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'We're trying to produce serious educators': impact of secondary organizational socialization on mid-career faculty members' delivery of PETE

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to describe the impact of secondary organizational socialization on mid-career faculty members' (FMs) delivery of physical education teacher education (PETE). Data were collected with four qualitative techniques and analyzed using analytic induction and constant comparison. FMs delivered PETE based on the behavioristic, traditional/craft, and critical-inquiry orientations to teacher education. Cultural components and conditions that supported or undermined the FMs' implementation of PETE were identified. FMs fully complied with positive aspects of their cultures and conditions and coped with negative and unfavorable aspects by strategically complying with or strategically redefining their situations, or finding a new position. These FMs' stories should help doctoral students transition into higher education and inspire other FMs and administrators to reflect on the extent to which they support or undermine those attempting to conduct PETE.

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In the last decade, scholars have begun to investigate how sport pedagogy faculty members' (FMs) perspectives and practices concerning the teaching of physical education and physical education teacher education (PETE) are influenced by the fifth phase of occupational socialization – secondary organizational socialization (i.e. the impact of the university culture and conditions) (Casey & Fletcher, 2012; Fletcher & Casey, 2016; Merrem et al., 2018; Park & Curtner-Smith, 2018; Richards, Graber, et al., *in press*; Richards, Kinder, et al., *in press*). Just as those who have used occupational socialization theory to frame work intended to improve physical education teachers' training, working environments, and teaching (Richards et al., 2014, 2019); the ultimate goal of researchers who have examined secondary organizational socialization is to improve FMs' preparation, work-place climates, and implementation of PETE.

To date, only a limited number of studies have included a secondary organizational socialization element. This work has shown that FMs' practices reflect one or more of three orientations to teacher education originally described by Zeichner (1983). FMs who favor the traditional/craft orientation to teacher education focus on apprenticing their preservice teachers (PTs) to highly skilled cooperating teachers during EFEs and internships who model good practice and are skilled in mentoring inexperienced neophytes. FMs who favor the behavioristic orientation to teacher education focus on helping their PTs to develop technical expertise in terms of mastering basic pedagogies and curricular models that have been shown by research to be effective in promoting student learning (see

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Graham & Heimerer, 1981; Siedentop, 1983; Silverman, 1991). Lastly, FMs who favor the critical-inquiry orientation to teacher education aim to graduate PTs who go on to promote equality, inclusion, and democracy; attempt to help marginalized groups; and are concerned with political, moral, social, cultural, and historical issues (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*; Park & Curtner-Smith, 2018).

Prior research on secondary organizational socialization also indicates that the key personnel who create the university cultures that influence sport pedagogy FMs' perspectives and practices are administrators, senior sport pedagogy FMs, PTs and graduate students, and, to a lesser extent, FMs who work in the sport and exercise sciences and outside kinesiology (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*; Casey & Fletcher, 2012; Dodds, 2005; Fletcher & Casey, 2016; Merrem et al., 2018; Napper-Owen, 2012; Park & Curtner-Smith, 2018; Richards, Kinder, et al., *in press*). In addition, the ethos and focus of their universities can shape FMs' PETE practice, particularly when they feel conflict and strain between their roles of teacher educator and researcher or perceive their universities as being overly concerned with marketing and business (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*; Enright et al., 2017; Richards, Graber, et al., *in press*; Richards, Kinder, et al., *in press*).

Research has also suggested that the main conditions that influence FMs' perspectives and practices regarding PETE include the resources they are allocated in terms of curricular time and space, facilities, and equipment; the quality of school placements and cooperating teachers; faculty lines; and national and state standards (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*; Merrem et al., 2018; Park & Curtner-Smith, 2018; Richards, Kinder, et al., *in press*). To a lesser extent, workloads appear to have an impact as well (Graber et al., 2020; Merrem et al., 2018; Park & Curtner-Smith, 2018; Richards, Graber, et al., *in press*; Richards, Kinder, et al., *in press*).

