

Cette thèse vise à expliquer les processus d'élaboration des politiques de formation des enseignants dans en Angleterre et la France. L'analyse suit les changements survenus entre les années 1980 et aujourd'hui, alors que la formation des enseignants est passée en Angleterre d'un système fragmenté centré sur l'université à un système mosaïque piloté par les écoles, et en France d'une forme très segmentée de formation initiale des enseignants avec une implication limitée de l'université, à une harmonisation croissante et une implication structurée de l'université dans toutes les facettes de la formation des enseignants. Les quatre principaux axes de la thèse sont : les caractéristiques des environnements institutionnalisés et des champs organisationnels des deux cas ; la tendance croissante des acteurs de la formation à prétendre posséder des « preuves de ce qui fonctionne » ; les origines socio-historiques des systèmes et des pratiques discursives des deux cas, et comment nous pouvons caractériser le changement dans leurs trajectoires de politique de formation.

This dissertation aims to explain through contrasting-comparison the teacher education policymaking processes in the educative-states England and France. The analysis tracks changes from 1980s to the current time as teacher education has moved in England from a fractured academia centred system to a mosaic school-led system, and in France from a highly segmented form of initial teacher education provision with limited university involvement, towards increasing harmonization and structured university involvement in all facets of teacher education through a comprehensive neo-institutionalist framework. The four main foci of the thesis are the characteristics of the institutionalized environments and organizational fields of the two cases, the increase in claims to possess "evidence of what works" by actors in education, the socio-historical roots of their current systems of teacher education and discursive practices, and how we can characterise change in their policy trajectories.



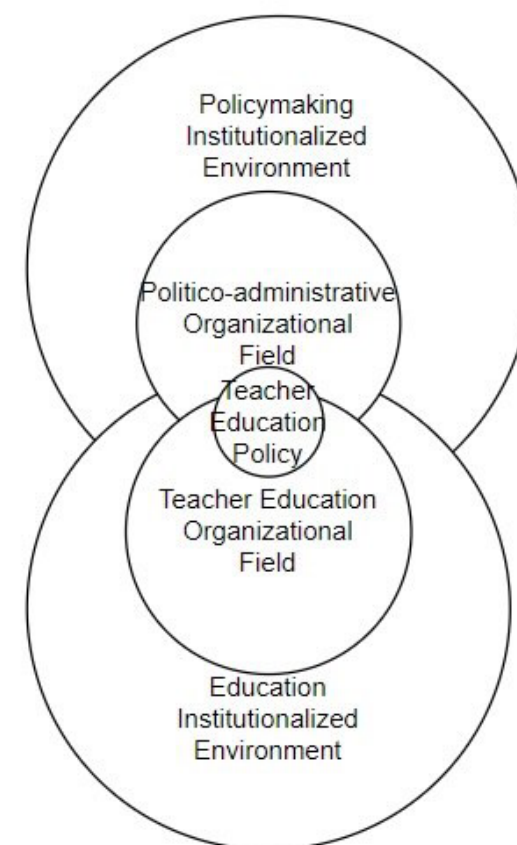
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MAINTAINING AND CHANGING INSTITUTIONALIZED ENVIRONMENTS



Teacher education policymaking in England and France compared



Maintaining and changing institutionalized environments: Teacher education policymaking in England and France compared

A thesis dissertation done in the Psyceduc Doctoral School with the aim of
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Summary of thesis

This dissertation aims to explain through “contrasting-comparison” the teacher education policymaking processes in the “educative-states” England and France. Through a comprehensive neo-institutionalist conceptual framework the analysis tracks changes from 1980s to the present. In this period, teacher education has moved in England from a fractured academia centred system to a mosaic school-led system, and in France from a highly segmented form of initial teacher education provision with limited university involvement, towards increasing harmonization and structured university involvement in all facets of teacher education.

The four main foci of the thesis are the characteristics of the institutionalized environments and organizational fields of the two cases, the increase in claims to possess “evidence of what works” by actors in (teacher) education, the socio-historical roots of the two cases current systems of teacher education and discursive practices (rationalisations), and how we can characterise change in their policy trajectories.

The result of these cases’ contrasting trajectories, and the subsequent different compositions of their organizational fields, is a much higher degree of academia based teacher educator access to influencing teacher education policymaking in France than in England. However, at present, in both cases, the central state is the dominant actor in teacher education, and all other actors must relate to its norms and structuring coercive force. Additionally, major change has happened in the teacher education fields in both cases, as the structures of provision has been altered. However, old tensions centred on the role of research and theory versus the role of practical experience remain central in both cases.

The current practices, I argue, are in England rooted in a gradual imposition of the politico-administrative field and institutionalized environment of the state on the teacher education field and environment due to cognitive blueprints centred on accountability through standards and measurement in (teacher) education that began in structural terms in 1984, and in discursive form in the 1960s. As a result of this, “evidence”, predominantly in the form of quantifiable data, has become the central tool of policymaking, while the dominant normative voice in teacher education has shifted from academia to high performing school leaders. The main theoretical insights granted by analysing these changes in England are that the transformative power of overlapping fields rest in the imposition of new norms, coercive tools, and cognitive-blueprints that may occur from one field to the other and the osmosis of ideas and ideations as the joining of fields bring different institutionalized environments into direct contact with each other.

In France, the central characteristics of teacher education policymaking are the strong normative position of the state granted through path dependence from the values of the French

revolution, the rationalised myth of state meritocracy and Jacobinism, and a close integration of state and education since the 19th century. The outcome of the French trajectory is an apparently static system, with some incremental changes that is mainly characterised by a singular event of drastic transformation, namely the creation of the IUFM in 1989. All subsequent policies have been predominantly aimed at implementing the vision of the IUFM. The changes brought new complications to the relation between teacher education and the university, however, the teacher education field is also lacking in a dominant voice as multiple actors all enjoy a right to be heard. Meanwhile, the state approach to policymaking remains centred on “experts-as-evidence” where professionals with a recognised authority to speak on education remain the primary sources of “what works”. A central theoretical insight here is how long-held beliefs can ossify and become structuring myths that are taken for granted by all major actors, rendering an environment static in its scope of possible ideations, but sufficient contestation centred on perceived shortfalls and clear solutions may create conditions for change that has transformative implications for multiple organizational fields.

Résumé de la these

Cette thèse vise à expliquer, par le biais d'une « comparaison contrastée », les processus d'élaboration des politiques de formation des enseignants dans les « Etats éducatifs » que sont l'Angleterre et la France. L'analyse suit les changements survenus entre les années 1980 et aujourd'hui, alors que la formation des enseignants est passée en Angleterre d'un système fragmenté centré sur l'université à un système mosaïque piloté par les écoles, et en France d'une forme très segmentée de formation initiale des enseignants avec une implication limitée de l'université, à une harmonisation croissante et une implication structurée de l'université dans toutes les facettes de la formation des enseignants. L'analyse s'appuie sur un cadre conceptuel néo-institutionnaliste large.

Les quatre principaux axes de la thèse sont : les caractéristiques des environnements institutionnalisés et des champs organisationnels des deux cas ; la tendance croissante des acteurs de la formation à prétendre posséder des « preuves de ce qui fonctionne » ; les origines socio-historiques des systèmes actuels de formation des enseignants et des pratiques discursives des deux cas, et comment nous pouvons caractériser le changement dans leurs trajectoires de politique de formation.

Le résultat de ces trajectoires contrastées, et des compositions différentes des champs organisationnels qui en découlent, est le degré beaucoup plus élevé d'influence des formateurs d'enseignants basés dans les universités sur la politique de formation des enseignants en France qu'en Angleterre. Cependant, à l'heure actuelle, dans les deux cas, l'État central reste l'acteur dominant dans la formation des enseignants, et tous les autres acteurs doivent se référer à ses normes et à sa force coercitive structurante. En outre, des changements majeurs ont eu lieu dans les

domaines de la formation des enseignants dans les deux cas, les structures de l'offre de formation ayant été modifiées. Cependant, les anciennes tensions centrées sur le rôle de la recherche et de la théorie par rapport au rôle de l'expérience pratique restent centrales dans les deux cas.

Je soutiens que les pratiques actuelles sont, en Angleterre, enracinées dans une emprise progressive du champ politico-administratif et de l'environnement institutionnalisé de l'État sur le champ et l'environnement de la formation des enseignants, en raison de schémas cognitifs centrés sur la reddition de comptes par le biais de standards et d'outils de mesure dans l'éducation et la formation (des enseignants) qui ont vus le jour en termes structurels en 1984, et sous forme discursive dès les années 1960. Par conséquent, les « preuves », principalement sous la forme de données quantifiables, sont devenues l'outil central de l'élaboration des politiques, tandis que la voix normative dominante dans la formation des enseignants s'est déplacée du milieu universitaire vers les directions d'écoles dites performantes. Les principaux enseignements théoriques tirés de l'analyse de ces changements en Angleterre sont que le pouvoir de transformation de champs qui se chevauchent repose sur l'imposition de nouvelles normes, d'outils coercitifs et de schémas cognitifs qui peut se faire d'un champ à l'autre, et sur l'osmose d'idées et d'idéations lorsque la jonction de champs fait entrer des environnements institutionnalisés différents en contact direct les uns avec les autres.

En France, les caractéristiques centrales de l'élaboration de la politique de formation des enseignants sont la forte position normative de l'État, héritée de la Révolution française et maintenue par un processus de dépendance au sentier, le mythe rationalisé de la méritocratie d'État et du jacobinisme, et une intégration étroite de l'État et de l'éducation depuis le XIXe siècle. Le résultat de la trajectoire française est un système apparemment statique, avec quelques changements incrémentaux, et une trajectoire principalement caractérisée par un unique événement aux implications drastiques, à savoir la création de l'IUFM en 1989. Toutes les politiques ultérieures ont été principalement destinées à mettre en œuvre la vision de l'IUFM. Ces changements ont apporté de nouvelles complications dans la relation entre la formation des enseignants et l'université. Cependant, le champ de la formation des enseignants se caractérise par l'absence de voix dominante, car les multiples acteurs bénéficient tous du droit d'être entendus. Dans le même temps, l'approche de l'État en matière d'élaboration de politiques reste centrée sur les « *expert-as-evidence* », où les professionnels ayant une autorité reconnue pour parler de l'éducation restent les principales sources à propos de « ce qui fonctionne ». Un apport théorique central ici est de montrer comment les croyances de longue date peuvent s'ossifier et devenir des mythes structurants qui sont pris pour acquis par tous les acteurs majeurs, rendant un environnement stable dans son éventail d'idéations possibles. Cependant, une contestation suffisante centrée sur des insuffisances perçues

et des solutions claires peut créer les conditions d'un changement aux implications transformatrices pour de multiples champs organisationnels.

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Table of Contents

Summary of thesis.....	2
Acknowledgements:.....	5
List of abbreviations	12
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	15
1.1 Teacher education policymaking as an institutionalized process.....	18
1.2 Research Questions.....	21
1.3 Layout of the thesis	24
Chapter 2: Ontology, Epistemology, and Methodology: Social reality, mechanisms, and separating doxa from episteme.	29
2.1 Ontology: What is Truth, Knowledge, and Evidence?.....	29
2.1.1 Socially constructed reality: Subjectivity and objectivity as we deal with truth	30
2.1.2 Material constraints on social realities	34
2.2 Epistemological concerns: How to construct knowledge	36
2.2.1 Causal mechanisms and explanatory chains: Comprehending the process of reality construction	38
2.2.2. Adequate knowledge: Risks and purpose of research.....	41
2.3 Methodological concepts: Separating episteme from doxa	43
2.3.1 The place of induction in separating Episteme from Doxa	44
2.3.2 Inferring what <i>is</i> through triangulation when data is limited.....	45
2.3.3 Building on the Circular Model of the Research Process: structuring inductive-deductive research and triangulation	47
2.3.4 How to deal with the importance of language and connotations in comprehending policy in any form: language, connotations, and emotions.	49
2.4 Summary and concluding remarks of the chapter.....	54
Chapter 3: Analytical framework: How to analyse policymaking in education	57
3.1 Institutionalized environments and organizational fields	59
3.1.1 Institutionalized environments	60
3.1.2 Organizational fields.....	61

3.1.3 The interaction of environments and fields in teacher education policymaking	64
3.1.4 The interaction between fields and environments: Enabling contestation	65
3.2 Governing and policy: Policymaking, politics, and power	66
3.3 Theorising change and stability in institutional environments and organizational fields: six aspects.....	70
3.3.1 Regulative dimension:	73
3.3.2 Normative dimension:.....	76
3.3.3 Cultural-cognitive dimension:	80
3.3.4 Two aspects rooted in policy trajectories: Path dependence and shocks.....	88
3.3.5 Field re-composition aspect: Taking new actors seriously	92
3.4 Interplay between the aspects/dimensions	94
Chapter 4: Empirical data gathering and analysis.....	97
4.1 Collecting clues to infer mechanisms: Data collection in the two cases	97
4.1.1 English data collection.....	99
4.1.2 French data collection.....	100
4.1.3 Comprehending cultural-linguistic differences and translating between the two cases ...	102
4.2 Analytical approach in the two cases: Coding and synthesization of data	103
4.3 Asymmetrical contrasting comparison	107
4.3.1 Insider-outsider approach.....	109
4.3.2 Comparison to construct “natural experimentation” and help imagine counterfactuals..	111
4.3.3 Comparison to understand spatial, temporal, and activity contexts in Education	112
4.4 Ethical and reflexivity considerations	115
Chapter 5: A brief history of state-governance, teacher education, and the teaching profession in England and France	117
5.1 The educative state as a global construct but with national characteristics.....	119
5.2 Two distinct relations to the concepts of education and governing of the public: National characteristics, myths, and logics of the state	125
5.2.1. France: Revolutions, Republicanism, and Jacobinism shaping a “meritocratic” concept rooted in a centralizing state.	125

5.2.2 England: Incremental change from Oligarchy to liberal democracy in a constitutional monarchy.	132
5.2.3 The legal basis of public administration: Common law versus codified civil law	134
5.3 The socio-historic context of teacher education policy in France	137
5.3.1 Discourse and state institutional structure and logic in La République Française	138
5.3.2 The state structure of teacher education governance	141
5.3.3 Unions as a central actor and voice in the normative dimension	143
5.3.4 The history of teacher education provision in France: From the Lycée to the INSPE	144
5.3.5 Multiple teaching professions in France? Meritocracy, concours, and the teacher	148
5.4: The socio-historic context of teacher education policy and provision in England	150
5.4.1 Policy discourse: The great debate in education	151
5.4.2 Teacher education provision in England: Qualified Teacher Status as regulative control lever.....	157
5.4.3 Multiple types of provision: Pendulum swing between higher education and schooling .	160
5.5 Concluding remarks of the chapter.....	164
Chapter 6: Organizational fields in England	167
6.1 Historic developments and main actors at the educative-state level	169
6.1.1 Relations between Parliament and Government in teacher education	169
6.1.2 The civil service: Role, function, and neutrality	171
6.1.3 The Department for Education	174
6.2 Policy tools: Control levers and reconfigurations of normative legitimacy.....	175
6.2.2 Evolution of CATE and the impact of the actor on the organizational field: New actors, new control levers 1984-2012	176
6.2.3 Changing voices and modes of access to influence policymaking.....	180
6.3 The place and role of providers in policymaking in the “school-led system”	183
6.3.1 The rise of MATs and SCITTs as new actors in the organizational field	184
6.3.2 ARK as example of the current complexity of teacher education	186
6.3.3 The evolving continued professional development provision in England	190

6.4 Discussion and concluding remarks	193
Chapter 7: Organizational fields in France	197
7.1 Ministry of Education and Ministry of Higher Education, Research and Innovation: Hierarchies and cooperation	198
7.1.1 The French civil service	203
7.1.2 Inspections in France: Observers and knowledge producers who grant a voice to teachers	204
7.1.3 State advisory bodies granting a voice to professions, but also legitimacy to policy	206
7.2 Limited presence of non-state actors in public debate	207
7.3 Tensions and negotiations between actors	209
7.3.1 The 1989 IUFM reform and subsequent tensions: Negotiations between actors	210
7.3.2 Tensions between MEN and MESRI following the IUFM reform	212
7.3.3 Historic cleavages regarding what teacher education should focus on	214
7.3.4 France and the world	215
7.3.5 Issues related to continued professional development provision in France	217
7.4 Tri-party negotiations between providers, universities, and MEN represented by the recteur	219
7.5 Discussion and concluding remarks	221
Chapter 8: Legitimation of political discourse and policy: The construction and use of “evidence” in policymaking	225
8.1 “Evidence” used to legitimize policy and the influence of NPM	228
8.1.1 New Public Management underpinning the shift towards an evidence era	229
8.2 A priori theorising the link between “evidence” and policymaking in England and France.....	231
8.2.1 Origins of the current cult of “evidence” as a rationalised myth in policymaking in the two cases	231
8.3 The production and dissemination of “evidence”: Snake-oil salesmen peddling “evidence” to the field?	234
8.3.1 Data gathering: The construction of “evidence”	236

8.3.2 The impact of the policymaking environment on knowledge construction and dissemination	242
8.3.3 Presentation form of “evidence”	248
8.4 The purpose and content of evidence in policy: The context of text production	250
8.5 Referencing what goes on “elsewhere”	252
8.6 Discussion and concluding remarks of the chapter: Use of “evidence” to justify policy, a feature of the current day and age?	255
Chapter 9. How Institutionalized environments structure and transform the organizational fields over time: Inferring the work of mechanisms.....	261
9.1 The contexts of influence, text production, and practice in living memory.....	262
9.2 National myths and cognitive blueprints influencing policymaking.....	269
9.2.1 National myths granting and denying legitimacy in the state-policymaking environment.....	269
9.2.2 The language of education.....	275
9.2.3 Central debates in (teacher) education	277
9.2.4 The status of the teaching profession.....	283
9.3 Governing teacher education.....	287
9.4 Explanatory chains	292
9.5 Discussion and concluding remarks of the chapter	298
Chapter 10. Drawing the analysis together: Discussion, and concluding remarks.....	303
10.1 How do teacher education and politico-administrative organizational fields shape teacher education policy?	303
10.2 How do policymakers and stakeholders use “evidence of what works” in relation to teacher education policymaking?	306
10.3 How do education and policymaking institutionalized environments structure teacher education policymaking?	310
10.4 How England and France engage with European trends in teacher education	314
10.5 Limitations of the analytical approach and methodology	315
10.6 Added value of the analytical approach to our understanding of institutional change	319
10.7 Insights on how policy influences teacher education and the road ahead	321

10.8 Synthesis and concluding remarks	324
Annex.....	329
Annex 1: Case study A - England	329
Annex 1.1: Public government documents analysed	329
Annex 1.2: Reports and reviews.....	332
Annex 1.3: Speeches	332
Annex 1.4: BERA presidential addresses.....	332
Annex 1.5: List of interviewees	333
Annex 1.6: Policy Trajectory England– central documents	334
Annex 1.7 State web-sites analysed for wider context England.....	338
Annex 2: Case study B - France	338
Annex 2.1 Public government documents analysed.....	338
Annex 2.2 List of interviewees: France	343
Annex 2.3: IGEN reports.....	344
Annex 2.4 Policy Trajectory France – central documents.....	345
Annex 2.5 Organigram DGESCO	363
Annex 2.6 state web-sites analysed for wider context France	363
Annex 3: Comparative tables	363
Annex 3.1 English Teachers’ Standards compared to French Teachers’ Competences.	363
Annex 3.2 Civil service obligations in England compared to in France.....	366
Bibliography	369

List of abbreviations

ARK – Absolute Returns for Kids
B. Ed. – Bachelor in Education
BIP – Bureau d’Innovation Pédagogique
CATE – Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Educators
CNESCO – Centre National d’Études des Systèmes Scolaires
CNP – Conseil National Des Programme
CPD – Continued Professional Development
CSE – Conseil Supérieur de l’Éducation
CSP – Conseil Supérieur des Programme
DARPA – Defence Advanced Research Project Agency
DEPP – Direction de l’Évaluation, de la Prospective et de la Performance
DfE – Department for Education
DGESCO – Direction Générale de l’Enseignement Scolaire
DGRH – Direction Générale de Ressources Humaines
ESPE – École Supérieure du Professorat et de l’Éducation
EU – European Union
EBPM – Evidence Based Policymaking
HCE – Haute Conseil de l’Éducation
IGEN – Inspection Générale de l’Éducation Nationale
INSPE – Institut National Supérieur du Professorat et de l’Éducation
IEA – International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievements
ITE – Initial Teacher Education
ITT – Initial Teacher Training
IUFM – Institut Universitaire de Formation des Maîtres
MAT – Multi-Academy Trust
MEEF – Master de l’enseignement, de l’éducation et de la formation
MEN – Ministère de l’Éducation Nationale
MESRI – Ministère de l’Enseignement Supérieur, de la Recherche et de l’Innovation
NAO – National Audit Office
NCTL – National College of Teaching and Learning
OECD – Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PBEM – Policy Based Evidence Making
PGCE – Post-Graduate Certificate in Education
PISA – Programme for International Student Assessment
RAND – Research and Development corporation
SCITT – School Centred Initial Teacher Trainers
TA – Teacher Agency
TALIS – Teaching and Learning International Survey
TDA – Training and Development Agency for Schools
TEDS-M – Teacher Education and Development Study - Mathematics
TTA – Teacher Training Agency
QTS – Qualified Teacher Status
UK – United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern-Ireland
UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Maintaining and changing institutionalized environments: Teacher education policymaking in England and France compared.

“[R]eflections on reforms and their impact highlight the need to nag away at certain fundamental questions: What does the society expect from its teachers? What should be the teachers' role in transmitting a cultural heritage, managing present challenges and preparing for an uncertain future? Without some vision of the essential role of teachers, it will always remain difficult to determine how best they should be prepared.” (Foster 1999 p. 142)

Chapter 1: Introduction

“Institutions of teacher education fulfil vital roles in the global education community; they have the potential to bring changes within educational systems that will shape the knowledge and skills of future generations. Often, education is described as the great hope for creating a more sustainable future; teacher-education institutions serve as key change agents in transforming education and society, so such a future is possible. Not only do teacher-education institutions educate new teachers, they update the knowledge and skills of in-service teachers, create teacher-education curriculum, provide professional development for practicing teachers, contribute to textbooks, consult with local schools, and often provide expert opinion to regional and national ministries of education.” (UNESCO 2005 p.11.)

