mindful of promoting health. (Finn, interview 1)

Moreover, whereas Finn advocated a health focus solely through participation in physical activity, Sebastian was in favor of also including classroom-based health lessons on a variety of topics:

Not just to say, “We’re going to play a game,” but also to learn more about anatomy and hormones for example, you see? To teach the kids . . . what the body is capable of and how it can also be destroyed. For example alcohol is a big topic, but that isn’t really clear. . . . They say it is bad for you, but what makes it bad? Teenagers should know this. (Sebastian, interview 1)

Characteristics of effective PE teachers. All of the PPETs saw the teacher as “central” to success in PE, noting that the quality of the subject experienced by students “depends on the teacher.” Prerequisites to “good teaching” were, they explained “being thoroughly structured” and “being good at sports,” and so having the content knowledge to be able to “cover the curriculum.”

Pedagogical components, tasks, skills, and methods deemed crucial for effectiveness included “warm-ups,” “being able to demonstrate skills,” including “skill training” tasks, and

asking students to “work at stations” and “within small-sided and full games.” Essential managerial skills the PPETs spoke of included “actively supervising and assisting” students, “walking around the [instructional] space and observing” students in action, and “having conversations with students who seemed uninvolved.”

The PPETs also insisted that grades should be based on “year-round observation” and “reflect participation, effort, improvement, and progress,” as well as “discipline, motivation, and the capacity for teamwork.” In addition, they stressed the importance of employing an evaluation system that was “positive and motivating” and “pushed students extremely hard.”

Finally, the PPETs also suggested that the possession of specific personal and social skills was also key to successful instruction:

Well, . . . if I was a PE teacher now . . . I would respond to the students. And you can see in class, if someone has a problem and respond to that. To build a good relationship, that I can trust them, and they can trust me. (Jonas, interview 1)

Personal and social skills that the PPETs suggested were particularly important for effective teaching included the ability to “connect with students,” “support both athletic and less athletic students,” “interact playfully” with students,” create a “positive and secure climate,” and “motivate” and “inspire [students] to get better and reach a higher level.”

Organization and administration of PE. Opinions as to how PE should be organized in German schools was similar across all PPETs regardless of the type of teaching orientation they possessed. Specifically, they generally favored “co-ed classes in grades 5 and 6 [i.e., for students aged 10 to 11 years] and for grades 10 to 12 [i.e., for students aged 15 to 18 years].” For students “in grades seven to nine [i.e., ages 12 to 14 years]” they recommended “gender-segregated classes.” They also stressed that to deliver the programs they espoused they would need the “necessary equipment for gymnastics and games.” These included well-stocked “sports halls,”

“outdoor sports fields and tracks,” and an “outdoor or indoor swimming pool.” Moreover, Finn, Sara, Niele, and Max recognized that they would need to form a “great team” with other PE teachers in the school and have the “support” of the school’s “administration,” if they were to provide students with a high class PE.

Factors That Shaped Graduates’ Beliefs, Values, and Perspectives

Family and friends. Eight PPETs recalled becoming interested in sport and physical activity due to the influence of their families (see Table 2), the initial catalyst being the examples set by and the encouragement of their parents:

My parents took me skiing at the age of three. Then we started snowboarding, and they put me in soccer at five years old. Finally, even though I was not an “elite” athlete [i.e., on the national team], my parents enrolled me in an elite sports school, so I was always surrounded by that discipline and the love of sport. (Jonas, interview 1)

These PPETs also noted that their siblings were engaged in organized youth sport and informal play and that this “activity” was infectious. Niele, for example, explained that “one [sister] plays team handball, my big sister is getting ready to run a marathon, and my little sister, she goes horse-back riding.” Similarly, Maike noted that her “two siblings and parents rode horses and played golf,” and Max described his sister as “very active in mountain climbing and in gymnastics.”