In contrast to the research on the organizational socialization of physical education teachers (Richards et al., 2014, 2019), studies also suggest that the majority of university cultures are positive and conditions favorable and so support sport pedagogy FMs and enable them to deliver the kind of PETE that they advocate (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*; Merrem et al., 2018; Park & Curtner-Smith, 2018). Conversely, there are examples of cultures and conditions being inhospitable and adversely affecting the ways in which FMs deliver PETE (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*; Merrem et al., 2018; Park & Curtner-Smith, 2018; Richards, Graber, et al., *in press*; Richards, Kinder, et al., *in press*). As in schools, these negative and unfavorable conditions form an 'institutional press' (Zeichner, 1983) which can squeeze the pedagogical life out of FMs and lead to a deterioration in the standard of PETE they deliver (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*; Merrem et al., 2018; Park & Curtner-Smith, 2018).

In congruence with physical education teachers in schools, FMs who face negative cultures and unfavorable conditions can adopt one of three coping strategies (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*). First, they can find a new position in a different university (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*). Second, they can strategically comply (Lacey, 1977) or strategically adjust (Etheridge, 1989) to the views and beliefs or conditions with which they disagree. Employed for any length of time, however, this strategy may lead to FMs' preferred perspectives and practices being partially or wholly 'washed out' (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*; Blankenship & Coleman, 2009; Park & Curtner-Smith, 2018). Third, FMs can try to strategically redefine (Lacey, 1977) and change their cultures and conditions for the better (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*; Park & Curtner-Smith, 2018). Research suggests that inexperienced and novice FMs or those who have started in new positions are more likely to engage in strategic compliance and strategic adjustment, while more experienced FMs are more likely to attempt strategic redefinition (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*; Merrem et al., 2018). Finally, one study suggests that, providing they do not suffer from washout, the struggles FMs go through when faced with difficult cultures and conditions can make them stronger and better pedagogs (Casey & Fletcher, 2012).

In a previous study, we investigated how the culture and conditions of universities influenced early career FMs' implementation of PETE (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*). The research reported in this paper built on this work. Its purpose was to describe the impact of secondary

organizational socialization on mid-career FM's delivery of PETE. The specific research questions we attempted to answer were: (a) How did FM's deliver PETE? and (b) What factors supported and undermined FM's as they delivered PETE?

Method

Participants

Participants were four mid-career sport pedagogy FM's who had worked in universities in the United States for between 7 and 15 years. They were purposefully selected because the universities at which they worked varied in terms of location, focus, and size. The FM's' age range, gender, ethnicity, years working in higher education, current faculty rank, number of universities in which they had been employed, type of universities in which they had been employed, and those universities' Carnegie classifications (Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research, n.d) are shown in Table 1. In line with our university's institutional review board, the FM's signed a consent form indicating their willingness to participate in the study. They also selected a pseudonym in order to protect their anonymity.

Data collection

Data were collected with four qualitative techniques. The primary source of data were *formal semi-structured interviews* FM's completed with the first author. All the FM's were asked the same lead questions but multiple follow-up questions and prompts were permitted. At the beginning of the

Table 1. Mid-Career Faculty Members' Socialization Profiles.

Biographic Detail	Participants			
	Ford	Jeremy	Elijah	Paisley
Age range (years)	50 - 54	55 - 59	45 - 49	65 - 69
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Female
Ethnicity	Caucasian	African	Caucasian	Caucasian
Years Working in Higher Education	15	10	14	14
Current Faculty Rank	Associate Professor	Associate Professor	Professor	Assistant Professor
Number of Universities Employed in	1	3	1	1
Type of Universities Employed in	Public, Medium,	Public ^{1, 2, 3} , Medium, ^{1, 2, 3}	Public, Medium,	Public, Large,
Carnegie Classification	Master's University: Larger program	Master's University: Larger program ¹ , Baccalaureate Colleges: Diverse Fields ² , Doctoral/ Professional University ³	High Research Activity	Very High Research Activity
Orientations to Teacher Education	Behavioristic, Traditional/craft, Critical-Inquiry	Behavioristic, Traditional/ craft, Critical-Inquiry	Behavioristic, Traditional/craft	Behavioristic, Traditional/craft
University Culture	Negative	Negative ^{1, 2} , Positive ³	Positive	Positive
University Conditions	Unfavorable	Unfavorable ¹ , Favorable ^{2, 3}	Favorable	Unfavorable
Coping Strategies	Strategic compliance, Strategic redefinition	Strategic compliance ^{1, 2, 3} , Strategic redefinition ^{1, 2, 3} , Found new position ^{1, 2} , Full compliance ³	Strategic compliance, Strategic redefinition, Full compliance	Strategic compliance, Strategic redefinition, Full compliance

Note. ¹Denotes first university employed in. ²Denotes second university employed in. ³Denotes third university employed in.

interview, the FMs provided demographic data. They were then asked to describe the PETE they delivered in terms of goals, recruitment of PTs, pedagogies, content, curricular organization, courses, and evaluation. In addition, FMs were questioned about the extent to which the PETE they implemented was congruent with their perspectives as to what constituted high class and effective PETE. Lastly, they were asked to describe factors that supported or undermined their delivery of PETE. Formal interviews were carried out via Zoom, recorded, and transcribed verbatim. They ranged from 90 to 210 minutes in duration.

