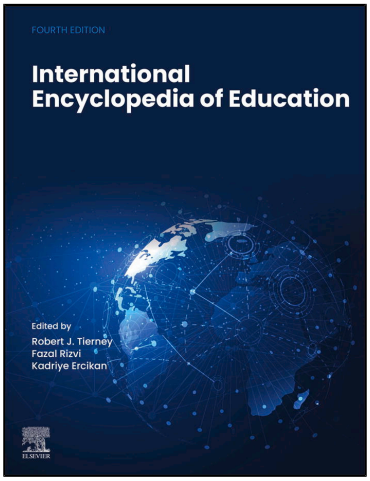

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The global and the local: idea flows, contexts, and the influencing of education policy in the 21st century

J.B. Helgetun, Institute for the Analysis of Change in Historical and Comparative Societies, University of Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium

Introduction

This essay discusses the relation between the global, regional, and local contexts of policymaking in education as observed in the two contrasting cases of teacher education in England and France. This is done by drawing on existing academic literature, and empirical examples drawn from research conducted as part of the TeachersCareers project[1] (see Helgetun, 2021 for an in-depth presentation of the research methodology that informed the discussion presented here), to construct a socio-historical narrative. The literature was identified based on a systematic literature reviews on the topic of teacher policy (Sørensen and Dumay, 2021) conducted within the project, as well as discussions with leading authors in the field in both England and France. Due to the format, some of the information presented here is brief, however, sources are provided should the reader desire to read further about for example teacher education provision and policymaking in England and France. As such, this essay can be seen as providing an overview of, and entry point for, scholars who desire further knowledge on the interaction between the global and the local.

The importance of such contrasting analysis of teacher education policy and policymaking rests in how teachers are arguably the central component of education regardless of if their role is to transfer knowledge or enable children to learn throughout their life (Brisard, 2002). Moreover, what teachers know and how they perceive their roles is rooted in the teacher's professional education and training (Beck and Young, 2005; Beck, 2009), which is shaped by policymakers (Foster, 1999; Brisard, 2002). Policymakers here refer to individuals that make de facto rules that govern the practices of others. At a state level, these individuals are usually elected officials such as politicians and/or public administrators such as civil servants. Policy on teacher education is in turn influenced by stakeholders such as teaching professionals, teacher education providers (UNESCO, 2005), or researchers (Helgetun and Menter, 2020), and reflect beliefs in a society (Menter, 2016; Tatto et al., 2016). As the discussion here shows, teacher education policymaking is largely influenced by local contexts as well as global trends, reminiscent of what Maroy et al. (2016) called a form of vernacular globalization. These developments are then discussed in relation to European integration theories, rarely used in analysis of policy and policymaking in education. What is further argued here is that globalization is nothing new, but that the form global communication takes, and as such its impact, has changed over the past centuries due to technological innovations.

To present the context and relevance of the discussion: Internationally, academic research has shown an ongoing convergence of societal beliefs on what education ought to do (Meyer et al., 1997; Schofer and Meyer, 2005; Meyer and Benavot, 2013) as well as a rise of what has been dubbed a global policy space in education (Lingard and Rawolle, 2011). Concurrently, solutions to perceived issues in teacher education have been found to be increasingly solved through policy borrowing (Steiner-Khamsi, 2010), particularly from high performers in PISA (Chung, 2016). Furthermore, education, as other aspects of public policy, is increasingly dominated by New Public Management (NPM) type policies all over the world (Hartley, 2003; Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe, 2006; Addey et al., 2017; Dupriez and Cattonar, 2018). However, what teacher education policy is enacted and for what purpose, has been found to differ between countries and reflect the socio-cultural and historic particularities in them (Brisard, 2002). For example, France has since 1989 gone toward a university based model of teacher education provision (Sacilotto-Vasylenko and Fave-Bonnet, 2011; Prost, 2014), while England has since 1984 moved in the opposite direction from academia toward a school-led system (Furlong, 2013; Whiting et al., 2018). In England this has been addressed as a "turn to the practical" (Childs and Menter, 2013; Quirk-Marku and Hulme, 2017), while in France the trends since 1989 are seen as a form of "universitification" of teacher education (Misra, 2014; Farges, 2017). Thus, two contrasting trajectories can be observed in England and France, the former centered on an increasing role for the school, the latter on an increasing role for the university that is happening in spite of any global convergence, the Bologna process, or EU initiatives in relation to education (Helgetun, 2021). The national trajectories are here interesting in the sense that

[1]See www.teacherscareers.eu.