As illustrated in the following data extract and shown in Table 2, all of the PPETs noted that the friends they had grown up with were also active in both informal and formal physical activity and sport and that, again, this behavior was communicable:

A lot of them [my friends] support me. In my handball team, we are in this together and spur each other on with, “Come on, go all the way, you can pull through,” etc. That way, we tease out the last bit of potential in each other for a great performance. (Thomas, interview 1)

Finally, the PPETs noted that their families and/or peers were generally very supportive of their career choice (see Table 2). This appeared to be because they thought it was a “good fit” for the graduate and perceived getting into PETE as being competitive, difficult, and so worthwhile. Jonas, for instance, noted that

[My family] definitely supports my choice. My friends as well. I have taken this [PETE entrance] exam together with a friend and my friends said, ‘Yes, sports; you are athletic and have attended an elite sports school. It makes complete sense that you do something with sports afterwards.’ (Jonas, interview 1)

Similarly, Niele explained that her “friends definitely [supported her]. They always say, ‘If you don’t make it, who will?’ They keep saying I am completely crazy about sports.” Moreover, Maike recalled that her “mom and . . . best friend came along to support [her]” when she took the PETE entrance exam; and Finn remembered “receiving encouraging texts” from friends and family after completing the various practical tests comprising the entrance exam.

Apprenticeship of observation. The key factor responsible for honing the PPETs’ values, beliefs, and perspectives was their experience of schooling in general and PE in particular. All of the PPETs in the study recalled “being good students in PE” and “having fun with sports” in classes. Five of the PPETs also noted that they had been inspired by “really good PE teachers” who delivered the kinds of programs they now espoused (see Table 2). Sara, for example, noted that her teachers had “never scared me or told me I was not able to do something,” while Mona and Max described their PE teachers as providing “really great experiences” and “getting involved with us individually and helping us to get better.” In addition, this group frequently noted that they aspired to be “like [their own teachers] when I start teaching.”

While still supportive of the overall structure and organization of the PE they had experienced, a smaller group of PPETs was highly critical of their teachers’ perspectives and

practices, particularly the ways in which they treated “less sporty students” and “favored athletic students” (see Table 2). Consequently, they went on to explain that they would “do things differently” once they were qualified. For example, within his first formal interview Finn stated: “Well, I always thought PE was terrible and the teachers completely ignored the students. Either you could do it or you couldn’t. There was no good assistance, . . . for example, in gymnastics.” Similarly, Niele explained that

My PE was always very structured . . . and because I am very athletic, I was usually favored by our teacher. He was focused on performance, which was great for me, but not for others [i.e., lower skilled students]. (Niele, interview 1)

Furthermore, the PPETs’ conceptions of how to evaluate students could be traced back to their general dissatisfaction with the ways in which they were evaluated themselves. For example, Finn, Niele, and Thomas were critical of the “state mandated performance standards” they had experienced as a basis for evaluation in PE because they “negated the student’s performance throughout the year,” “didn’t take into consideration that a student may have a bad day or an injury that is not yet healed,” and “a student’s honest effort.” In addition, Sara and Max were critical of teachers’ assessment practices in general, noting that they were “narrow” in scope, and that the grades assigned often led to students being labeled as “good or bad” and were “not a true reflection of attitude, ability, and performance.” Moreover, Mona was critical of assessment in gymnastics in particular, because it was “mostly subjective.”

Finally, the PPETs were quick to mention that they had experienced very little in the way of “competitive school sport.” Crucially, and as alluded to at the beginning of this section, this meant that they had not witnessed coaching oriented PE teachers during their own schooling and consequently, unlike recruits in other cultures, had never considered teaching curricular PE as a career contingency.

Youth sport. While the system of extracurricular school sport was negligible for these German PPETs, the quality and amount of youth sport outside of school, in the form of private and public “clubs,” was evidently strong. As shown in Table 2, all of the PPETs participated in this form of sport, most of them to a reasonably high level, and it was a prime attractor to the profession. For example, Sara explained that the main reason for her becoming interested in physical activity and a career teaching PE was her “enjoyment of folk-dancing in a dance club and enjoying artistic gymnastics.” Similarly, Finn recalled that his interest in a career in PE had its roots in the pleasure he got “from participating in many club sports and especially learning a variety of martial arts from the ages of 6 to 20 years old.”