There were also three supporting and supplementary sources of data. First, FMs provided *documents* that illustrated the type of PETE they implemented (e.g. curriculum plans, course syllabi and handouts, lecture notes, internship and early field experience (EFE) plans, and assessments). Second, FMs wrote their *ideal PETE program* in the format of their choice. In this document, they included goals, pedagogies, courses, content, and any other components and materials they thought important. Finally, FMs provided *film* of themselves engaging in PETE (e.g. content and methods courses).

Data analysis

During stage 1 of the analysis, the first author placed the data from all four sources and FMs into two sets that were concerned with each of the research questions (i.e. How FMs delivered PETE and the factors that supported and undermined the FMs' delivery of PETE). During stage 2, the first author reduced the data in each subset to themes using analytic induction and constant comparison (Patton, 2015). This involved separating data into chunks on one topic, occurrence, or thought by underlining and highlighting and giving each chunk a descriptor and numerical code. The first author then collapsed coded data to form categories and categories were grouped to form themes. During this process, the second author acted as a critical friend (Costa & Kallick, 1993) by debriefing the first author and critiquing the developing codes, categories, and themes. In stage 3, we selected data to illustrate the findings described in this paper. We established trustworthiness and credibility by triangulating across all four data collection techniques, searching for discrepant and negative cases, and conducting two kinds of member checks. First, during data collection, FMs were asked to confirm facts and emerging categories via telephone and Zoom. Second, the FMs were asked to provide feedback on the accuracy of an earlier version of this manuscript (Patton, 2015).

Researchers' positionality

Readers of this paper should be aware that both authors were employed as physical education teacher educators and had worked with PTs during methods courses, content courses, early field experiences, and the culminating internship. The first author was early in his career and the second author a late-career FM. Moreover, we were both committed to improving the working environment and conditions for sport pedagogy faculty. Finally, both of us had carried out a number of studies in which we had employed occupational socialization theory.

Findings

We begin this section by describing the PETE programs the FMs delivered. Next, we describe the factors that supported and undermined the FMs' delivery of PETE.

FMs' delivery of PETE

Three themes emerged from our analysis of the data on FMs' delivery of PETE. These were that the FMs based their PETE on three of Zeichner's (1983) orientations to teacher education. These were the *behavioristic, traditional/craft, and critical-inquiry* orientations (see Table 1).

Behavioristic orientation

The ‘foundation’ of all four FMs’ PETE was congruent with Zeichner’s (1983) behavioristic orientation to teacher education. Elijah and Paisley, for example, emphasized the importance of recruiting teaching-oriented PTs who would be receptive to this kind of PETE. Moreover, all the FMs stressed the need to produce ‘effective teachers,’ who employed ‘evidenced-based teaching.’ They also explained that it was important for their charges to acquire ‘fundamental pedagogies’ including Mosston and Ashworth’s (2008) teacher – and student-centered teaching styles; the ability to ‘differentiate’ instructional tasks; and ‘peer teaching, small group teaching, and segment teaching.’ Typical of comments made in support of the behavioristic orientation to teacher education was the following:

We’re trying to produce serious educators who are passionate about working with children. Equipping teachers with [pedagogical] tools to put in their toolbox to provide quality [physical education] inside and outside of schools, regardless of the difficulties we [i.e. the profession] face. (Paisley, formal interview)

In addition, the FMs emphasized the importance of PTs learning how to teach through several content-focused curricular models including the multi-activity, teaching games for understanding (TGfU), sport education, and comprehensive school physical activity program (CSPAP) models, and the skill themes approach. This combination, they suggested, would aid their charges to teach ‘wide-reaching content’ including fundamental movement skills, sports, games, other physical activities, and health and help their students to ‘become skillful learners’ and ‘discover their unique sporting interests, passions, and skill competencies.’

