

Special Section on Teachers, Teaching, and Globalization

The Teaching Professions and Globalization: A Scoping Review of the Anglophone Research Literature

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Based on a scoping review of anglophone, peer-reviewed studies published in the period 1990–2018, we analyze and discuss the research literature on teachers, teaching, and globalization. Distinguishing between three categories of globalization theories, centered on (i) culture, (ii) political economy, and (iii) flows and systems, we trace the uses of these theories in the literature over the period, as well as their associations with specific topics concerning teachers and teaching. We argue that the theoretical trajectories of these strands have come to emphasize certain topics, while neglecting other topics such as teachers' labor markets, and call for further research into the theoretical trajectories dominating the field. Furthermore, our review highlights that a large part of the research in the field does not theorize globalization at all, leaving several issues concerning teachers and teaching undertheorized.

Introduction

Globalization matters in understanding teachers' educational work. Already 2 decades ago, Nicholas Burbules and Carlos Torres (2000) pointed to the economic, political, and cultural implications of globalization affecting education. More recently, Lynn Paine and colleagues (2016, 717) observed that "globalization's heightened connections have profound implications not just for what scholars think teaching should entail or how they envision it, but also for how to perceive and interpret teaching."

To inform new thinking about teachers, teaching, and globalization, this article presents the findings from a scoping review of research literature published in the period from 1990 to 2018. The review forms part of the comparative

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research project TeachersCareers, aimed at understanding the institutional dimensions affecting teachers' careers.¹ Our objective in this article is to discuss theoretical and thematic patterns in the burgeoning research literature, with a particular focus on the uses of globalization theory. With its conceptual focus, the article differs from existing literature reviews about teachers and teaching in global perspective (e.g., Paine et al. 2016; Akiba 2017).

The reviewed body of literature is composed of 279 peer-reviewed anglophone studies, sourced from academic journals, monographs, and anthologies. Drawing upon existing reviews of globalization and education, we distinguish three categories of globalization theories, centered on (i) culture, (ii) political economy, and (iii) flows and systems. We demonstrate that these theoretical approaches have emphasized certain key topics associated with teachers, and that large parts of the literature concerning teachers and teaching in international contexts do not theorize globalization. Subsequently, we argue that these approaches in the study of teachers have been the locus of classical debates associated with globalization theories, with normative models of teachers or teaching being conceived by culture-centered approaches from an isomorphism-divergence perspective, while political economy has focused on the tensions between governance and teachers' professionalization. Yet, we also identify substantial deviations from the theoretical approaches' epistemological starting points, including a semiotic turn in political economy, and toward policy-making and agency in the culture-centered approaches. Finally, we highlight that the theoretical trajectories, combined with the vast literature that does not theorize globalization at all, neglect important issues, including the collective mobilization of teachers, labor markets, and teachers' learning.

Theorizing Globalization

The meaning of the concept of globalization varies with the perspective one brings to it (Stromquist and Monkman 2014). From the first tentative uses in the 1950s to becoming a seminal concept in public and academic discourses from the 1990s onward, globalization has been a concept with proliferating branches in terms of disciplines and emphases. The array of definitions generally associate globalization with subjective formations of global consciousness as well as the material "time-space compression" of political, economic, and cultural processes. Globalization hence destabilizes the meaning and practices of modern linear time, the territorial nation-state and individualized embodiment (James and Steger 2014).

The concept of globalization has become part of collective thinking and experience, because it is at work across different levels of meaning, going beyond empirically underpinned ideas and theories to also reconfigure political

¹ See the TeachersCareers website, www.teacherscareers.eu.

debate and ideological systems. Accordingly, the study of globalization might emphasize either globalizing processes or normative discourses of globalization. The former relates to flows and connectedness of people, organizations, ideas, and matter, including objective as well as subjective aspects. The latter concerns the politics of meaning, concerned with either promoting or denouncing globalization (James and Steger 2014). Such normative globalization discourses also help to justify research, reform, and changes in professional practices, including in the area of teachers and teaching (Paine et al. 2016).

Globalization, Education, Teachers, and Teaching

Mass education has been implicated in incremental globalizing processes from the nineteenth century onward, urging comparative education researchers to overcome the methodological nationalism that has historically dominated the field. Methodological nationalism refers to the taken-for-granted assumption that territorial nation states as the “natural” containers of societies constitute the appropriate unit of analysis in the social sciences (Dale 2005).

With regard to teachers and teaching, the research agenda has over recent decades been characterized by stability as well as emergent themes. Maria Teresa Tatto’s (1997) identification of persistent policy issues such as the attractiveness of the profession remains salient today, while Lynn Paine and Kenneth Zeichner (2012, 570) observe that “the kind of cross-national attention that has been directed to teaching and student learning now includes teacher learning as well.”

Paine and colleagues (2016) distinguish between two major research themes of “norms and practices in the construction of teaching” and “discourses of governance and accountability.” The first theme concerns the circulating vision of good teaching as learner centered, responsive to student diversity and underpinned by the imperative of teacher learning. While this vision to some extent signals a convergence in the literature, there remain wide variations globally in the conception and practices of “teachers” and “teaching.” The second theme views teaching through the lens of governance. Parallel to the convergence toward shared norms, this theme is focused on the strong political focus on outcomes-focused accountability and standardization, framed with reference to economic competitiveness and international comparative research.

A Framework of Globalization Theories

In addition to the observations above, our theoretical framework considers five reviews of globalization and education.² We distinguish between three broad theoretical approaches:

² Spring (2008); Jackson (2016); Mundy et al. (2016); Edwards (2018); Verger et al. (2018).