The teacher is arguably the central component of any classroom regardless of whether his¹ role is to transfer knowledge or enable children to learn throughout their life, as all eyes of pupils, parents, and the wider society are turned towards him (Brisard 2002). Meanwhile, what a teacher knows and how he perceives his role is rooted in his professional education and training (Beck and Young 2005, Beck 2009), which is generally shaped by policymakers² (Foster 1999, Brisard 2002) and reflect beliefs in a society (Brisard 2002, Menter 2016, Tatto, Richmond, and Carter-Andrews 2016). At the same time, academic research has shown an ongoing convergence of societal beliefs on what education ought to do (Meyer, Boli et al. 1997, Schofer and Meyer 2005, Meyer and Ramirez 2007) as well as a rise of a global policy space in education (Lingard and Rawolle 2011). Concurrently, solutions to perceived issues in teacher education have been found to be more and more solved through policy borrowing (Steiner-Khamsi 2010) from, amongst others, high performers in PISA (Chung 2016). In addition, education, including teacher 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, Sellar et al. 2017, Dupriez and Cattonar 2018). However, what teacher education policy is enacted and for what purpose, has been found to differ

¹ For simplicity of reading and writing in this comparative work written in a Francophone institution, inclusive writing was not employed and the French cultural-linguistic tradition of “masculine forms” was instead used. This is not a reflection of any political position on how one is to use a language nor on gender equality, but rather a reflection upon the importance of accessibility and readability in a multi-lingual world. As to why “he” and not “she”, there are more female than male teachers in England, so in that regard arguments could be made for “she” rather than, “he”. However, there are also more male than female secondary teachers in France. Therefore, the traditional practice of using “he” rather than “she” or a rewrite to use “they”, flawed as that practice arguably is, was chosen for pragmatic reasons. Inclusive writing such as s/he and her/him was employed where anonymity (interviews) was of concern.

² Policymakers here refer to individuals that make de facto rules that govern the practices of others. At a macro level, these individuals are usually elected officials (e.g., politicians) and/or public administrators (e.g. Civil servants)

between countries and reflect the socio-cultural and historic particularities in them (Brisard 2002). For example, France has since 1989 gone towards a university-based model of teacher education provision (Prost 2014, Cornu 2015), while England has since 1984 moved in the opposite direction from academia towards a school-led system (Furlong 2001, 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), whilst in France the trends since 1989 are seen as a form of “universitisation” of teacher education (Cornu 2015, Farges 2017). Thus, two contrasting trajectories can be observed in England and France, the former centred on an increasing role for the school, the latter on an increasing role for the university.

In this thesis, I analyse the broader institutionalized process of teacher education (initial and continued) policymaking in England³ and France from the 18th century to the present through “asymmetrical contrasting comparison” and a predominantly neo-institutionalist analytical framework. The aim of the research, undertaken between 2017 and 2021, was to understand both why teacher education policy in England and France has changed in the past and how the policymaking process functions today, under the supposition that the two are linked as history shapes the present.⁴ The analysis took a diachronic approach to understanding policymaking in England and France with a dual focus on the longer historic lines from the 18th century to today, and a more detailed focus on the time-period 1976-2020 in England and 1982-2020 in France. 1976 was chosen for England due to the symbolic importance of Prime Minister James Callaghan’s speech at Ruskin college that year for later changes in teacher education (Furlong 2001, Philips 2001), whilst 1982 was chosen for France due to the creation of the “MAFPEN” that year (Guglielmi and Savary 1999), an important early step towards the 1989 reforms of teacher education. This dual temporal approach was used to better comprehend the underlying institutional environments and sequence of explanatory chains leading to the maintenance or change of “institutionalized environments” (see below). The end emphasis of both temporal approaches was to understand how the current practices of policymaking in the two cases have been sociohistorically constructed, and how it shapes the current institutionalized environment of teacher education.

The case of England is an interesting one as it is an early adopter and driver of what is argued to be the two dominant paradigms in public-policy today, namely the above-mentioned NPM and

³ As education is a devolved matter in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (see Menter, Brisard, et al. 2006) I can only lay claim to having analysed “England”. Moreover, as England has no Parliament or Government of its own in contrast to Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, I argue that England and United Kingdom can always be used interchangeably in questions of public governance that applies to England. However, this does not hold true when the object of debate is Scotland, Wales, or Northern Ireland.

⁴ This thesis was written as part of the European Research Council funded project Teachers Careers (www.teacherscareers.eu). The case selection and methodological approach was informed by this.

neo-liberalism (Keraudren 1999, Ball 2008). It is also one that has undergone dramatic changes in both provision of teacher education and the societal conceptualisation of the teacher in terms of role, purpose, and required training that can be linked to fundamental changes to the education system as a whole (Furlong 2013, Quirk-Marku and Hulme 2017). Historically, there has been an arms-length between education and the central state (Alexander 2001, Jones 2016), relatable to how England is in historic terms a liberal system with comparatively high local governance and emphasis on elected officials and private enterprise rather than governing by central-state technocrats (Alexander 2001, Méney and Surel 2009).

By contrast, the education system and “educative state” in France has shown strong resistance to, and de-coupling from, NPM and neo-liberal reforms (Normand 2013, Pons 2014), and has a completely different governing structure to England (Méney and Surel 2009). France is what we may consider a “quasi-technocratic” republic where meritocracy is central (Normand 2013). In relation to the technocratic and meritocratic emphasis of the French Republic, academia and especially teacher education has long been the province of the central state since the inception of the Imperial University of France in 1808 (Muzzey 1911). Additionally, France is characterisable by a national *myth* of education as “singular” and homogenous in terms of provision (Alexander 2001) to meet the enlightened values of *La République*, where education is seen as a vessel for the state-meritocratic system aimed at enabling a form of technocracy (Normand 2013, 2020). Importantly in this regard, the elite of the French state are argued by Normand (2020) to operate under a Jacobin logic. Meanwhile, rather than being a vessel for innovation and social mobility, the French meritocratic education system is argued by Bourdieu (1984) to in essence produce patents for the nobility of the state as social classes and tastes are reproduced.

It should be noted that even though the central focus is on England and France, as state-construction is arguably becoming de-coupled from old notions of “nation-states”, the research recognises the potential influence of global processes (e.g., NPM reforms, and the “knowledge economy” as well as the Bologna process and PISA) on the two cases to avoid methodological nationalism (Dale 2005). It also recognises that social processes are not bound by national borders, but are instead limited by the range of potential dissemination (e.g., technology) of ideas and beliefs (Meyer, Boli et al. 1997). In other words, states do not exist in a vacuum.

Meanwhile, socio-economic, political, philosophical, and cultural contexts matter in education (Crossley 2010). As such, “what works” in one place may not work elsewhere or end up working differently as local peculiarities transform and translate imported (culturally borrowed) policy ideas (Crossley and Watson 2003, Maroy, Pons, and Dupuy 2016, Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell 2018). Teacher education and teacher education policy is perhaps of particular interest here, as it has been found to be revealing of not only the purpose of an education system (Guglielmi 1998), but also

of values within a society (Menter 2016). As such, it is important to emphasise the nature of values in contexts of time, space, and activity as these transform ideas when they move from one context to another (e.g., from one organizational field to another).

The rest of this introduction will first present a synthetic overview of the importance of policy in shaping (teacher education) practices and how we can understand policy both as an ideational and coercive force by analysing policymaking as an institutionalized process. The research questions are operationalised in section 1.2, before the introduction ends by presenting the layout of the rest of this thesis in section 1.3.

1.1 Teacher education policymaking as an institutionalized process

To understand teacher education and its link to education and society we should according to Brisard (2002) ask what the purpose of teacher education is and how is the teacher's professional role conceptualized, and ask how these notions have changed over time.

What a teacher is, and therefore how he should be educated, is in England and France defined through what we can conceptualize as state-level *policy-as-text* (Ball 1993) (e.g., certification requirements, teachers' standards, delimited areas of responsibility) where policymakers through their agency rooted in power relations produce texts that take on a life of their own as policy takers read and interpret the texts.

Moreover, beyond the textual regulative form of prescribing what someone should do as a coercive mechanism, policy has also been found to be a central transmitter of institutionalized rules, values, and beliefs (Zapp, Marques, and Powell 2018, Helgetun and Dumay 2021). In addition, policy is both shaped by norms and cultures and in turn shape the norms and cultures of the societal groups they apply to (Alexander 2001, Scott 2013), in a form of *symbiotic relation* where change in one change the other on some level. That is, policies are not only socio-historical constructs (Brisard 2002), but they may also play a part in constructing the future from their inception as carriers of norms and cultures that take on a life of their own (Streeck and Thelen 2005), even if they at any given point in time may appear to only have an infinitesimal influence. Therefore, policymaking can be characterised as an institutionalized process where ideas matter just as much as conceptions of power or material factors (Béland and Cox 2011), whose effects articulate across time (Campbell 2004, Helgetun and Dumay 2021), while policy actors are constrained by the socially constructed realities they inhabit. This aspect of policy we may conceptualize as *policy-as-discourse* where the emphasis is not on actor agency, but on the structural and ideational constraints (what they think about, how they think about it, and what they do not think about) policymakers operate with (Ball 1993), that differ across spatial and temporal contexts (Tröhler 2014a, 2014b). Discourse is how an

idea, or an act, is legitimised as “true” (Foucault 1984, Ball 1993, Foucault 2006), thereby enabling belief in, or contestation of, what constitutes for example “best practice”. I use quotation marks to illustrate how “best practice” is not best in any objective sense, nor is the truth “true” in any absolute objective sense. They both relate to a rationalisation process rooted in societal power struggles (Ball 2013) and processes of sense-making (Beckert 2010) that are rooted in discourse (Ball 1993).

The discourse of policy can be said to consist of dominant, residual, and emerging modes of beliefs and behaviours that actors consciously or sub-consciously promote or contest, particularly as policy moves from discourse to practice. This we may equate to an institutionalized environment where discourse is formed and contested which articulates on an organizational field of shared practice such as policymaking in teacher education. An institutionalized environment is constituted by the formal and informal rules, values, norms, and beliefs, held by actors unified through a perception of a shared context (space, time, and activity) (Scott, Ruef et al. 2000) such as “education in England at present” or “state policymaking in France during the First Revolution”. Meanwhile, organizational fields here correspond to actors, and organizations as actors, that operate with a shared specific function (e.g., teacher education or political-administration), whose practices are structured by the institutionalized environment they are embedded in through causal mechanisms (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, Scott 2013). As such, the distinction between institutionalized environments and organizational fields rest in how the former concept denotes institutionalized beliefs that shape perceptions of reality, of what ought to be done, and how it should be done in relation to a practice. By contrast, the organizational field is the ensemble of actors performing the practice in question, as well as their relations to each other. Policy is then determined in the institutionalized environment (policy-as-discourse) but practiced in the organizational field (policy-as-text). Importantly, the environment and the field exist in a form of symbiosis, as actor relations and contestation of beliefs are both shaped by the environment and in turn shape it. The distinction then serves to enable an understanding of the abstract mechanisms that structure everyday life (environment), as well as the dynamic characteristics of actor relations as they attempt to perform their task (field) and are exposed to competing rationales of behaviour relative to the stability of the environment (i.e., its degree of institutionalization as expressed through isomorphism and taken-for-grantedness in the field). This conceptualization allows us to see the process of policymaking as what is institutionalized through discourse, whilst policy itself is not an institution but a carrier of institutionalized beliefs and values of what is rational and legitimate practice. The shaping of policy is then a process of both rationalization and legitimization of policy ideas. Therefore, the fundamental goal of the research is to analyse processes of rationalisation and legitimisation as they pertain to policymaking in different social realities expressed as institutionalized environments with corresponding organizational fields. Through such an analytical approach, we may understand the

essence of policymaking, and how policy is both characterisable as a process of text production and discursive work.

I argue in this thesis that policymaking in education, as an institutionalized process, contends with two distinct institutionalized environments (Scott, Ruef et al. 2000), namely a state-policymaking environment and an education environment that each hold their own beliefs, values, and norms and structure organizational fields that are embedded within them. In line with this argument, I also propose that greater insight can be obtained through heuristically separating the teacher education field (the practice of educating teachers) on the one hand, and the politico-administrative field (the practice of administering a public good such as education) on the other. In this thesis, I analyse the constant two-way interaction between the environment and the field, as daily practices in a field reproduces or challenges the dominant discourse emanating from the environment. In addition, I focus on the inter and trans-field relations between the politico-administrative and teacher education fields as they meet in relation to teacher education policy.

To begin to address the composition of the organizational fields and the tools at the disposal of actors, both evidence (what should be done because it works) and moral authority (the right to say what ought to be done) are considered as central components of any policy as policymakers and rulers attempt to legitimize their discourse and right to govern (Steiner-Khamsi 2010, Verger, Steiner-Khamsi and Lubienski 2017, Zapp and Dahmen 2017, Zapp 2018). Through this discursive process centred on evidence and moral authority, policy is informed and shaped by stakeholders in both the teacher education and politico-administrative field, with differing access to the policymaking process. In societies across the world, “experts”, or people who claim expertise, of various kinds (e.g. researchers in education, economists, sociologists, teachers, employees in ideological think tanks, philosophers, parents) on multiple levels (local, national, international) provide advice and reported evidence of “what works”⁵ to policymakers and practitioners working in education (Coffield 2012, Verger, Steiner-Khamsi, and Lubienski 2017, Zapp, Marques, and Powell 2018), including teacher education policy (Menter 2016, 2020, Helgetun and Menter 2020). How these stakeholders and experts gain access to influence policy, depends on the configurations of relevant organizational fields, and deep held beliefs on the right of different actors to express themselves located in institutionalized environments. This depends not only on larger meta-characteristics such as the difference between liberal democracies and dictatorships, but also on the more localised peculiarities of a given socio-historical context such as the difference between a common law (e.g.,

⁵ A linguistic note: “What works” is consistently written with quotation marks to indicate how it is a phrase devoid of meaning due to its many facets. It is a political term that is thrown around by politicians, practitioners, and academics alike with little concern for what they actually mean. E.g., it never answers the question “works for what, how and why?”

England) and codified civil law (e.g., France) system (Berman 2000, Tetley 2000), or Jacobin republicanism (e.g., France) versus a liberal constitutional monarchy (e.g. England) (Mény and Surel 2009). Therefore, there are both generalisable trends as to how stakeholders may influence policy, but also local variants that can only be understood through detailed case analysis.

As such, it becomes important to analyse how different actors may influence the policymaking process. This requires an analytical emphasis on the one hand on the configurations of the organizational fields of relevance, and on the other on the ability of stakeholders to use “evidence of what works” to influence discourse in what has been deemed the context of influence (Bowe and Ball 1992), if one aims to understand the process of policymaking. Meanwhile, as institutionalized environments structure practices within organizational fields, we must also analyse how they do so by emphasising the institutional mechanisms behind the maintenance or change of a practice. This would be the circular spectrum from the context of influence where actors engage in discourse to shape policy that is heavily influenced by the policymaking environment, to the context of practice where policy shapes practices in teacher education but is also interpreted through the lens of the teacher education environment as is further elaborated in Chapter 3. Through such an analysis, we are able to both capture the peculiarities of teacher education policymaking in England and France, and the more generalisable characteristics of policymaking as a societal endeavour undertaken by humans in modern educative states.

1.2 Research Questions

Three research questions (RQ) were formulated based on the problematisation presented in the previous section. The three RQs are guided and narrowed by two sub-questions each. The layout of the RQs is to go from analysing the relatively concrete organizational fields relevant for teacher education policymaking in England and France to the more abstract nature of mechanisms of institutional change located in the institutionalized environments that correspond to these fields.

RQ1: How do teacher education and politico-administrative organizational fields shape teacher education policy in England and France? The first RQ aims to address the concept of an organizational field and how these shape policies. As such, it has a dual focus on the politico-administrative and teacher education organizational fields. Because a central element to both comprehending and characterising organizational fields are the evolving relations between actors as well as what actors are present in the field (actors come and go), a first narrowing sub-question is: *How have the organizational fields relevant to teacher education policymaking been re-shaped since the origin of structured teacher education in the two cases?* This sub-question enables a long temporal focus, which helps to understand the organizational fields today in light of their past. As the research is comparative, the emphasis on these distinct but related historical trajectories enables an

understanding of how England and France have at times converged and diverged in light of *internal* socio-cultural shifts. Meanwhile, as seen in the problematisation above, central to teacher education policymaking is the interaction of actors from at least two different fields that have different relations with each other across space-time contexts. Thus, to address this the second guiding sub-question is: *How does the shape of an organizational field and its cross-field interaction with other relevant fields shape stakeholder access to teacher education policymaking?* The aim of this sub-question is to address both the inner workings of the politico-administrative organizational field as it engages in policy production, but also how actors from outside (teacher education providers, unions, professional associations) of the core of the field (government) are granted, obtain, or denied access to policy-as-text. This question then necessitates a shorter duration under study (for pragmatic reasons) as the organizational fields and their peculiarities (details) are compared across spatial and activity contexts. The spatial component is enshrined in the emphasis on understanding how organizational fields enable or deny access to the policymaking process as this is likely contingent on the local characteristics of a field (its shape), whilst the activity component is present within the distinct emphasis on cross-field interactions. Together, these sub-questions put an emphasis on a dual temporal approach, where one focuses on the long trajectory of teacher education policy from the inception of organized teacher education and the other on understanding in detail how organizational fields impact teacher education policymaking. This temporal duality is also reflected in RQ 3 which focuses on the institutionalized environments due to the symbiotic nature of environment and field.

RQ 2: How do policymakers and stakeholders use “evidence of what works” in relation to teacher education policymaking in England and France? The second RQ aims to comprehend how the notion of “evidence of what works” is used in teacher education policymaking. As seen above, this concept has in past research been found to be central to policymaking in education. The concept also crosses between policy-as-text and policy-as-discourse, and as such it becomes a strong observable link between the organizational field and institutionalized environment. To guide this question further, an emphasis is put on the beliefs and practices within the politico-administrative organizational field (where policy is made) in relation to the concept of “evidence of what works” by asking: *How do beliefs and practices in the politico-administrative organizational field structure the construction of “evidence of what works” for policy?* Importantly, in this regard, the politico-administrative field, as it engages with teacher education policymaking, is believed to be influenced by both the policymaking and education institutionalized environments, as well as what we can conceptualize as a research environment. However, the dominant environment is likely to be that of policymaking as it most closely corresponds to the practice in question, which is not research, but the construction of “evidence of what works”. To further understand the concept and its impact on

policy-as-text, the research also aimed to understand: *How is “evidence of what works” used in policy texts?* Through this dual focus on “evidence” construction and use, the research is able to comprehend the role “evidence of what works” plays in policymaking in teacher education both in terms of policy-as-discourse and policy-as-text. Hence, this analysis is an important bridge for our theoretical comprehension of the symbiotic link between institutionalized environments and organizational fields.

RQ 3: How do education and policymaking institutionalized environments structure teacher education policymaking in England and France? The third RQ is focused on comprehending policy-as-discourse and how institutionalized environments structure practices in the organizational fields. As argued above, policy is a two-way process between text and discourse, field and environment, where one impacts the other. This is rooted in how policy is both a product and carrier of institutionalized beliefs and relate to the range of stakeholders in a field (the policymakers and policy takers). The third RQ aims to capture the structuring and constraining force of the state-policymaking and education institutionalized environments. To understand the structuring force of institutionalized environments on an institutionalized process such as policymaking, we must focus on the inference of causal mechanisms over time. Therefore, a first sub-question is: *How have causal mechanisms unfolded over time to construct the current policymaking practices?* The temporal aspect here allows us to see the processes of change, where we can infer not only the presence of a mechanism, but also its triggering and the unfolding of the subsequent process of change. That is, we can infer the characteristics of the policymaking processes. However, this in isolation only provides a part of the picture, as the characteristics of institutional change itself also holds bearing on our comprehension of policymaking as an institutionalized process. For example, if change is revolutionary, the tools and beliefs of policymakers must be understood differently than if change is incremental or a punctuated equilibrium. Hence, a second sub-question to RQ 3 is: *How can we characterise institutional change?* Taken together, these three RQs and their guiding sub-questions enable us to comprehend policymaking in England and France as an institutionalized process, where policy is understood as the result of both policy-as-discourse and policy-as-text.

In addition to these three RQs, to avoid methodological nationalism and recognise the complexities of education governance within both a globalising education policy field and the existence of the European Union (EU), the research kept a consistent eye on the link between the two cases and the emergent European and global levels in a scalar sense, just as it kept an eye on the local level of teacher education provision. These concerns were not operationalized as a research question, and instead constitute an important methodological approach to the study across all RQs, which means research objects are not analysed in isolation as they do not exist in a contextual vacuum. Under the same rationale, the contrasting comparative approach helps to ensure a broader

outlook on teacher education policymaking than one rooted in a single context. As such, the research questions are aimed at the knowledge we can infer from comparing and contrasting the research objects, not only spatially (England and France), but also temporally and in terms of activity (policymaking or teacher education). Through this emphasis we not only avoid methodological nationalism, but also tendencies to focus more on geographical space than activity or time. The emergence (a temporal aspect) of new global or European actors in questions of education means we can talk of changes related to dissemination of values in the 18th century compared to the dissemination of values in the 21st century. In other words, comparison here is not only between England and France, but between the England of the 21st century and the England of the 20th century, as well as a comparison between the act of making policy and the influence this has on the act of educating teachers. This complex comparative approach rests epistemologically in the idea that parsimony and Occam's razor are not good explanatory approaches when analysing policymaking (Zaks 2020), and that the complexity of policy necessitates a complex analytical approach (Ball 1993).