Importantly, the PPETs understood that their PE teachers and club coaches worked in “different environments” and so realized that much of what happened in club sport could not be “compared with” or transferred to school PE. For example, they noted that their coaches were often “great as instructors of one sport” with highly “motivated” and able students, whereas PE teachers taught “all of the sports in the curriculum” and worked with students of differing abilities some of whom “don’t want to participate.”

Nevertheless, the PPETs’ perspectives and practices regarding PE teaching were still influenced by their youth sport experiences. Specifically, eight PPETs were shaped positively by these experiences and noted that they would adopt their coaches’ habit of comparatively rigorous “preparation.” In addition, these PPETs explained that they had gained the “passion for an active lifestyle” from their coaches “that [could] be integrated into the [teaching] profession.” More negatively, Viviane and Niele noted that as a result of their experiences in youth sport, they would avoid their coaches’ extreme “performance orientation” which included “favoring students” and “pushing too hard”:

Swimming in the club—that was a little too extreme! Too much pressure to perform, and that’s why I quit. With track and field and volleyball they [the coaches] were strict, but not too strict. Not too much pressure. That was better. (Viviane, interview 1)

In addition, this group of PPETs explained that as a result of their negative experiences in youth sport, they would focus on “creating a relaxed atmosphere,” “supporting weaker students.” and making sure “students [knew] that it is okay to make mistakes.”

Experiences of teaching, coaching, and officiating. Three of the PPETs had had some experience of teaching, coaching, or officiating (see Table 2). These experiences were exclusively positive and served to reinforce their choice of career and their orientations to PE teaching. Thomas, for example, explained that he had “done an apprenticeship [with a PE teacher] that [he] enjoyed a lot” as part of his career’s education at school. In addition, he recalled his experience of officiating club handball for youth teams as being “an important insight and [providing him with] an additional qualification to teach PE.” Similarly, Jonas described his experience as working as a ski instructor as “really fun” and explained that it confirmed that he could “work well with teenagers” and so he “wanted to continue” teaching. Furthermore, Sara described her experiences of coaching a number of sports to children aged 8 to 12 years alongside an adult coach during summer camps as facilitating her “involvement in sports from all angles.”

Timing of career choice. In congruence with one previous study of American preservice teachers’ professional socialization (Doolittle et al., 1993), the eight German PPETs in the current study who decided to become PE teachers relatively early were those with conservative teaching orientations (see Table 2). Seven of these early deciding conservatives made the conscious decision to become a PE teacher at the beginning of high school (i.e., aged 15 years)

when they opted to take “sports as a major subject.” As he explained, Thomas, the final conservative, chose his future vocation even earlier:

Well, that [i.e., becoming a PE teacher] has been the case for me since seventh grade [age 12 years], because I want to do something with sports and people. I don’t necessarily want to sit in front of a laptop all day. (Thomas, interview 1)

Importantly, and explaining their relatively conservative teaching orientations, the early deciders had comparatively more positive experiences of school PE than the late deciders and “felt comfortable” with the system as it existed.

In contrast, the two late deciders (Finn and Sebastian) were also the two PPETs with progressive teaching orientations. Both were more critical of their own school PE and had experiences following high school that led to their atypical teaching orientations and decisions to enter PETE aged 28 years. For Finn this was his “awareness of the current [downward] fitness-trend and increasing lack of physical activity” in the lives of children and youth. For Sebastian, the career changing and shaping experience was his training as a nurse:

I learned about sports medicine [during my vocational training as a nurse] and had always been active in sports. . . . So I made good for Abitur [in evening classes] so that I could study at the university. I don’t want to do exercise science or sport management, I want to teach. (Sebastian, interview 1)