1. Culture-centered approaches giving primacy to ideational factors in globalizing processes:
 - a. Neoinstitutionalist theories, such as *world culture theory* and *world society theory*, positing that the global diffusion of world culture, based on Western rationalized modernity, leads to a convergence in the norms and practices of education (Meyer et al. 1997).
 - b. Anthropological *culturalist* or *global-policy localization* approaches, concerned with variations in educational knowledge, norms and practices, resulting from the recontextualization of global discourses through culturally embedded processes of sense-making (Anderson-Levitt 2003).
2. Political economy-centered approaches focused on discursive and material power relations in globalizing capitalist economies:
 - a. *International political economy*, emphasizing the capitalist system as the main driver of educational change in governance structures and mechanisms (Dale 2005).
 - b. *Policy sociology*, concerned with neoliberal marketization of education (Ball 2008).
 - c. *World systems theory*, asserting that the globe is integrated in a capitalist world system in which the US and Europe dominate semiperipheral and peripheral nations through capitalist ideas and modes of analysis (Wallerstein 2004).
 - d. *Post-colonial theory*, tracing continuing effects of European imperialism in contemporary globalization, including issues of migration, race, class, gender, language, and culture, as well as the complexities of identity formation and hybridity (Crossley and Tikly 2004).
3. Flows and systems-centered approaches, focused on policy borrowing and lending, expanding networks and connectivity:
 - a. Rationalistic policy adoption when policymakers seek out the policies of other systems in the belief that they are superior (Phillips and Ochs 2003).
 - b. The ideological, political, administrative-legal, and material circumstances of *policy borrowing and lending*, including the *externalization thesis* when actors refer to reforms abroad to gain legitimacy for their own policy preferences (Schriewer 2000; Steiner-Khamsi 2004).

The main structuring principle for our framework is Verger and colleagues' (2018) continuum of theoretical approaches according to their relative emphases on ideational (culture, norms, ideas, and semiosis) and material

factors (economic factors and institutional constraints) in explaining change. Accordingly, we distinguish between the macro-level perspectives of world culture theory and international political economy (Verger et al. 2018), yet we understand these as parts of broader theoretical complexes, in line with Liz Jackson's (2016) typology.

The culture-centered category in our framework reflects that world culture theory constitutes but one branch of neo-institutionalist theories. Moreover, we include "culturalist" theories due to the focus on ideational drivers (Edwards 2018). For political economy, we incorporate world systems theory, following Jackson's (2016) construct of "political-economic framings"; policy sociology, due to its critique of neoliberal marketization (Edwards 2018); as well as post-colonial theories that emphasize political and economic power (Spring 2008). Finally, the flows and systems-centered approaches include mid-range theories, concerned with the interaction of actors and the diffusion, adoption and borrowing of ideas, models, and policies. The category overlaps with the culturalist approaches due to the interest in recontextualization (Spring 2008), as well as international political economy though with less emphasis on the geopolitical structures of global capitalism (Edwards 2018).

Inevitably, this framework reduces the complexity and evolution of the included theories. In our review, we compensate for this fact by being sensitive to the use of combinations of globalization theories and postfoundational attempts to transcend the ideational-material divide (Verger et al. 2018).

Review Methodology

For this literature review, we have adopted the notion of a scoping review. Scoping reviews specifically seek to take stock of a body of literature on a broad topic in terms of its nature, extent, features, conceptual boundaries, and main areas of agreement and dissent (Arksey and O'Malley 2005). Three further characteristics indicate the nature of our review. First, it is *conceptual* due to the interest in gaining insights into how people have thought about a research problem and why we do not know more. Second, the review is *configurative* in its identification of patterns, major theories, and themes in the literature as a basis for theory building and synthesis. We do thus not aspire to identify best practices based on aggregative exhaustive review of all relevant studies (Gough et al. 2013). Finally, although not a systematic review in the sense of aggregative reviews, our methodology is nonetheless systematic in the way that it has involved a series of iterative stages to reduce bias and increase the transparency of the decisions that are an inevitable part of any review undertaking (Kennedy 2007).

We will outline below the main methodological considerations associated with the review stages.³ First, the scope of the review is defined by four mutually

³ See app. A for details concerning search strategy and screening criteria; apps. A, B are available online.

implicated dimensions: (i) teachers working in primary and secondary education; (ii) teachers' educational work, labor markets and career pathways; (iii) governance, politics, and management of teachers; and (iv) a scalar dimension concerning the intensification and expansion of relations and processes going beyond the national scale. Aligned with the research questions of the TeachersCareers project, these four dimensions have been pivotal for our review, since they have also informed the search strategy and screening stages.

The inclusion criteria reflected our interest in the scientific peer-reviewed literature. With a focus on the anglophone literature, we prioritized journal articles, and anthologies and monographs issued by publishing houses. Meanwhile, we excluded conference papers, working papers, commissioned papers, news reports, and websites. Furthermore, we excluded the gray literature issued by state authorities, intergovernmental organizations, teacher unions, consultancies, foundations, and think tanks.

Without aspiring to be exhaustive, we designed the search strategy to cover the research literature comprehensively. Electronic databases prioritize journal articles, so we devised a broader search strategy with three complementary components: (i) purposive sampling of key contributions to the literature on teachers and teaching in international contexts, based on our initial readings and knowledge of the field; (ii) hand search of bibliographies in four existing reviews;⁴ and (iii) electronic database searches in Scopus and ERIC.

