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Chapter 6

Teaching and Teacher Education: An Overview of Sociological Perspectives

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Introduction: Confronting the Apprenticeship of Observation

Over one billion students around the world attend school each day. These students learn, read, think, play, write, and grow at various institutions, from pre-primary learning centers to colleges and universities. Regardless of their level, students spend countless hours on school grounds and in classrooms where they interact with both peers and teachers. In fact, it is likely that many of you reading this chapter right now have spent a large percentage of your life in classrooms and educational institutions. How many hours of your life do you think have been spent learning from, working with, and observing teachers? This immense amount of time spent with teachers and in close proximity to their work often creates a strong sense of familiarity with the rhythms of the classroom and the actions of teachers. If you close your eyes, you can undoubtedly picture some of the classrooms you have inhabited, or remember the words and actions of your teachers as they asked questions, provided instructions for activities, monitored examinations, inspired or chided students, and passed out papers.

In his groundbreaking sociological study of teachers in the US, Dan Lortie (1975) coined the phrase 'apprenticeship of observation' to describe the implicit learning that occurs as students engage as both participants and observers in the classrooms they frequent. This opportunity to observe teachers as they work and teach is arguably quite unique to the teaching profession, as many other professions offer limited contact with its professionals. Most people spend little time observing and engaging with doctors, lawyers, or architects, for example, and are therefore unlikely to claim to know how to be one, or to presume to understand the deep expertise, professional knowledge, communication skills, and daily responsibilities of these professionals.

Teaching is different, however, due to the unique and intensive teacher-student relationship inherent in the teaching process. Students see teachers work throughout the school day and are intimately involved in their teachers' work, over many years. As such, it is not surprising that our apprenticeship of observation leads to an implicit assumption that we understand teachers, teaching, and teacher education, precisely because we have spent so much time in classrooms. This is one of the reasons that teachers, teaching, and teacher education are so oft maligned in public discourse; school graduates – and general citizens – feel emboldened to critique and regulate teaching and the education of teachers. Britzman (2012) reminds us, however, that while "familiarity with the teacher's work does matter, it is not a direct line to insight" (p. 4). Darling-Hammond (2006) goes one step further,

suggesting that "much of what teachers need to know to be successful is invisible to lay observers, leading to the view that teaching requires little formal study and to frequent disdain for teacher education programs" (p. 300). Indeed, both the act of teaching and the process of learning to become a teacher are highly complex (Comber, 2006; Connell, 2009), and should not be taken for granted.

Sociology of the Teaching Profession

The sociological question of whether teaching is a profession has been a recurrent theme in sociology of education. It is a question with broad implications for teachers as it encompasses discussions of the relative social status of teaching and the level of expertise teachers need to accomplish their work. Such debates have highlighted questions around what exactly constitutes teacher knowledge; what are requisite teaching skills; what comprises teaching quality; and more specifically, how should teachers be remunerated for their knowledge, skills, and contributions? The answers to these questions and the specific ways the teaching profession is positioned depend largely on "the complex interplay among global, national, and local contexts surrounding teacher policy and the teaching profession" (Akiba & LeTendre, 2017, p. 1).

Core Question: Is Teaching a Profession?

Among other things, "sociologists investigate the structure of groups, organizations, and societies and how people interact within these contexts" (ASA, 2014). It is not surprising, therefore, that a long strand in sociological research concerns the sociology of work, occupations, and professions. Organizational workplaces, including educational institutions, constitute social organizations where people interact and spend a considerable portion of their lives. Sociology can therefore help us better understand teachers as a social group and the organizations (e.g., early childhood centers, K-12 schools, universities) to which they devote their working lives.

Yet, one common question to which some have turned their attention, in fact, concerns whether teaching is indeed a profession at all. A profession, some argue, requires a high degree of education and training, a considerable amount of prestige and status, relative autonomy within one's area of work, and a set of professional standards and ethical codes to which partitioners of that profession adhere (see, e.g., Ingersoll & Collins, 2018; Tatto, 2021). Medicine and law are "two of the classic professions against which others have often unfavorably compared teaching as a poorer, semi-professional cousin" (Hargreaves, 2010, p. 145). At the same time, debates about professionalization of teaching are also about deeper questions surrounding the purpose of education and the role of learning in society (Strike, 1990); both of which have been impacted in the past two decades by significant changes surrounding education at national and international levels, where education is now often seen as key to national economic health (Akiba & LeTendre, 2017). Indeed, due to a number of factors, the question of whether or not teaching is a profession has been highly debated in multiple global contexts.

Teaching profession - status, quality, and salary

Lortie (1975), for example, emerged from the so-called 'Chicago School' of sociology in the US, which often explored the nature of work and its interactions within broader society. Prior to publishing *Schoolteacher* (Lortie, 1975), he conducted research in medicine

and law, and later noted that teaching is a relatively 'flat' profession with little room for upward movement and one in which the tasks completed by its workers undergo minimal change throughout one's career. Lortie also suggested that teachers learn to respect other teachers but not necessarily others in the educational system: this can create an us/them dichotomy where some workers (i.e., teachers) have 'street cred' and are perceived as valued and trusted contributors, and others (i.e., non-teachers such as adminstrators and support staff) do not. Finally, in Lortie's study and others, issues of professional knowledge surface as vital to the construction of the 'profession'; the more well-defined the body of professional knowledge, the more likely the work will be regarded as professional. Discussions of the nature of professional knowledge in education are ongoing, with many researchers suggesting that education indeed includes a high degree of specialized knowledge and strong evidence upon which quality teaching practice is based (see Brooks, 2021; Mills et al., 2020; Tatto, 2021).

