

3 Teacher Professionalization and the Globalization of Schooling

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This chapter takes up the question of how we might theorize teacher professionalism in relation to global processes and phenomena. I take the position that it is important not solely to conceptualize 'the global' as something 'outside' or as an external force or set of pressures that enter into a given cultural context or 'local' arena. Instead, we need to understand exactly how it is that certain ideas, practices and actors take on the aura of 'being global'. Attention needs to be paid to the alliances that need to be built, the relations that need to be established, and the work that needs to be done so that a particular set of professional practices and discourses comes to be understood as having extra-local features that are potentially globe-spanning. We also need to think about how, in a recursive process, these become actualized in particular individual interactions and come to shape human lives.

The question of how we understand teacher professionalization in relation to matters global is of great importance to how education researchers analyse and make sense of the worldwide expansion of mass schooling and the role(s) that formal institutions of schooling play in different societies. International development initiatives such as Education For All (EFA) underscore a point that nowadays is so commonplace it can be easily overlooked: the very fact that today one can find schools all around the globe. On one level this seems an uncontested and banal observation. Nonetheless, it is important to be cognizant of the fact that educational researchers still grapple with the question of how best to characterize analytically what appear as the universal features of educational practices and educational institutions. Though there is generally ready acknowledgement that the specificities of any and all educational contexts mean that such 'universal' features play out differently (and indeed sometimes quite divergently (Anderson-Levitt, 2003)), there is not complete agreement on what these universal features are, nor is there agreement on how to conceptualize and name these 'features'. For example, some historians of education have proposed that there is a 'grammar of schooling' (David Tyack, Larry Cuban); others speak of a '*forme scolaire*' and '*culture scolaire*' (Guy Vincent, Dominique Julia); in the field of comparative and international education much has been written on 'world culture models' of education (John Meyer, Francisco Ramirez). This chapter engages with the question of how we might understand the potentially universalizing, global implications of teacher professionalization.

Methodologically, this chapter is designed as a theorizing/conceptualizing piece and is not reporting the results of an empirical study. I discuss a range of scholarship on globalization and apply this to thinking through the problem of how we should consider the relation of globalization processes and phenomena to the claims that teachers can and do make about being members of an occupational group that enacts and protects expert knowledge. Though not a comprehensive historical study, I do use some specific historical examples from the United States to illustrate the global and local dimensions of the boundarying and re-boundarying work that occurs as teachers make occupational claims and access (or dispute) systems of expert knowledge. The focus of the first part of the chapter is on how professional discourses are accessed for strategic advantage and how certain elements can become imbued with the aura of being 'global' best practices. According to some (e.g. Meyer and Ramirez), with increased discursive/semantic convergence on a particular set of professional practices we should expect an eventual, inevitable global-spanning homogenization of pedagogy and schooling. I don't believe this to be the case. If we want to interrogate the connections between teacher professionalism and the globalization of schooling we need to consider both 'global reaching' and the ways in which notions of global one-worldness are produced in the first place, which is the topic I take up in the second part of the chapter. In eschewing the notion of globalization as forced-from-without and in focusing instead on teacher professionalization as a political arena where 'globality' and 'global one-worldness' may be produced, this chapter proposes that we see globalization as a process that is internal to educational spaces and indeed to educators' own bodies.

Reaching Up, Down, Out and In

In the politics of teacher professionalization, as expert knowledge claims are advanced in relation to occupational statuses, prerogatives and responsibilities, it is not uncommon to find 'non-local' examples being leveraged to strategic advantage. Currently in the US, one sometimes finds references to Finnish schools and to Finland's policies of providing strong professional development and preparation time for teachers being used in policy debates and political activity around teachers' occupational statuses (e.g. CReATE, 2012). Anchored by Finland's successful performances on international assessments, these strategic references often point to the minimal presence of standardized testing within Finnish education generally, thus bringing a 'successful international example' into a local (US) discussion for purposes of skewing a policy discussion in a particular direction. There are multiple instances – contemporary and historical – of teacher professionalization being entangled with 'global reaching' and so to better sort this out analytically it will be useful to give some attention to what we might mean by the 'global' and the 'local' in these conversations.