The search strategy resulted in a pool of 990 studies. While the four dimensions defining the scope of the review proved effective as screening criteria for the bulk of them, a minor part prompted us to develop more nuanced criteria. Ultimately, the screening procedure reduced the pool of literature from 990 to 279 studies (see fig. 1).⁵

The coding stage involved two distinct steps (see table 1). First, we identified characteristics of each study in terms of four variables. The first variable concerns the geographical spaces or education systems at the center of inquiry. For a minor proportion of the literature, the main space is organizational, for example, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the European Union (EU), or the World Bank. Second, following Paine and colleagues' (2016) call for thematic inquiry, we identified the topics associated with teachers and teaching in each study. The third variable relates to the uses of globalization theory, without assessing the level of elaboration. Finally, including review essays as well as empirical research, we noted methodological features and the nature of collected data.

The second coding step involved the development of a numbers-based coding system enabling the valid statistical analysis of the reviewed literature. For each of the four variables, the resulting coding system grew out of the

⁴ Nóvoa (2000); Tatto (2008); Paine et al. (2016); Akiba (2017)

⁵ App. B provides the full list of 279 studies.

THE TEACHING PROFESSIONS AND GLOBALIZATION

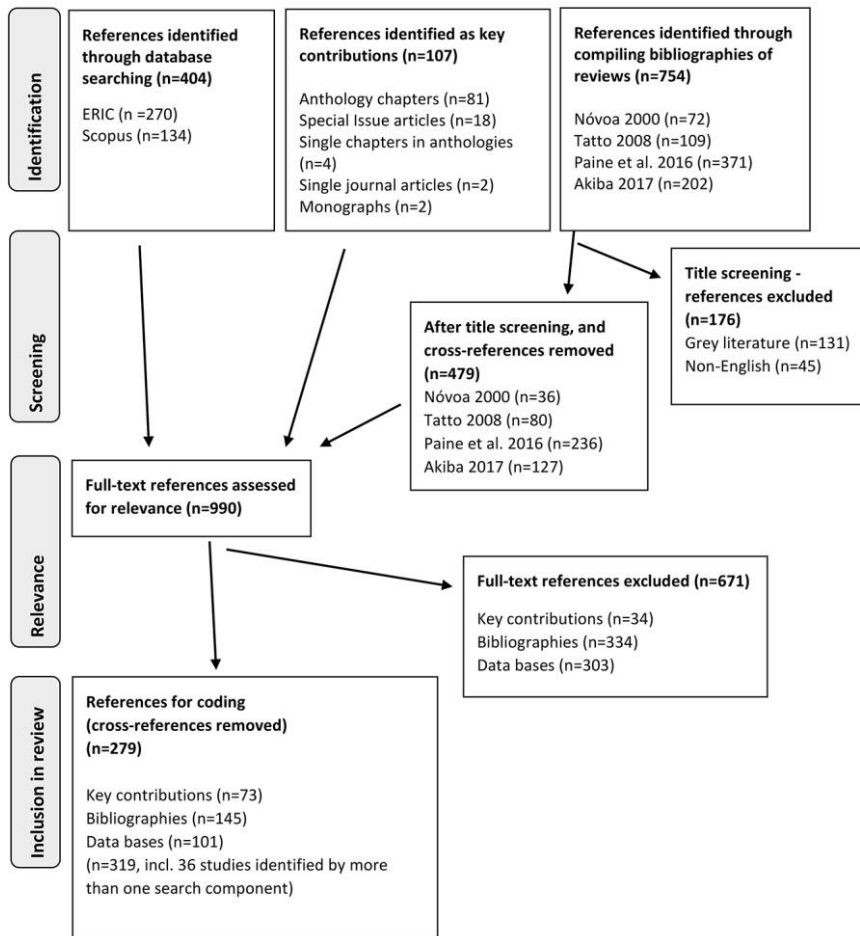


FIG. 1.—Flow diagram of screening process

descriptive information extracted in the first coding step, as we continued mapping the literature. This systematization has major methodological and conceptual implications for the scoping review, indicated by the fact that it was at this stage that our theoretical framework of globalization theories was completed.

In particular, with the second coding step we came to distinguish six teacher key topics. Each covering a cluster of themes, we developed these key topics as conceptual constructs that together account for the numerous themes identified in the first step (see table 2). Importantly, the key topics are distinctive in analytical terms and thus do not overlap as coding variables. At the same time, when coding we took into account that individual studies tend to address more than one key topic. We thus found that the 279 reviewed titles

TABLE 1
THE TWO CODING STEPS

	Coding Step 1: Basic Characteristics	Coding Step 2: Numbers-Based Coding System
Geographical coverage, systems, and the scalar dimension	Spaces and/or systems: • Geographical (subnational, national, international, regional, or global systems) • Organizational	Types of studies: 1. Studies with a general outlook (either global, global regions such as Europe, anglophone systems, or low-income countries) 2. Contextualized single system studies: Studies about a subnational or national system put in an international context 3. Two system comparisons 4. Multicase comparative studies of three or more systems 5. Organizational studies
Teacher key topics	Topics related to teachers	1. Teacher policy 2. Normative models of teachers 3. Teaching practices and pedagogy 4. Teachers' education, learning, and knowledge bases 5. Teaching profession 6. Labor market regulation, dynamics, and outcomes
Globalization theory	Use of globalization theory and theorists	1. Culture-centered approaches 2. Political economy-centered approaches 3. Flows and systems-centered approaches 4. Combination of globalization theories 5. No use of globalization theory
Methodology and data	Methods and nature of data (both empirical research and reviews of literature were included)	1. No use of empirical data 2. Based on international large-scale assessments 3. Use of other empirical data