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they tell us something about the societal views on what a teacher is and what their job in the society is as expressed in different education and training models for teachers.

The next section discusses the global context from the Age of Enlightenment to PISA and TALIS, then the regional context of Bologna and the EU is presented, before the following section discusses the local contexts of England and France and how they relate to the global and regional contexts. The essay then presents a case for analyzing teacher education policy through a liberal intergovernmentalist lens (Moravcsik, 1993) before concluding remarks are provided.

The global context: from the age of enlightenment to PISA and TALIS

Different as their approaches to teacher education today are, in historic terms educational developments in both England and France as understood today originated in the Age of Enlightenment, which one may claim began with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and lasted until the Congress of Vienna in 1814/15. An era which laid most of the intellectual foundations for later developments in education (Tröhler, 2020). Meanwhile, the work of intellectuals such as Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire was disseminated across the Euro-centric world with an impact on how both early modern nation-states and education were conceived and constructed (Paine, 1995; Anderson, 2006; Tröhler, 2014, 2020). The Euro-centric world is here taken to mean places reached by the Nations of Europe, be it the Americas, Australia, or India. This arguably makes historical divergences, and the trajectories of socio-cultural peculiarities in the two cases as they engage with "borderless" ideas of the enlightenment, particularly interesting. For example, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's work "Émile, or on education" was immediately translated from French to English upon its publication in 1762 (Rosenberg, 1981) and served as an inspiration for educational developments in both France and England, particularly through impacting on how people thought and talked about education (Morley, 1878). Meanwhile, due to the Age of Empire, the ideas of India were for example introduced to England and vice-versa (Alexander, 2001). As such, historically ideas have been hard to contain within artificial state borders, as they are disseminated by the exchange of people and literature across large distances and between diverse societies. In more recent times, this can for example be seen in how across time both England and France have engaged with remarkably similar ideas of progressive versus traditional education, such as the concept of "new mathematics" in the 1960s and 70s, or had to confront the complex opposition between practice based teacher training and academia centered teacher education that go back over 100 years in both cases (Helgetun, 2021).

The last several decades have seen the birth of different comparative approaches from the OECD's PISA comparing student performance and well-being in schools (Ydesen, 2019), the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievements (IEA) TIMMS measuring mathematics performance, as well as Eurydice presenting comparative overviews of countries education and teacher education systems (Akiba, 2017), that can be traced back (at least) to measures taken in the West following the Sputnik shock in 1957 (Tröhler, 2013). These new approaches employ mostly large-scale data sets but also qualitative measures such as the United Nation's goal of education for all (Lingard and Rawolle, 2011; Fazekas and Burns, 2012; Robertson, 2012; Normand, 2013; Sellar and Lingard, 2013). This constitutes a major shift from the past, where ideas and ideations such as the work of Rousseau, Locke, or Montesquieu, that all affected the early global construction of the state and education, were spread by individual intellectuals rather than multi-national organizations.

What is common between today and the 18th century is a broad dissemination of ideas on education; what has shifted is the mode of dissemination (particularly speed and reach in a population) and the type of "evidence" used to support ideas on education. For example, Rousseau's "Émile" has a distinctly different form of discourse than the OECD's PISA reports. PISA, as the rest of the work of the OECD, is highly focused on measurement and statistical data, with the purpose of education framed under the mantra of a "knowledge based economy" (Godin, 2006), while Émile focuses on the nature of education and the nature of man to philosophize on the education of an ideal citizen. As such, they constitute two distinct "cognitive blueprints" in their own right, but also reflect fundamentally different views on the purpose of education. A cognitive blueprint is in short a structuring idea causing through mimesis (imperfect copying of a blueprint) institutionalized beliefs in something being "what works" (best practice) and therefore being what should be done (Zapp et al., 2018a,b; Helgetun and Dumay, 2021). For example, the work of Dewey—as a cognitive blueprint—has arguably fostered a belief in learning by doing, or PISA rankings and reports has fostered a belief in the Finnish model of teacher education as "best."

In relation to teacher Education policy in the mid to late 20th century and early 21st century, global trends that have been observed are copying of high performing, mostly as measured in the OECD's PISA and IEA's TIMMS surveys, countries approaches to educating teachers, particularly the Finnish and Singaporean models (Steiner-Khamsi, 2010; Chung et al., 2012; Furlong, 2013; Sellar and Lingard, 2014; Chung, 2016; Adamson et al., 2017; Steiner-Khamsi et al., 2019).