1.3 Layout of the thesis

This section briefly outlines what lays ahead in the thesis and it provides a road map to the content and main emphasis of each chapter.

Chapter 2 presents the metaphysics of the thesis. The thesis employs an ontological view on *social reality* as an important sub-set of *Reality* (Scott 2013). This approach relates to a post-positivistic epistemology rooted in scientific realism and causal mechanisms (Checkel 2006, Sayer 2010) in relation to explanatory chains (Brady and Collier 2010). Through these ontological and epistemological lenses, the chapter argues for analysing mechanisms of societal change and stability with the use of triangulation and the circular method of the research process to comprehend the complexity of social reality. The chapter also highlights the importance of language and connotations when analysing policy and policymaking.

Chapter 3 constructs the conceptual framework rooted in neo-Institutionalism, which structures and frames the analysis through a bricolage lens. The framework utilises six aspects of institutional change and structuring of behaviour relevant for analysing policymaking. This thesis uses three aspects rooted in Scott's (2013) three dimensions of organizational change (regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive). The chapter conceptualizes some important terms such as coercive control levers (regulative dimension), voice (normative dimension), cognitive blueprints (cultural-cognitive dimension). In addition to Scott's three dimensions, the thesis conceptualizes two aspects rooted in historical institutionalism (historic trajectory and shocked trajectory) and a third inductively constructed aspect of re-composition, in order to fully explain the particularities of

institutional maintenance and change in England and France. These three “new” aspects/dimensions⁶ are of slightly different characteristics but unifying the six in the same comprehensive framework is, as shall be shown in this thesis, of heuristic importance as we attempt to understand the complexities of policymaking, organizational fields, and institutionalized environments.

Chapter 4, building on the ontological and epistemological foundations of Chapter 2 and the conceptual framework in Chapter 3, constructs a methodology for analysis of the empirical material in this thesis, focused on a hermeneutic circular method of the research process. These preliminary chapters (2, 3, and 4) together provide the ontological, epistemological, methodological, and analytical tools required for the research.

Chapter 5 sets the foundation for answering the research questions as it provides the broader context (space, time, activity) of relevance to teacher education policymaking, and indicates how the institutionalized environments have been created and ossified over time. To do so, it presents the wider and historical context of state governing, education policymaking, and teacher education provision in the two cases stretching back to the 17th and 18th centuries, which is relevant for understanding the organizational fields and institutionalized environment, and for delimiting the borders of these fields and environments today. Moreover, such an analysis of socio-historical context is often argued to be central for comprehending education and education policy in comparative research (Alexander 2001, Crossley and Watson 2003, Crossley 2010). The chapter found France to be rooted in a strong state centred meritocratic myth where the state must oversee and intervene in matters of (teacher) education due to national logics constructed in the 18th and 19th centuries, whilst England by contrast is characterisable as a liberal society with limited and unstructured state oversight and intervention in (teacher) education prior to the mid-20th century.

Chapters 6 (England) and 7 (France) analyse the actors, governing systems, and relations between stakeholders in the two cases from a field perspective, thereby collectively addressing RQ 1. In other words, the chapter emphasises who are involved in teacher education policymaking and what tools they have. In England, we see a teacher education field that can be characterised as a mosaic with limited institutionalization tendencies in terms of norms. Moreover, the politico-administrative field has been imposing itself on the teacher education field since 1984, with wide-ranging consequences for both fields. In France, the teacher education and politico-administrative

⁶ Conceptually, they are all dimensions in the conceptual way Scott (2013) talks about them – as related to the analytical framework. However, connotationally, if we keep in mind that connotations relate both to ideas *and* emotions (knee-jerk reactions when we hear a word – see section 4.3 in Chapter 4 on connotations and language), the label “dimension” is a poor fit when we talk about historic and broken trajectories or actor constellations. Furthermore, the classical dimensions are at times addressed as “pillars” – another label with interesting connotations. Arguably, it is easier to imagine dimensions or aspects overlapping than pillars, an important observation as is explained in chapter 3 where the interplay between dimensions/abstracts/pillars is explored.

organizational fields have since the 19th century been closely aligned, at least when compared to England. Where England is found to be a mosaic of externals and internals, France is characterisable as a state-structured entity in teacher education with formalised systems of interaction within the organizational fields. France also has strong norms and institutionalized professional ethea⁷ in their organizational fields with implications for policymaking.

Chapter 8 focuses on the use of “evidence” as a central tool of outsider influence and insider legitimacy building in teacher education policymaking in both cases to address RQ 2. The emphasis in this chapter is rooted in the important place arguments claiming “what works” in education have in policy debates and documents. The importance of this became evident through the early “soaking and poking phase” (Checkel and Bennett 2015) of the research. Although the concept of “evidence era” is present in both cases, it is stronger in England than in France, and has different characteristics. In England, “evidence” in the form of science and measurement is heavily pushed as part of legitimising cognitive blueprints and by extension coercive control levers, within a context of weak norms. Moreover, “evidence” is here often of an external nature, it is collected by the Department for Education but not produced by them. In France on the other hand, “evidence” is *not only* seen as rooted in data, but also in the inherent expertise of inspectors and senior civil servants. Meanwhile, “evidence” is more often internal to the structure of the Ministry of National Education than external. In both cases, but more strongly in England, evidence use in policymaking is characterisable as policy-based evidence making – both selective use of research and politically guided research - rather than evidence-based policymaking, under a logic of social appropriateness (Campbell 2002). This chapter enables the comprehension of how actors shape policy through disseminating ideas, which is the core mode of access to policymaking for people outside of the halls of government in the two cases.

Chapter 9 analyses the institutionalized views on teacher education policymaking and connects the organizational fields and their tools to the wider institutionalized environments of policymaking in the two cases thereby addressing RQ 3. It presents an analytical narrative of the educative states, the national imaginaries as they relate to education and their interaction with NPM and the effects of “progressive/traditional” views on education in the two contexts, and the chapter constructs a periodisation employing Bowe & Ball’s (1992) concept of policy contexts. The chapter discusses how England and France have different institutionalized beliefs in both the state-

⁷ A note on the word “ethea” – it comes from Greek and is the plural of the more commonly known “ethos”. It is used to signal a *plurality* of “sets of beliefs” as opposed to ethos that signals *a* set of beliefs. Through the concept of “ethea” we recognise how actors engage with a plurality of sets of beliefs, not only a singular set. E.g., a teacher who is a civil servant may have the ethos of both a civil servant and a teacher. Meanwhile, the ethos of a primary teacher may differ from the ethos of a secondary teacher. As such, we must talk of ethea and not ethos.

policymaking and education environments, that is expressed through differences in teachers' standards that form an important component of defining what a teacher is and needs to know (what teacher education is aimed at) and different conceptualizations of the role of the state and the civil service. The different views on the state, what capacities a state ought to have, and what the purpose of the civil service is, is reflected in the characterisations of the organizational fields and the two states' engagement with "evidence" in policymaking. As such, the chapter draws lines to the preceding chapters (5-8) in order to reach its conclusions. This chapter is the most important for understanding the *essence* of teacher education policymaking in the two cases.

The thesis is concluded in chapter 10, where it is argued that teacher education has moved in England from a fractured academia centred system to a mosaic school-led system, and in France from a highly segmented form of initial teacher education provision with limited university involvement, towards increasing harmonisation and structured university involvement in all facets of teacher education. The chapter also discusses with existing literature relevant to teacher education policymaking in England and France to highlight the contributions of this thesis and draw on existing literature to further flesh out the answers to the complex research questions. This is followed by discussions on the limitations of the analytical approach and novel insights provided by the research. The chapter concludes by synthesising the research.

Chapter 2: Ontology, Epistemology, and Methodology: Social reality, mechanisms, and separating doxa from episteme.

“meanings arise in interaction, and they are preserved and modified by human behaviour” (Scott 2013 P.57).

The above quote by W. R. Scott is an apt summary of the metaphysics of this thesis. To unpack it, this chapter will present in depth the philosophy of science that structured the research and limits the conclusions we may draw from it. It does not seek to cover the entirety of debates within the domain of philosophy of science, but rather to position the research and elaborate on the implications of ontological and epistemological considerations. It serves to justify the methodological and analytical choices made as the research is operationalised in the next chapter. Thus, it seeks to position the research within ontological and epistemological traditions and infer the implications metaphysics (ontology and epistemology) have on the analysis while showing how research can be done. Considering these intentions, this chapter first presents metaphysical concerns related to what *is* and what may *become* in the important sub-set of reality which is social reality. The rest of the chapter addresses how we may infer knowledge and separate episteme from doxa, a process which is argued to be at the heart of research.

2.1 Ontology: What is Truth, Knowledge, and Evidence?

Ontology is an Ancient Greek word composed of “*Onto*”, being or that what is, and “*logia*”, logical discourse. Ontology is commonly seen as the question of “being” or “what is”, and one of the major branches of Metaphysics alongside Epistemology, the theory of knowledge or how we may know. That is, Ontology is what is and why it is, whilst Epistemology is how we may know what is and why it is. The former concerns existence and the latter knowledge of existence. Ontology is of central importance to anchoring any scientific research, as it has implications for what can be observed and how. As is elaborated in this chapter, ontology is entwined with epistemology in a symbiotic relationship, where one does not exist without the other and shifts in one inherently affects the other. If and only if they are used together the two allow statements on the truth of something.

According to realist⁸ researcher Andrew Sayer (2010), research is *“the search for truth, the attempt to rid social knowledge of illusion, puts reflective, examined knowledge into a critical*

⁸ Sayer is what we could classify as being at the intersection of a form of scientific and critical realism that incorporates light constructivism, not far removed from the scientific realist position of scholars such as Jeffrey Checkel whose work I also draw on. His work also skirts into parts of pragmatism, not unlike how analytical philosopher Bertrand Russel stated he was 90% in agreement with pragmatists (e.g., his contemporary John Dewey) but found several faults with their approach in the remaining 10%.

relationship with false beliefs and their effects in society." (p.9). I would argue this is a representative view of what is meant by the words truth and knowledge in most *language-games* to borrow a much used phrase from the famed analytical philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (1958, 1975). Why talk of truth and not just knowing? If the shared understanding of knowing is the absence of misconception or ignorance, then inherently knowing by any common sense of the word must relate to truth (we may always debate if this is the shared understanding of knowing but let us supposition it is "true"). Thus, to speak of knowledge is to speak of truth. Alternatively to that, the word "to know" must be appropriated and have its meaning changed, at which point the speaker loses the ability to communicate effectively with those who use the word differently. Truth is then dependent on axioms, on initial suppositions that enable a quest for knowledge (Russell 1905, Wittgenstein 1922). Change the suppositions or determinants in a proposition and you change truth and thereby what can be known how (Wittgenstein 1975). This is perhaps why social reality is a system of chaos (see Gleick 1987 for a history of chaos theory), that is, it is highly susceptible to initial conditions. In this sense, there is much non-linearity to social reality, and it cannot be comprehended through simple predictive models. Much like the complexities of weather forecast, social reality can only be understood with short-term predictions where long-term understanding is often better done through looking at patterns in history than contemporary variables.

Meanwhile, counterintuitively, truth may help us question what is, because we can doubt what is held to be true. Doubt becomes impossible once truth is held to always be untrue (i.e. there is no truth) because that would be a statement of absolute certainty that all knowledge is at some level always false. In other words, it helps to have one concept for knowing and one for truth, as this enables us to distinguish between knowing the truth and knowing that something is not true.

However, questions of inference of any truth, of what really *is*, is complicated in part due to limitations in instruments of measurement as everything is eventually observed through human senses even if that is reading data points of a computer generated graph (whose categories humans have determined), or the interpretation of pain, pain relief, mechanisms of the brain or mechanisms of a chemical process caused by a pill (George and Bennett 2005). Thus, truth is not something we can establish in a positivist sense. This matters ontologically, and not just epistemologically, when addressing social reality. That is, a social reality suppositions that truth cannot be established in a positivist sense.

2.1.1 Socially constructed reality: Subjectivity and objectivity as we deal with truth

To quote W. Richard Scott, whose theoretical work I draw on substantially in this thesis: *"terminology, portions of the real world, while they are treated as "epistemically objective" facts in*

the world, “are facts only by human agreement.” Their existence is “observer-relative”: dependent on observers who share a common conception of a given social fact. Social reality is an important subclass of reality.” (Scott 2013 p.76). As such, one may (ontologically) propose that social reality is composed of types of truth that interact with an absolute big R Reality. Under such an ontology of what is “real”, we *can* see reality as a social construct that is to an extent subjective. However, is also objectively experienced as will become clear towards the end of this section.

According to Scott (2013), the “cultural-cognitive aspects” (see Chapter 3) of research (knowledge production) involves *ontologies*, not just different epistemologies as is normally recognised, at multiple levels that frame scientific debates and the construction and contestation of research practices that narrow our analytical scope and shapes our epistemology. Therefore, he advocates that instead of laying claim to an ontological view on a singular level excluding all others, research should be framed in *“what Charles Tilly (1984) defines as an encompassing theoretical framework that examines theories sharing broad objectives and attempts not simply to argue that they employ provide differing approaches, but to explicate the ways in which the approaches vary.”* (Scott 2013 p.80). By logical extension, the framework illuminates different aspects of social reality as the researcher helps in its construction, in an attempt to get at Reality for some purpose. This constructivist position sees Reality as existing, however, we cannot observe it, we only grasp its subclass, that of social reality, which is a human ontological construct independent to the human individual but constructed by the social experiences of that individual. Therefore, we cannot unilaterally impose the ontology of the researcher onto our objects of research when these are human constructs (e.g. policy texts), but must identify and recognise theirs as well, focusing more on what can be done with knowledge than its nature as removed from what can be empirically observed in societies (Scott 2013). In other words, there are socially constructed characteristics to *what is true*. Therefore, there are social characteristics to “truth” of social being, rendering it dependent on socio-historically constructed context(s). As Scott goes on to note, this insight means that ontology is not superior to epistemology in all cases, but rather epistemological concerns address how we may envision, make sense of, what is. I would posit this rests on how we can conceptualise “truth” and its relation to “knowing” (i.e., the interaction between ontology and epistemology is where we find social being). Moreover, this is where it becomes important to see ontology and epistemology as entwined, as mutually interfering concepts that are symbiotic. In other words, what we believe exists depends on what we think we know, and what we can know depends on what we believe exists – what we perceive as real.

Furthermore, if one is to draw on Ludwig Wittgenstein (1958), one may argue that a child as he first encounters a teacher, even devoid of a language for him, will begin a language-game to attribute a symbol, a meaning, a concept, and eventually a proposition to what he observes in order

to understand and communicate the observation. This initial thought process begins a priori to language by observing something that lacks a symbol, such as the tacit knowledge that characterises much of craftsmanship (Sennett 2008). As language evolves, when concepts formalise (and here we must note that all that goes into a concept goes into a proposition which uses the concept), our thought processes *as expressed* become contextually (language) contingent. As such, any communicated truth is contingent and not absolute. Moreover, it is a communicable fact only by human communicative agreement. This links our culture (e.g., language and its use) to cognition and thereby to our ontology and epistemology. In this view, language is not words and symbols, language is connotations to the meaning of words and our perception of what *is* (Wittgenstein 1922, Wittgenstein 1958). As Marxian⁹ researcher and political theorist Raymond Williams (1977) noted *"[a] definition of language is always, implicitly or explicitly, a definition of human beings in the world. The received major categories-'world', 'reality', 'nature,' 'human'-may be counter-posed or related to the category 'language', but it is now a commonplace to observe that all categories, including the category 'language', are themselves constructions in language, and can thus only with an effort, and within a particular system of thought, be separated from language for relational inquiry."* (p.21). As such, language is not individual and rests neither in the mind of the speaker nor the listener, but in their interaction and their socio-cultural linguistic context. Thus, it is likely that different listeners interpret the speaker differently depending on context. Therefore, any communicated or communicable truth is contingent on the language (including hand gestures, written symbols etc.) used, which is again dependent on the socio-cultural construction of said language. Here then, we see the limits of language (and thereby communication) as determinant of absolute truth because language is not fixed and is both observer and tacit knowledge sensitive. That is to say, even if I know the one true truth, the moment I try to communicate it, it becomes contingent. This is language in an ontological sense (how it shapes our world-view), in section 2.3.4 below language is addressed in an epistemological sense (how we can understand world-views expressed through language). This dual character of language is an important link between ontology and epistemology.

To draw on pragmatism, John Dewey (1990 [1929]) noted that all experiences can be seen as real because they happened, but some are *truer* than others. If we then loop back to Wittgenstein (1975), we can again infer how the link between socially constructed reality and any objective reality rests in our determinants. If a child claims to have been poorly taught by a teacher and therefore thinks the teacher is a bad teacher, that *experience* is objectively true, regardless of if all other children taught by that teacher considered themselves well taught. However, that child's view on the

⁹ Williams is according to himself, and I find this to be true, a non-mainstream Marxian who often opposes Marxist theoreticians. As such he is perhaps to Marx what Marx was to Hegel, someone inspired by an intellectual forerunner, but who moves in his own ways.

teacher is only true for *that* child, in that sense it is a subjective truth. The truth for the remainder of his class is that the teacher is a good teacher. The view of the child may also change with age as the experience is viewed in new lights. That changes the present view of the adult, but not the past view of the child in the moment. Thus, ontologically, context matters for truth and what is considered as objectively or subjectively real.

To further exemplify the implications of the social reality ontological view; if we feel pain relief that comes from a placebo effect we still experience pain relief, the relief is real, but it is not “true” in the sense that it was caused by the pill we were given. The pain relief was caused by our interpretation of the interaction we just experienced (taking a pill), so the pain relief happened (this was “true”), but the mechanism was not the chemical properties of the pill, rather a reaction in our mind that is *no less real* than the chemical reactions caused by a pain pill.

As the arguments and examples above show, we may put quotation marks around “truth” and claim it does not really exist in an objective sense, but that would be wrong. The truth of objective Reality may not exist as an absolute (this is a matter of debate), and we may infer from such works as “The structure of scientific revolutions” by Thomas Kuhn (2012) that if it does it is not presently known. However, objective truth does seem to exist in a contingent sense in so far as individuals have concrete real experiences that they objectify as truth that is dependent on their social reality, and is as real and true as the placebo effect that may relieve pain.

What then is truth? To Sayer (2010), “truth” is something that should not be taken in an absolute, but as a practical adequacy, where knowledge turns to use. This formulation echoes in a sense the postulations of John Dewey (1990 [1929]) on the interconnectedness of theory and practice, of thought and action in a quest for certainty, or truth where such a quest is the link between being and knowing. Truth, in this sense also contingent on the base premises and logical conclusions that support it and viable to change as new observations and interpretations emerge and not absolute, is then consistent of knowledge (fallibly “observed” premise) and *inference* from observation (if we see action as a form of observation).¹⁰ Thus, truth is ontologically contingent on *ceteris paribus*¹¹ (Mayntz 2004) and epistemologically contingent on the information available to discern and use it, and as such relates to the ontological and epistemological paradigms in existence (Kuhn 2012).

¹⁰ Inference is here moving from premises to logical consequences, not direct observation of absolute truth. Hence, if the premise OR logic is flawed the inferred consequence is as well, be it inferred description (what is) or inferred causality (why it is and how it became so).

¹¹ The principle of all things being equal. Here the necessity of all things being equal to what was at the time of observation (regardless of if the observation was itself correct or not) *and* that the observation was equal to what was.

A contingent truth changes based on new insights and new evidence, which affects our state of knowing as old truths may become new lies (e.g., we learn new words or construct new concepts to understand something that may or may not be based on an observation). Thus, if we employ contingent truth (one conceptualisation of truth amongst others), knowledge is also by its definition contingent. It is contingent for example on the character of the observer or the observation (Foucault 1983), and its reproduction as it is communicated (Foucault 1978).

These notions of contingent truth discussed above reject the old religious notion of truth that is argued to structure much of modern science (e.g., by existentialists such as Sartre), that is truth as an absolute. With this rejection, history as a constant improvement (a Hegelian view, shared by e.g., Karl Marx) also becomes rejected, as what may become becomes a human endeavour as what we know and may know rest in our constructed social reality. For example, we may hold true today that injustice is bad, but once our reality changes (and we observe the change) so does our truths (plural) about what constitutes justice. Central to this line of thinking is the socially constructed character of our social reality, the core of institutionalized environments.

Meanwhile, how we express and construct our shared reality is linked to the dominant social paradigm (the concept of “placebo” for example), which is context dependent. To Foucault, this context consisted of discourse, which he saw as the act of making something “true” in a society (Ball 2013). This is the heart of socially constructed reality as we engage in sense making of an inferred objective Reality.

Therefore, as seen above, as we draw on insights from multiple metaphysical schools of thought, while we employ a post-positivistic epistemology we may conceptualize and employ a form of contingent objective truth. That is, things exist in a social reality and are made real by humans and have real causal effects. Thus, how we construct an experience and our social reality from it depends in part on our views on an overarching Reality. Even though that reality may simply be the result of the determinants we attribute to concepts, such as what we mean when we talk of objectivity or subjectivity. In a sense then, we can think of an objective world because we can sense things, therefore they *are*, even if how we sense them and make meaning out of them collectively is socially contingent and subjective.

2.1.2 Material constraints on social realities

Behind the ideational that is central to our expressions of reality and truth, cognitive and practical possibilities (what can be conceptualised and constructed as “real”) are determined in part by material factors of an *absolute reality* that is a parent to a *social reality*, we cannot walk on water for example (Sayer 2010). However, this also depends on how we conceptualise “water” and

“walking” as we can walk on frozen water, if we hit water with enough force it is solid and so on, we only know tacitly that we cannot “walk on water”, as there are material conditions our minds cannot overcome. Once that knowledge of material limitations is communicated it can become infinitely complex due to the nature of language (language is ideational, not material). In a sense then, discovery (e.g., of the qualities of water) is always tacit to some degree, whilst the explicitly shared knowledge of humanity is a construct. In other words, there is an objective reality that exists regardless of our knowledge of it, but our knowledge of “our” social reality is what to humans constitute *our reality*, or our observed reality that is “as concrete”, that is our social reality and our social being. Hence, the ideational requires the material and vice-versa for our conceptualisations (e.g., ontologies) of the world.