TABLE 2
TEACHER KEY TOPICS

Teacher Policy	Normative Models of Teachers	Teaching Practices and Pedagogy	Teachers' Education, Learning and Knowledge Bases	Teaching Profession	Labor Market Regulation, Dynamics, and Outcomes
Policy formation and implementation	The "ideal" teacher	Pedagogical approaches	Initial teacher education and training	Professionalization, and professionalism, and professional standards	Qualifications, certification and license
Responses to policy reforms	Teacher and teaching quality	Teaching as cultural practice	Curriculum and competencies	Professional identity	Career structures and pathways
Governance arrangements related to teachers	Teacher effectiveness Values (e.g., cosmopolitanism)	Teacher beliefs Teacher attitudes	Pedagogy content knowledge Subject content knowledge Induction, mentoring, and professional development Teacher student selection	Teacher feedback and appraisal Teacher evaluation and accountability Teacher autonomy versus standardization	Employment status, relations, and contracts Working conditions and salary Labor market dynamics Recruitment, allocation and distribution Supply and demand Shortage, retention, and attrition Mobility and migration Workforce characteristics Teachers' economic and social status Attractiveness of profession, job satisfaction, and well-being

address a total of 655 key topics. To clarify the distinctions guiding our thematic inquiry, the key topic of *teacher policy* (hereafter shortened to *policy*) concerns studies explicitly addressing the formation or implementation of policy and governance arrangements related to teachers, including stakeholder responses to such policy initiatives. *Normative models of teachers* involve studies about the characteristics and development of ideal or good teachers, in terms of quality, effectiveness or particular values. Whereas the topic of *teaching practices and pedagogy* (hereafter *teaching practices*) concerns teachers' practices and the beliefs and attitudes that inform their pedagogical approaches, *teachers' education, learning, and knowledge bases* (hereafter *teacher learning*), in contrast, focuses on teachers' learning in initial teacher education (ITE) and professional development as well as the contents they are supposed to learn. The minor theme of teacher student selection is included here due to the focus on ITE.

Meanwhile, the topic *teaching profession* is distinguished by the emphasis on professional autonomy, and the forms of knowledge governing the profession, including how teacher feedback and evaluation form part of accountability regimes. Finally, *labor market regulation, dynamics, and outcomes* (hereafter *labor markets*) is, as reflected in its label, arguably the broadest key topic, encompassing themes such as certification, labor market supply, and demand, as well as the characteristics of teacher workforces and their economic and social status. Since we in our coding identified major overlaps in the studies addressing this array of labor market-related themes, we decided to merge them into one key topic.

These thematic distinctions add nuance to and in many ways overlap with the two main themes identified by Paine and colleagues (2016), whose "discourses of governance and accountability" correspond with our topics of policy and teaching profession, whereas their "norms and practices in the construction of teaching" cover ground similar to the three topics of normative models of teachers, teaching practices, and teacher learning. In addition, our review singles out the distinctive topic of labor market issues.

The two authors undertook as reviewers a test for cross-coding reliability on a randomly selected part of the reviewed literature ($n = 45$). Kappa indices (ranging from .71 to 1) on all the coded variables were found to be significant, indicating that the agreement observed between us is statistically generalizable to the whole sample. With 42 out of 45 studies, our agreement on the coding of globalization theory is especially high (Kappa = 0.842, $p < .001$).

Findings

Our findings should be understood in light of the general features of the reviewed literature (see table 3). The publication tipping point in the mid-2000s and the large number of scholars and journals represented align with the research consensus that the level of attention directed toward teachers has

TABLE 3
GENERAL FEATURES OF REVIEWED LITERATURE

Feature	Details
Time of publication	46 studies issued in 1990–2005; 233 studies in 2006–18
Authorship	170 of 279 studies written by scholars represented only once as single or first author 35 scholars represented with two or more studies
Journals	Twenty-four journals represented with at least two studies: <i>Comparative Education Review</i> most represented journal (14 studies)
System representation	United States (68 studies), United Kingdom (49), Australia (31), Germany (27), Canada (21), Singapore (19), Japan (18), Finland (17), South Africa (15), Russia (14), China (11), India (11), Chile (10), Mexico (7)
Data sources	29 studies based on international large-scale assessments: Main programs include IEA TIMSS, IEA TEDS-M, and OECD TALIS 15 studies issued in 2014–18 166 studies based on other empirical data 84 studies review existing research
Type of study	103 contextualized single system studies 68 studies with general outlook (either global, global regions such as Europe, anglophone systems, or low-income countries) 65 multicase comparative studies: 27 of the 65 multicase comparative studies issued in 2014–2018 8 of 9 studies of highly profiled systems issued since 2009 17 of 21 studies with comparisons of systems from different global regions issued since 2009 20 studies based on IEA data; four based on OECD data 28 comparative studies of two systems 15 organizational studies since 2009, mainly focused on the EU (six studies) and OECD (three)

increased internationally in recent decades. Moreover, there is a strong focus on anglophone systems, major economies and highly profiled systems in the reviewed body of literature, an emphasis most likely reinforced by our decision to include only anglophone studies.