Other sociological research concerns the comparative social status and salary scales of teachers. Teaching may be perceived as a noble or caring profession, but not one that garners the same prestige or respect as other fields (Kraemer-Holland, 2020). In the UK for example, the teaching profession – while valued by the public – is viewed as poorly remunerated; teachers report that their knowledge and expertise are not respected in comparison to high status professions (Fuller et al., 2013). Similarly, teachers in Nigeria feel they are not respected, and that the teaching profession is seen as relatively low status because of the ways others view their working conditions and pay (Osunde & Izevbigie, 2006). In other countries – Finland being one of the most cited examples – teachers are offered a high degree of professional status and autonomy in their work (Sahlberg, 2011). In comparison to teachers in the US, teachers in South Korea receive greater remuneration and salary rewards for experience; have less stressful teaching conditions with less classroom teaching hours and more planning time; and generally, are viewed as valued professionals because teaching and teachers hold immense cultural value (Kang & Hong, 2008). While status is not solely correlated with salary, issues of remuneration and teaching conditions are related to both the status of the teaching profession, as well as who is interested in entering it.

One interesting question ripe for sociological analysis is how teacher salaries, status, and working conditions coalesce in terms of teacher satisfaction and student outcomes. Recent research out of the US, for example, has shown that some teachers are even "moonlighting" – pursuing part-time jobs in addition to working full-time as teachers – just to make financial ends meet (Blair, 2018). At the same time, Liang and Akiba's (2017) international comparative analysis of 32 education systems found that U.S. teachers had the second highest instructional load, the fourth highest non-instructional work requirements (such as administrative and other school event commitments), and possibly as a consequence, spend "relatively fewer hours than their international counterparts on instructional support work—lesson planning, collaboration, and grading" (p. 399). Elsewhere in Tanzania, Vavrus and Salema (2013) noted that teachers' concerns about working conditions, material resources for teaching, and low salaries had "a negative influence on the quality of teaching" (p. 84) and highlighted "the effect these conditions have on teacher morale and on the exodus of teachers from the teaching profession to more lucrative fields" (p. 85).

Such research around relationships between working conditions, status, and salaries underscore the importance of sociology in thinking about political as well as cultural

understandings of education and teaching as a profession. Overall, the issues outlined in this section related to the tasks, status, working conditions, and salaries of teachers have considerable implications for teacher retention and who is able to pursue teaching. The interpretation of these factors, however, vary across contexts, as "the construction of the teacher is always context-dependent – the teacher is produced out of local histories, cultures and politics" (Maguire, 2010, p. 58). It is these histories, cultures and politics as intersecting with individual teacher identities to which we now turn our attention.

Sociology of Teachers

Beyond questions of whether teaching is indeed a profession, sociologists have also considered who teaches. Turning a sociological lens on teachers offers much fertile ground for thinking about how teachers relate, respond, and interact within educational institutions. Studying the identities, experiences, and perspectives of teachers – or their 'social locations' – highlights the ways such locations intersect in institutional settings. More importantly, with this critical sociological lens we see that such intersections matter immensely to teachers' experiences and relationships within schools.

Core Question: Who Teaches?

Sociology of education then helps to elucidate the enduring strength of social structures and control mechanisms that regulate behavior and expectations for social interactions in classrooms. Research and literature attending to the question of who teaches, brings critical focus to teacher identities and the political nature of teaching within schools and classrooms. Teachers are not immune to the structures or mechanisms that shape social life. In fact, teachers are sometimes the very individuals involved in the enforcement or regulation of identities in educational institutions. At the same time, teachers may also find their identities regulated within schools and classrooms. Teachers must therefore constantly exercise their sociological imagination – "...the vivid awareness of the relationship between experience and the wider society" (Mills, 2000[1959], p. 5) – as they consider how their social locations (i.e., their perspectives, identities, and experiences) shape their actions and experiences both within and outside of the classroom.

Indeed, in contrast to the assumption that teaching is a neutral or apolitical endeavor, sociologists argue that the identities, experiences, and perspectives of teachers are highly influential. Some of these identities may be more overt, such as race, gender, or perhaps class. Other aspects may be less overt, or even hidden, such as religion, (dis)ability, and sexual orientation. Yet, these identities and their intersectionalities – that is, the intersections of various identity characteristics – are nonetheless embodied in classroom spaces. As Maxine Greene (1978) suggests, "because our biographies, our projects, and our locations differ, we each encounter social reality from a somewhat different perspective, a perspective of which we are often unaware" (p. 17). Differing social locations can have profound effects for both teachers and students, and we attend to a few such differences below.

Teacher Identities – Feminization and Cultural Mismatch

Statistics vary significantly across contexts and countries, but some common themes have emerged in recent years. First, and arguably related to the status of the teaching profession, teaching has become a largely feminized profession in many countries, with more women engaged in teaching than men (e.g., Drudy, 2008; Goldstein, 2015). The

gender parity rates of teachers – the balance of men to women – often vary across levels as well, with higher percentages of men at higher educational levels. For example, there are often fewer male early childhood educators and primary school teachers than female, and fewer female professors or university instructors than male. This gendered gap has increased over time in different contexts worldwide reflecting an increasingly feminized workforce.