As the editors note in the introduction to this volume, Saskia Sassen's (2001) work on 'global cities' provides a powerful reminder that many of the specific practices and operations that take place within national institutional settings are no longer geared to national agendas but rather frequently are more cued

into transnational or global 'interests'. Pauline Lipman (2003) has carefully examined how this can be the case with regard to schooling in her studies of education in Chicago, which suggest that some of the inequalities in this particular urban school system derive from an interest in creating both a technology-savvy managerial elite and a service sector-destined workforce; the idea is that both of these in combination are necessary for Chicago to maintain a competitive edge as a 'global city'. Scholars studying the European Union note the sometimes uncanny dissolution of the old Russian 'matryoshka doll' model of conceptualizing scale as a series of larger/smaller concentric circles (e.g. in the notion of district-level, provincial-level, national-level). New complexities and possibilities are introduced when Basque politicians or Sami indigenous activists can sidestep national 'containers' and articulate political demands in Brussels or New York City (or even, one is tempted to add, in the virtual spaces of Twitter and Facebook). As Debora Reed-Danahay's (2003) ethnographic work on education in France's Auvergne region has shown, we now witness considerably increased possibilities for individual schools/teachers/classrooms to make 'lateral' local-to-local connections with other schools in the EU. This is all worthy of note because when objects, discourses and actors are put into relation with one another, the regulative processes and normative ideals that shape educational practices can potentially be affected.

Destabilizing concentric-circle notions of scale (Sassen, 2008) and attempting to centre our analyses on the contingent and somewhat elusive assembling together of heterogeneous but interrelating elements also helps to move away both from theorizing the global and the local as a 'dialectic' (see Burbules and Torres, 2000) and from needlessly fixating on a supposed 'global-local nexus'. While the dialectic conceptualization can usefully illuminate the processual, unfolding nature of social and cultural configurations, as deployed it too often runs the risk of taking the 'local' and the 'global' as pre-arranged or pre-arranged configurations out of whose contested and politicized interaction a third or hybrid form arises. If shifting from the concept of the 'dialectic' to that of a 'nexus' allows researchers to pay more attention to the ways that locality and globality are generated, the nexus approach has the drawback of postulating an automatic, necessary faultline. Particularly if we are interested in the notion that the 'global is a series of locals' (Sassen, this volume), it becomes increasingly difficult to assume a priori that we can in fact decisively distinguish between the global and the local. Technology, hypermodernity and neoliberalism may make it seem that in the contemporary world knowing what is 'global' and what is 'local' is an increasingly fraught proposition (Riles, 2000). Yet, if we take empires, imperialism, capitalism and the various other catholicons of the last several millennia of human history as projects ruled by contingency and put into place through intense labours (of an ANT/Actor-Network Theory variety), it becomes clearer that the distinction between universals and particulars has long been a matter of building alliances and binding various elements into certain relations, always with uncertain outcomes.

As a historical illustration of the proposition that, rather than assume that an external 'global' intrudes into local spaces, we should consider the particular