In more recent years, the OECD has also begun a more targeted approach to understanding teacher's work and their education through the Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) program, the first round was in 2008, with new methodologies compared to past surveys (see Akiba, 2017), which may be argued to derive legitimacy from claims of "knowledge sharing" and listening to teachers (Sørensen, 2016). Meanwhile, the IEA launched the Teacher Education and Development Study—Mathematics (TEDS-M) in 2008 (same year as TALIS) to compare how different countries prepare their teachers to teach math's (Akiba, 2017). It has also been argued that not all countries participated in TEDS-M under the belief that TALIS would cover the same things (so TALIS would suffice), this is reportedly not the case as TALIS and TEDS-M are distinct (Tatto, 2011). In either case, the goal of these programs is in essence to figure out "what works" in education and disseminate the results (Akiba, 2017; Tatto, 2011; Zapp, 2020). Furthermore, these new surveys of TALIS and TEDS-M may also become a political tool alongside such existing surveys as PISA and

TIMMS in new forms of education governance, centered on cultural capital and ideas more so than traditional hierarchies anchored in a legal framework (Steiner-Khamsi, 2010; Chung, 2016; Akiba, 2017).

The use of international surveys and reports to influence policymaking has been further helped along by what is reported to be an increasing network of global actors in education and teacher education (Ball and Junemann, 2012; Ball, 2016), that has emerged since the 1950s. With this increase of transnational actors, Resnik (2006) argued that international organizations have become agents in a global education arena where they act as producers of a global educational culture.

In this paradigm centered on a global or globalizing educational culture and rise in international organizations influence in education, "public" actors such as the OECD, UNESCO, and the EU, as well as "private" actors such as McKinsey, ARK, and even historically defense oriented organizations such as RAND and Defense Advanced Research Project Agency (DARPA) attempt to influence how teachers should be educated mainly through diffusing scripts of "what works," and are reported to have the ears of people in high places (Saunders, 2007; Alexander, 2010; Coffield, 2012; Tröhler, 2013). In other words, teacher education is becoming a global policy area, where both public and private national and international actors alike contest practices and propose solutions to problems. The socio-cultural convergence, driven by IOs such as the OECD, is argued to constitute global normative, economic, and cultural pressure to adopt certain standardized approaches to education, in what has been deemed a globalizing world (Meyer and Ramirez, 2007; Zapp, 2020).

The regional context: Bologna and the European Union: attempts to harmonize teacher education in Europe

Any socio-cultural convergence in Europe today is arguably driven in part by structural harmonization attempts, primarily the Bologna process and European Union (EU) interference in education, as this section will explore.

The 1999 Bologna accord and subsequent Bologna process has sought to unify degrees across signatories, and harmonize on the $3 + 2 + 3$ structure and the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) where one academic year equals 60 credits. The accord was signed by both England and France, and arguably has implications for teacher education, which one may characterize today as tertiary education in both England and France. It has been observed that the Bologna process has led to convergence in higher education policy across signatory countries, and to a lesser extent also to non-signatories (Vögtle et al., 2011). Here it is important to keep in mind that general convergence in the abstract, does not automatically equate to concrete convergence in the specific. For example, teacher education *may* be loosely coupled (see (Elken and Vukasovic, 2019) for a discussion on the "loosely defined" concept of loose coupling) or de-coupled (see (Bromley and Powell, 2012) for an update of the concept, that includes not only policy-practice de-coupling but also means-end de-couplings) from higher education as a whole. Or, de-coupling may happen between different levels of policy through a form of two-level games (Putnam, 1988), thereby explaining why some countries, institutions and disciplines converge and others do not. To clarify, two-level games relates to when international considerations may dictate domestic policy and vice-versa. A de-coupling between levels would then be if one form of discourse and even policy as text is adopted at one level, but never implemented in another. In other words, the Bologna accord may become de-coupled due to a lack of national implementation in the context of practice.

Another harmonizing force is in education touching on our two cases is arguably the EU. To provide a caveat, England left the EU in 2020, however they were part of the organization for 47 years, 28 of them following the 1992 Maastricht treaty which transformed the European Communities into the European Union with the contours of a shared political framework (see Cini, 2007) for an overview of the European Community, the Maastricht treaty, and the European Union as a political entity). Therefore, we cannot ignore the history of England—EC/EU relations, but should also note that the relationship has not always been cordial, and did come to an abrupt end. As is discussed below, the European integration processes has been seen differently in England and France.