Subsidiary attractors to a career in PE. Apart from aspiring to teach the subject to secondary students, this group of German PPETs was also drawn to a career in PE by a number of subsidiary attractors (see Table 2). In congruence with previous research (Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Hutchinson, 1993; Spittle et al., 2009), the two most frequently mentioned of these subsidiary attractors were the “opportunity” “to continue to do sports” and to “work with kids.” In addition, and also consistent with previous research, subsidiary attractors included the chance “to stay in the school community” and to work in a well-respected profession:

I can imagine that I would be good at doing this job professionally I like to work with kids, and I believe I would just like to study sports and I think it's just a really good occupation. (Mona, interview 1)

Subsidiary attractors noted by three of the PPETs and not described in the previous literature were enhancing “personal and professional growth” through teaching, the ability to “work together with other athletic people” and the chance to “get involved politically” in order to help students. Max, for example, explained that he was partially attracted to PE teaching because

PE is continually pushed into the background. To offer it as a major subject in schools takes work. I know students who have started initiatives towards this goal and collect signatures, and it is really important to support them, because they have the right idea and need backup from PE teachers. (Max, interview 2)

Finally, the PPETs in the current study made no reference to two attractors that were fairly prominent in previous research (Hutchinson, 1993; Spittle et al., 2009). These were the material benefits to be gained from the profession and the amount of free time that came with it in terms of holidays.

Summary and Conclusions

During this study, we described factors within their acculturation that shaped the values, beliefs, and perspectives of German PPETs. A key finding was that the PPETs in the current study indicated that they had much more sophisticated understandings of and subjective warrants for PE than their American counterparts in the only previously published study focused exclusively on the socialization of PPETs (Hutchinson, 1993). In addition, the German PPETs' views about the subject compared favorably to those of many preservice and inservice teachers involved in previous studies of occupational socialization in PE (e.g., Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Stran & Curtner-Smith, 2009; Vollmer & Curtner-Smith, 2016).

Specifically, eight of the PPETs had well developed conservative teaching orientations primarily focused on teaching traditional German sports, games, and physical activities. The

remaining two PPETs had relatively more progressive teaching orientations in that they were open to including a wider range of content, in terms of non-traditional sport and physical activity, and were more interested in realizing goals related to health-related fitness. Moreover, all 10 PPETs had an impressive grasp of the subject's traditional goals and objectives, basic pedagogies, curricular organization, and issues of equity in terms of teaching students of varying abilities. In addition, they suggested that effective teachers blended pedagogical skill and knowledge with positive personal and social qualities as opposed to elevating the latter over the former or suggesting that desirable personal and social characteristics were sufficient by themselves as others in various educational vocations and with more experience have done (see Curtner-Smith, 1996; Graham & Heimerer, 1981). Furthermore, the PPETs in the current study indicated that they had a rudimentary understanding of school politics in that they were already aware of the importance of administrative support and the need to build a departmental team. Again, these perceptions have largely been missing from work with preservice teachers a stage further on in their development than the PPETs in this study (Doolittle et al., 1993; Richards et al., 2014).

Of the subsidiary attractors to a career in PE for this German sample, four had been identified in previous research (Hutchinson, 1993; Spittle et al., 2009). Two of these attractors—remaining connected to sport and working with young people—were of primary importance. The other two—remaining in the school community and working in a respected profession—were mentioned less frequently. Conversely, three subsidiary attractors mentioned by three of the German PPETs in the study were new to the literature. These were the opportunities for personal and professional growth, to engage in school and local politics for the good of students, and to work with other athletic people.