The contexts and social forces which have produced this feminization vary, but nonetheless profoundly shape expectations of teachers and the individuals who undertake teaching. Historically, policy settings in some majority Catholic countries have mandated that pre-school and primary education be taught solely by women whilst prioritizing men for administrative and supervisory roles, with many cultures viewing women as more maternal and naturally more suited to teaching in the early years (Cortina & San Roman, 2006). Social and political changes in "Catholic countries in Europe, Latin America, and the Caribbean saw the entrance of women into schools specializing in the training of teachers" as "the institutionalization of teaching… secularization and centralization of education systems" (Cortina & San Roman, 2006, p. 3) coalesced around a newly expanded and feminized workforce. This historical legacy, as well as associated social and institutional mechanisms continue to reverberate today in non-English speaking, historically/predominantly Catholic countries where women continue to dominate the workforce; these socio-historical constructions of the 'female teacher' have implications for the culture of schools, women's access to positions of authority, and gendered interactions between teachers, students, and communities (Cortina & San Roman, 2006). Such feminized, gendered productions of teachers also re-enforce a rigid gender binary with research on non-binary teachers and educational leaders one area of sociological research that is considerably underdeveloped.

Second, in many contexts the racial and ethnic composition of the teaching population does not match the demographics of students. In the UK, for example, only 14.3% of teachers identified as being in a minority ethnic group in 2019/2020, while respectively 33.9% and 32.3% of primary and secondary school pupils identified as members of a minority group (DFE, 2020a, 2020b). In Brazil, black students experience "disproportionately high…racial mismatch in class" (Vieira, 2018, p. 425) with over 73 percent of students in "mostly black" classes where over 66 percent of those classes are taught by "non-black or mixed-race teachers" (p. 425). Ethnic mismatches are also evident in China. As Lee and Kayongo-Male (2017) note "a critical shortage of trained teachers in minority areas" (p. 203) in China and discuss the relevance and importance of minority identifying teachers in supporting ethnic minority student achievement by offering counterstories, providing students with bridging and cultural capital (essentially helping students negotiate cultural differences and expectations in schools), and role modeling professional success. Similarly, a much smaller percentage of teachers identify as Indigenous or First Nations than the student population in many locations, resulting in a cultural and linguistic mismatch between students and teachers. Saunders (2012) writes that "worldwide there are critical shortfalls of teachers, particularly in Indigenous communities" (p. 230) and discusses the benefits of having Indigenous trained teachers for Indigenous students and communities. For example, in Peru nearly a quarter of the population identify as Indigenous with over 42 languages spoken, and yet in schools "90 percent of Indigenous pupils still receive education that does not involve their language or culture" (Jacobsen Perez, 2009, p.206); while in Australia, Guenther and Osborne (2020) document Aboriginal communities' desire for more local Aboriginal teachers, specifically noting "the need for local language

Aboriginal teachers" (p. 65) who incorporate important aspects of culture and language into teaching and develop strong school-community partnerships.

The examples of research in this section illustrate sociological understandings of social interactions and educational inequalities as intersecting with multiple teacher identities. Feminisation and ideals of the 'female teacher' are almost ubiquitous within the teaching profession worldwide, yet specific effects for teachers and students vary depending on historical, as well as cultural factors. While at the same time, the effects of ethnic mismatch differ by country and ethnic identity, with much research around cultural mismatch suggesting that a workforce more closely resembling the racial, ethnic, and cultural composition of the school population would benefit students across multiple areas of their educational experience, including academic achievement and socioemotional well-being (see Redding, 2019). In sum – and even though some early sociological studies of teachers paid scant attention to the racialization and ethnicity of teachers (Troyna, 1994) – sociological thinking about gender, race, and ethnicity helps to analyze and better understand how these aspects of identity remain immensely significant in both schools and society.

Regulations of teacher identity

Teachers' identities also intersect with social structures within schools and classrooms in ways that at times constrain teachers' identities and affect their interactions with students, staff, and communities. Fecho (2004), for example, narrated an incident when a student – in the midst of a curriculum unit about riots involving religious and racial groups – asked a student teacher whether she belonged to one of the religious groups under study. Fecho discussed the teacher's "visceral response to this incident" and the various forms of vulnerability she experienced when caught off guard by the students' comment: "this raised a crisis of conflict within her that pitted her wanting to be forthcoming against a need to protect information she felt was hers to keep private" (p. 82). Fecho further notes how her conception of teachers' roles and actions were threatened as "her ultimate response [to the students] was far more cursory than she might have wanted it to be" (p. 82). Elsewhere, Epstein and Johnson (1998) highlight the complex role of sexuality in educational institutions: "On one hand, schools go to great lengths to forbid expressions of sexuality by both children and teachers. This can be seen in a range of rules, particularly about self-presentation. On the other hand, and perhaps in consequence, expressions of sexuality provide a major currency and resource in the everyday exchanges of school life" (p. 108). They clearly outline how the presence (or absence) of expressions of sexuality by teachers played a major role in the lives of teachers and the students alike.

Teacher identities within schools as impacted by social structures are further explored by Simon and Azzarito (2019) as they examine the lived experience of ethnic minority female Physical Education teachers in the United States. They discuss how various teachers navigated "gendered and racialized power relations in predominantly white schools" (p. 117) where both sexism and racism were "interwoven into ethnic minority female PE teachers' everyday lives" (p. 105). Yet, these teachers all navigated the "culture of masculinity" within PE and "white privilege" in different ways; illustrating that while racism and sexism affected all ethnic minority female teachers, each individual teacher negotiated those oppressive structures in unique ways. The above examples highlight the ways teachers' religious, racialized, and gendered identities, as well as sexuality can matter in school spaces. At the same time, it is important to note that intersectionality(ies) of teacher

identity are dynamic and experienced differently by each individual teacher, while also shifting depending on context and specific culturally hegemonic ideals.