The findings concerning the three categories of globalization theories, as well as the literature that does not theorize globalization at all, are reported below. To show the patterns in the reviewed literature, we draw upon the numbers-based coding and associated cross-tabulations of globalization theory, teacher key topics and study types, as well as the descriptive coding for further characteristics of studies. For the purpose of overview, we show the patterns over five-year intervals, with the first interval only covering 1990–93. Over the recent decade, the two topics of policy and, especially, teacher learning have become prominent in the literature (see fig. 2).

Culture

In studies adopting culture-centered globalization theories ($n = 29$), there has been a continuous interest in normative models of teachers and in

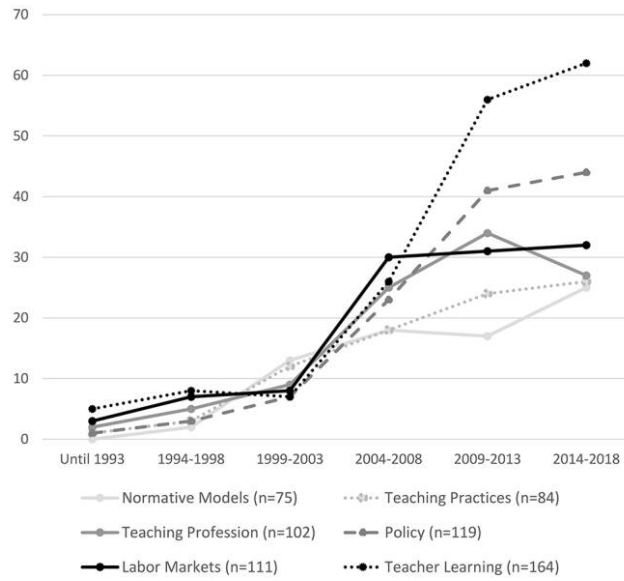


FIG. 2.—Teacher key topics in the reviewed body of literature

teaching practices, and to some extent in labor markets, with a more recent interest from the mid-2000s in policy and teacher learning. In contrast, they remain little represented in studies about the teaching profession (see fig. 3).

The latter is partly explained by the limited interest in the study of teachers in world culture (WC) theory (Meyer et al. 1997), the main theoretical lens

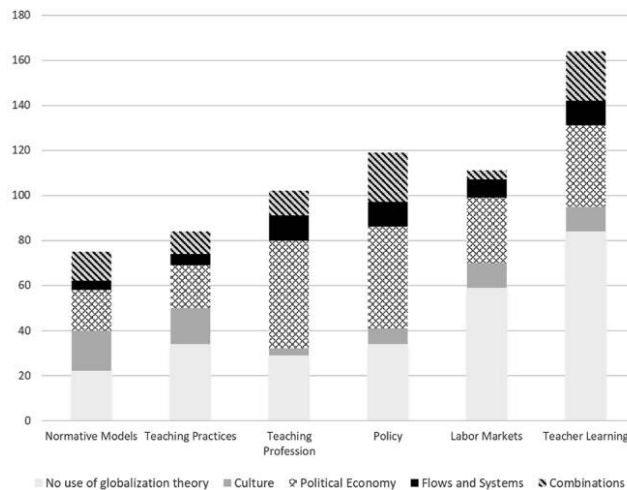


FIG. 3.—The use of globalization theories and teacher key topics

through which the globalization of education has been analyzed from a cultural perspective. Mainly focused on institutional regularities, based on quantitative analyses of the diffusion and expansion of mass schooling, WC studies have neglected the local and national variations that the comparative study of teachers and teaching sheds light on. Still, the arguments of WC theory have been expanded by studies addressing the penetration of rational myths into actual teaching practices (LeTendre et al. 2001), thereby opening a debate on cultural persistence and variations in how normative models of teachers and teaching practices are defined, globally and nationally, between WC theorists (e.g., Baker and LeTendre 2005), cultural anthropologists (e.g., Anderson-Levitt 2002), and cross-cultural psychologists (e.g., Hiebert and Stigler 2017).

The framing of teachers and teacher policy as critical to educational success by major multilateral agencies such as the OECD and UNESCO has stimulated studies focused on the quality of the teacher work force (e.g., Akiba and LeTendre 2009). Furthermore, the increased emphasis on teacher professionalization globally has prompted WC scholars to also consider collective sense-making involved in policy reform and implementation (e.g., Akiba 2017). This explains the recent interest in policy, an uncommon topic from a cultural perspective. In this respect, some studies analyze policy borrowing and lending by combining culture-centered approaches with flows and systems-centered approaches (e.g., Wiseman et al. 2018). Combining the culture- and political economy-centered approaches, the diffusion of global scripts for teacher governance and teaching practices have also been analyzed in terms of neoliberal ideology and teachers' resistance to reform (e.g., Suzuki 2010).

Consistent with the wide lens of WC theory and the emphasis on divergence and isomorphism, the titles adopting culture-centered approaches are concentrated in the general global outlook studies and multicase comparative studies. In particular, the studies in the latter group that draw upon data from the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) programs of Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), and the IEA and the Teacher Education and Development Study in Mathematics (TEDS-M), are dominated by culture-centered approaches and by studies that do not theorize globalization.