dynamics and specifics of any and all assemblages, I offer the example of a very minor episode in the history of the teaching and teacher professionalization in the United States. In the 1860s the Pestalozzian object lesson became entrenched in American teacher preparation largely through the work of Edward A. Sheldon (1823-97) at the Oswego Normal School in New York State. This was hardly the first time that Pestalozzi had been trumpeted by American educators. Pestalozzian ideas were advanced by William Maclure and Robert Owen at New Harmony in the 1820s and also advanced by Henry Barnard in the late 1830s (Ogren, 2005); however, Sheldon is frequently credited with implanting object teaching as the educational 'best practice' of the time, particularly as his network of students quickly spread out to occupy important positions at normal schools around the country (Hollis, 1898; Dearborn, 1925; Rogers, 1961). Pestalozzianism is a superb example of a 'global best practice' of the nineteenth century. In fact one can even say that it played a starring role in the purported founding of the field/discipline of comparative education in that one of the field's 'founding fathers', Marc-Antoine Jullien, had spent time with Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) at Yverdon (Gautherin, 1993). Jullien's (1816/17) Linneaus-like proposal for a scientific survey of education systems of the world included questions about the extent to which Pestalozzian object teaching was present in different school systems (Sobe, 2002). Needless to say, as with other 'international' educational reform trends, Pestalozzianism took on very different forms in different settings. It was not a global model whose distinct features automatically or inevitably 'colonized' unique national contexts. For example, within Pestalozzian object teaching as it was propagated in America in the 1860s and 1870s, children's interest and their discipline (mental and otherwise) were key concerns - and they were concerns that were supposed to structure the craft techniques employed by teachers. These very same keywords 'interest' and 'discipline' recur in American Herbartianism, the educational movement that by the 1880s and 1890s had by certain measures succeeded the Oswego juggernaut. Yet in Herbartianism they were put into a very different relation to the aims and objectives of education and in fact became considerably altered in relation to the methods that teachers were to use. (And of course, just as Oswego Pestalozzianism represented a specific assemblage of 'Pestalozzianism', it is abundantly evident that 'American Herbartianism' - particularly as articulated and propagated by Charles McMurry, Frank McMurry and Charles De Garmo - also represented a specific and uniquely contoured reworking of the ideas of Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841).)

It will be profitable to further pursue this example of the flourishing of Pestalozzianism in the US in the 1860s and 1870s. In the field of comparative and international education researchers are developing increasingly sophisticated tools for studying what is sometimes referred to as educational borrowing and lending (e.g. the 2012 *World Yearbook of Education* edited by Gita Steiner-Khamsi and Florian Waldow). However, rather than seeking to further explain or refine that body of scholarship, I would like to explore the assemblage of Pestalozzianism in the US by delving further and connecting Pestalozzianism with another important contemporaneous phenomenon in the history of teaching and teacher professionalization in the US: African-American schooling in the

American South after the end of slavery. As an extensive quantity of scholarship has explored (see, *inter alia*, Anderson, 1988; Butchart, 2010), with the reconstruction of the American South after the Civil War, African-American education rose to the fore as a pressing education policy issue. Who was to teach freed slaves and how and what they were to be taught became a pressing question, one that was both philosophical and practical. Nor, it should be added, was this question simply one debated by actors 'outside' Southern African-American communities seeking to determine what should be done for and to freed Blacks. As Adam Fairclough (2007) shows in his carefully researched study of Black teachers in the South from 1865 to 1954, these were questions that African-American communities also tackled with intensity and alacrity. Present here was the question of the educator's pedagogical expertise and what professional preparation and professional status were necessary for the effective education of African-Americans. And, Pestalozzian object teaching became one of the elements to enter the picture. A considerable number of schools were established by ex-slaves right as the Civil War was ending and in the immediate years after the war Freedmen's Bureau agents worked to establish which of these 'native' institutions most needed the assistance of professionally trained educators. White missionary – and some Black missionary – teachers from the North arrived in southern towns to employ their professional pedagogical best practices for the purpose of the advancement of Black southerners. In the ensuing decades, as efforts shifted to the training of Black southerners as teachers in institutions such as Virginia's Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (established 1868), the Pestalozzian object lesson simi- larly became one of the best practices propagated, for example, in the *Southern Workman*, a monthly newspaper distributed to all Hampton graduates.