Sociology of Teaching

As teacher identities differ, so too do the identities of the students with which they work, with both teachers and students negotiating dominant social and institutional structures within schools. Sociology of education has helped bring attention to the ways teachers socialize students in the classroom while at the same time, attempted to make visible how differing social locations intersect with pedagogy. One of the broad themes of sociological research in education relates to how teacher and student identities impact and are impacted by processes of learning in schools and classrooms. Research in this space often analyses normalized and taken for granted routines, curricular expectations, and pedagogical practices within schools and classrooms. Critical analysis of these occurrences focus on issues of structural, institutional, and individual intersections with power and privilege in ways that complicate our understanding of learning and teaching processes. It is from this work that we begin to see the act of teaching as entangled with issues of power where certain forms of teaching and expectations advantage some and disadvantage others. This section includes several core questions where sociology of education helps to complicate our apprenticeship of observation and understanding of processes of learning.

Core Question: How do Teachers Socialize Students?

Teachers socialize students whether they realize it or not. Even simple actions and inactions influence students' understandings of content, themselves, and the wider world. For example, Thomas and Schweisfurth (2021) illustrate the seemingly inane nature of the teaching process:

> 'Form groups and discuss the questions on the board,' says the teacher. Such instructions can be heard in many classrooms around the world, and this act of teaching (and learning) may seem simple, perhaps even commonplace. Yet, the words and actions of this teacher (and others) are likely to reflect their understandings about knowledge itself, about social relations, and about what it means to learn, and to teach. (p. 299)

This is not an overstatement, as the very forms and functions of the classroom, the instructional strategies and communication patterns, the texts and materials, the activities and assessments – all of these elements of teaching practice and pedagogy serve a role in socializing students into ways of being, knowing, and doing.

With inspiration from C. Wright Mills (1959), let us briefly consider the range of pedagogical approaches implemented in a hypothetical classroom. As Mills suggests, "often you get the best insights by considering extremes… (p. 213), so on one hand we will envision a 50-minute lesson where nothing occurs except for the constant writing of notes on the board by the teacher. The students are intended to copy the notes verbatim from the board into their notebooks. The room is silent except for the consistent lecturing of the teacher. Everyone is stationary, seated at their desks, positioned in straight rows facing the front of the classroom. On the other hand, we will imagine a classroom where students are working collaboratively in small, circular groups on a project of their own choosing. They are guided by the teacher as a facilitator, who moves swiftly around the room, discussing various issues and questions. The students are deeply engaged in their projects as they produce authentic

representations of course content. There is a moderate amount of 'buzz' in the air as both students and the teacher discuss, produce, and learn.

These two 'extremes,' seemingly opposite, both serve as mechanisms for socializing students in these classes. Students in the first class are learning explicitly and implicitly particular concepts of knowledge and who controls it: the teacher. They are also getting socialized into a belief that teaching and learning are silent, still, and solitary endeavors. Only the teacher is 'allowed' to speak or move. Finally, and though this was not mentioned above, but is perhaps implied, the students are likely learning that to break from these norms – to speak when not spoken to, or to question the authority of the teacher – is to risk punishment. Any punishment doled out, whether warranted or not, is intended to reinforce hierarchical social relations in the classroom and re-socialize the students into the teachers' perspective of desired behavior. And in fact, teachers' decisions of when, why, and how to discipline students is its own area of sociological investigation. Research has highlighted, for example, the dangerous effects of teachers' stereotypes and implicit bias in assigning disciplinary measures, especially to minority populations (e.g., Morris, 2016; Welch & Payne, 2018). In sum, the students in this class session are steeped in its 'hidden curriculum' – or the messages that socialize them into norms of desired behavior.

Students in the second class, by contrast, are likely learning very different things about what teaching, learning, and schooling entail. Through dialogue and engagement with their peers, they are learning that social interactions are vital components of the teaching and learning process. Here knowledge is co-constructed with peers (and the teacher) as they work collaboratively on a project of real-life significance. This form of teaching and learning might be considered 'learner-centered' in nature and builds on concepts from a wide range of scholars from Dewey and Freire to Piaget and Vygotsky (see Schweisfurth, 2013; Thomas & Schweisfurth, 2021). From a sociological perspective, the key insight here is that the actions of teaching and learning – the forms of pedagogy – that are enacted in the classroom deeply influence students' conceptualizations of social relations, the roles of individuals within society, and even the nature of knowledge itself. At the same time, the abilities of students to engage in desired ways and respond to different pedagogical and socialization expectations depend very much upon their own social locations, histories, and experiences.

The above examples are not mutually exclusive, as studies of socialization and pedagogy recognize the dynamic process of teaching and learning. Teachers and students act on, within, and against institutional expectations and social structures. Yet, these institutional expectations and social structures exist and intersect with individual teachers and students in divergent ways, which complicates understandings of teaching and learning. Thus, before discussing and analyzing several aspects of how teachers teach students, it is necessary to first consider sociological understandings of pedagogy and what it entails. As Lingard (2010) suggests, "pedagogy is endemic to schooling – it is through pedagogy that schooling gets done – and thus understanding pedagogy is central to the sociology of education" (p. 184). To many, pedagogy is considered to be broader than 'instruction' or even teaching itself. Alexander (2009), who has written extensively on pedagogy and its nature, defines pedagogy as "the act of teaching together with its attendant discourse of educational theories, values, evidence and justifications" (p. 928). Thus, and from a sociological perspective, "Pedagogy connects the apparently self-contained act of teaching with culture, structure and mechanisms of social control" (Alexander, 2000, p. 540). This understanding of pedagogy therefore includes more than just the words or instructions

offered by a teacher; rather, it considers the entire enterprise of the educational process, rooted in the society(ies) with which a teacher engages.