Moreover, three of the factors that shaped the German PPETs' values and beliefs regarding PE were similar to those that previous research indicated had forged the perspectives of PPETs in other countries (Curtner-Smith, 1999; Curtner-Smith et al., 2008; Hutchinson, 1993; Richards et al., 2014). These were family and friends, the apprenticeship of observation, and youth sport. The people and institutions that comprised these factors, however, operated in slightly different modes within the German context. Most importantly, in this respect, was the fact that the schools the PPETs had attended as students had not included a significant extracurricular competitive sport offering. For this reason, their PE teaching role models had been teaching oriented and they had not witnessed the kind of hard core coaching orientation, and related non-teaching, frequently found in the United States (Curtner-Smith, 2009; Templin & Richards, 2014). In addition, the importance of family support of PPETs' career choice and during the PETE application and testing process, and the ability of the PPETs to sort relevant and transferable lessons from their youth sport experiences from those that were not applicable to school PE were, as far as we are aware, new findings.

Although significantly less important than the influence of their school experiences, one factor that played a role in the development of the German PPETs' perspectives that had not been highlighted in previous research was experiences of teaching, coaching, and officiating. These experiences enabled PPETs to solidify their career choice and subjective warrants.

Finally, the findings of this study helped unpack and add to those of another on the effects of the timing of career choice on response to PETE (Doolittle et al., 1993). Recall the earlier study indicated that early deciders were more resistant to PETE than late deciders. The findings in the current study suggest that this is because early deciders are relatively conservative and more comfortable with the status quo than late deciders.

If the study's findings transfer to other German PPETs, they should prove useful for PETE faculty trying to construct programs that build on what we suggest is already a fairly solid foundation of beliefs and values. For example, the findings suggest that German PETE faculty may have to deconstruct preservice teachers' conservative teaching orientations to some extent in order to create space to teach them new instructional models should this be an objective. In addition, the most important implication of the study for PETE in other countries is that the PPETs teaching orientations resulted primarily from a system that did not pit curricular PE against extracurricular sport.

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APPENDIX A

IRB Forms for Study 1

Office for Research
Institutional Review Board for the
Protection of Human Subjects



March 3, 2015

Anne Merrem
Dept. of Kinesiology
College of Education
Box 870312

Re: IRB#: 15-OR-062 "The Occupational Socialization of Two German Female Sport Pedagogy Professors"

Dear Ms. Merrem:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted approval for your proposed research.

Your application has been given expedited approval according to 45 CFR part 46. Approval has been given under expedited review category 7 as outlined below:

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies

Your application will expire on March 2, 2016. If your research will continue beyond this date, complete the relevant portions of the IRB Renewal Application. If you wish to modify the application, complete the Modification of an Approved Protocol Form. Changes in this study cannot be initiated without IRB approval, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants. When the study closes, complete the appropriate portions of the IRB Request for Study Closure Form.

Please use reproductions of the IRB approved stamped consent form to obtain consent from your participants.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this proposal, please include the above application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,



Chair, Non-Medical Institutional Review Board



358 Rose Administration Building
Box 870127
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35487-0127
(205) 348-8461
FAX (205) 348-7189
TOLL FREE (877) 820-3066

Office for Research
Institutional Review Board for the
Protection of Human Subjects



December 7, 2015

Anne Merrem
Ph.D. Candidate, Sport Pedagogy
Department of Kinesiology
College of Education
The University of Alabama
Box 870314

Re: IRB # 15-OR-062-R1 "The Occupational Socialization of Two German Female Sport Pedagogy Professors"

Dear Ms. Merrem:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted approval for your renewal application.

Your renewal application has been given expedited approval according to 45 CFR part 46. Approval has been given under expedited review category 7 as outlined below:

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Your application will expire on December 6, 2016. If your research will continue beyond this date, complete the relevant portions of the IRB Renewal Application. If you wish to modify the application, complete the Modification of an Approved Protocol Form. Changes in this study cannot be initiated without IRB approval, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants. When the study closes, complete the appropriate portions of the IRB Study Closure Form.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this proposal, please include the above application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,



Director & Research Compliance Officer
Office for Research Compliance



358 Rose Administration Building
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APPENDIX B

IRB Forms for Study 2

Office for Research
Institutional Review Board for the
Protection of Human Subjects



February 24, 2015

Anne Merrem
Dept of Kinesiology
College of Education
Box 870312

Re: IRB # 15-OR-057, "The Occupational Socialization of German Physical Education Teachers"

Dear Ms. Merrem:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted approval for your proposed research.