Political Economy

Studies using political economy-centered approaches form the most prominent theoretical group ($n = 73$) in our review. Concentrating on the topics of the teaching profession, policy, teacher learning, and labor markets (in this order), they contrast with the culture-centered literature (cf. fig. 3). The focus on these topics is associated with the continuous interest since the 1990s in the critique of globalized and globalizing education discourses, and their varying impact on teachers' educational work, profession, and identities. This body of literature is thus dominated by a relatively specific focus on the

drive toward liberalization and privatization in the management of education sectors and the teaching profession (e.g., Maguire 2010), including tensions between professional autonomy and standardization, evaluation, and accountability (e.g., Hargreaves 2003; Müller and Hernandez 2010). The pattern is reflected in the profusion of notions encapsulating major trends in education governance, from “worldwide school reform movement” (Nóvoa 1993), “edlib paradigm” (Welmond 2002), “common features of education reform programmes around the world” (Avalos 2002), “world class education” (Alexander 2010), Meg Maguire’s (2010) adoption of Stephen Ball’s (2008) “generic global policy ensemble,” to the “global education reform movement” (Sahlberg 2011). Similar to Roger Dale’s (2005) “globally structured educational agenda,” their entry point is the convergence in neoliberal political discourses and the challenge to system-specific patterns of state-teacher relations and professionalization. Importantly, teachers’ responses and resistance to reform are prominent themes (e.g., Nordin 2016), yet the primary unit of analysis remains the nation-state in terms of teachers’ political representation and collective mobilization by, for example, teacher unions, although reference is sometimes made to global discourses (e.g., Shenkar and Shenkar 2011). We thus found only a couple of studies addressing the political representation of the teaching profession in global governance (e.g., Robertson 2012).

This lacuna is intriguing, since our findings indicate a strengthened focus from the 2000s onward on teacher policy formation, the actors involved, and globalizing governance arrangements (e.g., Robertson 2012), involving national donor agencies and the World Bank (e.g., Ginsburg and Megahed 2011), EU (e.g., Henriksson 2014), the OECD PISA and TALIS programs (e.g., Rinne and Ozga 2013), and private sector edu-business (e.g., Mahony et al. 2004). The three organizational studies about the OECD thus employ political economy–centered globalization theories, including one in combination with WC theory (Fraser and Smith 2017).

Teachers’ labor markets are mainly addressed in specific studies about certification (e.g., Tobin 2012), supply, demand, and migration (e.g., Bartlett 2014), employment conditions (e.g., Samoff 2003), and career pathways (e.g., Tatto 2008). Yet, we also identified a few studies combining interests in labor markets and teacher professionalization (e.g., Nóvoa 2000).

Meanwhile, there are many fewer titles addressing normative models of teachers and teaching practices. One notable exception is the substantial body of literature about the promotion of learner-centered education, including regional and country studies (Tabulawa 2013).

The study types adopted in the political economy–centered literature reflect these thematic patterns. Again, this group of studies contrast with the studies employing culture-centered approaches. Distributed across the five study types, the political economy–centered literature dominates, together with studies not theorizing globalization, the contextualized single system studies about Australia,

the United Kingdom, and United States, as well as the titles with a general outlook on Europe or anglophone systems. While the political economy-centered literature has a wide geographical scope, the strong focus on North America, England, Australia, and Europe is partly explained by these contexts being source systems of globally dominant ideologies and policy agendas.

Flows and Systems

The smaller group of studies centered on flows and systems ($n = 20$) emerged from the mid-2000s in the reviewed literature. The patterns for this group are similar to those employing political economy both in terms of teacher key topics and study types. Most of the studies concern policy borrowing and lending, from a transnational perspective (e.g., Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe 2006), also through the eyes of local actors (e.g., Robert 2016). Teacher-related reforms tend to be considered as cases for theoretical developments on policy borrowing and the externalization thesis (e.g., Steiner-Khamsi 2010), with the specificities of teachers and teaching being less discussed, though we have identified policy borrowing studies strongly focused on teacher education (Blömeke 2006). Other scholars in the flows and systems-centered literature draw upon Arjun Appadurai's (1996) globalization theory of multiple "scapes," often focused on global flows of ideas and imaginaries, for example, with regard to teacher mobility in labor markets (e.g., Widegren and Doherty 2010).

In addition, around two-thirds of the 31 studies that we coded as combining globalization theories included flows and systems-centered approaches. With culture-centered approaches, they are adopted to substantiate the critique of the WC notion of isomorphism (e.g., Paine and Fang 2006). More often, they are combined with political economy in the critique of neoliberal ideology and reform, focusing on the global imaginary of the knowledge economy (e.g., Aydarova 2014), accelerated flows in teachers' labor markets (Edwards and Spreen 2007), the integration of economic spaces facilitated by global networks and financial markets (Stromquist and Monkman 2014), and cosmopolitanism as an alternative normative imaginary to the economisation of teachers and teaching (e.g., Rönnström 2015).

The Literature That Does Not Theorize Globalization

Of the 279 reviewed studies, 126 do not theorize globalization or other extra-national processes to any extent, although they situate teachers and teaching in international comparative contexts. In some of these studies, "the global" takes the form of a normative discourse, invoked as a contextual factor requiring action, yet without addressing the meaning or nature of globalization in any detail (e.g., Schleicher 2011).