Officially, education is the prerogative of the nation state, without EU influence on the matter. However, in spite of this, the EU has been identified as a driving force behind Bologna (Simões et al., 2018). The EU has also made large inroads into coordinating and funding educational research through the Horizon (2020) program leading to some convergence in educational research (Powell, 2020), particularly as EU funds are often seen as "elite" and the pinnacle of research funding in education (Zapp et al., 2018a,b). Although the EU's reach into teacher education is legally limited they still are very much present particularly on the agenda-setting stage of policymaking. Their power as such, seems to mostly lay in research funding and dissemination of ideas and values through publications and workshops such as the European semester whose original and official purpose is economic coordination, however, their Europe 2020 agenda identified education as one of five key areas for the semester to focus on (Wilkinson, 2019). Central to such "EU level" discourse on teacher education is arguably the perceived vital role teachers play in advancing human potential, shaping future generations and influencing society as a whole (Simões et al., 2018). A result of such emphasis has been argued to manifest as a form of "European teacher" (Simões et al., 2018). Thus, discussion of education, including teacher education and the related topics of educational research and higher education are all under the EU umbrella of coordination, standard setting, and idea dissemination.

However, it is important not to fall into a common pitfalls of neglecting cultural differences as to what "global" may mean, and how academic concepts such as "globalization," "global/regional standardization," "convergence" or "unification" may be at least as much constructions of the social sciences as empirical observations of "real" phenomenon (Tröhler, 2014). Instead, globalization, regionalization, and other catchwords denoting a global interdependence or a global organizational field and institutionalized environment, must be carefully analyzed and seen in relation to unique contexts that are both temporally and spatially dependent. Thus, we may talk of a global scale or level of organizational fields and institutionalized environments (both plural) pertaining to education, but as we do so we must relate it back to other levels of the scale and avoid temptations to overly

generalize without denoting local variances of importance. This is evident for instance in how similar scripts and modes of thought may influence the construction of new practices, but at the same time be tempered by local factors and political bricolage resulting in translation and shifts in meaning (Maroy et al., 2016). For these reasons, a global cognitive blueprint, such as the knowledge economy, has been found to not be uniformly adopted in specific contexts but takes on local variances (Zapp et al., 2018a,b) that arguably constitutes a separate derivate blueprint, which may again resonate differently in other contexts and again find itself translated and changed into a new and different blueprint (e.g. the knowledge economy becoming the knowledge society). In other words, there is nothing static about idea transfer and the spread of "what works." This then leads us to the importance of not only emphasizing the global or the regional, but to always keep an eye on the local context as well to which the essay now turns.

The local context: England and France on diverging trajectories

England is characterized largely as a systemless system in education, held together by data-flows centered on certification, inspections, and prescribed standards (Lawn, 2013; Helgetun and Dumay, 2021). Within this systemless system the state has comparatively low internal capacities to directly govern teacher education and produce data for policy, instead relaying on governing at a distance mechanisms (Ball, 2016; Ozga, 2009, 2019) and external sources such as the NFER or Education Datalab to produce evidence for policymaking (Helgetun and Menter, 2020; Helgetun, 2021). As such, England has a textbook new public management system of governance in (teacher) education at present. Meanwhile, in ideological terms education, including teacher education, is increasingly framed by both the concept of the knowledge economy as well as neo-liberalism centered on a free market of provision under state prescribed rules of the game. The neo-liberal system of today, that is coupled with new public management methods of steering at a distance through inspections and data flows, arguably grew out of a largely free model of teacher education devoid of much accountability or harmonization prior to the creation of the Qualified Teacher Status certificate in 1984 (Furlong, 2013). In terms of provision, this has led to a fragmented system where teachers are educated in a myriad of ways centered either on Universities, School-Centered Initial Teacher Training providers, or true partnerships between the two (Whiting et al., 2018; Helgetun and Dumay, 2021). In other words, there is no central model for teacher education (there never has been), only the teacher standards that form the basis of the QTS to standardize and define what a teacher is in England and therefore what their education should be (Childs and Menter, 2013; Helgetun and Dumay, 2021; Helgetun, 2022). The development of the QTS was in one sense the outcome of local concerns, such as the Great Debate in Education started in 1976 by Labor Prime Minister Jim Callaghan and concerns regarding was seen as a secret garden of the curriculum and progressive excesses in education (Phillips, 2001), which can be traced back to the "Black Papers" in the 1960s (Helgetun, 2021). Meanwhile, the OECD were emphasizing the link between the economy and education and the need for state intervention in a time of economic upheaval following the 1973 oil crisis, further influencing the perceived need for the state to take on an active role in all aspects of education (Phillips, 2001), including teacher education (Furlong, 2013). Hence, there were both local and international debates shaping the need to device some system of state intervention in the fragmented landscape of education in England, leading to the current iteration of the systemless system in teacher education (Helgetun, 2022). These changes have led to normative transformations in England, where the teacher now is arguably a form of "self-improving craftsperson" (Helgetun and Dumay, 2021), rather than the old image of a "scholar who just happened to be a teacher" that was almost taken for granted (at least by academia) prior to the Great Debate (Furlong, 2013). As such, the teacher is today defined as a professional anchored in the school more than in academia, while government policy is moving in a traditional direction.