As the physical (material) conditions of a given context is seen as a central part of understanding social reality, even to understand ideas, we may believe changes in physical capabilities of human interaction and observations such as technology, especially related to communication (Luhmann 1997), scientific discovery (Arendt 2018 [1958]) or in more fundamental terms such as material and the means of production (Marx and Engels 1998), affects how social reality and society is constructed and interpreted (Orlikowski 2007). That is not to say the ideological (cognitive and ideational) parts of society (and culture) is subservient to the material in any way as is argued in Marx’ writing (Marx and Engels 2018 [1848]), but that there is an *entwined interaction* between the two. Moreover, once the material is entwined with socially constructed conceptualisations through language we can express a view on reality, which is central to society building (Williams 1977) as we move from individual truths to shared ontological beliefs.

Thus, we may talk both of a socially experienced and constructed reality, but also of a material reality that structures and constraints the social reality, while both are subclasses of Reality. Therefore, it becomes important to be aware of both the physical and social world (interpretations of reality), where we recognise both social constructs, and the reality in which these constructs are created (Scott, Ruef et al. 2000, Scott 2013). As such, truth of reality is inherently contingent on temporal and spatial contexts. In other words, the world may very well be deterministic and universal, however due to instrumental limitations we are only (at present) able to perceive it as if it was random (Checkel 2006). This rests for example on the important acknowledgement that even the most advanced mathematics employed in physics is but an approximation of Reality (Feynman 1969, Gleick 1987, Kuhn 2012). Hence, if we talk of “truth”, including contingent truth and pragmatic truth, we are usually talking of an approximation of reality, an approximate truth. If such is the case in something as comparatively simple as physics, then it is without doubt true in social science and the humanities that is infinitely more complex.

Due to this complex nature of what our object of research “truly” is, a supposition can be made that the object should be looked at from multiple points of view. In other words, an ontology of multiple ontologies. In such a case we put the emphasis on epistemology to ascertain what is and acknowledge that what we observe may change through observation (the symbiosis between ontology and epistemology), and that reality is fleeting as it *exists in our observation and not outside of it in the same way*. The laboratory is not nature (it is ontologically distinct), but the laboratory can transform nature (Latour 1987) through the link between ontology and epistemology.

2.2 Epistemological concerns: How to construct knowledge

We attempt through epistemological thought to device how we may attempt to pierce the perceived veil between what can be observed and what cannot, and come to terms with what can be known, how it can be known, and how we can use what is known. From that vantage point, *Epistemology* (justified knowledge, justified understanding, or justified truth) originates as a Greek philosophical sub-direction often compared, and even opposed, to *Doxa* (unjustified claims, opinions without evidence or proof). Thus, at its origin epistemology centred on questions of justified *truth*, conclusions from logic and empirical observation, and was compared and opposed to *opinions*, claims that have no empirical or logical grounding. Epistemology has since become the philosophical discussion of knowledge, often removed from justified truth or at least absolutes centring instead on how knowledge can be obtained, disseminated and used, and within what limits. However, one ought not to forget the importance of the justified/unjustified distinction when searching knowledge, particularly if one sees truth as contingent.

From the Platonic view on episteme¹² as being concerned with separating episteme (justified belief) from doxa (unjustified belief), notions such as “ideology” (that one may argue is taken-for-granted belief in how the world works or ought to work) can be both doxa and episteme. It is doxa in the sense that no ideology is ever fully justified - just as any proposition is never fully justified as it is based on what we turn into determinants of the propositions and from what unobservable/unknowable basis (prior, first principle etc.) we construct it (Wittgenstein 1922, Wittgenstein 1975). However, ideology can be epistemic (and some ideologies are) if they are primarily rooted in episteme – in justified belief. That is not to say they are “true” in an absolute sense, but they are the *closest approximation* of true knowledge we are able to construct today. I say today as episteme *turns back* into doxa in light of new discoveries. That is, old justifications may become unjustified through new discoveries or new modes of thought (ontological shifts). For example, Einstein turned parts of Newtonian episteme (knowledge) into doxa the same way Newton

¹² See e.g. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/analysis/index.html> (accessed 08.09.2020)

turned the Aristotelian world view into doxa (Kuhn 2012), and some future paradigmatic shift may turn our current episteme into doxa. These paradigms are then hegemonic, and guide and structure both how and why we conceptualize something as “true”. That is, they determine what we perceive as episteme and what we perceive as doxa.

Important here is also how ideology exists in a knowledge relation, that I think can and should be seen as similar to Foucault’s (1978) “power-knowledge”, in so far as where power is based on knowledge and reconstitutes knowledge, ideology is one of the mechanisms that enables this. All of this naturally rests on an ontology (first principle) that sees ideology as a constructor (one of many) of our social reality, which is in itself a form of ideology. Meanwhile, episteme is dependent on ontology (Hay 2007), even though episteme shapes ontologies. In other words, what *is* determines what we may know and how, however, what we believe we know also shapes what we think *is* and what we think may *become*. To me, this begs the question is the search for “knowledge” then an interdependent sub-set of a perpetual quest for truth?

Pragmatically when Science obtains a “purpose”, which as mentioned is to remove illusions of knowledge by removing misconceptions and ignorance, the quest for truth becomes the centre concept of Science. However, we must recognise we may never fulfil it due to inaccurate instruments, the ever-changing nature of society, and how our very observations may change what we observe (Checkel 2006, Fenwick, Mangez, and Ozga 2014). The distinction between truth and knowledge as one of its sub-sets also implies that truth is “more” than knowledge, at the very least it is what fallible knowledge we may hope to obtain and the logical consequences (the implications) of our conclusions regarding knowledge. Scientific knowledge is contingent, at the very least in so far as it rests on propositions on underlying taken for granted concepts and the accuracy of methodology (Weber 2004 [1917/1919]), meaning the nature of knowing and of *evidence* are also contingent, and subject to change.

The ontology presented above also calls for a circular type of observation between knowing and doing, with a veil between observation and reality, with a goal of justifying beliefs, or why a belief of what is, can be held. Hence, we need to separate episteme from doxa, through a form of adequate knowledge to infer an approximation of what is real and thereby begin to understand social reality as observed and felt by others (George and Bennett 2005, Sayer 2010). Central then to episteme, here, is the binding link between what we observe and what lays behind, namely the inferred construction of social reality. As such, our epistemic focus when analysing society is on *the process of constructing a perceived reality*. This analysis can, arguably, only be done through inference using formal logic, where we infer whether or not our conclusion is logically sound with our premise (ontology, theories (e.g., what we make the determinant of a proposition), and observations) (Wittgenstein 1922).

Furthermore, the central relevance here is also not whether or not something is “true” in an absolute sense, before we apply that knowledge to an action. For example, if we start from the premise that everything is relative, there is no direction and something such as “democracy” would not be progress but a change. By contrast, if everything were relative to the ego (the I) then if the observer is rooted in an ideology of democracy, as good as or better than existing alternatives, democracy would be progress. The same example can be done for education; if everything is relative, more education is not good nor bad, only different. If everything were relative to the ego then whether or not more education is good or bad would depend on the observer. Here we also see that “truth” may not be overly relevant for observation, but it is central for application as episteme meets ethics and morals (values). That is, episteme is not concerned with absolute truth when analysing social reality, but with establishing a logical coherence between premise and thought outcome.¹³ Central to such inference is the establishment of *thought causality* that is distinct from any absolute causality in so far as it rests on our premises (suppositions) and believed observations that may be flawed (George and Bennett 2005, Checkel 2006).

2.2.1 Causal mechanisms and explanatory chains: Comprehending the process of reality construction

Drawing on a scientific realist approach (George and Bennett 2005, Sayer 2010) one may see the object of research, what causes changes in society and constructs social reality, as *causal mechanisms* (Sayer 2010, Bennett and Checkel 2015). Mechanisms are “causal” in so far as they have an effect on something; they are the binding link between action and effect.¹⁴ They are also recurrent processes (Mayntz 2004). Meanwhile, mechanisms are also often (but not inherently dependent on how they are defined) unobservable and as such theory dependent. To exemplify; *increased heat* is a causal mechanism that explains a variety of outcomes (as a concept it denotes when molecules move faster) such as the explosion of a balloon we just witnessed. We can observe directly the explosion of the balloon with our naked eye, but not the work of heat.

Through inferring the work of causal mechanisms one can attempt to explain and understand the construction of social conditions and their consequences and implications (Sayer 2010). On the one hand, inference of causal mechanisms concerns that something must exist to connect two events, such as why did a balloon explode when a candle was put underneath it, or why a teacher

¹³ The absence of an absolute truth, and thus absolute knowledge, is not an epistemic problem when analysing social reality as much as it is an ethical problem.

¹⁴ Here we must recognise that “action” is also an “effect” and as such, the cycle of action and effect is in an abstract sense perpetual as each action causes an effect that leads to new action in a new reality and so on and so forth. Thus, nothing exists in a state of equilibrium for long as long as it is connected in some way to other things.

teaches the curriculum as prescribed while another does not. On the other hand, mechanisms require a form of activation or triggering (e.g., dissemination of information, legal intervention, external shocks etc.) and can be contested and cancelled out by other mechanisms (George and Bennett 2005). For example, heat and cold may cancel each other out to create an equilibrium in temperature, or there may be insufficient heat present for a particular balloon to explode. Hence, mechanisms cannot ever be truly tested in the sense of determining whether or not they exist at all, we may only infer if they form part of a particular explanatory chain. Therefore, they do not themselves constitute falsifiable hypotheses of any kind but form a central part of any hypotheses that attempts (causal) explanation. To exemplify, we may hypothesise that the kid's balloon exploded when he put a candle under it because heat caused the air in it to expand. This is an explanation of a process of change utilising mechanisms. Alternately, the balloon exploded because the heat caused a hole in the balloon's plastic etc. Same mechanism, different explanatory hypothesis. Moreover, since mechanisms cannot be turned off, at some point they go from causing change (e.g., in an institutionalized environment) to causing maintenance of practices (e.g., the temperature does not increase any further but remains stable as equilibrium has been reached). Mechanisms as such related to both action and inaction, as they help determine why A happened and not B.

In order to infer the presence and "work" of mechanisms we need to associate them with what can be conceptualised as observable carriers, transmitters, or modes of dissemination. That is, the characteristics of a causal event, as singular mechanisms (e.g., heat) do not spontaneously activate nor inherently move across contexts on their own (heat needs a conductor and source). For example, heat in a small candle does not affect a balloon the other side of a large room enough to cause an explosion – however, a child may move the candle underneath the balloon on the instruction of this teacher in chemistry class. This is central because as Sayer (2010) argues: *"When they are exercised, the actual effects of causal mechanisms will again depend upon the conditions in which they work. The relationship between causal powers or mechanisms and their effects is therefore not fixed, but contingent; indeed causal powers exist independently of their effects, unless they derive from social structures whose reproduction depends on particular effects resulting. To say that the relationship of a power to its conditions is contingent is not to suppose that the latter are uncaused, only that they are caused by different mechanisms."* (p.73). Such association we can conceptualise as positioning the causal mechanism in an explanatory (causal) chain.

Furthermore, inferring mechanisms require a form of compliance to observe if they (logically) can be said to have had an effect on an explanatory chain. For example, was there a teacher present in the room when the child moved the candle underneath the balloon, or did it happen at home? Teachers can only be held accountable in some, but not all, explanatory chains. Together, the carrier

and compliance aspects constitute a form of *enabler* that shows mechanisms have been activated (e.g., moving the candle, which increases heat in its environment (prior condition we may have established) underneath the balloon that subsequently explodes). These enablers are thought to be the expressed form of a *mechanical process* unfolding and thereby enabling change or maintenance of a state of being. As such, mechanisms connect the many dots in an explanatory chain, but they do not *in isolation* cause or describe an outcome, they are dependent on other aspects in the complex explanatory chain.

Moreover, explanatory chains when related to causal mechanisms can go on for quite a long time if we desire, for the most part limited by our interest (what we seek to know). For example, as a mechanism, increased heat is also an illustration of a proposition based on a proposition since why it increases molecular movement can be analysed as part of a different explanatory chain, where the cause of an exploding balloon can be said to originate from the lighting of the candle, or even the desire or intent of someone to light a candle and put it under the balloon. Perhaps a child at home exploded a helium balloon with a candle because a teacher told him that would happen at school that day. The same goes for a teacher teaching a set curriculum called curriculum A. He might teach it because of a national curriculum decided through law, however, as we move further back in the explanatory chain questions of why curriculum A was chosen as the national curriculum and not curriculum B and so on arise. Here then we see how explanatory chains can contain multiple causal mechanisms without a set determinant for the overall chain, only with set determinants for links in the chain. As we set what knowledge we seek, we focus in on one or more links in the chain. Here we also see how there are often preceding links in any explanatory chain, and an origin of an outcome is arbitrarily chosen.

In addition, explanatory chains related to causal mechanisms can also be sufficient but unnecessary. The explanation for an exploding balloon can be because of increased heat from a candle, or it can be because of increased heat from a lightning strike (or for an entirely different causal mechanism, be the result of a poked hole from a needle). The same goes for our teacher, who may be teaching curriculum A because of a national curriculum policy, or a school level policy (school curriculum), or because the teacher finds it the most apt curriculum to teach (teacher's choice – that may be rooted in a past national curriculum now ended). Mechanisms when put together in explanatory chains are complex and relate to questions of framing and questions of triggering cause. As such, on the one hand, if we are interested in heat or in lightning when we hear an exploding balloon guide where we go in our quest for knowledge. On the other hand, we cannot look only on the *exact links* that interest us in a chain because what came before what interests us may yield necessary clues as to what sufficient but unnecessary explanation is relevant for the knowledge we seek (e.g., why a teacher teaches a particular curriculum). Hence, because explanatory chains can be

sufficient but unnecessary, temporality (sequence of events) becomes important in our quest for knowledge about any empirical object. As such, if we are interested in understanding link H (e.g., teacher education in England in 1984) in an explanatory chain, we must at least look at link G (the “Great Debate in Education” in England in 1977), and perhaps also parts of link F (the “Black Papers” in England in the 1960s). This is distinct from a quest for only theoretical knowledge where the object is to find sufficient knowledge (e.g. of institutional processes of policy change) without regard for its necessity in a given context such as teacher education policymaking in England or France, where we may need to look at entwined links such as G1 (teacher education in 1977) and G2 (the economy in 1977) that may or may not relate to link H1 (teacher education policy in 1984) if we think of the letter as time-space and the number as activities in the same time-space. This is also where social science becomes orders of magnitude more complex than the natural sciences because it seeks to understand complexity and not only infer knowledge of a single mechanism de-connected from the larger empirical world.

Causal mechanisms then have an effect on an object, they link objects and events as an integral part of an explanatory chain and are as such causal by necessity of their atomic facts (Wittgenstein 1922). However, causal mechanisms and explanatory chains are also subject to our conceptualisations, observances, and ability to render them explicit as we construct shareable knowledge and communicate the aspects of a context enabling a mechanism. That is, they are limited and do not lead to a form of universal knowledge, instead they help us reach a state of adequate knowledge as is explored in the next sub-section as the scope and limitations of the knowledge we can construct from this metaphysical approach is discussed.

2.2.2. Adequate knowledge: Risks and purpose of research

Through inferring causal mechanisms and explanatory chains we may aim to obtain a state of *adequate knowledge* where we may manipulate (social) reality in order to cause a desired outcome (Sayer 2010). This concept of knowledge is, in my view, also one of the fundamentals of natural sciences, as full and infallible knowledge is not required in order to manipulate an atom, we only need just enough knowledge to do what we desire. Moreover, the concept allows us to articulate “knowledge” in the face of uncertainty (lack of sufficient observations), and an epistemological and ontological inability to create perfect knowledge as argued above. The concept also recognises the importance of *purpose in episteme* as noted above.

To exemplify the concept of adequate knowledge, when we wake up in the morning we do not know with certainty what the day will bring, but we often have adequate knowledge to predict the majority of it so we can plan and prepare accordingly. Such as knowing how many clothes we may need for different situations or how we should dress based on the tasks at hand. Usually, such

knowledge is derived from past analysis of explanatory chains and mechanisms, for example through understanding why we were cold yesterday (did not dress enough) or in what situations we need to dress in a certain fashion for practical or cultural reasons. A teacher who is at home correcting essays will get away with wearing a pyjama the whole day, one that goes to teach in front of a class most likely will not, even though from a strictly practical (comfort) perspective the pyjama might be the ideal option.

However, this does come with a caveat, that adequate knowledge to do something does not inherently mean *sufficient knowledge* to avoid undesirable side effects or changing conditions. Adequate knowledge to do something is not sufficient knowledge to comprehend (predict) all collateral effects of action, such as the nature of nuclear war, problems relating to nuclear waste, the concept of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) and transformation of society (e.g., increases in energy) that springs from the splitting of the atom. The fact that it was cold yesterday does not mean it will be cold today etc. This is where understanding mechanisms become important as we attempt to understand connectedness and complexity whilst communicating it in some parsimonious (and hence comprehensible) means. We need mechanisms, and we need the frameworks connecting mechanisms and renders them inferable to construct good explanations.

Thus, analysing the “state” of current knowledge in relation to how much we know and how much more we need to know in order to obtain a goal becomes important. For instance, dressing too warmly has negative side effects that may outweigh underdressing. Undesired side effects may arise from a teacher dressing too formally as well as too casually. Only through enhancing knowledge, through attempting to identify causes and an approximation of a “truth” as opposed to ignorance and opinion, may we reduce undesired side effects of an action. In other words, we must move beyond the pragmatist notion of “if it works it is true” towards accepting the fleeting nature of our knowledge, and how knowledge holes may lead to erroneous conclusions with dire consequences. Sufficient knowledge then to take an absolute decision would be hard to come by, but in some instances it can be found (e.g. wearing a pyjama to teach in school unless worn for a specific reason such as an after-school slumber party).

We should always strive to enhance our knowledge base, improve our explanatory chains, and as appropriate infer causality to the best of our ability, there is no *inherent risk* in collecting knowledge, the risk is in how knowledge is used and in not knowing enough of explanatory chains and explanations to understand the full picture. The mantra of always seeking more knowledge and always seeking new ways of understanding observations is particularly important once we recognise that mechanisms do not stop at a given point but reproduce effects into the future, and they may *cause their effect regardless of our knowledge of them*. Due to the dual nature of social and objective reality, mechanisms searched for in the social sciences may often be triggered inadvertently, thus it is

in our shared interest to attempt to identify them until we gain adequate knowledge to do so, regardless of how daunting a task it might be.

2.3 Methodological concepts: Separating episteme from doxa

This section presents the methodological concepts and principles that underpin the research done in this thesis. It starts by presenting a constant comparative approach to separating episteme from doxa, then goes on to discuss the place of induction followed by discussing how we can overcome data holes and the structuralization of the research process. The last sub-section denotes how language is central to the understanding of social reality, particularly so in a comparative study which crosses linguistic communities and engage with multiple environments and fields that may have their own internal dialects.

The philosopher Bertrand Russell stated in a lecture given in 1922 that *"The methods of increasing the degree of truth in our beliefs are well known; they consist in hearing all sides, trying to ascertain all the relevant facts, controlling our own bias by discussion with people who have the opposite bias, and cultivating a readiness to discard any hypothesis which has proved inadequate."* (Russell 2014 Kindle loc 210). To Russell, we will always be uncertain in our beliefs. For example, he argued in the essay "Can man be rational?" that complete objective rationality was likely impossible due to complications of "truth" as facts. However, one should still strive to be as rational as possible by inferring from what one knows, while recognising that nothing is certain, we should be ready to change our views, and adopting an agnostic outlook. This requires a form of dialogue both internal and external, where observations are questioned and mulled over systematically as opposed to accepting a conclusion at face value.

According to Moutsious (2018) the ancient Greeks believed the separation between doxa and episteme could in part be done through comparison, where contrasts between societies enlightened what the particular characteristics of a society were. Thereby leading to a form of episteme or knowledgeable insight into oneself. Socrates for example found this kind of *parrhesia* (harsh truth) through dialogue where one is challenged to look at oneself and how one's real self measures up towards one's idealised self (Foucault 1983). In other words, it is not enough to look at one object through one singular lens; to understand it we need to compare objects.

Therefore, we may infer that one way of separating doxa from episteme employing a social reality ontology, is through a form of contrasting comparison between theory and empirical observation, but also between empirical contexts and through contextualising observers, that help us

deduce¹⁵ the process of reality construction. Thus, comparative research is one way to gain further insight into what can be said to be episteme beyond a form of “individualised truth”, in other words to obtain adequate knowledge to understand to a sufficient degree a society or societal phenomenon. The approach then rests on employing comparison between theory of societal behaviour (what we think we know), and empirical observations (flawed as they are) in more than one identifiable context. This allows us to at least question the very paradigms that may cloud our understanding of social reality such as rationalized myths.

2.3.1 The place of induction in separating Episteme from Doxa

A socially constructed reality implies that induction becomes central, as how we construct our base ontologies of the world (as children) are inductive and this process of passively inducing new ontological lenses or altering old ones continue through a person's life. The epistemological value of induction is here directly related to challenging rationalized myths in academia, that is, we aim to overcome paradigms (Kuhn 2012) in our own disciplines by inducing new observations to construct more robust forms of knowledge.

Russell (2016 [1910]) argued that *"Induction, in a broad sense, may be described as the process of selecting hypotheses which will organise our spontaneous beliefs, preserving as many of them as possible, and interconnecting them by general propositions which, as is said, "explain" them, i.e. give a ground from which they can be deduced. In this sense, all knowledge is inductive as soon as it is reflective and organised."* (pp.146-147). This is a statement we may hold to be true, particularly when employing a social constructivist ontology of social reality and a post-positivistic epistemology.

In relation to the metaphysical thoughts presented in this chapter, we may argue that through the act of thinking and organizing (analysing) we are as researchers always performing induction, from which we may deduce the validity of propositions through observation and logical inference from observed premise. This also means there is no true tabula rasa from which we may conduct pure deduction nor any form of “pure observation” as our manner of organizing thought constructs to an extent what we perceive.