More than a third of the titles in each of the five study types do not theorize globalization at all. The share increases to more than half for the organizational

studies, multicase comparative studies (especially those focused on highly profiled systems), and two-system comparative studies. Part of this large body of literature might be categorized as evaluative studies, concerned with problem-solving and the determination of policy impacts (Edwards 2018), for example addressing “teaching and learning systems” (Darling-Hammond et al. 2017); “effective teaching and learning environments,” based on TALIS data (Schleicher 2011); the status of the teaching profession, based on PISA (Park and Byun 2015); “competences” and “opportunities to learn” in teacher education, based on TEDS-M (e.g., Blömeke and Kaiser 2014); and classroom teaching, based on TIMSS (e.g., Hiebert et al. 2005). The focus on mathematics teachers and teaching in these evaluative studies is pronounced, including the mentioned PISA-, TEDS-M-, and TIMSS-based studies. Overlapping with these evaluative studies, we identified a handful of studies comparing teaching practices in East Asia, the United States, and Europe (e.g., Fang and Gopinathan 2009).

Concerning our review’s key topics, teacher learning and labor markets stand out with shares over 50 percent (cf. fig. 3). Especially the literature about teacher learning has steadily increased since the end-1990s, and 84 of the 126 studies that do not theorize globalization address this topic, mainly focused on ITE and professional development (e.g., Cochran-Smith 2008; Avalos 2011). Considering labor markets, we identified numerous titles about teachers’ working conditions, employment relations, and status (e.g., Andrabi et al. 2008; Chudgar et al. 2014), including a dozen titles engaging with international labor migration (e.g., Miller 2007).

Discussion

The review highlights the patterns in the use of globalization theories, study types, and teacher key topics (see table 4). The contrasting patterns of the culture-centered studies vis-à-vis those centered on political economy and flows and systems are demonstrated by our observation that the two latter groups of studies tend to focus on themes associated with the teaching profession, policy, and teacher learning, while the culture-centered studies are primarily concerned with normative models of teachers, teaching practices, and labor markets, yet more recently have joined the two other theoretical perspectives in analyzing policy and teacher learning as well. Meanwhile the studies lacking a theory of globalization are especially focused on teacher learning and labor markets.

The emphases of the three approaches to globalization theory are to some extent reflected in Paine and colleagues’ (2016) distinction between the themes of “norms and practices in the construction of teaching” and “discourses of governance and accountability.” However, with its conceptual focus and identification of six main topics, this review provides a more fine-grained analysis of

TABLE 4
GLOBALIZATION THEORIES, STUDY TYPES, AND TEACHER KEY TOPICS

Globalization Theories	Study Types	Teacher Key Topics
Culture ($n = 29$)	General global outlook	Normative models of teachers
	Multicase comparative studies (based on IEA data)	Teaching practices and pedagogy
		Labor market regulation, dynamics, and outcomes (More recently, teacher policy and teachers' education, learning, and knowledge bases)
Political economy ($n = 73$)	General outlook and contextualized single system studies with a focus on anglophone systems	Teaching profession
		Teacher policy
	General outlook on Europe and low-income countries	Teachers' education, learning, and knowledge bases
	Organizational studies (OECD)	
Flows and systems ($n = 20$)	General outlook	Teaching profession
	Two systems comparative studies	Teacher policy
	Contextualized single system studies	Teachers' education, learning, and knowledge bases
Combinations ($n = 31$)	General global outlook	Broad coverage (except labor market regulation, dynamics, and outcomes)
	Contextualized single system studies	
No use of globalization theory ($n = 126$)	General outlook on Europe	Teachers' education, learning, and knowledge bases
	Multicase comparative studies (based on IEA or OECD data, and those focused on highly profiled systems)	Labor market regulation, dynamics, and outcomes
	Two-systems comparative studies	
	Organizational studies (EU and other organizations)	

the conceptual boundaries and trajectories of the literature on teachers, teaching, and globalization.

The scoping review indicates that the main theories in the scholarship about globalization and education are also prevalent in the literature about teachers and teaching. Yet, “technological framings” (Jackson 2016) are conspicuously absent, contrary to our expectation to find studies about the

implications of technological innovation and synchronous communication for teacher policy, teaching practices, and teachers' learning.

In the bulk of the reviewed literature, the three main theoretical approaches to globalization appear self-referential. Suggesting the robustness of the review's theoretical framework, studies tend to draw on a single category of globalization theories, and it generally serves the purpose of critique when studies refer to other theoretical approaches.

While the modes of explanation in the reviewed literature resonate with classical globalization debates and the conceptual boundaries of the main theories, we argue that the trajectories of the two main theoretical approaches have developed substantially from their epistemological starting points. The studies centered on political economy and culture have thus come to focus more on agent-level types of analysis concerning how and by whom global norms, agendas and policies are formed, diffused, and recontextualized. This evolution of theoretical trajectories has implications for the relative emphases on material and ideational factors.

We noted above that WC theory provides the main theoretical lens in the culture-centered studies. In this respect, Motoko Akiba's (2017) review about cross-national differences in globalized teacher reforms encapsulates how the research object of teachers and teaching has catalyzed a new emphasis on political agency and situated sense-making in WC theory. Furthermore, Akiba's study demonstrates that this theoretical innovation is commensurable with the established epistemological focus on institutional convergence and isomorphism in WC theory (Kauko and Wermke 2018). In this respect, the global dynamics are suggested to be driven by a diverse group of policy actors, information and professional networks, media, and human capital migration, with varying impact across systems on the political discourses and collective sense-making regarding teacher quality problems and solutions. Yet, the global dynamics are at the same time conceived as external to "nation-specific teaching and policy environments" (Akiba 2017, 157), rather than destabilizing the territorial nation-state—and indeed the global-local divide—from the inside out. In this way, in addition to clarifying the relations between professional cultural logics and WC, neoinstitutionalist theory faces the challenge of reconciling the conception of global dynamics with the polycentric and multilevel nature of global governance (Robertson 2012).