By contrast, education in France, including teacher education, is shaped by a Jacobin logic (Normand, 2013) and meritocratic myth centered on the values of the French republic. The Jacobin approach centers on a strong educative state which aims to educate the future leaders of the country through a meritocratic approach that enables these shepherds to guide and lead the flock (Helgetun, 2021). This necessitates centralized control over an education system that is harmonious and as singular as possible (Alexander, 2001), while being rooted in the local context of *la République Française*, where technocratic mastery is displayed by the state. This view on the teacher harkens back, at least, to the French Revolution of 1789 (see e.g. Condorcet (1792)), and became cemented through the Ferry laws in 1881/2 (Prost, 2013; Helgetun, 2021). As such, teachers were, and still are, in France seen as "agents of the republic" who are educated by the French state as uniformly and harmoniously as possible to represent the values of the republic (Ozouf and Ozouf, 1992; Farges, 2017). Meanwhile, the French state takes responsibility for the large-scale production of both qualitative and quantitative data to shore up policy in education through agencies such as the national education inspectorate (IGEN) and national data analyst center in education (DEPP) (Helgetun, 2021). As such, the French model is much more static than its English counterpart at an ideological level, in spite of dramatic changes to the mode of provision instigated by the creation of the IUFM in 1989 (Prost, 2014). The changes are instead centered on improving the forming of these agents of the republic through an increased emphasis on the university (Sacilotto-Vasylenko and Fave-Bonnet, 2011; Cornu, 2015). This contrasts to England where the change was not only in terms of form of teacher education, but also in the very meaning of what a teacher was to be. To provide some context, the IUFM when created by law in 1989, was the first unified institute of teacher education in France encompassing both primary and secondary teachers. Prior to the opening of the IUFMs in 1992, primary teachers were educated in "teachers' colleges," while secondary teachers had no formal teacher education beyond requirements of a graduate degree in the subject they were to teach and the passing of the civil service entry examination known as "concours." The concours is adapted to the type of civil servant one desires to be, and was as such aimed at becoming a teacher.

However, it was, and is, heavily focused on subject knowledge and not knowledge of how to teach. See for example Helgetun (2021, 2022) for an elaboration on the history of teacher education in France in English, or Prost (2014) for a more comprehensive history in French.

To further analyze the European dimension behind these shifts, as observed by John Sayer (2006) English policymaking has not taken European trends into account at any point in regards to teacher education. Meanwhile, according to Helgetun and Menter (2020) for example, references in teacher education policy documents in England are to Hong Kong and Singapore more so than European countries (with the exception of Finland) or even Wales, Northern Ireland, or Scotland. Furthermore, as noted by Chung (2016) the inspiration for teacher education policy following 2010 was the Finnish education model, which was much misunderstood and abused. Moreover, there are no references of note to Bologna in the national discourse, nor does teacher education follow the $3 + 2 + 3$ model. Meanwhile, courses are not denoted in terms of ECTS but a national credit system. It appears then as if England is content not to adopt European models, but instead cherry picks policy ideas from across the globe. By contrast, France has engaged with Bologna, but not to actually mirror trends elsewhere as so much as implementing desired national reforms. Teacher education became systemically linked to the university in 1989 with the above-mentioned creation of the IUFM that instigated a $3 + 2$ system where future teachers would first attend 3 years of undergraduate studies in a subject area, followed by a two year post-graduate education in teaching well before Bologna (Bon, 2014). However, a reinforcement of the master component of teacher education was begun in the mid-2000s, culminating in the change from the IUFM to the ESPE in 2012 and creation of a "new" Master in Education and Teaching the same year, all supported by arguments centered on the need to respect Bologna and fully incorporate the $3 + 2 + 3$ system in teacher education as this was what "others" in Europe were doing (Helgetun, 2021, 2022). However, there remains limited evidence that others were in fact doing as the French were, and a closer examination of the discourse seem to indicate that Bologna was a useful argumentative tool for implementing reforms begun in 1989 (Bon, 2014).