Thus, I would argue there is a large place for induction in this kind of research (in any research) alongside deduction. Thereby distancing the approach somewhat from Popper, by recognising the need to not only look for the black swan but also induce, preferably from

¹⁵ Note, logical deduction is not exactly the same as the more reduced hypothetico-deductive model of reasoning. It is the broad sense logical deduction from observation through inference to establish cause, contrasted by the hypothetico-deductive methods emphasis on precise questions with precise falsifiable answers (hypotheses). See https://snl.no/deduksjon_-_bevisf%C3%B8ring (accessed 25.01.2021) or <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/logic-classical/#Dedu> (accessed 25.01.2021)

observation, to conceptualise and propose the swan in the first place (or black and white for that matter) and recognise that our base conceptualisations *may have to change with time*. The art of challenging our initial propositions does not only rest on deducting from a premise, but also on inducing new premises from which new insights can be inferred. In a sense, all research contains elements of both induction and deduction and can perhaps be said to be adductive in its performance. In the end the choice of labels such as “inductive” and “deductive” rest in our use of the language-game. The ontology and epistemology presented here, I would argue, necessitates an inductive-deductive approach where there is room for both modalities of thought in the methodology.

2.3.2 Inferring what *is* through triangulation when data is limited

Beyond the need for thinking both inductively and deductively is a sound methodology for overcoming the limitations in data and possibilities of data collection (e.g., experimentation) in much of the social sciences, such as political analysis. Here I propose to do so through the concepts of inference and triangulation. Inference is the work of identifying what *is* (e.g., what is policymaking) and how it came about (e.g. how was a policy made) through contrasting description and theory, while deriving a logical conclusion from a premise in relation to cause. Inference is thus establishing justifiable arguments as to *why and how* something happened.

The use of inference also rests on the recognition that description and analysis in the social sciences is not the process of collecting unmediated facts, but rather as involving inference from observations to the broader concepts the research(er) employs (Collier, Brady, and Seawright 2010). In other words, inference recognises that recreating events as they happened (e.g., text production), even from the memories of those who actually wrote the text under analysis is a complicated affair (Adler and Van Doren 1972). Memories may be faulty, or people and documents alike may inadvertently or purposefully misrepresent facts (Berry 2002, Tansey 2007), or the underlying meaning of a text may be lost on the reader due to contextual factors (space, activity, and time). The latter also begs the question of whether we should interpret the text or interpret relevant actors' interpretation of a text (probably both). Some texts or other sources of information may also be missing, particularly if we talk of events long in the past, a problem compounded by the logically inherent truth that *the absence of (found) evidence is not evidence of absence*.

For example, to my knowledge, there are limited policy documents or laws directly implementing Condorcet's recommendations on public education to the National Assembly of revolutionary France in 1792, but there might have been, they were simply lost to time. Nor do we know with complete accuracy how the report was received from the people present in the National

Assembly when Condorcet presented the report. Nor do we know with certainty what findings and ideas were emphasised as innovative, and which were quickly taken for granted as common sense.

Additionally, the decree establishing the French Imperial University in 1808 is preserved and analysed as a part of this thesis since structural elements established then are still present today, but the discussions that took place in 1808, the circulating ideas and cognitive blueprints of the day, particularly the paths not taken, are largely lost to time. We cannot today ask Napoleon Bonaparte or his aides and political advisers about the Imperial University for example. We may only infer Napoleon's intentions for supporting its creation.

Moreover, even if we observe policy as it is made (present in the room) and talk to all the actors afterwards, we still do not know completely what each individual thought or interpreted proceedings, norms, and taken for granted practices (e.g., what was left unsaid because it was not necessary to state it), we may only infer them. Hence, reconstructing what happened in a descriptive way requires analysis, theory, and thorough thought.

Once a reasonable descriptive inference of what happened has been completed, one may move on to explanatory inference as we construct our qualitative reasoning (Freedman 2010), because why something happened is dependent on what happened and what *is*. That is, we need clues to construct evidence to infer *what* took place, and *how*, at different intervals in a temporal chain before we can construct an explanatory chain of events leading to inference of *why* an outcome came about (Collier 2011). Then, once questions of what and why are settled, we may begin coming to terms with how we envision events unfolded through analytical narratives, and how similar events likely will unfold should we dare to attempt prediction. In essence then, evidence, is the inference of description and causality in order to understand how something unfolded in the past, from which we may make a third inference of how it will most likely unfold in the future.

One may posit that there is no such thing as too much data to infer what, how, and why something happened as long as all data is collected with a sound methodology, only temporal limitations on how much data can be collected and analysed. This approach to conducting research can be called *triangulation*, where multiple data sources each with their own robust method is brought to bear on an explanation (King, Keohane, and Verba 1995). The importance of such an approach rest on the proposition that multiple-sources are not only better than singular sources, they are also a necessity (Goldstein 2002). Therefore, it enables the researcher to evaluate the robustness of sources by comparing it to other sources of data by uncovering weaknesses in data such as contradictions or misinterpretations, in addition to corroborating clues enhancing the validity of findings (Tansey 2007).

Furthermore, triangulation allows for the closing of "holes" in the available data, such as sealed documents, inability to access certain areas or meetings, or inability to talk to all the actors

desired. Naturally having exhaustive analysis of all relevant documents or talking to all relevant actors in a field for example is better than having to resort to triangulation due to data holes, but the approach offers the possibility of conducting *more robust “imperfect” analysis*. After all, there are always more people to interview and more documents to analyse. Hence, an aspect of this kind of analysis is to find justifiable cut-offs, ideally when no new information is seemingly emerging, but cut-offs are argued to often be done with much more pragmatic rather than ideal considerations (George and Bennett 2005).

In addition, triangulation opens up for the possibility of denoting a hierarchy of sources (Brady and Collier 2010), where more credence, for justifiable reasons, may be put for example on some documents than on some interviews, under the auspice that an interview object is under no (enforceable) obligation to tell the truth and anyone who agrees to an interview has their own reasons for doing so (Berry 2002). However, as mentioned above under descriptive inference, attention is also put to the fact that documents may not tell the truth either, and may be particularly susceptible to omission (Tansey 2007). What we must accept under this logic that transcends descriptive inference and triangulation, is that we may never test a hypothesis or a claim in an interview or a document, we may only do so *across a range of sources and clues*. Hence, in all cases, prudence and triangulation is of an advantage, and designating information according to perceived validity is a complex procedure.

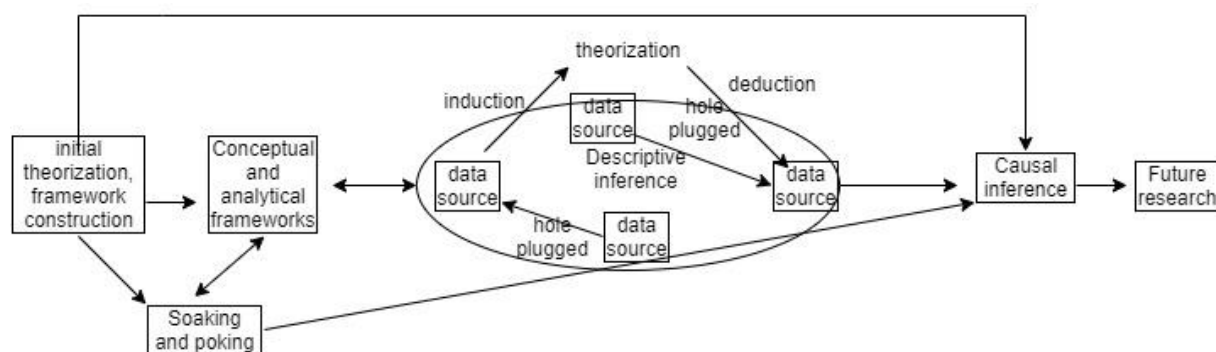
2.3.3 Building on the Circular Model of the Research Process: structuring inductive-deductive research and triangulation

When employing triangulation, it is important to be somewhat structured as opposed to reactive, to ensure pieces of evidence actually fit together. On the one hand, this denotes the need for comprehensive frameworks regarding prior assumptions, and a method of moving between different phases of the research. Central then to triangulation, one may argue, is a circular model of the research process where sources of data are compared to each other and to theory (Flick 2009). The circular model differs from any linear approach in important ways and is epistemologically rooted in the hermeneutic circle. The more “traditional” linear model goes along the classic lines of hypotheses derived from theory that are operationalised before sampling is done in order to enable interpretation and validation or rejection of theory (deduction). In contrast, the circular model, argued by takes as a starting point preliminary assumptions and conceptualisations that is followed by collection and interpretation of a data source that is constantly compared to other data sources and evolving theorisations (inductive-deductive hermeneutics).

The circular approach draws on the grounded theory approach of Glaser and Strauss (1967), but modifies it through introduction of explicit circularity and attempts to deal with the impossibility of tabula rasa (the absence of anything). That is, grounded theory suffers from a whole-part-whole¹⁶ approach lacking in the explicit circularity that separates whole-part-whole from a tabula rasa part-whole approach, which is what grounded theory is often criticised for being. The often argued main problem with tabula rasa is its impossibility, as any researcher will almost always have some form of prior assumption about his object of study. What Flick (2009) does is re-introduce in a comprehensive way this circularity.

For this research, I have expanded on the circular method, to include a more systematic emphasis on prior knowledge, soaking and poking¹⁷, and the conceptual and analytical frameworks that enable an analysis as can be seen in Diagram 2.3.3

Diagram 2.3.3 Triangulation and circular research process rooted in hermeneutics



The diagram serves as a heuristic tool for structuring thought and reminding the researcher to keep in mind alternative explanations and the importance of drawing on multiple sources of information as long as possible. Meanwhile, the separation of data sources represents the importance of collecting and analysing each piece of information with its proper method. We cannot analyse a document the same way as an interview, and we cannot always analyse two documents written in different contexts and for different purposes the same way. For example, analysing a report by the Inspection Générale de l'Éducation Nationale [General Inspectorate for National Education] (IGEN) report is not the same as analysing the use of the same IGEN report in a policy text by the Ministry of National Education in France, which is why these were kept separate even though IGEN is a sub-unit of the Ministry of National Education in France (see Chapter 7). In the analysis undertaken here, this was reflected in an emphasis to code the type of document under analysis, the purpose of the document, and the target audience of the document.

¹⁶ A linguistic note, here I talk of the epistemological methodologies of whole-part-whole not the pedagogical learning method of whole-part-whole that can be seen in reading or mathematics amongst other subjects.

¹⁷ Soaking and poking are initial forays into the field or data material, to see what is pertinent or not (see e.g. George & Bennett 2005)

Through the circular approach we render induction more helpful to explanations as clues from a document may be verified deductively in an interview after it has gone through our conceptual and analytical frameworks. Hence, one source of information may both confirm what is already known or add information that cannot be found in other sources, for example discourse analysis of press releases or interviews may confirm what is deduced from reading policy documents, or it might add to our understanding by providing insights absent from the policy document.

2.3.4 How to deal with the importance of language and connotations in comprehending policy in any form: language, connotations, and emotions.

To analyse social reality, such as policy and its discourse and interpretation by practitioners, we need to engage with the concept of language¹⁸ (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012), or how language is used to communicate ideas and thoughts, and at times instil compliance to a form of practice – no language, no communication, which is a requirement for policy. Therefore, comprehension of language also extends to understanding science, evidence, and ideas of how we should for example educate people or how “evidence” is used to inform and justify policy and politics. In other words, the importance of language, is multi-faceted in the sciences, with ontological and epistemological implications. It pertains to how we can analyse empirical material and structure conceptual thought, as well as communicate our ideas to others.¹⁹

By logical implication, the phrase, which sits at the centre of language, is either a question or a proposition; it either asks or states something with a differing degree of validity and truthfulness (Adler and Van Doren 1972, Russell 2016 [1910]). This duality becomes quite clear when we look at the basic components of any sentence, a subject, a verb, and an object – someone does something with something. We can either ask who, how, or what, or we can state our opinion (belief) of who, how, and what. Some sentences exclude words to this effect, such as commands, but the subject and object is then inferred through common understanding. For example, a teacher saying, “read” has the implication that his audience (pupils) are to read what is in front of them, what the teacher points at (blackboard) or what has been agreed upon earlier. Read is then a proposition, it is a judgement (opinion) on what should be done and that the order should be followed. Alternately, “are you reading?” Is a question to determine what action an individual (e.g., a pupil) is doing. The

¹⁸ A linguistic note: Language is not only symbols that represent phonemes which we use to construct intelligible words (e.g., the Latin alphabet), it is also pictures (e.g., the Chinese language, or road-signs in Britain), gestures, and intonations (e.g., sarcastic tonality) and so on and so forth (see Bodmer 1944).

¹⁹ Saunders (ed) (2007) contains some interesting discussions on how scientists do (or may) communicate their research with policymakers for example.

answer to which may be the proposition “yes I am reading”, that may or may not be true.

Misunderstandings may, however, always happen.

Moreover, “read” is also a label may hold differing meanings dependent on what concept we attach it to, while as a concept it is a proposition built on other propositions (Wittgenstein 1922). The command “read” can be to look at words, it can be to discover meaning, it can be to interpret meaning etc. As such, “read”, illustrates how even a simple one-word utterance is but a proposition with *many possible interpretations*. Meanwhile, propositions, as linguistic concepts, also have differing degrees of precision. For example, “reading” is perhaps more easily defined than distinguishing when “running” is “jogging” or vice-versa.²⁰

This is of double importance when comparison is involved, as a common language is needed (e.g., the exact idiomatic use and meaning of “pedagogy” or “didactics” may differ between languages) to enable comparison, and attention must be made that comprehension across cases is correct and that particular *connotations* are respected. This holds not only across language groups (e.g., English or French) but also across activities of language use (e.g. the context of research, the context of teaching, the context of policymaking etc.) as they contain their own “parole” to use Ferdinand de Saussure’s well known concept (see e.g. Thiberge 2012).

The importance of connotations and concepts (what to me is the “soul” of a language that bestows its meaning) in a culturally diverse world was well illustrated by Daniel Tröhler (2014b): *“Many of the participants at the OECD conference in 1968 had already met half a year earlier in Rome at a first informal meeting to discuss the problems of the future (see Hahn, 2006, p. 39.). At this meeting, a dispute over the notion of “system” broke out. Although no details are available, we know that the French participants defended connotations of their concept of système, whereas the Anglophone participants advocated for connotations of their own concept of system. Disagreement between these two parties was so strong that the conference ended with no result, despite the excellent quality of the wine, as Peccei (1977, p. 65) reports with regret. The planners of the harmonious globe could not even agree to harmonize their core concepts.”* (p.8). This view on connotations relating to language being cultural and hard to translate and even communicate is something that is also linked to the cultural evolution of thinking, connecting cognition to culture through language and connotations (Heyes 2019, Jackson, Watts et al. 2019).

Connotations are here understood as both ideas *and* emotions – the full definition of the word. This illustrates how cognitions are felt, as our ideas become concrete and real (e.g., we believe a painkiller pill (even if it is filled with sugar unbeknownst to us) will cure our pains due to our

²⁰ Until we start to distinguish between the act of reading a text for its words and reading a text for its meaning, which are two different but overlapping activities with differences that can be hard to distinguish and communicate.

connotations associated with “painkiller”, see previous chapter). Ideas when expressed may invoke emotional responses relating to how we attach (connote) to a word. This is the *Alpha and Omega* to understanding texts (and spoken words) if we accept the propositions that “words do not write themselves—the ones we read have been found and written down by a living man” (Adler & Van Doren 1972). As such, words are not magical, they are labels (Wittgenstein 1922), they express the *intended meaning* of an author but are *interpreted* by a reader who may hold different connotations to the author. Thus, although Wittgenstein was right in a philosophical sense that labels do not matter, only concepts do, labels are how we identify concepts and begin to engage with them. Unfortunately, as the two examples of Tröhler show, we humans often do so without bothering to see if X means (or should mean) Y (e.g. système) or if X means Z (e.g. system). That is, we fail to come to terms before passing judgement (Adler and Van Doren 1972).

Moreover, we may think of arguments over “labels” of concepts in academia with their own connotations and taken for granted linguistic truths, that differ across contexts. These considerations became central here as a common language of the research was constructed, such as the use of ITE/ITT and not “ITE” or “ITT” in part due to the connotations of the French word “formation”, a word that is different from either education or training on their own as discussed in Chapter 5.

To exemplify the importance of language across cases, what is it a teacher does, who are teachers, and so on are often taken for granted constructs (concepts) with their own inherent truths that are context dependent. A teacher for example is (using the English language as illustrator) someone who teaches, whose occupation it is to instruct, thus inherently a teacher instructs someone of something, a rather unambiguous word as defined. The same arguably holds for the French word “enseignant”, but the French language also incorporates other words such as “maître” which means either the same as “enseignant” in primary school, or a master of someone or something, arguably more ambiguous and less easy to defined through an inherent truth, unless it is equated to mastery over students or a classroom in which sense it is more defined than “enseignant” or another word for primary teacher, the “institutrice” that only pertains to instruct. These linguistic differences also extend to a separation between levels of education, with the maître or institutrice being a primary teacher, and a professeur de college for “middle schools” and professeur de lycée for upper secondary teachers, creating inherent linguistic separations between “types” of teachers.²¹ This is of central importance if we propose that language may reflect the society that made it. Here it is also important to see language as a context dependent process, which is ever evolving across time

²¹ In English, one can always say a (school) teacher is a teacher (in a school) (who) is a teacher (of children), that is not possible the same way in France for example through the use of the word “maître” or professor. Also note the use of the word “professor” from middle school and up in France, a word that is only used at a higher education (university) level in English.

and place.²² An example of language reflecting society in practice (should it not be coincidence) would be the use of the masculine form in French when addressing five women and one man (e.g. *ce sont mes maîtres*) and the “neutral” character of the English language in the same regard (e.g. *they are my teachers*). Or the historic use of *institutrice* or *maître/maîtresse* for primary teachers and *professeur de l’école/lycée* for secondary teachers, where England uses “teacher” for all levels (e.g., primary teacher or secondary teacher, and not *primarist* and *secondarist*).

To exemplify the importance of connotations within a case, we may look at how the possible implications of language on conceptualisations of the teacher and how sentiments may be articulated differently in policy discourse, we may look to the English word “craft” that has garnered much attention since Michael Gove made a statement on teaching being a craft in 2009 (Childs and Menter 2013). In the wake of Gove’s statements, many academics were outraged and attacked the statement without much qualification as to what was the problem. The crux of the issue was how Gove used the word to equate teaching with “apprenticeship models” so the issue was perhaps with “apprenticeship” or teachers as knowing best how to educate teachers, but for cultural reasons they expressed their outrage at “craft”. These developments are interesting when seen in comparison to Robin Alexander’s (2001) reasoning of why teaching is a craft and not an “art” or a “science”. Alexander, using a completely different take on “craft”, believes teaching to be a craft precisely because it is at the intersection of both art and science, in the sense that it has a scientific foundation but is dynamic and “artful” in its application in a classroom, traits he equates with a craft. The notion of craft can also take on different meanings in relation to the separation of the head and the hand as discussed by both Arendt (2018 [1958]) and Sennett (2008), with differing emphasis and different implications for how for example teaching can or cannot be conceptualised as a craft. To Sennett the hope in the *Animal Laborans*²³ rest within the concept of “craftsmanship”, which he sees as having *“an enduring, basic human impulse, the desire to do a job well for its own sake. Craftsmanship cuts a far wider swath than skilled manual labor; it serves the computer programmer, the doctor, and the artist; parenting improves when it is practiced as a skilled craft, as does citizenship. In all these domains, craftsmanship focuses on objective standards, on the thing in itself.”* (Sennett 2008 Kindle Loc181). What we see here then is that the word “craft” itself is something that can be

²² In Spanish, another Latin-origin language, teacher is “maestro” or “maestra” in primary education depending on the gender, or *profesor – profesora de escuela* for secondary education, similar to French but with less variation and the added gender differentiation that only appears for “*institutrice*” in French. Thus, we may also talk of language as historical constructs that can be seen in relation to the Roman Empire, the Germanic tribes (e.g. the Angles and the Saxons from north Germania) and so on and so forth. Explanatory chains go on for as far as we have time and evidence to trace them.

²³ To Hannah Arendt, whom Sennett draws on conceptually, *Animal Laborans* (animal worker or beast of burden) are those who take their work as an end in itself – here she draws on Marx. The term stands in contrast to *Homo Faber* (man as maker), which is Arendt’s image of men and women doing another kind of work, namely making a life in common.

conceptualised very differently and with different connotations. This is important to bear in mind when attempting to comprehend for example the English context of teacher education, but it also offers institutional scope for redefinition of the word, as its meaning is not set in stone. Here then we see one word, which can be constructed to mean vastly different things, and that is also made up of other concepts (art and science) to create different inherent truths (given characteristics of the word/symbol) as to what it is. As such, we must compare the use of words between not only languages (e.g., French and English) but also activities (e.g., research, teaching, housebuilding) and temporal considerations. For example, the word “craft” may hold different connotations to someone who lived through ROSE in the 1980s (see Chapter 6), and a young teacher trainee today.

Moreover, this serves as an example of the cognitive difficulties we may encounter when the political use and academic use of a word are misaligned. Furthermore, misalignment between author and reader, speaker and listener (e.g. in understanding what is meant by “teaching as a craft”, the distinction between ITE, ITT, and formation) is also more common than one may think for a myriad of reasons such as bias, strong connotations, or a failure to adequately historicise a text.

Thus it is important to come to terms with an author (here reading differs from oral dialogue – as in oral dialogue we can ask what another means with a word) where the reader must understand how the author has used a word such as a political or research concept (e.g. Craft) to be able to partake in the discourse and analyse, critique, and learn from a text.²⁴ We may also take note of how this entails understanding the speaker, but also that you are discussing with the words of the speaker not the person. Therefore, who said something is important for understanding what is meant, but not inherently important for the *validity of the statement*. One would want to avoid *ad hominem* after all. In other words, the analysis must go beyond the words themselves, and attempt to understand both their intended use and their reception, which may have led to a change in wording (but not substance) in subsequent policies or led to similar wording but differing implications (substance).