Your application has been given expedited approval according to 45 CFR part 46. Approval has been given under expedited review category 7 as outlined below:

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Your application will expire on February 23, 2016. If your research will continue beyond this date, please complete the relevant portions of the IRB Renewal Application. If you wish to modify the application, please complete the Modification of an Approved Protocol Form. Changes in this study cannot be initiated without IRB approval, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants. When the study closes, please complete the Request for Study Closure Form.

Please use reproductions of the IRB approved stamped consent forms to obtain consent from your participants.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this proposal, please include the above application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,



Director & Research Compliance Officer
Office for Research Compliance
The University of Alabama



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Office for Research
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Protection of Human Subjects



December 7, 2015

Anne Merrem
Ph.D. Candidate, Sport Pedagogy
Department of Kinesiology
College of Education
The University of Alabama
Box 870314

Re: IRB # 15-OR-057-R1 "The Occupational Socialization of German
Physical Education Teachers"

Dear Ms. Merrem:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted approval
for your renewal application.

Your renewal application has been given expedited approval according to 45
CFR part 46. Approval has been given under expedited review category 7 as
outlined below:

*(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited
to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural
beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral
history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance
methodologies.*

Your application will expire on December 6, 2016. If your research will
continue beyond this date, complete the relevant portions of the IRB
Renewal Application. If you wish to modify the application, complete the
Modification of an Approved Protocol Form. Changes in this study cannot
be initiated without IRB approval, except when necessary to eliminate
apparent immediate hazards to participants. When the study closes,
complete the appropriate portions of the IRB Study Closure Form.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this
proposal, please include the above application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,



Director & Research Compliance Officer
Office for Research Compliance



358 Rose Administration Building
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APPENDIX C

IRB Forms for Study 3

Office for Research
Institutional Review Board for the
Protection of Human Subjects

THE UNIVERSITY OF
ALABAMA
R E S E A R C H

March 6, 2015

Anne Merrem
Dept of Kinesiology
College of Education
Box 870312

Re: IRB # 15-OR-067, "Acculturation of Prospective German Physical Education Teachers"

Dear Ms. Merrem:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted approval for your proposed research.

Your application has been given expedited approval according to 45 CFR part 46. Approval has been given under expedited review category 7 as outlined below:

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Your application will expire on March 5, 2016. If your research will continue beyond this date, please complete the relevant portions of the IRB Renewal Application. If you wish to modify the application, please complete the Modification of an Approved Protocol Form. Changes in this study cannot be initiated without IRB approval, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants. When the study closes, please complete the Request for Study Closure Form.

Please use reproductions of the IRB approved stamped consent forms to obtain consent from your participants.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this proposal, please include the above application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,



Chair, Non-Medical IRB
The University of Alabama



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Office for Research
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Protection of Human Subjects



December 7, 2015

Anne Merrem
Ph.D. Candidate, Sport Pedagogy
Department of Kinesiology
College of Education
The University of Alabama
Box 870314

Re: IRB # 15-OR-067-R1 "Acculturation of Prospective German Physical Education Teachers"

Dear Ms. Merrem:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted approval for your renewal application.

Your renewal application has been given expedited approval according to 45 CFR part 46. Approval has been given under expedited review category 7 as outlined below:

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Your application will expire on December 6, 2016. If your research will continue beyond this date, complete the relevant portions of the IRB Renewal Application. If you wish to modify the application, complete the Modification of an Approved Protocol Form. Changes in this study cannot be initiated without IRB approval, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants. When the study closes, complete the appropriate portions of the IRB Study Closure Form.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this proposal, please include the above application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,



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