I offer this detour as an illustration of professional teacher expertise being actualized in one particular concrete situation. In this assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; Ong and Collier, 2005; Marcus and Saka, 2006), the 'global' and 'modern' best practice of Pestalozzian object teaching crossed with a wide-ranging set of heterogeneous elements, including the unique historical trajectory of Black education in the American South; institutionalized racism and race knowledge; the activist social, political and economic agendas of Black reformers and advocates; the technique of using the educator's professional pedagogic craft expertise to include and to exclude; and the material conditions of African-American schools in the South. It is an ancillary question whether this was or was not a significant chapter in the global dissemination of Pestalozzianism. However, this minor episode does show how, in a specific set of cultural and social circumstances, locality and globality can be produced in the ways that the teacher's professional pedagogic practices are deployed and intervened upon. In this instance the reaching out to a body of professional expertise (that had its origins in a cosmopolitan European social reform setting and that was later scientificized, again within a certain cosmopolitan idiom) was incorporated into a complicated and racialized algorithm of qualification and disqualification. This reaching out can also be seen as a reaching in, as a way of penetrating into the Black, Hampton-graduated teacher to discipline and govern his or her actions.

Nineteenth-century Pestalozzianism as well as Lancasterianism (Caruso and Roldán Vera, 2007), not to mention John Dewey and the global and/or American dimensions of the early twentieth-century progressive education movement (Popkewitz, 2005), all drive home the point that teaching has long been located within a transnational framing. Teacher professionalization needs to be located within this long historical trajectory. The comparative education borrowing and transfer of scholarship alluded to above often evidences an interest in the social science modelling and typologizing of different sorts of 'external' imports and references (Phillips and Ochs, 2004; Rappleye *et al.*, 2011). A good example of the ways this can provide education researchers with a valuable lens and tool is Steiner-Khamsi's (2004) discussion of the practice of using the foreign example to 'stigmatize' within a domestic education policy conversation. (The leveraging of lessons from Finland alluded to above might well fall under this designation.) While this scholarly literature can be useful when it pays proper attention to the political and rhetorical purposes that 'lessons from elsewhere' can serve, it sometimes brushes up against its own limitations when forced into the binary decision on whether a transfer occurred just in rhetoric or also in practice (Beech, 2006). In contrast, more post-structuralist approaches would tend to see discourse and practice as not entirely separable. In the case of the history of teacher professionalization, I think it is overwhelmingly the case that the heterogeneity, conflicts, ephemerality and indeterminacy within any given assemblage require that we recognize incommensurability, multiplicity and the irreducibility of social and cultural projects to a single prevailing logic or outcome (Sobe, 2009). In this vein, then, saying that teacher professionalization is not simply a matter that unfolds within the political, economic and social contours of a particular (national) system-world but rather has long taken place within a global frame is not in any way to comment on standardization or any isomorphic tendencies that might (or might not) undergird the worldwide schooling revolution that we have witnessed over the past several hundred years. For thinking about how teachers' professional pedagogical practices intersect with globalization processes (as opposed to just with global phenomena), it can be useful to turn to other tools.

Scopic Systems and Global Reality/Reflexivity

Much of what I have been discussing in the preceding section could be grouped under the heading 'networks', and indeed network-analyses have proven to be of great value in educational research. In particular, as I alluded to above, studies that draw on aspects of Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory have provided us with valuable insights into how particular educational ideas and practices are 'made mobile' and/or 'blackboxed' (e.g. Resnik, 2006). However, alongside examinations of the educational networks and the ways that the knowledge bases that support teachers' professional pedagogical practices also move in networked ways, it is valuable to investigate the ways that these knowledge bases might move in non-networked ways and what consequences this might have (Sobe and Ortegón, 2009).

In the standard understanding of a network, various nodes are linked together as if by pipes. And through these pipes resources (e.g. various mobile forms of capital) as well as information and sets of knowledge can pass. Networks are most commonly visualized through the metaphor of a net or a web, which means that individual nodes can be linked to a varying number of other nodes and can be joined to multiple other collectives. As an alternative to this, however, the anthropologist Karen Knorr Cetina (2003, 2008; Knorr Cetina and Bruegger, 2002) has discerned a radically different organizational schema in the currency markets that she investigates in her research. While most financial markets are organized as centralized markets where transactions – even if electronic – are actually executed in a particular central location, foreign currency exchange is an over-the-counter market that inheres in inter-dealer transactions that are housed within various global banking institutions. Knorr Cetina reports that currency traders have up to six computer screens in front of them, fully capturing their gaze, with ‘the market [composing] itself in these produced-and-analysed displays to which traders are attached’. These terminals ‘deliver the reality of financial markets, the referential whole to which “being in the market” refers’ (2008: 71). She proposes that the relational idiom of ‘network’ or ‘being networked’ does not capture the totality and reflexive comprehensiveness of the projection and reality being composed in this instance. Instead, she proposes the concept of a ‘scopic system’ to describe this structure:

Like an array of crystals acting as lenses that collect light, focusing it on one point, such mechanisms collect and focus activities, interests and events on one surface ... When such a mechanism is in place, coordination and activities respond to the projected reality to which participants become oriented ... When such an ordinary observer constructs a textual or visual rendering of the observed and televises it to an audience, the audience may start to react to the features of the reflected, represented reality rather than to the embodied, pre-reflexive occurrences.

(Knorr Cetina, 2008: 8)

Information that moves through a scopic system thus has considerably different effects than information that moves through networks, and below I will further explicate what implications this has for reflexivity and cultural/institutional formations. Against an embedding of circulation in social relations, Knorr Cetina’s work suggests a way of seeing a global system that actually tends towards a single collective (as opposed to multiple collectives or ‘pluri-centered’ clusters). Based on her ethnographic study of currency trading floors in Zurich and New York, she proposes that the configuration of screens, content and options that traders confront compose a ‘global reflex system’. Within this system, coordination is flat and non-hierarchical, yet nonetheless based on a view of things that appears to be – or, perhaps more to the point understands itself as being – comprehensive and summative. This is a view of the world that is at once a reflection and a projection.

Even though the ethnographic work just described took place in a rather unusual and somewhat unique settings, we can draw from it insights into how it is

possible to generate ‘one-worldness’ notions in the domain of education. By this, I mean the idea that human beings belong to a single collective global society and inhabit a single ‘global reality’, one implication of which is that educational reforms can travel and be analysed within a worldwide frame of reference.

In a separate publication (2009) Nicole Ortégón and I have proposed that there is an important historical antecedent and loose analogue to Knorr Cetina’s description of currency markets in the World’s Fairs/International Expositions of the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries (e.g. the Universal Expositions in Paris in 1867, 1889 and 1900, as well as the Fairs held in St Louis in 1904, Chicago in 1893 and Philadelphia in 1876). The most successful of these events attracted tens of millions of visitors and featured exhibition halls in which various countries could exhibit their successes and most modern practices across many domains of human activity, including in the field of education. Ortégón and I argued that one of the extremely important elements of these expositions was to help construct a single global reality and to project forth a modern future. As Martin Lawn notes in the introduction to an edited volume that examined the education-related exhibits of the these events:

A major significance of exhibitions was that they provided systems of classifications, and the models needed to illustrate them, which materialized the comparative process. Objects were placed in relation to each other by increasingly standardized systems of rules of measurement ... So, through this exhibitionary prism, hierarchies were established in the signs and sites of progress and modernity.

(2009: 16–17)

Though they lacked the eat-lunch-at-your-desk, all-enveloping feel of the computer displays that fill up a currency trader’s workspace, the technologies of museum display and their accompanying norms of spectatorship (Sobe, 2007) might be seen, in Knorr Cetina’s terms, as composing a scopic system. The exhibits and what Lawn appropriately calls their ‘systems of classification’ supplied visitors with certain lenses and ways of thinking about school-related matters, among them the most modern and scientific pedagogic practices.