Traditional/craft orientation

While they believed that technical competence in the use of foundational pedagogies and curricular models should be initiated through a series of campus-based methods and content courses, all four FMs also indicated the need for PTs to hone these skills in the field. Thus, they also drew from Zeichner’s (1983) traditional/craft orientation to teacher education.

In the current study, for instance, the FMs emphasized the importance of ‘experiential’ and ‘hands-on’ experiences and ‘contextual teaching practices’ for PTs. Furthermore, Paisley advocated for a yearlong internship at the end of the PTs’ program. In addition, they noted the need to find or train ‘trustworthy,’ ‘sympathetic,’ ‘research-inclined,’ and ‘highly professional’ cooperating teachers for their PTs to work with. Typical of the views favoring this orientation was the following:

[PTs should engage in] heavy field experiences and experiential learning. We teach them a lot. ... They gain meaningful experiences doing it themselves in the real world. We want forward-thinking physical educators. ... They’ll gain and hold on to our teaching more when they practice teaching children in schools themselves. (Elijah, formal interview)

Critical-inquiry orientation

As alluded to in the last two sections, the FMs hoped that, on graduating, their PTs would strive to realize goals related to three relatively traditional value orientations (Curtner-Smith et al., 2018). These were the disciplinary mastery (i.e. focus on students’ mastery of content), learning process (i.e. focus on students becoming self-reliant learners), and self-actualization (i.e. focus on students’ personal goals and growth) perspectives. These foci, the FMs believed, would help children and youth gain a ‘love for movement’ and ‘carry the banner for the importance of lifelong engagement with health and physical activity.’

In addition, two of the FMs (Jeremy and Ford) expressed interest in their PTs realizing goals related to three other value orientations. These were social responsibility (i.e. focus on students cooperating with and showing respect for others), social reconstruction (i.e. focus on schools as a medium through which to inspire social and cultural change) and ecological integration (i.e. focus on students gaining a global perspective) (Curtner-Smith et al., 2018). Jeremy and Ford’s interest

in these three value orientations and their descriptions of how to prepare PTs to work towards them in schools reflected Zeichner's (1983) critical-inquiry orientation.

To this end, Jeremy and Ford relayed that they tried to recruit and work with PTs who had 'progressive dispositions,' understood the 'potential of physical education,' had a 'globalist perspective,' and would be prepared to 'disrupt an overly custodial profession.' Further, they explained that PTs would have to be 'creative,' 'able to teach beyond national benchmarks,' and realize goals related to different 'domains of learning.' The following data extracts illustrate the level of commitment these two FMs gave to the critical-inquiry perspective:

The profession is shifting. ... Content mastery? Needed. Curriculum knowledge? Also important. Knowledge of culture, community, and what it means to teach movement in diverse contexts? Essential! A 'thinking educator' teaches through the [national and state] standards as inclusively as possible. ... Their beliefs are informed by context and culture. ... They teach the things that really matter. (Jeremy, document, curriculum project)

I'm so interested in teaching for social responsibility, cultural sensitivity, and social justice through physical education, ... but without being overbearing about it. For the past six years, I've been on a climate change and social justice action committee. I came here to change the climate, to be inclusive, to challenge racism ... and to openly talk about contemporary and critical issues. (Ford, formal interview)

Jeremy and Ford suggested that their brand of critical PETE involved them embedding 'culturally informed practices and values' in their methods and content classes, requiring PTs to reflect on the needs of 'special populations,' and asking PTs to complete 'collaborative learning' assignments and 'nontraditional' assessments in schools. They also stressed the importance of themselves and other FMs recognizing and embracing the variety of beliefs and values with which PTs entered their programs:

Each [PT] is going to bring their own histories, attitudes, values, and moods to your class. ... You've got to accommodate, appreciate, and respect that. The profession has been too focused on itself and, in the American eye, physical education becomes gym and gym is all about sport. Remember when adventure ed came in to rescue at-risk youth? That's not bridging the cultural [and] societal gap. ... We are in a unique position to use any model and content to teach cultural sensitivity. (Ford, formal interview)

Finally, Jeremy and Ford explained that they encouraged PTs to examine how they could interpret and use different curricular models, including cooperative learning, sport education, 'outdoor education,' and teaching personal and social responsibility (TPSR), to realize critically oriented objectives. For example, they suggested that they might use these models to teach about 'economic factors,' 'sociocultural attitudes,' 'regional assets,' 'climate change,' and 'community resources.'