Here, derivate theories from Putnam's (1988) two-level games (e.g. liberal intergovernmentalism, see Moravcsik, 1993, 1997) may help explain these relations better than dominant models in international and comparative education rooted in supranationality or international policy-borrowing (Steiner-Khamsi, 2010), which focuses predominantly on sense-making and legitimization that makes *different modes* of engagement with Europe harder to explain. To my understanding, Moravcsik's (1993) theory of liberal intergovernmentalism would see England's ignorance of Bologna as a national play with implications on two-levels, both in terms of signaling internally that the DfE, not Brussels is in charge of education, and internationally that states do not need to harmonize in education (a wish for limited European integration). In France, by contrast, the imaginations of Europe are of a different nature, the image of Europe for French intellectuals is of France as Europe and Europe as France (Chabert, 2011). The two-level play would then harmonize around sending strong signals to Europe of the need to adopt Bologna and the $3 + 2$ model, also in important national aspects such as education. The international concerns do here further nudge the national considerations, not because of what other states do nor only internal (national) concerns, but so France in the future can help push for further European integration in education.

Concluding remarks

To recapitulate and conclude, neither England nor France from their inception existed in isolation from the other, nor from the wider world, even though some accounts may create a semblance of national development existing in isolation prior to the "modern" and "post-modern" eras of globalization. Cross-national diffusion of ideas and engagements with similar cognitive blueprints is nothing new. However, what has changed are the speed of communication and the reach of dissemination. Ideas on education and the teacher is now reachable in every home with an internet connection through sites such as Wikipedia or Google where one can find for example PISA reports and rankings, Eurydice reports on the (believed) layout of an education system, or the book Émile.

Meanwhile, as argued in this essay, contrasts must be understood as an interplay between different levels of an environment (local, regional, global). Therefore, one may say the two cases are distinct in so far as one is turning toward the practical and the other is focused on integrating teacher education within the university, but not that they exist in isolation from one and other. This becomes apparent as we see how they engage with ideas of the enlightenment, of democracy and expertize, but in different ways and with distinct emphasizes that form different trajectories of abstract state governing logics and explicit teacher education policies. As such, the key to comprehending teacher education policy, is understanding the local socio-cultural and historic specificities which translates and transforms international trends into local outcomes (see also Brisard, 2002; Crossley and Watson, 2003; Crossley, 2010; Maroy et al., 2016), arguably leading to what Maroy et al. (2016) label vernacular globalization. One way to analyze the intersection between global, regional, and local trends is through contrasting comparison with an emphasis on the historical developments and particularities of both state governing and education logics and beliefs. In other words, to analyze both ideas of (teacher) education and ideas of good governance and the purpose of the state in a given context, while keeping an eye on the wider contexts (e.g. Europe, the globe) the object of analysis is located in. This approach however, would benefit from a coupling with two-level game type theories (Putnam, 1988) such as liberal intergovernmentalism (Moravcsik, 1993), to fully analyze the complex interaction between international and national concerns that policymakers and practitioners in education constantly engage with. This provides further analytical models to comprehending why we see vernacular globalization.

Based on what has been presented in this essay, we can say that the national imaginary vis-a-vis Europe plays an important role in shaping how England and France engage with Europe differently due to both national *and* international considerations that are rooted in the distinct national socio-historic trajectories rooted on the one hand in the French revolution of 1789 which led to a strong educative state, and on the other in a liberal system of education without an overarching educative state. These national myths, as socially constructed imaginaries, can then also be said to fully constitute what Benedict Anderson (2006) called imagined communities where we imagine ourselves to share a life with our compatriots, for France parts of this community extend into "enlightened Europe" (France is Europe), while in England it ends with the Channel Islands, and for some also at Hadrian's wall and the March of Wales. Interestingly however, England does references the far reaches of the former British Empire such as Singapore and Hong-Kong, but not Scotland or Ireland. At the same time, Bologna becomes an important cognitive blueprint (Zapp et al., 2018a,b) that is accessible for national policymakers in England and France as they try to both figure out how to do teacher education and how to justify it within an "evidence era" paradigm (Helgetun and Menter, 2020) where such blueprints are worth more than their weight in gold. Through understanding such divergent trends under common umbrellas, we begin to flesh out the context sensitivity of not only teacher education policy, but also of the teaching profession and the career of teachers that is intricately tied to the teachers' education.

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