In the next several sections, then, pedagogy is explored within the context of its interactions with social class, culture, and politics. While this examination of the complexity of pedagogy is by no means exhaustive – and other sociological analyses of identity, stratification, etc., are certainly warranted – these sections and core questions aim to highlight how teachers' work and the act of teaching students is far more complicated than one's apprenticeship of observation might suggest.

Core Question: How does Social Class Interact with Pedagogy?

Influential sociologist Basel Bernstein (1977, 2000) understood that pedagogy was an immensely complex process, one tied to social classes and structures. His work on linguistic and pedagogic codes aimed to show how content and pedagogy play key roles in social reproduction, the continued social stratification of society. In his conception of pedagogy (1977), he argued that 'invisible' pedagogic modes (where control and communications are implicit) were more consistent with the social lives of middle-class children and families, and as such, students from lower social classes may be disadvantaged if 'visible' pedagogic modes (explicit control and communication) are not acknowledged or utilized in classrooms. Bernstein also highlighted a distinction between strong and weak classification of knowledge. Strong classification implies that content knowledge taught by teachers is largely discrete and disconnected, whereas weak classification would entail a more integrated – or interdisciplinary – approach. Bernstein also developed the idea of framing in his scholarship where "the frame refers to the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organization, and pacing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship" (p. 50). Thus, operating in tandem, Bernstein posited that strong classification (siloed knowledge) and strong framing (largely teacher controlled) constituted a 'visible' form of pedagogy, and weak forms of classification (interdisciplinary knowledge) and framing (more student control) led to 'invisible' pedagogy. Bernstein's ideas have been applied widely in the sociological literature on teaching and teacher education, from primary education in India (Sriprakash, 2012) to the use of open educational resources (Cobb, 2019) to assessment in Swedish teacher education (Jedemark, 2019).

Like Bernstein, Bourdieu's theories have been used extensively to help analyze how social class and pedagogy interact. He outlined how economic, cultural, social, and symbolic forms of 'capital' function and are exchanged in different contexts. Economic capital refers largely to financial resources, social capital concerns one's connections, and cultural capital reflects knowledge and ways of being gathered from various life experiences. Finally, symbolic capital concerns matters and symbols of status and distinction. [1]

Many educational researchers have drawn on Bourdieu's notions of capital (and other theoretical ideas) in their analysis of how teachers teach and how schools function, but two examples warrant deeper consideration. In *Unequal Childhoods*, Lareau (2002) examined the experiences of families and students from different socioeconomic classes (poor, working, and middle classes). She showed how schools largely valued the types of capital possessed by the working class families, but also argued that the families from lower social classes accrued other benefits, such as closer relationships with extended families. In short, she showed how the cultural and social capital of middle class families was used to

[1] For more on Bourdieu's concepts and sociological theorizing, see Bourdieu (1977, 1986) and Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992).

gain an advantage in the field of school (see also Calarco, 2018). Demerath (2009) similarly used capital to analyze how success was manufactured or 'produced' in a U.S. high school. Some teachers at this school provided 'extra credit' to students who had not used their bathroom passes at the end of the semester, essentially inflating their grades. The school also decided to introduce a multitude of extraneous awards for everything from sports to attendance, including some awards for getting awards(!), further enhancing their symbolic capital upon graduation. These studies are just two examples of many educational projects that have applied Bourdieu's sociological concepts to help analyze the relationship between social class and pedagogy, and in particular to explore how some students are disadvantaged by the pedagogies enacted in the classroom.

Core Question: How Does Culture Interact with Pedagogy?

Critical Race Theory and other critical theories have further highlighted the oppressive and dangerous effects of teaching students in a manner that is incongruent with, or even dismissive of, their lived experiences. This attention to the damage caused by cultural mismatches has led to a number of interrelated approaches, largely out of the US, that focus on pedagogy in classrooms with populations of students that have been historically marginalized and disenfranchised, such as black and brown students, and those experiencing socioeconomic disadvantage. Such critical theories and pedagogical approaches have helped researchers and educators to think about the 'culture of power' operating within schools, and the ways such power affects students and communities from non-dominant cultural or social positions.

Lisa Delpit (1988) eloquently and succinctly summarized some of the tensions existing in classroom spaces – particularly the role of power – and how the act of teaching can be used to empower or disempower students. She offered five maxims:

1. Issues of power are enacted in classrooms.
2. There are codes or rules for participating in power; that is, there is a 'culture of power'.
3. The rules of the culture of power are a reflection of the rules of the culture of those who have power.
4. If you are not already a participant in the culture of power, being told explicitly the rules of that culture makes acquiring power easier.
5. Those with power are frequently least aware of – or least willing to acknowledge – its existence. Those with less power are often most aware of its existence. (p. 282)

These truths highlight the complexity of teaching practice. As Delpit suggests, teachers have the ability to help students understand the rules for engaging with the 'culture of power,' which may vary from context to context, or to ignore these scripts or the hidden curriculum and continue to reinforce social inequalities.