In the political economy-centered literature, the main theories share a critique of capitalist economies, societies, and culture, with a focus on the implications of neoliberalism for teachers and teaching. Our findings concerning a shift in focus from the main trends in education reform and system-specific manifestations toward policy formation reflect the widespread adoption of policy sociology in the field, involving detailed studies of the dominant discourses re-regulating teachers' work from the 1990s onward (Seddon et al. 2013). Meanwhile, political economy studies about the ideological effects of reforms

promoting learner-centered teaching practices tend in our review to be associated with low-income countries. Terri Seddon and colleagues (2013) point out that it is such sociological studies of teaching that have largely been replaced by policy sociology and studies of traveling education reforms.

Our findings thus indicate that political economy–centered literature on teachers and globalization has become more sensitive toward semiosis. While this is consistent in terms of overcoming ideational-material dualism (Verger et al. 2018), we argue that the strong focus on political discourses, professionalization and accountability has been accompanied by a neglect of the analysis of the interfaces between globalization and teachers' labor markets, including working conditions, career pathways, collective mobilization, and industrial relations. In these areas, the political economy literature remains trapped in methodological nationalism and disciplinary parochialism (Dale 2005). This implies that the locus of agency in educational change in the literature has shifted away from the teacher workforce that appears thoroughly atomized, reflected in the fact that the once central notion of class (Sultana 1994; Robertson 2000) has all but disappeared from the literature. In this way, our review raises the issue whether the bulk of political economy scholarship on teachers, teaching, and globalization has effectively become disconnected from the foundational ideas of Marxist and post-Marxist theories concerned with the critique of capitalist societies, leaving once central themes to studies that do not theorize globalization.

While our review identifies boundaries between the cultural and political economy perspectives, the recent interest in policy in culture-centered studies suggests an emerging consensus in the literature concerning a complex dynamic in the local/global nexus of teachers and teaching. Major studies employing different globalization theories observe a shift toward a policy paradigm since the 1980s that posit learning, teachers, and teaching as vital for competitiveness in a globalized knowledge economy, thereby challenging the modern education regime of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in which the teacher served as the main authority concerned with the transmission of official knowledge. In addition, there is consensus that although the circulation of reform ideas has intensified and expanded globally, the dominant paradigm does not translate into convergence in either policy or teaching practices. The formation and orientations of policy are complex, and while schools increasingly form part of international networks, educational work and teaching practices remain deeply contextualized, shaped by material conditions and cultural norms and beliefs.⁶

The research consensus about a complex local/global nexus resonates with the features of theoretical pluralism and “cultural dialogue” (Anderson-Levitt 2003, 12) that we have identified. In the reviewed literature, these

⁶ See, e.g., Robertson (2012); Seddon et al. (2013); Paine et al. (2016); Akiba (2017).

features are primarily evident in the 31 studies combining globalization theories (e.g., Dang et al. 2013; Paine et al. 2016). In these studies, the versatile globalization theories of Arjun Appadurai, Manuel Castells (e.g., Takayama 2010; Aydarova 2014), and Nelly Stromquist and Karen Monkman (e.g., Tatto 2007) are among the most cited. The emergence of flows and systems-centered approaches has reinforced this trend toward theoretical pluralism in the field. Such studies tend to address cultural, economic, as well as political factors of globalization, and especially theories of policy borrowing and lending are often adopted for studies combining globalization theories. While the interest in teacher professionalism in policy borrowing and lending literature is complementary to political economy (Seddon et al. 2013), this group of studies also overlaps with the culturalist approaches due to the focus on recontextualization and critique of WC theory (e.g., Steiner-Khamsi 2010).

Finally, a small yet distinctive literature of ten studies employing socio-cultural theories stand out in terms of theoretical pluralism. Our review suggests that their contribution to the literature calls for further investigation, as they tend to combine globalization theories and address the otherwise undertheorized topic of teacher learning. Drawing upon ethnographic concepts and methods (e.g., Aydarova 2015) and sociocultural theories of learning and pedagogy (e.g., Dang et al. 2013), this group of studies is concerned with policy as well as the lived experienced of people in specific settings, similar to culturalist theories of globalization (Burn and Menter 2021).

Conclusion

In line with the objective of scoping reviews, our findings and arguments might serve as entry points for more focused and qualitative analysis of theoretical trajectories and conceptual boundaries in the literature on teachers, teaching, and globalization. The special section of which this article is a part is meant as a contribution to this endeavor. Limiting the review to only anglophone literature is likely to have worsened the impression of the distinctly circumscribed spatial boundaries of the globalization research imaginary. Nonetheless, considering that English, in parallel with the globalization of the social sciences, has become increasingly dominant as the global language in research (Heilbron 2014), our review provides important evidence concerning the theoretical patterns in the research field as a whole.

Taking globalization seriously (Verger et al. 2018) provides a lever for researchers to recognize their agency in shaping the increasingly globalized perceptions and norms about teachers and teaching. While the burgeoning literature on teachers and teaching in international and comparative contexts signals the incremental embedding of globalization in the field's research imaginaries, the large portion that does not theorize globalization at all, as revealed by our review, indicates that these imaginaries are largely pre-reflexive (cf. James

and Steger 2014). Generating new insights about teachers and teaching in international and comparative contexts, including the normative and ideological implications of globalizing imaginaries as well as how comparative research might contribute to ameliorate problems, will require theorizing the concept of globalization to much higher extent than is currently the case.

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