Factors that supported and undermined FMs' delivery of PETE

Three themes emerged from our analysis of the subset of data regarding factors that supported and undermined FMs delivery of PETE. These were *university culture*, *university conditions*, and *coping strategies*.

University culture

Similar to previous research (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*; Merrem et al., 2018; Park & Curtner-Smith, 2018; Richards, Kinder, et al., *in press*), the FMs' university cultures were mostly a product of the beliefs and actions of colleagues in sport pedagogy, administrators, PTs, and the focus of the university. On balance, three of the six universities in which the FMs worked had positive cultures and three had negative cultures (see Table 1). It was also apparent that their university cultures had more influence on the FMs in their early years than once they were established.

Senior colleagues had the greatest impact on the cultures in which the FMs worked. For Jeremy (at his third university) and Paisley, senior colleagues were perceived as supportive because when they joined their institutions there were already 'established' 'research-based' PETE programs in

place that were congruent with their own perspectives and practices but on which their input was welcomed:

We have a pretty strong technical culture. Everybody [i.e. Paisley and her colleagues] comes at it [i.e. PETE] from a different perspective ... but nothing detracts us from the core focus of the program. We have a comprehensive and immovable technical culture. (Paisley, formal interview)

Ford and Elijah began life as faculty working in new and emerging PETE programs. For Elijah, senior colleagues were thought of as supportive because they provided ‘mentoring’ ‘respected’ him, and ‘valued [his] contributions.’ Conversely, Ford and Jeremy (at his first university), viewed senior colleagues and the other sport pedagogists in a negative light because they were ‘not welcoming,’ ‘generally unsupportive,’ and tried to ‘dictate ... [their] philosophy of PETE ... as the only philosophy.’ Moreover, at his second institution Jeremy was frustrated by colleagues who were ‘comfortable’ with a ‘traditional’ form of PETE that featured the kinesiological subdisciplines, content courses focused on PTs’ performance, and included little pedagogy. Further, Jeremy’s difficulties at his first and second institution were compounded by the lack of diversity among the faculty that made him feel ‘uncomfortable as a Black man.’

The FMs perceived administrators as supportive when they were ‘receptive to’ their perspectives and practices regarding PETE. In contrast, department heads and ‘higher ranking administrators’ were perceived as undermining FMs’ attempts at conducting PETE when they viewed subject matters as ‘hierarchical’ and ‘positioned physical education’ at the ‘bottom of the educational totem pole.’ In addition, the FMs were critical of administrators who viewed clinical colleagues as ‘second class citizens’ (i.e. in comparison to tenure-track faculty) and treated them poorly.

PTs encouraged FMs in their efforts to conduct a more ‘innovative’ PETE when they provided ‘complimentary feedback’ within class evaluations and appeared to be ‘advancing their pedagogical abilities’ in their EFEs and internships. ‘Substandard’ PTs who were ‘complacent ball rollers,’ ‘stereotypically coaching-oriented’ and unreceptive to program content, however, had a negative impact on FMs. In congruence with Enright et al. (2017), Paisley also suggested that the ‘ivory tower business model’ her university adopted, and its priority for funded research, were detrimental because these foci indirectly devalued PETE:

Compared to [the hard sciences, PETE] pretty much doesn’t have any funding. The state and college requirements put [PTs] at a disadvantage. ... We fought to have funding because it’s an extreme financial burden for us to provide the equipment and resources for [PTs] to navigate assessment ... just so they can graduate. [PETE] is the stepchild. ... The program is not considered an academic ... fundable subject, so we don’t get a lot of support from our administrators. (Paisley, formal interview)

Finally, there was some suggestion that Ford, Elijah, and Paisley suffered from role strain. Specifically, the amount of time they were required to do work associated with the service or research components of their jobs detracted from the time and energy they had for PETE. Ford, for example, explained that ‘teacher education [was] a highly time consuming process,’ and that the scholarship and service he had needed to complete in order to attain tenure and promotion had left him ‘exhausted, drained, and frustrated.’