In her other work, Delpit (2006) also connects to a broader body of research and practice known initially as 'culturally relevant pedagogy', a concept outlined by Gloria Ladson-Billings (1995, 2014). Ladson-Billings' work implores teachers to learn about students' cultures, tastes, languages, and more, such that they can connect with students' experiences and value their backgrounds and cultures while also incorporating these insights into both their pedagogy. Ladson-Billings posits that through this approach students will not only learn more content, but also learn to see themselves and their cultures as inherently valuable rather than as a deficit needing to be overcome, as societal messages often seem to suggest. It is important to note, however, that this approach is more than

merely inserting a pop culture or sports reference within one's teaching. It requires a deeply personal reflection on one's social location and those of the students. Moreover, it demands careful consideration of the culture of the classroom and how teaching happens within it. As such, a teacher's language, culture, and relationships with students are of paramount importance. This broader concept and exploration of the ways in which pedagogy can reflect students' cultures – especially for minority student groups – has been taken up by a range of authors who have built on Ladson-Billings' earlier work (e.g., 'culturally sustaining pedagogy' by Paris, 2012; Paris & Alim, 2014; 'reality pedagogy' by Emdin, 2016) that similarly seeks to empower students by bringing their own experiences and cultural knowledges into the classroom.

While both Delpit and Ladson-Billings' work reflect cultural and other social relationships within the United States, 'culture of power' within schools and 'culturally relevant pedagogy' have been utilized and adapted by researchers in a variety of other contexts. Although culture and 'race' are certainly not synonymous, in many locations racism and culture are intimately intertwined. In several countries (including the US), the 'culture of power' is imbricated by a white, middle-class cultural script. As Sriprakash et. al (2020) note, "racial inequality is contextually specific – often enacted at national and sub-national scales. On the other hand, racism is a global formation shaped profoundly by European colonization's production of a 'global colour line' (Lake & Reynolds, 2008) and the racial contract of white supremacy that extends beyond national borders (Mills, 1997)" (p. 679). Global racism, the authors contend, is part and parcel of the global educational enterprise with "contextually specific forms of racism" (p. 679) evident in both classrooms and educational policy. In Australia for example, Walton, et. al (2018) found discussions of cultural diversity and national identity in primary schools often "communicated Australian national identity as commensurate to white racial and Anglo-Australian cultural identity" (p. 132).

Yet, racism as related to culture certainly varies by context. In some locations, other aspects of student identity and social location (such as religious or ethnic minority identity) may be more salient in classroom negotiations of power. Wang (2018) documented the difficulties experienced by Hui and Dongxiang Muslim students in China where secular dominant culture does not allow for nor recognize the religious identity of Muslim students in public school spaces. At the same time, 'culture' and individual identifications with 'culture' are complex and fluid, and shift with context (Bhabha, 1994). No student or teacher identify with and experience 'culture' in exactly the same way. Thus, sociological attention to the ways power is enacted in the classroom and the lived experiences of individual students, as well as attention to dominant culture provides valuable, nuanced insights for educators and those studying education in multiple contexts.

Core Question: How does Politics Interact with Pedagogy?

An increasingly important strand of sociological research also considers the impact that policy and politics have on the teaching of students. In many places around the world, significant policy changes and educational reforms in recent decades have altered processes of teaching and learning. While such policy shifts affect the teaching profession as a whole (in respective global contexts), curricular content and the ways in which such content is taught have been influenced by increased accountability mechanisms and other policies which are collectively referred to by Sahlberg (2011) as the 'global education reform movement' (GERM). GERM represents a nearly global shift toward increasing

standardization and privatization, among other things, that has had a significant impact on teaching and pedagogy. Holloway (2021) shows, for example, that many teachers in the US have come to accept and indeed expect a high degree of surveillance, monitoring, and evaluation of their work in the classroom. Teachers in her study who did not conduct their pedagogical work in in accordance with new expectations and forms of monitoring were deemed inadequate, and in some cases encouraged to leave, even if they were experienced, veteran teachers. Other research similarly shows how producing, analyzing, and being judged by various forms of data now constitutes a significant part of teaching for many teachers around the world, with varying effects (e.g., Fitzgerald et al., 2019, Roberts-Holmes, 2015; Takayama & Lingard, 2019).

Just as GERM has been aided by processes of globalization, technological advancements and new global 'flows' have helped students around the world become more connected than ever before (e.g., Appadurai, 1996). Sociologists have therefore examined both the implications for students and teachers, and the means through which global connections, knowledges, and dispositions can be cultivated. Global citizenship education has emerged as a (sub)field of research concerned with this area, and scholars have explored how teachers can teach their students with, about, and through global issues and cultures (for reviews relevant to teacher education, see Estellés, & Fischman, 2020; Merryfield, 2000; Yemini et al., 2019). While considerable debates continue about the conceptualizations of global citizenship education as well as the specific qualities, competencies, and knowledges to be taught, at minimum many scholars remain hopeful that through careful planning and implementation teachers can enhance students' understandings of and appreciation for others around the globe (e.g., Engel, 2019; O'Connor & Zeichner, 2011; Thomas & Banki, 2020). Learning how to teach global citizenship education as well as how to intentionally and carefully enact pedagogy that respects students' social class norms and deeply-rooted cultural identities is incredibly difficult. The next section begins to consider how sociological perspectives help us understand teacher education so as to better prepare teachers for teaching amidst such complexity.