Knorr Cetina’s comment that the ‘audience may start to react to the features of the reflected, represented reality rather than to the embodied, pre-reflexive occurrences’ (2008: 8) seems also to describe accurately what played out across nineteenth/twentieth-century international expositions considered as a series of interlinked events. In modelling educational futures, the world’s fairs brought visitors and exhibitors into what one might call a ‘house of mirrors’ where everyone was observing each other. Despite not having a fraction of the velocity of currency traders’ screens, the social and cultural exhibits at these fairs/expositions sometimes similarly evidenced an anticipated or actual reaction. An illustrative example of this kind of anticipation can be found in Spain’s educational exhibits at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Their display cases not only housed an effort to present Spain as the spiritual mother of the Americas, but also included an attempt to mitigate the supposed perception that Spain

was deficient and far behind other European nations in advancing the cause of popular education. The solution to this problem was to send neither charts nor devices nor building models (since all of these would have shown Spanish deficiencies). Rather, the solution was handsomely printed books. Archival records show that the Spanish Ministry of Education explicitly strategized in advance that, since these gilded and weighty tomes were printed in Spanish, they would have the additional advantage of being unreadable by the American jurors who would award the education exhibit prizes. Nor would the jurors know that these same volumes had in fact been exhibited at previous international expositions. And indeed, this tactic proved to be successful, for at the 1876 fair Spain received 93 awards in the education section, the largest number to any country after the United States (Pozo Andrés, 2009: 162–3). Thus, while the world's fairs/expositions did provide countries with a platform on which to display themselves, it is important to recognize that this was a platform set within the scopic system of international competition and comparison, which was at the same time a system through which modernity was debated and enacted.

The international exhibitions of the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries purported to present a comprehensive, encyclopaedic survey of the world. And, despite the great swathes of territory and human experience that were excluded, these 'exhibitionary prisms' did much to construct the reality of a 'single world' as an all-encompassing, texturally even sphere within which codified distinctions and standardized differences could be established (in reference to concepts such as civilization, progress and modernity). It was in these spaces and within this setting that the worldwide 'universality' of professional pedagogic practices (at least the best practices thereof) might be convincingly represented to the visiting public. This would be visible not just to the educators who travelled to the expositions themselves but could also cause an impression among the hundreds/thousands of additional teachers who, through a multiplier effect, read about the expositions in the voluminous textual reporting that occurred on each event, particularly as Ministries of Education filed official reports and leading educators published their reflections and observations.

It is important to consider both networked and non-networked ways that global educational formations are assembled. Thus, for example, an exposition such as the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco – at which Maria Montessori successfully demonstrated her kindergarten pedagogy (Sobe, 2004) – can be usefully viewed in network terms. Historians can, for example, excavate who visited what booths and collected what samples and took what texts and business cards back to their places/countries of origin. Yet, in another sense, there appears to have been a significant non-relational, non-network dimension to the importance of the expositions. This inhered in the totality of an event itself and in the visual and intellectual overload that imparted one-worldness notions and reinforced the idea that all teachers, in whatever country they were located, were joined as part of a great global educational project that had its own shared rules and regularities.

Now to today: even though the International Bureau of Expositions still operates out of Paris and even though expos continue through the present, this

cultural form has lost the social significance it had one hundred years ago. We are more likely to find global scopic systems in the international news media than in exhibition pavilions. In the field of education, though, we have what appear to be increasingly successful, increasingly comprehensive and increasingly significant summative surveys of the world – an emerging global reflex system. Here I refer to PISA, TIMSS and TALIS: the scopic systems that generate the education global reflex systems of our time. Borrowing from Knorr Cetina, one might say that large international educational assessment projects of this sort act like an array of crystals that collect light and focus it on one point. They bring a vast array of activities, interests and events on to one shared, uniform surface. Describing currency trading desks, Knorr Cetina noted, 'when such a mechanism is in place, coordination and activities respond to the projected reality to which participants become oriented' (2008: 8). This is an observation that may already in some cases speak to the consequences that high-stakes accountability-oriented testing is having in educational settings around the globe. Or it may be an observation to hold out there in the field of education, if not as a prediction, at least as a vision of one of the possible futures that we face.

Of the three assessments mentioned, the OECD's TALIS project, or the Teaching and Learning International Survey, may be the most relevant to this discussion's interest in scrutinizing teacher professionalization in relation to the globalization of schooling. TALIS is premised on the idea that 'effective teaching and teachers are key to producing high performing students' and it gathers data on the learning environment and working conditions of teachers in schools. One purpose is to enable cross-country analyses that would allow countries to identify other countries facing similar challenges and to learn from other policy approaches'. The first TALIS cycle in 2008 involved 24 countries and focused on lower secondary education teachers. The TALIS 2013 cycle will involve more than 30 countries and also presents the option whereby countries can conduct the 2013 TALIS assessment in the same schools that participated in the 2012 PISA assessment.