University conditions

In congruence with much of the previous research (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, [in press](#); Merrem et al., 2018; Park & Curtner-Smith, 2018; Richards, Kinder, et al., [in press](#)), the conditions that had the most impact on the FMs were the resources allocated for PETE, the quality of cooperating teachers and school placements, and the influence of national and state standards for teacher education. In addition, the FMs commented on and wrote about the internal bureaucracy surrounding teacher education. On balance, the conditions at three of the six universities in which the FMs worked were favorable and supported their delivery of PETE, while conditions at the other three universities were unfavorable and undermined the FMs’ attempts to educate PTs (see [Table 1](#)).

In line with early career FMs (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, [in press](#)), the resources the FMs in the current study most valued were curricular time and space for pedagogical content, funding, and faculty lines. In most cases, the FMs indicated that these were not adequate and so undermined their efforts to deliver PETE. Elijah and Paisley, for example, lamented the number of 'general education' and kinesiological courses in the 'exercise sciences' their PTs had to take which meant that there was not enough room for more important pedagogical content. The FMs also explained that their bargaining power to get more resources had been weakened during their careers due to the decline in the numbers of PTs enrolled in their programs, the devaluing of education and teaching in society, and the rise in importance of exercise science because large enrollments were attractive to universities who had adopted a business model:

During my time the roles have reversed. Physical education is now a smaller field and so the balance has shifted to where exercise science is now a larger field. Teacher education, in general, just isn't in a good place right now. Education, as a practice in society, isn't popular. It doesn't take away from what we do, but it's a challenge. (Paisley, formal interview)

Being a teacher is just not attractive anymore. We started out strong with a core group of professionals. The program was thriving with 200 trainees. But over the years our program dwindled. We followed the national shift. We're now holding on to 75 PTs and [faculty lines] have gone down. It's a challenge trying to perform like we did in the good old days. (Elijah, formal interview)

The FMs also relayed how important it was to find good schools and cooperating teachers to work with and each explained that they had a few 'excellent veteran teachers' with whom they could place their PTs. Talking about himself and his colleagues, Elijah, for example, emphasized that: 'We've woven early field experiences into all of our courses. We desired our program to be completely experiential in nature. We've been really welcomed by school systems and are keen to keep that connection strong.' On the downside, the FMs lamented the fact that many school physical education programs they were forced to work with were poor, 'old school,' and administered by principals who were not 'physical education inclined.' Consequently, it was difficult to find cooperating teachers who taught the kinds of progressive programs the FMs advocated. Similarly, the FMs were upbeat about the majority of their PTs finding work, but noted how 'disheartening,' 'painful,' and 'demoralizing' it was to watch graduates have their ideals and skills 'washed out' (Blankenship & Coleman, 2009) as they began working alongside experienced but low quality teachers.

While the FMs believed that national and state standards for PTs and inservice teachers were a good idea in principle, they were highly critical of the actual standards that were in place in their states because most were not applicable to physical education and reflected how 'little [the subject was] thought about at the state level.' They were also frustrated that the standards continued to encroach on their autonomy and forced them to include content in their programs that they thought was 'misaligned' and 'problematic' at the expense of 'research-informed PETE.'

We help [PTs] navigate [state assessments], but this is where the technical language issue rears its ugly head because we don't share a technical language across all educational fields. We have to translate our own professional vocabulary and practices based on [state requirements] ... just to put all the educational fields in the same big bucket. (Paisley, formal interview)

Finally, all the FMs stressed that the internal bureaucracy associated with teacher education at their universities undermined their efforts to train PTs. For example, they complained about their college of education's 'red tape' and 'gatekeeping policies' and noted that the 'institutional hoops [and] protocols' they were required to 'jump through' meant that working to get substantial programmatic change was a 'decade long' process when it should have been a 'one meeting thing.'

Coping strategies

Similar to early career FMs in previous research (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, [in press](#)), those in the current study employed four coping strategies in response to the different elements of the cultures and conditions they faced. Table 1 shows that these included fully complying with elements that

were positive and favorable, strategically complying with or attempting to strategically redefine (Lacey, 1977) elements that were negative and unfavorable, and finding a new position when they encountered extremely negative and unfavorable cultures and conditions.