Sociological Perspectives of Teacher Education

In its simplest and most literal form, teacher education involves the education of aspiring teachers. Yet questions about where, what, and how pre-service teachers (PSTs) learn to become a teacher have concerned sociologists and other educational researchers for decades. These questions are not merely theoretical in nature: they have practical implications for the knowledge, skills, and dispositions to be cultivated among PSTs in their teacher education programs. As one example, throughout the twentieth century many teacher education programs became increasingly formalized and institutionalized (Campbell & Proctor, 2014; Cortina & San Roman, 2006, Goldstein, 2015). This shift from largely short-term, practice-based teacher training programs to fully-fledged teacher education degrees based at research universities has changed teacher education drastically in the last century by enabling increased opportunities for PSTs to study the social contexts of schools, learn subject matter content, and practice pedagogical methods.

Regardless of the site of teacher education, all PSTs come to teacher education with a strong apprenticeship of observation already formulated. Lortie notes (1975) that "teaching is unusual in that those who decide to enter it have had exceptional opportunity to observe members of the occupation at work: unlike most occupations today, the activities of teachers are not shielded from youngsters" (p. 65). This apprenticeship of

observation, accrued over many years spent in educational spaces, also means that "those planning to teach form definite ideas about the nature of the role" (p. 65). Such ideas about teaching and learning may neglect much of the complexity and nuance involved in teaching diverse individuals in school spaces saturated by social and cultural meanings. Thus, sociology of education aims to provide students with skills and tools enabling teachers to think about the cultural, economic, and social context within which they teach as well as the individual lived experiences of their students - counterbalancing apprenticeships of observation.

What is included in teacher education?

At least in part to counteract PSTs' assumptions, for decades most teacher education programs have been comprised of several components, each with an intended purpose. These elements include educational foundations, pedagogy/methods, content knowledge, and practice teaching. Balancing these components in teacher education has been contested and controversial, as it involves significant debates about the nature of educational and disciplinary knowledge (e.g., Connell, 2009; Furlong, 2013; Whitty & Furlong, 2017; Zeichner, 2012).

The first component – educational foundations – is of particular relevance in this chapter because historically it included a course for PSTs focused on the sociology of education. This sociology of education course would sit alongside other foundations of education courses, such as history of education, philosophy of education, psychology of education, and comparative education. Many teacher education programs in the mid- to late-twentieth century even included an entire suite of five or more of these courses. However, due to curricular crowding and increased accountability mechanisms to certify PSTs upon graduation, the number, duration, and depth of these courses has decreased in many contexts around the world, even being pushed to the margins to become 'elective' courses or, at worst, eliminated at some institutions (Butin, 2014; Doherty et al., 2013; Thomas & Banki, 2020). Indeed, many scholars and teacher educators have decried the decreasing role of foundational courses and the loss of opportunities these courses present to introduce future teachers to rich analyses of social and social institutions and processes, diverse cultures, etc. (e.g., Reid & Parker, 1995). In other contexts, however, sociology of education courses remain a stalwart feature of pre-service teacher education (Thomas, Serenje-Chipindi, & Chipindi, 2020).

Learning (about) the content to be taught comprises the second set of courses completed in many teacher education programs. These courses enable PSTs to develop a level of subject matter expertise, ideally one that far exceeds the level of their (future) students. Particularly at the secondary level, this involves considerable time spent learning history, chemistry, mathematics, language, etc., often in other departments within university structures. Bernstein's work, as referenced above, is useful here as well because many of these subject courses are taken in isolation, with little regard to the interdisciplinary and cross-curricular nature of knowledge *in situ* (i.e., it evinces "strong classification").

Teacher education programs necessarily also include coursework focused on learning how to teach. These pedagogy or methods courses may be more general in nature and taken collectively by PSTs preparing to be teachers of different levels and subjects, or they may be specialized and focused on particular content areas – such as mathematics pedagogy or literacy pedagogy. This latter approach has grown in popularity within teacher

education due at least in part to Shulman's (1986) notion of "pedagogical content knowledge", which drastically reshaped conceptualizations of how teaching content occurs. Shulman essentially combined "knowing content" with "knowing how to teach" such that "knowing how to teach content" existed as its own entity. As Loewenberg, Ball, et al. (2008) argue, this attention to the sociology of knowledge "provoked broad interest" by suggesting that "there is content knowledge unique to teaching—a kind of subject-matter–specific professional knowledge" (p. 389). Indeed, Shulman posited that teachers must not only have deep knowledge of core concepts, but know "the most useful forms of representation of those ideas, the most powerful analogies, illustrations, examples, explanations, and demonstrations" (p. 9) to help facilitate understanding among students. To Shulman, pedagogical content knowledge also involved

> an understanding of what makes the learning of specific topics easy or difficult: the conceptions and preconceptions that students of different ages and backgrounds bring with them to the learning of those most frequently taught topics and lessons. If those preconceptions are misconceptions, which they so often are, teachers need knowledge of the strategies most likely to be fruitful in reorganizing the understanding of learners, because those learners are unlikely to appear before them as blank slates (pp. 9-10).

In sum, Shulman's theory about the forms of knowledge and practice involved in teaching students has immensely informed the construction of teacher education.