These examples serve as an illustration as to how words have *socially constructed* truths that may differ between interlocutors (a teacher teaches because that is inherent in the conceptualisation and use of the word teacher), rooted in connotations, that are contextual, and relate to how individuals react when faced with words.

Connotations are also why synonyms are not of an exact similar meaning in terms of communication, and why the same word can be said to not be the same either dependent on both the context it was used in and the people involved in communication (author – reader, speaker – listener, actor-observer). With that in mind, we should also recognise that words can be appropriated

²⁴ See Adler and Van Doren (1972) for a more extensive discussion on this topic

and have their meanings changed by actors engaged in discussion, as a means of controlling an argument or moving the shared understanding (the meaning of the words) towards their own preferences. Here we see the difference between communication tout court and discussion.

All words are to an extent socially constructed concepts, they mean something and that meaning has inherent truths and differs based on both speaker and listener. Thus, comparison of contexts (time or space) requires a commonality of language that the researcher must construct. Alternately, words with too diverging connotations must be, and were, coded as separate entities. For these reasons, the analysis did not attempt to compare in a direct sense the language used between England and France, as the connotations are likely different and “lost in translation”. Instead, each case was analysed in isolation in comparison to the analytical framework, and then compared. In a sense then, the French and English language were both translated into the language of this thesis, before they were compared.

Hence, what is a teacher, and what his education is, may in part be found in the language employed to denote amongst other things teacher, teaching, and education. Particularly should they be taken for granted or as inherent truths of the common language. Moreover, contestation over the meaning of words through discussion and argumentation may also drive conceptualisations in one direction or the other. This is central to understanding policy. By logical necessity, first, one must come to terms on language, and then one can understand, analyse, and comment on a text (Adler and Van Doren 1972). As such, understanding what the policymakers and policy takers connotations are, and how they are shaped, has to be at the centre of any policy analysis.

2.4 Summary and concluding remarks of the chapter

In this chapter, we have seen an ontology where social reality is considered a sub-set of Reality, and as such, it relates to a contingent and changing truth. Our search for truth then becomes a perpetual quest where we strive to understand what we know we will never fully understand as our very observations may alter the objects we analyse (humans learn). The approach to separating episteme and doxa then hinges on obtaining adequate knowledge through inferring the workings of mechanisms. Entwined with social reality is material reality, grounding and limiting our capacity to construct our surroundings (we cannot walk on water like Jesus, nor fly like Superman or eat stone like the trolls). Hence, both ideas in their broadest sense and material factors matter, and both social reality and material reality is not reducible to what we may articulate and consciously say.

With such an ontology and epistemology, we can say that the atom was neither discovered nor created, but rather scientists discovered *something* from which they created the atom as we currently know and understand it. That is, some observations were made, from which inference was made, resulting in adequate knowledge to do something that caused somewhat predicted effects

(e.g. why a teacher taught a set curriculum). This enabled *construction of knowledge*. Knowledge in the sense of what a human explicitly knows or may explicitly know is constructed, due to the constructed nature of language and perception (see also Chapter 4 on language), but it originates at some level in some discovery. Tacit knowledge on the other hand is different, and the problems of communicating tacit knowledge may relate to it being a discovery rather than a construct, whilst the moment knowledge is stated it is transformed from discovery to construct. As such, if we can know anything about Reality (e.g., an “atom”), we can only know so tacitly, as the instance we render something communicable (explicit) we utilise a social reality – thereby transforming any “real” object into an object of social reality. This is where a discovery becomes a construct.

The epistemic emphasis in this thesis is upon conditions and consequence related to context (the time and space something belongs to, as well as its “histories” of experiences and what material factors may be likely to constrict the construction of a reality), not how they are in what some see as an objective sense (Biesta 2014). I use the plural of history here to illustrate how one thing (an object, a person) can have multiple histories dependent on one’s point of view. For example, England has one history, but the way it is talked about today, as anywhere, is in the plural as different people interpret a history differently dependent on their ontology. Therefore, it is, I argue, apt to talk of histories more so than history of a country.

To get at an understanding of what *is* we must engage with inferred causality and contingent truth to move beyond doxa and towards episteme as we construct explanatory chains and models. In other words, what is can be estimated to a useful extent once description (premise) and logical conclusion of theorised implications are merged as we triangulate between theory and empirical observation. However, the chapter also presents an important caveat, contingent truth means nothing can be taken for granted, but still to enable communication, and even to some extent thought, things must be taken for granted. Thus, any research result is not absolute, nor should it be seen as such; however, it should be used as it can be for what it is. Thus, empirical science requires sound research principles, conceptual and analytical frameworks, and a willingness to build on existing shared knowledge foundations, while recognising that old truths may become new lies as new understandings are unearthed.

The task in this thesis is thus to understand social reality (subjectively experienced and contingent truth), not to determine an “objective” (and by this epistemology, normative) “truth” all actors involved in teacher education should collectively subscribe to without thought or question. Therefore, the theorisations, models, and methods that lead to inference are but *heuristic tools* that enable one form of observation and one form of communication of said observations. As such, the findings presented in this work do not represent a form of absolute truth, but one way to construct

evidence leading to a form of what is believed to be adequate knowledge containing an understanding of both what *is* and how *it* came about in a given context.

To conclude, social science may say if outcome X *is desired* you should try to do A, B, and C while avoiding D and possibly E, that is the purpose of science as the word is used here and in line with the ontology and epistemology employed (determining how). Therefore, one should be clear as to what is, or can be, evidence, and what is a form of normative opinion inherently rooted in a (moral) value. In other words, science may say capitalism is bad if we want a more equal society (Marx and Engels 1998, Piketty 2014), or if we want a more sustainable or happy society should evidence indicate it is so, but it may not say capitalism is bad full stop without claiming an absolute authority over the human nature and purpose of existence. This also means that life and education both cannot only be data and evidence driven, nor run by science in all things (see *inter alia* Weber 2004 [1917/1919], Biesta 2009), particularly if we remember Robin Alexander's (2001) observation that the classroom is not a laboratory, variables cannot be controlled, therefore, teachers and educators work cannot be scientific in practice, but science ought to be the base principles upon which practice is based. This is a logic that can be extended to other professions and metiers, such as that of a politician or civil servant working on teacher education policy. This thesis then attempts to understand and explain practices related to teacher policy, not to prescribe what practice should be, or what education policy and politics ought to be concerned with in all things. Therefore, the analysis has been done with no practical implications in mind, instead focusing on systematic analysis of *what is* in the two cases. It is also not critical towards policy and policymakers, instead emphasising what inference we can make from observations.

Chapter 3: Analytical framework: How to analyse policymaking in education

"If objects lack structure and causal powers and liabilities and are always unconnected to one another, then anything can happen and the structure of knowledge is built on sand." (Sayer 2010 p.108).

This chapter presents the conceptual and analytical framework of the thesis rooted in a bricolage approach combining sociological neo-institutionalism with historical neo-institutionalism and the intellectual work of Foucault and Ball. It does so by discussing the key concepts enabling the research, how they fit together, and what indicators were looked for in the analysis.

In policy analysis, we must keep in mind that the complexity of *policy* *"precludes the possibility of successful single theory explanations"* (Ball 1993 p.10). Furthermore, political phenomena cannot always be explained through simple explanations, they are too complex for a form of Occam's razor explanation where the simplest (most parsimonious) explanation is most likely true (Zaks 2020). Hence, a form of theoretical bricolage, such as unifying strands of one theoretical school and integrating them with other, *compatible*, explanations of how policy in education is made may be of an advantage. Central to theory bricolage is that concepts are broken down to their atomic facts (constituent parts) then re-joined as compatible at a concept level (see Wittgenstein, 1922, 1958). Through bricolage, we may follow Vivien Schmidt's (2011) suggestion, when discussing "different schools" of neo-institutionalism, that: *"rather than continuing with the methodological wars, we should declare peace and consider instead how these very different approaches interrelate— how they complement one another, where they contradict one another, and what they contribute to our knowledge of political social reality"* (p.48). In a similar vein, Peter Hall and Rosemary Taylor noted: *"There is ample evidence that we can learn from all of these schools of thought and that each has something to learn from the others."* (1996 p.957). Thus, even though there are undoubtedly methodological differences between different schools of thought, different disciplines and fields, and between any two researchers, we must learn from each other and unify what can be unified to bring to bear the most thorough analytical framework we can construct to understand a phenomenon. Meanwhile, such theoretical bricolage, to preserve coherence, is ideally contained within a comprehensive and structured framework. Therefore, this chapter constructs such an analytical framework rooted in sociological neo-institutionalism (see e.g., Hall and Taylor (1996), Béland and Cox (2011) on "types" of neo-institutionalism – that may be as high as five or seven according to Hay (2011)), which is supplemented by other complementary schools of thought, to structure and frame the analysis through a bricolage lens. In the social sciences, such compatibility

is, based on my understanding of the literature, often more present in relation to “what” than “how/why” something happened. For example, what policy, power, and knowledge *is* and the concepts’ relation to culture, norms, and coercion is very similar between all neo-institutionalist schools of thought and the work of Foucault and Ball which this thesis draws on to understand the “contexts of policy” (see below). However, there are always distinctions in *how* concepts are used to explain *why* a certain policy was formulated in a certain way. In a philosophical sense, one can both see distinctions between schools of thought as a difference of ontology or of methodology (see e.g., Biesta 2014). However, I would also say they are results of different research environments and the paradigmatic institutionalization of researchers that is well documented by Kuhn (2012), Latour (1987), and Foucault (1977, 1989). This would then allow an understanding that the difference in schools of thought are social constructs that relate to a social reality and not Reality. Therefore, we can deconstruct a theory down to its atomic facts to see how (and if) it can be re-constructed to support a different school of thought or lead to new conceptual and analytical frameworks. In other words, any theory can inspire us as researchers and thinking individuals well outside of the box the theory was originally put in, if the thought process is logically coherent and structured (Collier, Brady, and Seawright 2010).²⁵ This view is rooted in theory and past research not as “truth” but as possible truths (truth is always contingent) that we must explore through empirical observations as discussed in the previous chapter. That is, theory is a toolbox and a framework that is constantly constructed and re-constructed for each research project by the researcher(s). This I argue holds even when we attempt to directly reproduce past research. What is central then, is to note how different schools of thought can help flesh out our conceptual and analytical thinking, as well as how the conclusions we reach may still hold some distinctions. Meanwhile, this view means we rarely (perhaps never) directly build on existing knowledge, instead we draw on existing knowledge to inspire, guide, and structure our quest for new knowledge. As such, research is often a form of theory bricolage on some level.

In terms of the layout of the chapter, section 3.1 presents the key components of a neo-institutionalist analytical framework and the concepts of institutionalized environments and organizational fields. Meanwhile, section 3.2 elaborates on how we can think of policymaking, the relation between policy, politics, and power, and relates this to the concepts of institutionalized environment and organizational field. The main part of the chapter is section 3.3 that presents the six dimensions/aspects of institutional maintenance and change as it pertains to teacher education policymaking. Here both concepts and how to analyse policymaking are presented in an

²⁵ The work of Brady and Collier eds. (2010), alongside that of King, Keohane, and Verba (1995) is interesting in this regard due to their attempts to bridge not only qualitative and quantitative epistemologies (and language) but also positivistic and post-positivistic epistemologies to enable dialogue between different schools of thought in Political Science (primarily International Relations studies). The views of Checkel (2006) on how positivist methodologies can be used post-positivistically is also of interest in this regard.

aspect/dimension layout. Sub section 3.3.1 presents the regulative dimension and coercive mechanism, 3.3.2 presents the normative dimension and normative mechanism, and 3.3.3 the cultural-cognitive dimension and mimetic mechanism. Sub-section 3.3.4 presents the concept of path dependence and how two central aspects (historic trajectory and shocked trajectory), as well as their characteristics and mechanisms (labelled sequence and innovation), are constructed. Sub-section 3.3.5 calls for a more structured approach to engaging with what happens when powerful actors enter or leave an organizational field, operationalising this in its own aspect called constellation. The interplay between the aspects/dimensions is discussed in section 3.4, which concludes the chapter.

3.1 Institutionalized environments and organizational fields

According to sociological neo-institutionalist W.R. Scott: *“The institutional perspective, more so than others, emphasizes the importance of the social context within which organizations operate. Indeed, the “figure” (organization) is often defocalized to stress the centrality of the “ground” (environment).”* (2013 p.262). In the same intellectual school, but with a “world culture approach”²⁶ Schofer and Meyer (2005) note how *“Institutional theory treats functional ideas about socioeconomic development as cultural or ideological myths and models rather than as reflections of functional realities.”* (p. 900). The world culture approach provides a distinction between “function” and perceived use through rationalisation, with an example of the rapid and massive expansion (through public policy) of higher education world-wide, far beyond any real functional need, attributing the shift to rationalisation of practices and a “belief” in the importance of expanding higher education. Hence, policy through an institutional lens is not reducible to “function” but encompasses *rationalisations through belief systems*.

Meanwhile, historical neo-institutionalists such as John Campbell (2002, 2004, 2011) stress the more formal aspects of institutions as they relate to the policymaking arena. To him, institutions influence the access to policymaking procedures and how ideas may flow (dissemination) and be adopted. According to him: *“by asking how ideas and interests connect and affect each other, scholars can avoid the pitfalls of the old idealist versus materialist debate about the nature of public policy making.”* (Campbell 2002 p.34). Moreover, from a theoretical standpoint, he found that policymakers (must) operate under a logic of social appropriateness, not one of consequentiality, due to a lack of information and a lack of knowing what consequences will be to a sufficient degree (i.e. a

²⁶ The “world culture” (alternatively “world polity”) approach centres on the global diffusion of western values, particularly through international organizations such as the World Bank, IMF, and OECD, and the behavioural isomorphism this causes at a macro level across the globe. As such, “world culture” focuses on the perceived homogenisation over time of society, culture, and schooling and the cultural dominance of the United States of America. See e.g., Meyer and Rowan 1977, Schriewer 2012, Wiseman, Astiz, Baker 2014, Zapp and Dahmen 2017.

rejection of scientism). The logic of social appropriateness is here central, as it can be argued to relate to the existing path dependent trajectories from past choices.

In relation to *institutional change*, Vivien Schmidt (a discursive institutionalist) (2011) emphasises the importance of ideas, their dissemination, and use by actors, to enact change in relation to discourse. In a similar vein, Scott (2013) notes the important relation between cognition and culture, and how ideas are entwined in context(s) in a cultural-cognitive pillar or dimension (see below). Moreover, ideas may not only influence and change institutions and environments, but they are also in turn influenced by them leading to a form of translation as noted above. The importance of ideas, as a part of cultural-cognitions, in institutional change has also been observed empirically in matters of education (Zapp and Powell 2016, Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell 2018). Jal Mehta (2011) conceptualises ideas as mattering “*when it (a) shapes people’s actions and (b) is not reducible to some other nonideational force.*” (p.24). Moreover, as Beland & Cox (2011) propositions: “*ideas are causal beliefs.*” (p.3), which they further refine through noting: “*Ideas help us to think about ways to address problems and challenges that we face and therefore are the cause of our actions.*” (p.4). As such, ideas and their ideations bear resemblance to a cross-section of Thomas Kuhn’s (2012) definitions²⁷ of paradigms in Science, where a paradigm or overarching idea enables normal science, but also constrains it from looking outside of what the paradigm allows for, however an idea is not in and by-itself a paradigm, it is only so once it is institutionalized in an environment. As Kuhn notes, for a paradigm to be replaced, a new paradigm must be ready to take its place. An interesting line of thought I would argue. This reflects on the notion of “evidence” which is of central relation to notions of ideas. For example, through research as a background for ideas as policy solutions (Mehta 2011), that manifests as “evidence” in contemporary policy discourse.

The chapter now turns to the concepts of institutionalized environments and organizational fields to elaborate on how practice, behaviour, and ideations are structured by institutional forces.

3.1.1 Institutionalized environments

To elaborate on the brief introduction of institutionalized environments in the introduction chapter of the thesis: W. R. Scott and colleagues (2000) conceptualise institutionalized environments as the broader level of analysis in which fields operate where norms, procedures, cultural symbols, shared ideations, held beliefs, and behavioural patterns that are culturally contingent, structure social interaction alongside formalised rules and historic legal and organizational constructs. To them, the environment was composed of two elements: the material-resource environment of

²⁷ Kuhn noted in the second edition of his work that he uses at least 4 different definitions of “paradigm” in his work. All arguably relate to ideas and ideations.

supply and demand as well as technological factors, and the institutional environment in which regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive structures operate to provide meaning, and stability to a field, with a particular emphasis on the institutional logics, actors, and governance systems. The institutional environment can also be said to encompass or be characterised by informal rules, beliefs, and norms to which actors believe they must to an extent conform (Scott 1992).

Central to this constructivist conceptualisation of institutions (Hay 2011) and institutionalized environments are their capacity to disseminate ideas and enable ideations, provide moral and normative constraints on actions while legitimising others, as individuals and organizations rationalise their behaviour and practices (Meyer and Rowan 1977, Scott, Ruef et al. 2000, Campbell 2002, Schriewer 2012, Scott 2013, Helgetun and Menter 2020, Marques and Powell 2020). Thereby, the institutionalized environment structures and constrains actors and constitutes the basis for action, including the legitimacy for control levers for coercive action and defining what power is, as formal and informal institutions give concepts of “power” (and of education) meaning and symbolic value. Meanwhile, in turn, notions of power also shape context perceptions as institutionalized environments evolve over time (Hay 2011).

Importantly, the institutionalized environment is thought to transcend relevant organizational fields and borders. For instance, a university and its institutionalized environment may be said to encompass multiple fields such as higher education, research, property and investment, a myriad of policy fields as university staff and production is subject to policymaking across broad spectrum. In addition, with the spread of multi-national campuses some universities even inhabit multiple fields in a horizontal sense as well as they interact with research fields in both England and Dubai for example. Meanwhile norms and ideas related to environments may interact across fields. To exemplify, an English university may still follow “home” ethics, rationalised myths, and logics of “best practice” – to an extent - when operating abroad (e.g. in Dubai). In other words, where we draw up the lines of a wider environment, and of the more specific fields, is mostly heuristic rather than an absolute.

3.1.2 Organizational fields

When conducting institutional analysis, it can be helpful to think of the concept of *organizational field* (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, Scott 2013). The organizational field, derived from Bourdieu’s field theory (Scott 2013), encompasses the more concrete interactions that unfold, and the shared practices and beliefs *expressed*, between actors as they relate to a common purpose such as the education of teachers, or the formulation of policy in constant relation with institutions and institutionalized environments. The term organizational field is an appropriation (not direct copy) of Bourdieu’s “social arena” employed “to better situate the locus of institutional processes shaping

organizations" (Scott 2013 p.18). As such, it relates to how fields as a concept, in essence, attempts to be "*the explanation of regularities in individual action by recourse to position Vis-à-Vis others. Position in the field indicates the potential for a force exerted on the person, but a force that impinges "from the inside" as opposed to external compulsion*" (Martin 2003 p.1). It should be noted that the language and conceptualization of Bourdieu, rooted in a French context, differs from how DiMaggio & Powell and subsequent authors such as Scott use the concept of "field". To Bourdieu, the field was mainly concerned with societal positions and divisions, with a central emphasis on the (re)production of bourgeoisie behaviour and tastes through education (see e.g., Bourdieu 1984), meanwhile a French tradition focused on an "institutional field" has arisen from the work of Bourdieu. As such, there is common ground between the work of Bourdieu and that of sociological neo-institutionalists such as DiMaggio & Powell and Scott, however, the approaches are not identical. The neo-institutionalist conceptualisation of "field" can be argued to be a reduced version of Bourdieu's field concept, but also one that relates to institutionalized environments and the effect of causal mechanisms of institutionalized process on everyday life. Thus, the added value of organizational field as a concept is not inherently reduced nor reductionist compared to a Bourdieusian field analysis but provides a different lens for a different kind of analysis. Therefore, we should distinguish between the Bourdieusian field analysis and an organizational field analysis rooted in the work of DiMaggio & Powell (1983), whilst also recognising that they themselves derived their theory *in part* from Bourdieu (but more so from classical institutionalism) and never set out to replicate it (Scott, 2013). This research employed the views of sociological neo-institutionalists as this enabled a thorough engagement with the mosaic field of teacher education organizations in England as seen in Chapter 6, whilst providing new insights into education in France through an organizational lens. Here it should also be noted that the concept of organizational field allows us to look beyond individuals, and conceptualise *organizations as actors* (Scott, Ruef et al. 2000).

Furthermore, an organizational field can be seen to encompass the interaction and contestation of *practices* done by organizations and individuals with a common purpose, producing or consuming similar products or services (DiMaggio & Powell 1983), which exist within defined borders (contexts). For example, educational research in Germany (Zapp and Powell 2016), higher education in England (Graf 2009), higher education and vocational education and training in Germany (Powell and Solga 2010, Powell and Solga 2011), forestry in Canada (Zietsma and Lawrence 2010), or providing healthcare in San Francisco's Bay Area (Scott, Ruef et al. 2000). Entry to the field may be regulated in different ways (e.g., state accreditation needed to educate/train teachers), and therefore has a bearing on field composition and constrains practices. However, non-practitioners may also in some instances contest practices, should they hold a form of legitimate voice (mainly a normative and cultural question) in the field. For example, in some contexts parents have been

granted a societal right to an opinion on education (e.g., in England but less so in France according to Robin Alexander (2001)), while teacher unions may be a voice on teacher education (more so in France than in England, as we shall see) alongside academics from a range of disciplines (not only teacher education departments), enabling a form of cross-field contestation.²⁸

At the heart of organizational field analysis according to DiMaggio & Powell (1983), is the broad approach of field analytics that directs our attention to “the totality of relevant actors”, rather than individuals in a vacuum. Moreover, they state: *“in doing this, the field idea comprehends the importance of both connectedness (see Laumann et al. 1978) and structural equivalence (White et al. 1976). By connectedness we mean the existence of transactions tying organizations to one another: such transactions might include formal contractual relationships, participation of personnel in common enterprise such as professional associations, labour unions, or boards of directors, or informal organizational level ties like personnel flows. A set of organizations that are strongly connected to other organizations constitute a clique. By structural equivalence we refer to similarity of position in a network structure: for example, two organizations are structurally equivalent if they have ties of the same kind to the same set of other organizations, even if they themselves are not connected: here the key structure is the role or block.”* (p. 148, their emphases). Importantly then, organizational fields, such as teacher education, are likely to reflect traits present at the origin of the field (history and trajectory becomes important), while mechanisms in the institutionalized environment(s) in which the field is embedded may cause a form of stability and conformity of practice. However, similar mechanisms may also enable contestation in a field and help bring about change over time, of both an endogenous and exogenous nature.