All the FMs strategically complied with negative and unfavorable elements of their cultures or conditions to some extent when they first entered academia, were 'learning the ins and outs of teacher education,' 'coming to grips with teaching, research, and service requirements,' or 'uncertain about how to systematically advocate for change':

Here I am, this brand new assistant whippersnapper. I'm like, 'Hey! Let me share all this stuff I've got with you.' I had to find balance. Don't vomit all you know at once. I had to pace myself to know if my colleagues were receptive, ... if this place was a good fit for me. My colleagues helped me to understand the climate and culture at [the university]. (Elijah, formal interview)

The more powerful and oppressive the institutional press (Zeichner, 1983) the FMs were up against, the longer they strategically complied. Jeremy (at his first and second universities) and Ford, for example, strategically complied with the beliefs of their administrators and sport pedagogy colleagues when they joined the faculty:

During my early career, I developed a [minor] and my [administrator] openly told me that he didn't pass it forward because 'the program didn't need a minor,' ... and he thought it would create conflict in the department. I was like, 'So what if it does? Can we at least discuss it?' But then I was like, 'Sure. Fine. Whatever.' ... Totally train wrecked my idea ... a slap in the face almost. (Ford, formal interview)

There were also elements of their cultures and conditions that FMs had strategically complied with for most of their careers to date. In general, these were university-wide deeply entrenched 'cultural issues' and conditions which they did not believe they could change. Paisley, for instance, realized that she could do little about the 'ivory tower business model' of her university or her college's 'obedience to the state department of education.' Ford became accustomed to his program being funded at a low level and having poor facilities and resources which left PETE 'living in the dark ages of the 1950s while the [natural sciences] flourish in the 22nd century.' Lastly, because their administrators valued the natural exercise sciences highly due to their high enrollment, the FMs explained that they had no choice but to 'go along with' 'foundational elements' taught in exercise science classes not being 'aligned with the goals of PETE' or taught in 'consideration of PETE majors.'

None of the FMs strategically complied with the negative and unfavorable elements of their cultures and conditions to the point where they strategically adjusted (Etheridge, 1989) to them and their initial perspectives and practices were washed out (Blankenship & Coleman, 2009). Rather, as they became more 'established,' were awarded tenure and promotion, moved into leadership positions (Jeremy and Elijah), and gained a more sophisticated understanding of 'the political system' that operated in their universities, they made strenuous efforts to strategically redefine elements of their cultures and conditions they believed were possible to change. For example, as a department chair, Elijah attempted to gain more curricular time and resources for PETE and to develop the 'prestige of physical education' in his state when he served on 'leadership committees.' Similarly, in his capacity as PETE program coordinator, Jeremy made a considerable effort to improve the standard of cooperating teachers by conducting a number of 'professional development' workshops.

Having strategically complied with and attempted to strategically redefine the overwhelmingly negative cultures and unfavorable conditions at his first and second universities, Jeremy left them both and found new positions because he was in 'breeding grounds of disagreement,' his colleagues did not support his 'philosophy,' and he thought his 'career was on the line':

The environment and relationships with my colleagues was so toxic I had to get out of there just to save my career. I said, 'No, I'm not doing this for the rest of my life.' This wasn't what I was trained to do. ... I didn't leave with any animosity, but I had to do myself justice and I knew how I wanted to train [PTs]. Honestly, I don't regret leaving. (Jeremy, formal interview)

At the other extreme, Jeremy (at his third institution), Elijah, and Paisley fully complied with elements of their cultures and conditions they found particularly positive and favorable. For example, Jeremy's colleagues had cultivated a 'kind' and 'trusting' culture that was 'progressive' and instantly enabled him to deliver PETE as he had envisioned:

I had [university-wide] mentors. The leadership [i.e. senior FMs and administrators] supported me ... trained me. ... Because of their trust and support, I had all the help and advice I needed to be successful. I didn't have any problems. It was a very comprehensive program. We [i.e. Jeremy and his colleagues] developed the mission and goals so that we could succeed. (Jeremy, formal interview)

Moreover, rather than being subjected to the institutional press, these three FMs explained that some new perspectives and practices they advocated were welcomed and adopted by their immediate colleagues in a process we came to call the 'institutional pull.' For example, Paisley noted that her colleagues 'appreciated that she came at it [i.e. teacher education] from a different angle;' were receptive to her 'learn it, practice it, do it' pragmatic approach; and viewed her philosophy as 'important, useful, and appropriate.' Additionally, because Jeremy's colleagues were 'open minded,' and 'trusted' and 'listened' to him, they supported his efforts to increase the amount of PETE that took place in inner city schools. Lastly, Elijah explained that he was able to 'influence the overall future of PETE' at his university:

I'm in a great position to advocate for physical education. As [an early career FM], I was testing the waters. ... The faculty were receptive and valued my views on experiential learning. Definitely a two-way street of reciprocal socialization. ... Now as a [mid-career FM], I can assist in the decision making of PETE from an institutional standpoint. I can act in [the profession's] best interests in conspicuous and non-conspicuous ways. [I am] striving to do what's best for PETE. ... There's not been a time in my tenure where I've not been supported. (Elijah, formal interview)

Summary and conclusions

To our knowledge, this was the first qualitative study to focus exclusively on the impact of secondary organizational socialization on mid-career sport pedagogy FMs' delivery of PETE. The study revealed that the FMs delivered PETE based on the behavioristic, traditional/craft, and critical-inquiry orientations to teacher education (Zeichner, 1983). In congruence with past research (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*; Dodds, 2005; Merrem et al., 2018; Park & Curtner-Smith, 2018), the key cultural components that shaped the FMs' delivery of PETE were sport pedagogy colleagues, administrators, PTs, and the focus of the university. Also in line with past research (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*; Merrem et al., 2018; Park & Curtner-Smith, 2018; Richards et al., *in press*), the key conditions that supported or undermined the FMs' implementation of PETE were resources, the quality of cooperating teachers and school placements, and the influence of national and state standards for teacher education. One new finding was that the internal bureaucracy surrounding teacher education had an adverse impact on FMs' PETE. Lastly, the study indicated that the mid-career FMs in the current study employed the same four coping strategies that had been used by early career FMs in an earlier study (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*). When faced with negative and unfavorable cultures and conditions, these were strategic compliance, strategic redefinition (Lacey, 1977), and finding a new position. In contrast, the FMs fully complied with positive and favorable cultures and conditions.

In our previous study (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*), we found that the cultures and conditions faced by early career FMs were mostly positive and favorable. That was not the case in the current study when half of the six universities in which the mid-career FMs worked had negative cultures or unfavorable conditions. Nevertheless, the cultures and conditions faced by the FMs in the current study still appeared to be more hospitable than those faced by most physical education teachers working in schools (Richards et al., 2014, 2019). Consequently, there was no question of the FMs suffering from washout (Blankenship & Coleman, 2009). Moreover, three of the FMs experienced

an institutional pull as progressive colleagues welcomed and embraced the new perspectives and practices they advocated. We also found that as they gained a foothold in higher education and learned the system, the mid-career FMs in the current study increased the amount of strategic redefinition in which they engaged, and had greater success in effecting change than early career FMs (Brunsdon & Curtner-Smith, *in press*). Moreover, as their careers moved forward, these mid-career FMs improved their ability to distinguish between cultural elements and conditions which were worth attempting to strategically define and those that were not.

The study has practical implications for those training sport pedagogy doctoral students, the doctoral students themselves, senior sport pedagogy FMs, and administrators. Specifically, FMs preparing doctoral students could use the stories provided to help prepare their charges for the cultures and conditions they might experience and the variety of responses their perspectives and practices might receive when they transition to their first positions. We also suggest that the collective stories provided in this study might help other mid-career FMs reflect on how they are coping with their work environments and perhaps inspire them to make attempts at strategically redefining negative elements of their cultures or conditions when the odds are in their favor. Finally, we hope that the study might be a catalyst for more reflection by administrators and senior sport pedagogy FMs about the cultures and conditions they help create and the degree to which they endorse or oppose the ever growing bureaucracy that is enveloping teacher education.

As indicated in the preceding paragraphs, the main contribution this study makes to occupational socialization theory is to provide more and new details about the mechanisms involved in FMs' secondary organizational socialization. Future research should aim to ascertain the extent to which the findings of this study transfer to other mid-career FMs. These in-depth interpretive studies should complement the survey work currently being conducted with FMs (Graber et al., 2020; Richards, Graber, et al., *in press*). We also suggest that studies of late career sport pedagogy FMs using a similar design would be useful. For example, it would be helpful to find out the degree to which FMs carry on fighting to strategically redefine negative aspects of their cultures and conditions as they enter the final years of their careers and the extent to which they get worn down by, strategically comply with, and retreat from them.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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