Fourth and finally, most pre-service teacher education programs include some form of applied practice teaching in classrooms. These field experiences are often spread throughout the teacher education program. Early opportunities are often short in duration and highly supported by teacher educators and school staff, while those occurring near the end of PSTs' learning are longer and involve more autonomy for PSTs as they literally 'practice' teaching alongside and in the classrooms of more experienced full-time teachers. These practicum or student teaching experiences in schools are anything but easy. As Britzman (2012) asserts, "the practice of teaching, because it is concocted from relations with others and occurs in structures that are not of one's own making is, first and foremost, an uncertain experience that one must learn to interpret and make significant" (p. 3). Practical teaching in classrooms can aid development of PSTs sociological perspectives and are important inclusions within teacher education programs as Vavrus and Salema (2013) contest that in some countries,

> …new teachers are often poorly prepared for the conditions in the schools in which they find themselves. This is because teacher education programs tend to focus on individual (and idealized) dimensions of teaching rather than the broader cultural, economic, and social conditions in which schools and teachers are situated (p. 75).

Such in-school experience can help PSTs to negotiate school structures, actual conditions, and social meanings within classrooms as they balance knowing content and knowing how to teach content; providing exposure to the complexity of teaching and challenging pre-formed apprenticeships of observation. Sociological perspectives are therefore useful in helping to inform and interpret PSTs' experiences of learning to teach, particularly during the final stage of field experiences and student teaching experiences.

Practice-based and Alternative Teacher Education

One newer trend in teacher education seems to be shifting our sociological understanding of how teachers learn to teach. In recent years there has been a renewed

emphasis on so-called clinical or practice-based teacher education (e.g., Zeichner, 2012). This approach aims to "focus novices' learning more directly on the work of teaching rather than on traditional academic or theoretical topics" and ensure that PSTs have extended experiences and learning opportunities in schools (Forzani, 2014, p. 357). Some universities, for example, have conducted teacher education courses in school classrooms – rather than in higher education classrooms – with the help of practicing teachers as a means to position act of learning to be a teacher more closely to the work of in-service, working teachers. While this approach certainly has merits, it may also have implications for the educational foundations subjects addressed above as well as for the overall duration and balance of pre-service teacher education. Zeichner (2012) posits that while the shift toward more practice-based teacher education has some merits, "there is a danger of narrowing the role of teachers to that of technicians who are able to implement a particular set of teaching strategies" but lack broader understandings of the sociocultural and geopolitical contexts of the schools and societies in which they will work (p. 379). In sum, more practice-based forms of teacher education are increasingly becoming integrated into existing university programs, even as other forms of alternative teacher education are occurring beyond traditional higher education structures.

These alternative forms of teacher education similarly maintain a close emphasis on the skills of teaching practice and often have a condensed duration or special features that allow uncertified teachers to commence work before completion of teacher accreditation processes (Grossman & Loeb, 2008; Lefebvre & Thomas, 2019). For this reason, Boyd et al. (2008) refer to these types of programs as "early entry" programs because those learning to teach begin their work before they are fully certified. Thomas and Lefebvre (2020) theorized a category to describe these teachers, who in the traditional sense are neither pre-service teachers (because they are already engaged in teaching service) nor in-service teachers (because they have not completed their training); rather, they are synchronous-service teachers due to their simultaneous engagement in both being and becoming a teacher.

Programs associated with the Teach For All (TFAll) network serve as a prime and controversial example of alternative teacher education. Based largely on Teach For America (established in 1990) and Teach First UK (established in 2002), TFAll programs generally recruit the nation's 'best and brightest' individuals (usually recent university graduates), train them for a condensed period of teacher preparation (often 5-8 weeks), and then place them in marginalized and underperforming schools, where they teach for a two-year commitment. TFAll programs now exist in 60 countries around the world – from Latvia to Lebanon to Liberia – and seek to improve schools and teacher shortages in the short term while empowering their teacher/alumni networks to effect larger systemic changes through policy and politics (see Thomas, Rauschenberger, & Crawford-Garrett, 2021). Sociological analysis has highlighted how many of the teachers recruited into these programs lack an in-depth understanding of the lived realities and sociocultural contexts of their students (Crawford-Garrett, 2018; Sondel et al, 2019; Yin & Dooley, 2021), but also experience immense pressure to redress structural and educational inequities through their work in these programs, even though they are only learning how to teach while on the job (Brewer, 2014; Crawford-Garrett, Oldham, & Thomas, 2021; Thomas & Lefebvre, 2018). This nascent body of inquiry into alternative teacher education programs offers new sociological insights into the challenges and affordances of emerging models and means of preparing teachers to teach.

Conclusion

While over a billion students walk into classrooms each day, the local and national contexts within which those classrooms are situated, and the lived realities of each student can differ quite radically. For those of us who choose to enter the teaching profession, we bring with us our apprenticeships of observation, our identities, and our dreams: "Teachers bring to their work their own idiomatic school biography, the conflicted history of their own deep investments in and ambivalence about what a teacher is and does, and likewise they anticipate their dreams of students, their hopes for colleagues, and their fantasies for recognition and learning" (Britzman, 2012, p. 2). As such, sociological perspectives allow us to ask important questions about teaching and teacher education. These sociological questions offer a means for educators and those who study education to think deeply about divergent contexts and socio-cultural environments providing a frame for understanding the teaching profession, who teachers are, how and why pedagogy matters, and how teachers are prepared to do their important work. Teachers have a challenging but important job, one that holds an immense amount of power as educators engage in "a series of contextual responses to particular problems and challenges… [where] the task before us today is not that of reproducing the past, but rather that of asking how we should respond educationally to the questions and challenges that are facing us today" (Biesta, 2006, p. 100). This chapter suggests that through the process of exercising one's sociological imagination (Mills, 1959), new insights can be attained that may ultimately support and ensure more constructive contributions to schools and societies.

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