An organization can relate to multiple organizational fields (e.g., a university educates teachers, engage in policymaking, and conduct research – thereby belonging to all three fields), and to a lesser extent environments (e.g. a university is both in the education and research environments). Moreover, we can talk of multiple levels of field operation, the local, national, and global – but also transnational and regional (e.g., a European field, “Francophonie”, or the “Anglosphere”) as is further explored in subsequent chapters. Thus, the concept of organizational field is complex and must be understood in the plural as it relates to context and specific boundaries, when the focal topic is teacher education policy as it articulates over time in two countries. Therefore, to understand and analyse the interconnected nature of these fields, the more abstract concept of institutionalized environment becomes paramount, as does a structured approach to understanding mechanisms of institutional change that transforms the organizational fields that rely on it to provide structure, guidance, and meaning to their practices. For the sake of simplicity, in this

²⁸ This seems to be the case in education but is perhaps not so in other fields that have less porous borders.

written presentation of the thesis I mainly focus on the teacher education and politico-administrative fields in the two cases and how they *relate* to surrounding (e.g., global) fields.

In the same vein, separate fields can become merged, as is argued to be the case between the educative and politico-administrative field in France. Alternatively, one field can impose or make an imposition on another, as is argued to be the case between the teacher education and politico-administrative fields in England. As these interactions happen, the institutionalized environments of the fields collide, and contestation over rules, values, norms, and beliefs (e.g., in “what works”) become more volatile as two paradigms collide as is illustrated in this thesis. Therefore, field internal analyses are important, but as we heuristically operate with multiple fields it also becomes important to note how related fields influence each other through cross-field effects such as imposition. Field imposition as mentioned above involves the entry of one field to within another, as tasks that were exclusive within one field (e.g., the setting of teachers’ ITE/ITT standards) are taken over by another as was the case in England as the politico-administrative field imposes on the teacher education field in this regard in 1984 as is demonstrated in Chapter 6. This concept was purely inductive in this research and served to help explain changes in England since 1984.

As an important methodological caveat, the emphasis on organizational fields rather than individuals does lead to the impression of these organizations as more homogeneous than they are. The emphasis in this research has been on the dominant views within organizations, but with an eye towards contestation both within the organizations themselves and across them as we transverse their fields and environments. This is a methodological choice in relation to the analytical framework employed. This relates not only to heterogeneity across individuals, but also the fact that organizations themselves may often belong to multiple fields and environments ensuring a constant form of interaction between diverse beliefs and practices.

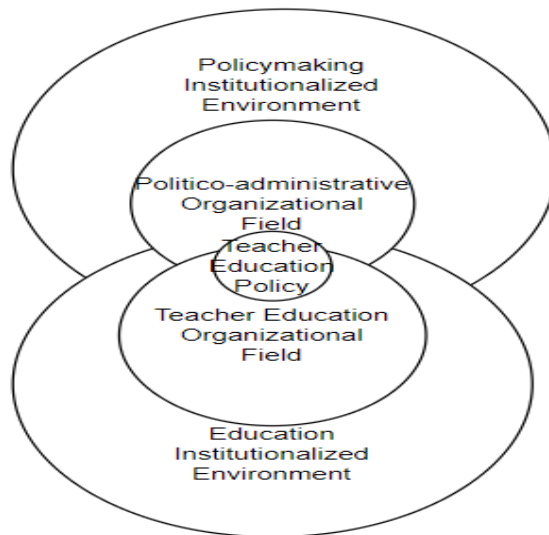
3.1.3 The interaction of environments and fields in teacher education policymaking

As the object of study here is policymaking, it is prudent to think of policymaking as an institutionalized environment in which different organizational fields (e.g., teacher education and politico-administration) exist. Meanwhile, education constitutes its own institutionalized environment (the rules, norms, and beliefs in education) as does academia. These environments are held separate heuristically as far as possible in this thesis, whilst prominence is put on the state-policymaking environment as the crux of this study.

The organizational fields can then be said to have its institutionalized environments influenced by policy, as the institutionalized environment in turn, through the fields’ actors, influence policy. Policymaking as an institutionalized environment is then also the binding link between the

organizational field of teacher education and the organizational field of politico-administration (see diagram 3.1.3).

Diagram 3.1.3. The inter-relations between environments and fields in teacher education policymaking



It should also be noted that institutional environments can be, and are, contested by actors for example by non-conformity through disconnecting discourse from practice (Erlingsdóttir and Lindberg 2005), or de-coupling practice from policy to different degrees (Coburn 2004). As is elaborated further in later chapters, contestation may also happen within discourse and/or in an overt sense, by direct confrontation over norms (especially through the work of professions who are often considered important in a normative sense), contested cultural-cognitions structuring ideas and ideations asymmetrically in a “fragmented” field, or challenging the legality (in a broad sense) of regulations and rules (Scott 2013). As such, contestation is an expression of how institutionalized an environment is, and therefore of its ability to conform (cause isomorphism) of practices in a corresponding organizational field. Degree of institutionalization can then be said to be an outcome of power struggles within organizational fields. Hence, the symbiosis between environments and fields becomes clear. In the example of the diagram above, this contestation would be focalized in the circle labelled “teacher education policy”.

3.1.4 The interaction between fields and environments: Enabling contestation

As we can see from the diagram above (3.1.3), organizational fields are embedded in their wider environments, they do not exist in isolation from each other. The primary function of environments is to provide legitimacy to actions undertaken within a field, be it the legitimate use of control levers, the normative (moral) authority of an actor to do as he does (e.g., provide standards

for teachers), or the comprehension actors derive from cognitive blueprints (e.g. how to best educate teachers). Legitimacy enables action, and the absence of it denies action. Hence, legitimacy is at the heart of isomorphism across an environment as actors conform towards what is seen as legitimate behaviour. Legitimacy is as such they key good that actors contest over (Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell 2018), across different aspects/dimensions of institutionalized environments. The organizational field is where these legitimacies play out.

In addition, as actors through their acts persuade others (trigger mechanisms) that their modes of behaviour are better, the legitimacy of the wider environment can be shifted as what was once the dominant view becomes undermined. The possibility of such contestation requires one of two factors to be true, the behaviour in question is not fully taken for granted or through contact with another environment (that often takes the form of field overlap) one mode of behaviour that was once taken for granted is now open for contestation because the other environment brings in new legitimate views on how something is to be done through imposition. The former rests on a view of institutionalized environments as consisting of main currents and under-currents (that may be hidden) that articulate differently in an organizational field, where there is an identifiable main practice conforming behaviour in a field that is contested by some actors within the field who are not fully conformed. They may pay lip-service to the dominant practice for example out of fear of inspections but work to undermine these forms of behaviour. For example, as is shown in later chapters, teacher educators in England educate teachers to Department for Education standards due to fear of failing inspections, meanwhile, they work to undermine these very standards they follow in their day-to-day behaviour. In other words, the standards are not fully taken for granted, but they dominate the field as all actors practice them. Imposition on the other hand is when an outsider to a field, due to the impact the practice in said field has on the main function of the outsider, imposes a set of practices on a field that is made possible through functional overlaps. To exemplify, teacher education policy sits at the intersection of the teacher education and politico-administrative fields, and the wider education and state-policymaking environments that have different belief-systems, making it ideally situated for attempts of actors in one field to impose on another, which as we shall see in later chapters, happened in England in 1984 with wide-ranging consequences felt to this day.

3.2 Governing and policy: Policymaking, politics, and power

This section expands on the neo-institutionalist school of thought through drawing on other compatible schools of thought due to some inherent limitations in the definitions of power, politics, and policy within neo-institutionalism in relation to the study conducted here. These limitations are particularly apparent in the approach of Scott (2013), that I draw on substantially for the rest of this chapter, as he locates policy within his regulative dimension and leaves it there without sufficient

consideration as to how policy is not only a coercive tool but also the result of norms, cultures, and ideas, and at the same time a transmitter of these as argued in this thesis. The conceptualization of Scott regarding policy is sufficient for many kinds of analysis, but not one where the core of the research is policymaking. The ideas I have drawn on in this section are rooted in the work of Foucault and Ball,²⁹ as their view on seeing policy and reality, particularly through the concept of discourse, I find corresponds closely to a neo-institutionalist view through denoting the cognitive limitations on agency through socially constructed notions of what *is* and may *become* linked to culture and cognition, which as we shall see in this chapter is central to the work of neo-institutionalists such as Scott. Importantly, the ideas presented here are not exact copies of the work of Ball or Foucault, but ideas I have derived from their work, the same way Ball has derived much of his work from Foucault.

Neo-institutionalist analysis has found that “policy” is both a coercive tool as well as a transmitter of norms and ideas, that is shaped by the environment in which it was made (Béland and Cox 2011, Helgetun, Powell, and Zapp 2018, Helgetun and Dumay 2021). This is a conceptualization also shared by Ball (1993, 2013), and Foucault (1975, 1978) who belong to a different, but to me comparable, constructivist school of thought. Meanwhile, Foucault (1978) argues that power, and therefore policy, must be understood as the interaction between the powerful and the resistance of the dominated through means available to them. In other words, policy must be understood as a relation first and foremost (Ball 2013). Power is in this sense the ability to enact one’s will on others through any means and is dispersed and pervasive as a regime of truth rooted in societal beliefs (Foucault 1978, Ball 2013). Power is here seen as encompassing both “hard” variations, what is typically seen as forceful coercion through physical threats (rule of law, risk of incarceration, loss of employment and consequent loss of income (arguably a physical harm) etc.) and “soft” variations such as norms (the “moral” power of a priest or a teacher) and the ability to make others conform to your values, beliefs, and ideas (e.g. charismatic power, or persuasive power, where others adopt one actors opinion on “what works best”). In other words, power is both material in the form of funding and punishment, and immaterial in the form of ideas and morals, and can be considered institutionalized processes. Within this conceptualization, policy becomes the vessel in which power is transmitted (Hay 2011).

²⁹ Although often called a Foucauldian, Stephen Ball in “Foucault, Power, and Education” argued that there is no such thing as a Foucauldian: *“I do not “do Foucault”, and I am not a Foucauldian. Not that such a thing makes sense, as I shall try to explain and demonstrate. Indeed I no longer have much interest in being a something —that is in claiming allegiance to some orthodoxy or community of like-minded scholars committed to a single theoretical position. Rather, I am more interested in the crafting of an academic subject yet to come.”* (Ball 2013, pp. 1-2). I share these sentiments. Therefore I have not alluded to Ball following Foucault, but rather how Ball uses Foucault in his own theoretical work – an important distinction. Ball often involves other thoughts in his work and commences from the idea that policy requires more than one theoretical frame to be understood (Ball 1993).

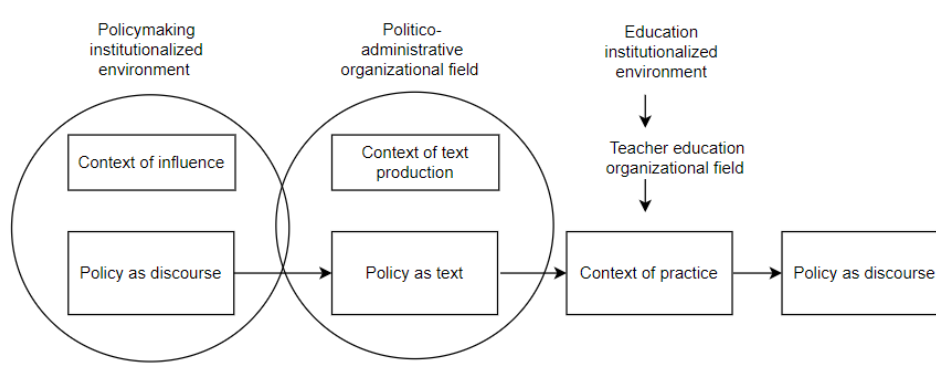
As noted in the introduction chapter, policy can also be divided between policy-as-text and policy-as-discourse. To elaborate, policy-as-text is the process of writing and reading policy documents where actors can be said to hold agency over how they formulate and interpret policy. However, policy-as-text is argued to be structured by policy-as-discourse which centres on the ideas (or lack of ideas) policymakers have as to what to do. This is where agency is constrained by norms and cultures that dictate what is seen as true, what is seen as good, and what is seen as possible. To quote Ball (1993): *"we need to appreciate the way in which policy ensembles, collections of related policies, exercise power through a production of 'truth' and 'knowledge', as discourses. Discourses are "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak ... Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention" (Foucault 1977 p.49). Discourses are about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority. Discourses embody the meaning and use of propositions and words. Thus, certain possibilities for thought are constructed."* (p.49). As such, discourse relates to voice, ideations and the spread of ideas, and sense-making. Moreover, it can be argued to structure policy-as-text as authors and readers of policy texts must relate to the discourse of the institutionalized environment in which they exist.

In relation to education, Bowe & Ball (1992) talk of three contexts of policy: influence (the key policy debates, what should be policy but also how policy is then understood), text production (what is written in formalised instructive documents), and the context of practice (where policy is implemented and "read" by practitioners). Additionally, John Furlong (2001) when discussing teacher education policy in England divides the context of practice into the elements of influence on pathways to becoming a teacher, influence on content of teacher education, and influence on link to schools (the place of the practical). We may conceptualise the context of influence as taking part within the policymaking institutionalized environment, where actors in the organizational fields of teacher education and politico-administration contest policy and adjust to it over time. Meanwhile, the contexts of text production correspond to the practices in the politico-administrative organizational field itself that is then transmitted to the policy takers in the teacher education organizational field (context of practice) where the education institutionalized environment helps shape how policy is interpreted and implemented. The whole process then immediately repeats as the new policy, and its interpretation, flows back into policy-as-discourse, and either reinforce the existing discourse or undermining it in part based on how the policy was interpreted in the context of practice. Therefore, there is always a relation between the three contexts of policymaking. This relation can be thought of as flowing through the notion of legitimacy discussed above. Policy-as-discourse legitimises policy-as-text by denoting the legitimate right of an actor to coerce other actors

or to be a normative voice of reason, as well as what is considered correct professional conduct or conceivable plans of action.

The characteristics of policymaking, in a cross-section of time, can then be presented in a diagram, as seen below (Diagram 3.2). This is a rough outline, and the peculiarities of one particular space-time context may contain different characteristics of the policymaking process. However, in broad lines this can be argued to represent the relation between policymakers and policy takers, as well as the constant relation between the contexts of influence, text production, and practice and their relation to policy as discourse and policy as text. This diagram only applies to areas where a politico-administrative field makes policy which applies to a practitioner field. Should the practitioner make the policy themselves (i.e., a single relevant institutionalized environment and single organizational field). This was the case in England prior to 1984 as is seen in later chapters.

Diagram 3.2 Characteristics of policymaking



Contestation within this institutionalized process of policymaking relates to actors' attempts to influence policy, and reactions to written texts as the policy circle moves from apriori negotiation, to text production, to impact on the practical, and back again with slightly shifting conditions as policy evolves, this contestation we may call engaging in politics. Thus, policy must be understood not as inherently top-down, but as a negotiation and interaction between actors who have asymmetrical power-relations as they engage in politics (Foucault 1991), as well as a normative and cultural-cognitive product of an environment as coercion is legitimized through moral authority and/or claims of what works and followed due to expedience (fear of consequences) (Hay 2011, Scott 2013).

Meanwhile, as access to different areas of an organizational field is asymmetrical, some actors are more central in one context of policymaking than in another. For example, in teacher education in England, teacher education providers are absent from the context of text production, however, in France they have a seat at the table through tri-party negotiations as seen in Chapter 7. In other words, teacher education providers in France can be said to inhibit both the politico-

administrative and teacher education organizational fields, and therefore also bring the policymaking and education institutionalized environments into closer proximity than is the case in England.

The chapter now turns from the conceptualization of teacher education policymaking as an institutionalized process, to the theorization of institutional change in teacher education policymaking.

3.3 Theorising change and stability in institutional environments and organizational fields: six aspects

The process of institutional change and stability both in an institutionalized environment and an organizational field, can according to existing literature in sociological institutionalism (Stanford school), be conceptualised as the interplay between mimetic, normative, and coercive mechanical processes (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, Scott, Ruef et al. 2000, Scott 2013, Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell 2018, Zapp, Powell, and Marques 2018). Each of these institutional mechanisms are argued to hold their own rationale for legitimacy, carriers that enable contestation, and corresponding reasons for compliance, in line with the theorisation presented in chapter 2, section 2.2.1, on how we may infer causal mechanisms. These mechanisms, as used in this thesis, constitute macro-level mechanisms, that aim to explain larger societal forces at an environmental level and not individual (micro-level mechanism) agency (see Mayntz 2004 on the distinction between micro and macro level mechanisms). It should also be noted that the separation between dimensions/aspects is heuristic, not absolute, as dimensions/aspects overlap and interplay as contestation unfolds (Scott 2013). This approach centred on mechanisms of institutional change and their associated broader dimensions in a largely cross-sectional sense (short time period) differ slightly from other neo-institutional approaches, such as historical institutionalism, which is centred on characterising and explaining types of change through longer historical trajectories and initial conditions. In this section I attempt to unify some of these distinct approaches through transforming parts of historical institutionalism focused on the differences between evolutionary, revolutionary, and punctuated-equilibrium types of change (Campbell 2004) in relation to critical junctures (Streeck and Thelen 2005, Mahoney and Thelen 2009) into a dimensional/aspect analytical framework that is joined with Scott's three dimensions. However, to keep the analytical approach comprehensible, in this text I do not use Streeck and Thelen's (2005) interesting brand of historical institutionalism, focused on gradual

change through layering,³⁰ displacement,³¹ drift,³² exhaustion,³³ and conversion³⁴ (see also Mahoney and Thelen 2010), as an explanatory model. Through the early stages of the analysis I found this framework less apt at explaining empirical observations in this research than Scott's dimensional approach coupled with the the proprietary concept of "pivot points" in relation to critical junctures as discussed below. Importantly, Streeck and Thelen (2005) focus largely on the (concrete) institutions themselves, while the research here focuses on institutionalized environments and organizational fields with an emphasis on the interaction between the abstract environment and more concrete field. As such, I only draw lightly on their work when constructing the analytical framework to ensure internal cohesion.

The institutional mechanisms and their identifying attributes, central to sociological institutionalism, can be seen heuristically as dimensions of regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive characteristics (Scott 2013). Most central of these characteristics as it pertains to contestation within and between dimensions is legitimatisation, which can be seen as happening through uncertainty and conflict over what constitutes *rationalised* behaviour (environment) and practice (field). I will first elaborate on the workings on mechanisms before returning to the specifics of the dimensions.

Actors may *advertently* or *inadvertently*, as well as *consciously* or *sub-consciously*, enhance legitimacy for their practices by obtaining cultural and ideational support, a right to speak on what is moral, and sanctioned legal authority to implement consequences, thereby triggering a mechanism that change or reinforce behaviour in the organizational field unless opposed by cancelling mechanisms (see Chapter 2). Importantly, a mechanism can trigger other mechanisms. In other words, a recurring process can set off other recurring processes. For example, coercion can trigger normative processes and vice-versa in complex causal chains, and this is not necessarily by design.

³⁰ "Layering" is institutional change through path-altering dynamics caused by a mechanism of differential growth. That is: "the introduction of new elements setting in motion dynamics through which they, over time, actively crowd out or supplant by default the old system as the domain of the latter progressively shrinks relative to that of the former" (Streeck and Thelen 2005, p.24). Furthermore, layering may appear stable at the surface.

³¹ "Displacement" is institutional change through the emergence of new models that displace old models relatable to perceived failure of function. This can be through a form of defection, that is the (re)discovery of alternative forms. Such (re)discovery is either indigenous through reactivation of past practices, or exogenous through an invasion from other fields. This mode of change is based on sociological institutionalism, and the work of DiMaggio and Powell.

³² "Drift" is institutional change through the inherent instability of institutions. As institutions naturally fail to maintain practices, they drift into new practices. Drift can also be cultivated by actors, and as with layering it may appear stable at the surface.

³³ "Exhaustion" is when institutions break down and lose formal integrity and actors no longer conform their practices but actively undermine the rules of behaviour that were previously institutionalized.

³⁴ "Conversion" is when institutions are redirected towards new goals, functions, or purposes. This type of change is triggered through new challenges or power relations. Central are contestations over what function an institution should have.

One may exemplify the inadvertent and sub-conscious aspect of this phenomenon with a quote from Max Weber: *“the cultural consequences of the Reformation were to a great extent, perhaps in the particular aspects with which we are dealing predominantly, unforeseen and even unwished-for results of the labours of the reformers. They were often far removed from or even in contradiction to all that they themselves thought to attain.”* (2003[1958] p.45). The work of Martin Luther and John Calvin has important ideational and material implications even today in 2021, however, they did most likely not intend for much of what has happened because of their ideas to happen (Weber 2003[1958]). Actors act, but do not control the outcome of their actions, nor are they fully aware beforehand what those outcomes may be nor why they acted as they acted. This may result, for example, from translation effects as cognitive blueprints meet local normative mechanisms, or from a failure of capacity to implement a reform as intended, or a policy may have unintended side-effects causing new forms of problematisation and proposed solutions to imagined and real problems. In this regard, the dissemination through carriers of practices and beliefs triggering mechanism is not only theorised to enforce isomorphism, but that they also enable contestation as counter-mechanisms may cancel out current effects and allow others to construct convergence towards new practices and beliefs. For example, mimesis towards neo-liberal and NPM beliefs in “what works” may reform practices in the organizational field, and reconfigure the normative dimension shifting legitimacies and cancelling out some normative forces as has been the case in England, where the teacher has gone from “scholar” to “professional craftsperson” as is elaborated upon in subsequent chapters. This breaks somewhat with the emphasis of particularly DiMaggio and Powell (1983) on isomorphic forces where they state new actors quickly conform to the field. As is seen in Chapter 6, strong new actors may in fact not conform to the field at all, but instead act as transformative forces of their own.