Given the way that the PISA assessment has begun to play a role in shaping educational conversations around the globe, it is well worth paying attention to what kind of global exhibitionary prism TALIS creates. Going forward, we will want to pay considerable attention to how TALIS is brought into the politics of teacher professionalization. We will want to note whether, as a scopic system, TALIS makes headway in constructing the reality of a single world of teacher professionalism, one that would be texturally even with globe-spanning extralocal features – a global assemblage of the sort that Knorr Cetina describes for currency markets and that I have here proposed as an accurate descriptor of nineteenth/twentieth-century expositions. These two other examples suggest that the power of phenomena such as TALIS may lie in producing a reflection/projection of reality that policy makers and educators react to more than they react to the actual embodied reality of the here-and-now.

Concomitant with this, we might anticipate the further codification of distinctions and standardization of differences/deviation from educational 'best practices'. And, relatedly, we might also anticipate that, as actors in the school system

reach out to the TALIS results as part of teacher professionalization (or, potentially, teacher de-professionalization), this will simultaneously involve a global-in-the-local reaching down and into the body of the teacher to discipline and govern his or her actions.

Teachers, teacher unions, policy makers, school administrators and academic researchers will be involved in these political negotiations. All involved should bear in mind that whatever becomes situated as 'global best practices' is not simply a matter of technical, empirical educational research but is also deeply entangled in the contingent and shifting cultural and social politics of education. All should also bear in mind that 'one-worldness' notions are not a neutral facet of a globalized world. The global needs to be produced and sustained. A global reality of teacher professionalism needs to be produced and sustained. All the aforementioned parties have some role to play in shaping, furthering and resisting the global reflexivities and reflections that this entails.

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4 The Shifting Boundaries of Teacher Professionalism

Education Privatization(s) in the Post-Socialist Education Space

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Educators worldwide have been caught in the middle of complex globalization debates. One such debate has centered on the role of international education “experts”—usually of Western origin—in the construction and dissemination of “best practices” globally. Whether advising national governments or consulting for international development agencies (such as the World Bank, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development or the United Nations), these “experts” have operated on the assumption that there exists a common and legitimate “blueprint” of educational policies and practices, which would lead (if implemented properly) to increased educational opportunities and improved educational quality worldwide. In the context of (neo)liberal globalization, they have been called upon to advise governments on such salient policy topics as education governance, teaching methods, curriculum reform, or (in the case of American international development assistance) anti-terrorism. More often than not, their advice has focused on the diffusion of global education policies and practices that, for many scholars in comparative education, have been central in analyses of the coercive spread of (neo)liberal education reforms such as standardization of curricula, decentralization and privatization of schools, or the introduction of national educational assessment and international testing (Dale, 2000; Apple, 2006, 2009; Arnove and Torres, 2007; Robertson, 2007; Torres, 2009; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010).

From the post-socialist countries of Central Europe to the post-Soviet republics of Central Asia to the formerly non-aligned—yet funded by the former Soviet Union—countries in Southeast Asia, policy makers have embraced these (neo)liberal educational reform “packages” to pursue an allegedly linear transition from communism to democracy (Silova, 2010: 5). In some cases, these reform “packages” were imposed by such “expert” organizations as the World Bank and Asian Development Bank; in other cases they were voluntarily borrowed by policy makers in the former socialist states who were fearful of “falling behind” internationally (Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe, 2006: 189; see also Silova and Steiner-Khamsi, 2008). While contributing to the dissemination of (neo)liberal ideology, the implementation of new reform “packages” in various post-socialist contexts has inadvertently reinforced the power of international “experts,” enabling them to speak for those who supposedly lack expert knowledge to “help” themselves. Furthermore, it has undermined the power of education professionals in national