Contestation, then, relates to the articulation of mechanisms in their dimensions/aspects. In other words, actors trigger mechanisms causing conformity *or* contestation of practices. Conformity is argued to happen through isomorphism, as actors copy the work of others and conform to the flock (Meyer and Rowan 1977, Scott 2013). Meanwhile contestation is articulated as tensions over who has a *right* (legal, moral, cultural, practical) to do what, when, and how in relation to the shared purpose of the field (Scott, Ruef et al. 2000).

To return to the dimensional aspect, as briefly mentioned at the start of this section, conformity and contestation, in the current literature, rests on the three classical mechanisms of DiMaggio & Powell (1983); coercive, normative, and mimetic, which Scott (2013) coupled with three dimensions in a broader analytical framework; regulative (coercive), normative (normative), and cultural-cognitive (mimetic). The regulative dimension centres on legal frameworks, and sanctioned use of force or funding to coerce actors to conform, the normative centres on moral authority from

for example professions and professional standards, while the cultural-cognitive revolves around the intersection between ideas and culture as actors seek to make sense of their (complex) environment and figure out what works how. These three dimensions are believed by Scott to provide a sufficiently comprehensive framework to analyse all facets of organizational fields and institutionalized environments. However, to provide an even more comprehensive framework for the analysis of the complex nature of policymaking, as is elaborated upon below this thesis proposes to couple these mechanisms and their associated dimensions with two mechanisms and associated aspects rooted in a reading of historical institutionalism centred on the concept of “path dependence”, and one mechanism with its aspect centred on field re-composition. Hence, six mechanisms are conceptualised, alongside their own *aspects* of carrier, compliance, and rationale in this thesis, to which the chapter now turns.

3.3.1 Regulative dimension:

Coercion relies on perceived ability to enforce a threat through control levers (e.g., prescribed requirements of behaviour supported by legal frameworks, or funding mechanisms tied to prescribed requirements), which causes compliance through fear of consequences and knowing who is in charge (Helgetun, Powell, and Zapp 2018). The regulative ensemble, centred on a coercive mechanism, is further reliant on a structured and legally sanctioned mode of operation, meaning regulative coercion is only a factor if requirements are within legal parameters and structural capacity. In other words, should an actor impose threats such as financial sanctions or imprisonment if certain requirements are not met, to be considered coercion per the conceptualisation used here, the sanctions would need support from the ultimate law of the land (i.e., a legally sanctioned decision making entity that may be an Emperor such as Napoleon Bonaparte or a legislative parliament such as the Parliament of the United Kingdom) and the actor requires the means of enforcing the sanctions. For example, fining or firing a teacher for opposing state education policy would require the legal framework to do so (as exists in France with teachers as civil servants), and the means to do so (e.g., a police force with time to collect the fine or an inspectorate to note and sanction infractions).

Conceptually we may call a “legally sanctioned decision-making entity” responsible (at the highest level) for the regulative administration of education for *the educative-state*. The legally sanctioned decision-making entity here constitutes the highest legal (regulative) entity in charge of a certain domain of public life such as education – the top of the systemic context and the highest law-making entity with education as part of its purview. This becomes a necessity as concepts such as, “nation-state” does not work with the United Kingdom (UK), which historically is one state since the Act of Union in 1707, but has many (at least four) nations with different devolved politico-

administrative responsibilities, and still has no national trajectory on many policy domains, but rather “state” trajectories (if we equate nation with England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland and “state” or kingdom for that matter with the UK (Menter, Brisard, and Smith 2006)). Additionally, Wales and England until the 1990s had the same official policy on education, with policy documents signed both by the Secretary of State for Education and the Secretary of State for Wales (there was/is no Secretary of State for England), but reality was more complex, as Wales diverged from England much earlier (Furlong 2013). Thus, we cannot compare the United Kingdom to France tout court in matters of education. Hence, there is a need for a concept that could transcend these issues to render the research truly comparative, the term *educative-state*, which is a translation of the French *l'état éducative*,³⁵ works well here as it denotes the final entity with systemic (regulative) authority over education that comes with both rights and obligations. As such, an educative state relates to the overarching structure (“regulative dimension” – see Chapter 3) of an organizational field in education (e.g., teacher education) and derives its legitimacy from the institutionalized environment (socio-historical context) the field is embedded within. The term “nation-state” should instead be reserved for representing an *ideology* or guiding principle of both education and state-administration, that is central to education in France and less so in England.

Within such conceptualisations, in terms of the regulative dimension and coercion, we may think of the Weberian state (Weber 2004 [1917/1919])³⁶ as coercer par excellence due to its monopoly on the legitimate use of physical violence. Therefore, should a Weberian state be the educative state, it is the only entity able to imprison people for failure to comply with policy, to fine people for failure to comply with policy, and to otherwise enforce compliance through legally sanctioned regulative means. However, it may always *delegate responsibility to other entities* (e.g., school inspections may be done by private organizations on a state contract with fining being done by the private enterprise, as is done for parking inspections and fining in Norway), but that would require a *clear hierarchy* of who is ultimately responsible and in charge (the state). Should the hierarchy not be clear, and the state be powerless to re-claim such powers at the stroke of a pen, they are no longer a full Weberian state, instead we have a private-public quasi-state. This would imply for example that privatisation is not a problem for a state until it loses oversight and authority over the private actor (e.g., normative legitimacy is stronger than regulative legitimacy and is held by

³⁵ A note on the translation: The term “educative-state” is “borrowed”, translated, and reworked from the French concept of *l'état éducative* which connotes to the role and responsibility of the state (in the French case the unitary nation-state) to educate its citizens and regulate that education. As with any translation, some connotations are lost, however the term I would argue is sufficiently interchangeable between its French and English versions.

³⁶ According to Max Weber, a state is an entity which holds legal monopoly on the use of physical violence (e.g., imprisonment) in a given territory.

the private actor not the state). Moreover, this conceptualisation only extends to the legally sanctioned physical framework of punishment, not incentives through funding schemes (targeted funding). As such, the regulative dimension is more than just the Weberian state, it also encompasses actors with legitimate financial influence due to the economic characteristic of the regulative dimension.

Any coercion, for example by an educative state, rests on *legitimate behaviour*. To exemplify, liberal democratic states such as England and France cannot impose their will indiscriminately as authoritarian states such as North Korea or China sometimes can. They must legitimize their control levers and establish them as parts of accepted institutional behaviour. That is, control levers must become a legitimate part of an institutionalized environment before they can coerce the organizational field. For example, for the British government to impose a form of practice in teacher education it must have legal authority to do so, granted by parliament and the courts of law due to the legal system and separation of powers in effect there (see Chapter 5).

As noted above, in addition to legitimacy, resources to police and enforce regulations is a central concern within the regulative dimension. Something may be imposed in a legally sanctioned fashion, but it may not be expedient to conform due to a lack of perceived consequences. That is, there is a lack of resources for control. The combination of legitimacy and resources we may call enforcement. Enforcement may here then be conceptualised as control levers, where there is a joining of legal sanction and the ability to impose a practice through regulative means. For example, a law requiring all teachers to be certified in order to teach may not be enforced due to a lack of teachers, or teachers may de-couple from legally sanctioned policy instructions on how to teach for a myriad of reasons (Coburn 2004). A de-coupling between policy and practice in teaching is in England, for example, hard to do due to the power of OFSTED (education inspectorate) as a control lever as is discussed in chapters 5 and 6. Thus, we see how material factors are central to coercion (number of teachers, number of inspectors) and relate to control levers (certification requirements for teachers, mandate of inspectors).

Policy-as-text is here a central component of the regulative dimension, as it is legally sanctioned, and as such actors who hold power in the regulative dimension are likely the most central for the final formulation of policy. The nice fit of policy-as-text within the regulative dimension, can be seen from how Scott (2013) places his concept of “policy” (which corresponds closely to policy-as-text) within it.

However, the details and specificities of control levers are contextually (time and space) dependent. For example, competitive financial incentives, in a context of plenty, are likely weak as they offer low incentives to compete for money as was the case in educational research in Norway (Helgetun, Powell, and Zapp 2018). The same goes for inspections that does not lead to forms of

sanctions as is the case in France (Pons 2014). In short, a control lever needs a form of strong incentive to coerce behaviour, there must be an imagined or real fear of consequences and this changes as contexts change. The reason for compliance in the regulative dimension, once consequence is a real threat, is then *expediency*, complying with regulations outweighs the *perceived* negative consequences of disobedience.³⁷ Here we also note an overlap between the regulative and normative aspects of regulative frameworks, as compliance can be rooted in moral authority as must as in consequence, which would constitute an interplay between two dimensions.³⁸ To exemplify, for normative reasons the police may refuse to collect a fine imposed on a teacher who broke the civil service code of political neutrality in France. Hence, dimensions interact constantly, and as such policy-as-text is not only a regulative concern even though it fits most nicely within this dimension.

To recapitulate, control levers have many shapes and forms that are contextually dependent. They constitute the carriers of coercive change and stability in an institutionalized environments and rely on and interact with other dimensions/aspects as they vie for legitimacy.

As an illustration, in terms of modal verbs, we may talk of the regulative dimension as composed of “musts”, such as “you must finish your dinner before you can have desert” or “you must teach in this way or you will be fired”. A direct command is issued with a negative or positive consequence. The logic is: “you must do X to be rewarded and/or a failure to do X means there will be explicit consequences”.

Indicators of coercion are: a language of musts, a clear hierarchy (who is in charge of what), expressed sanctions, prescribed standards (e.g. teachers’ standards – see Chapter 9), certification requirements (e.g. Qualified Teacher Status, or “conours” – see Chapter 5), and regulative bodes with expressed powers (e.g. OFSTED).

3.3.2 Normative dimension:

Observations indicate that from perceived shared goals of purpose and morally appropriate means to pursue these goals actors attempt to establish *moral authority over a practice* (Scott 2013). Therefore, a form of organic moral standards, or in work life a shared professional code of behaviour,

³⁷ There are also some conundrums where what is legally sanctioned may depend upon context and enforcement. For example, German soldiers and officers in World War 2 both followed and broke legal frames. Through following superior orders, what in German was called *Befehl ist Befehl* (an order is an order) they complied with German military law, but were condemned at the Nuremberg trials, and later Israeli trials, for breaking international law. The paradox is perhaps that breaking an order during war may result (at the time) in execution, a fate some faced at Nuremberg as well. This shows how legal frameworks are complex, and authority may shift over time as state-structures undergo internal or external shocks.

³⁸ The blog post “The Unstoppable Rise of Sci-Hub: How does a new generation of researchers perceive Sci-Hub?” by Professor David Nicholas is an interesting example of norms rendering regulative legally sanctioned modes of action irrelevant. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/2019/02/19/the-unstoppable-rise-of-sci-hub-how-does-a-new-generation-of-researchers-perceive-sci-hub/> (accessed 10.01.2020)

become strong normative carriers of socially accepted practice in a field. These morally shaped modes of behaviour are rooted in what is considered acceptable or not in terms of moral voices. Contestation over voices relate both to what can be said and who can say it. This relates both to organic professional standardisations (as opposed to the regulative enforced standardisation) within fields, as well as processes of professionalization as recognised professional “experts” are able to denote what ought to be done and how.

Voice is not only to have a right to be heard and consulted on matters of behaviour (as a social partner), voice is also something some have more of than others, that is some are more loudly heard than others. The right to be heard, and how loudly one is heard, are both contextually dependent. For example, in some professional contexts unions are considered moral authorities on professional behaviour and practice, as well as on industrial relations, as is the case in France (Seguy 2014). However, in other contexts, such as education in England, unions are not largely considered a voice on teacher’s work, but are central voices in relation to work conditions in terms of hours, pay, vacation etc. (Carter, Stevenson, and Passy 2010). In addition, in some contexts unions have a voice, but their voiced opinions count less than that of professional associations. Alternatively, the strongest voice may be one or more high performing organizations or enterprises in the field (e.g., National Leaders of Education and Teaching Schools³⁹ in England), under a logic of performance rather than representation. Scale of voice also relates to different modes of governing, where in a profession led model professionals have the highest voice, whilst in a politico-administrative model that rests more with politicians and state functionaries and their “expertise” (that may or may not be hired in the form of consultants for example). Contexts such as systemic modes of governing matter. As such, voice is central for the context of policy influence.

Meanwhile, contexts (e.g., modes of governing) may shift. For example, historically (prior to the early/mid-20th century) the clergy had a strong voice in education as a whole in England well beyond church based education, and much more so than civil servants (Dent 1977, Alexander 2001). Today, the clergy is present as a voice (e.g., through the Cathedrals group of universities), but of much lesser strength than before, as the mode of governing education in England has moved from the church to the state (Jones 2016).

The concept of voice should, when the object of study is teacher education policymaking, be seen in relation to the teaching profession and the *organic standards of conduct and knowledge* the education environment ascribes to the teaching profession or sees the profession as embodying. In other words, voice on what a teacher is stands in relation to views on how a teacher ought to behave, and what he ought to know. This includes whether or not teaching is a profession. However,

³⁹ See <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/get-school-to-school-support-from-system-leaders> (accessed 27.01.2021)

as entry to teaching is historically regulated through certification procedures in both England and France, and the teacher is usually considered at the very least a form of professional in both cases (Evans 2008, Farges 2017), I here see the teacher as such in these contexts. For example, as is further addressed in Chapter 5, teachers in England are sometimes said to have increasingly embodied a “new” professionalism in contrast to an old professionalism since the late 1990s (Furlong 2001). Meanwhile, teachers in France are usually argued to belong to *at least* 3 different professions (primary, secondary, *agrégée*) (Farges 2017). However, one must recognise an opening for the possible *de-professionalization of the teacher* through removal of certification and education requirements as is happening in England but has not happened yet in part due to strong professional norms of what a teacher is constructed over time (Mathou, Sarazin, and Dumay 2020).

Importantly, a profession can be understood as containing identities linked to the “closed” group of professionals. These identities can be seen as containing an inward-looking gaze where expertise on the functions of the profession’s work is to be found within the group (Beck and Young 2005). Meanwhile, the purpose of a (strong) normative voice is to influence and determine what constitutes a profession and who speaks for it, both in terms of who can say they are such a professional, and what kind of behaviour they should strive for. Through such claims, the normative voice may construct legitimate standards of conduct that govern everyday practices and behaviour. These standards are then central both for the work of a politico-administrative cadre (policymakers as professionals) and the reception of policy in the teacher education organizational field (how well do policy align or oppose professional standards).

To exemplify, if some educationalists preach the moral need for teachers to be pastoral, they are attempting to set a standard for the profession that includes “whole person care”. If such sermons resonate and become an integrated part of what a teacher is, it can be said to have institutionalized in a normative sense within the teaching profession as a new organic standard. Moreover, should such educationalists also preach that only those who hold a university degree can consider themselves teachers, they push for a standard of degree to be a normative part of who ought to call themselves teachers and who ought not to. Contestation over voice, as well as resonance with existing environments and organizational fields is what leads to whether or not these professional standards become organically adopted.

We must then also distinguish between organic standards, rooted in moral authority and voice, and prescribed standards rooted in policy and legal sanctions (regulative dimension). The former are normative standards with a moral core, what should be done in order to be good, while the latter is a coercive standard rooted in legal sanctions should they not be followed. Thus, colleagues would judge someone who fails in the former as part of the normative dimension, while an externally sanctioned entity (e.g., courts) would judge in the latter as part of the regulative

dimension. However, the organic and prescribed standards may also overlap, if not at first then contestation between these ensembles may push one towards the other as norms reconfigure regulations or regulations reconfigure norms. Hence, organic standards of what a teacher ought to be are shifted by internal and external processes, the same way they may cause change in other processes such as the regulative aspect of being or becoming a teacher.

Beyond standards, professional groups also lay claim to expert knowledge (Rittel and Webber 1973). What that expert knowledge is or should be rooted in can be debated between the importance of science and practice (Beck 2009). Moreover, when the topic is a professional in education (e.g., teacher), the notions of science and academic research based knowledge can be further broken down between knowledge of learning and teaching and knowledge of subject. Intellectually we may also envision a second practice category centred on “informal education and learning” however that is not applicable here due to the dominance of the “school” model of learning in the two cases (Alexander 2001). This is a simple conceptualisation, but it highlights the important divide between kinds of professional knowledge different actors believe teachers should have. However, it should be noted that this exists as a continuum, where actors often argue for a mixture of science based and practice based knowledge, the contestation is mostly on how much of each teachers should acquire during their initial education. This then, is where how a teacher ought to behave and what he ought to know relates directly to cognitive blueprints (see below) of what to do once the “ought to” questions have been solved.

Table 3.3.2. Types of knowledge

Knowledge				
In general:	Science based knowledge		Practice based knowledge (profession knowledge)	
In education:	Subject knowledge	knowledge of learning and teaching	Classroom experience	Informal education experience

Furthermore, an environment may be seen as dominated by the normative dimension once there are limited actors with an authority to denote what ought to be done. For example, if universities are the only moral authority on good education (a teacher ought only to know science based knowledge), they are likely to ensure a form of conformity through normative pressure. However, should teachers or elite teachers hold equal voice as university based educationalists (high emphasis on practice based knowledge) the normative dimension may be considered contested or contestable to a much higher degree. Contestation is disproportionate to the number of voices once the number is more than one. Here I argue that the normative dimension differs from the cultural-cognitive dimension and its cognitive blueprints of “what works” that is discussed in the next section (3.3.3), as cognitive blueprints do not relate to “volume” or number of voices, but resonance with all

other mechanisms due to the foundational nature of culture when taken for granted behaviour and daily practices is discussed. This is why even though normative characteristics are closely linked and entwined with culture and cognition (and regulations) a heuristic separation is important for hermeneutic purposes.

To summarise, the normative dimension and ensemble consists of a moral legitimacy, a carrier centred on the voices of standardisation and professionalization (or rather what standards one should harken to), and causes compliance through social obligation of what one ought to do and how one ought to think and express thought thereby causing a normative mechanism to unfold, constraining an environment and enabling certain actors to shape practices ahead of others due to a form of moral authority that is contextually dependent in so far as what is “right”.

If we were to talk of a modal verb describing the normative dimension, the most fitting is likely “ought”, as it is a spiritual or moral command such as you ought to be nice. It holds no direct physical consequences if conditions are not met, nor concrete rewards should they be so, rather they are of a moral characteristic. The logic is: “you ought to do X, doing so will make you feel good, and not doing so will extend your time in purgatory”.

The indicators in the normative dimension are: organic standards, the language of “ought”, the presence and language of professionals (e.g. deference to the expertise of a teacher), the diversity of professional (expert) groupings, and types of knowledge seen as legitimate.

3.3.3 Cultural-cognitive dimension:

The cultural-cognitive dimension is very complex in its conceptualisations, relates to a range of concepts, and is according to Scott (2013) the most central dimension in an organizational field. Therefore, I will first in this section define what I mean with “culture”, then define “cognition” in a neo-institutionalist sense, and argue why the concepts of culture and cognition are interdependent I will then go through in a systematic fashion the three central characteristics of the cultural-cognitive dimension: the levels of cultural cognitive environs focusing particularly on the national level, the cognitive blueprints that communicate articulations of “what works” that are central when faced with uncertainty, and the rationalised myths that may coalesce around national logics and cognitive blueprints over time. Towards the end of the section, I employ the many facets of “neo-liberalism” in academia to illustrate the concepts of cognitive blueprints and rationalised myths. The example is particularly apt in this thesis due to the argued prevalence of neo-liberal reforms in teacher education in England. A word I would argue is, at times, misused in that capacity as it groups separate processes in under a singular (and vague) umbrella term.

What is culture? According to Daniel Tröhler, “[e]ven the notion of culture is culturally biased”. (2014 p.22). In the same work he pointed out that “culture” is a broader term in the Anglo-

Saxon intellectual world than in the French and German one. As such, one may infer that what is meant by “culture” is dependent on one’s cultural biases and language. In other words, the meaning of culture is shaped by our environment and our cognitions as we engage with the connotations of the word “culture”. Meanwhile, the limits of a culture is hard to define as where one culture ends and another begins is blurry in socially constructed realities. As such, there are no singular answers to what culture is, we may only construct heuristic concepts under the label of “culture” for the connotations this brings. To define what is meant with culture here, I would draw attention to Robin Alexander who in a study of “five cultures” as he called it, defined culture as *“the inherent ideas and values, habits and customs, institutions and world views which make one country, or one region, or one group, distinct from another.”* (Alexander 2001, p.5). I find this an apt and useful general conceptualization of culture. To further refine it however, sociological institutionalists would, one may argue, agree with Alexander’s above-quoted conceptualisation of culture when talking of cultural-cognition, but redefine country, region, and group, to bounded and overlapping environments and organizational fields of shared beliefs and practice. Such a (re)conceptualisation in essence means the same but does not employ what can be seen as troublesome connotations of country and region when distinguishing cultures, while also recognising sub-divisions in relation to practice (e.g., culture in teaching) and how individuals may belong to multiple “groups”. To exemplify, think of an individual who is a teacher and a parent, and an Englishman, who is then also a self-professed Brit and a European. All these groups the imagined individual belongs to can be said to express some shared cultural-cognitive traits unique to that group, and with possible sub-categorisations. Some elements of teachers’ cultural-cognitions can arguably be found across the globe (see e.g., Alexander (2001) or Meyer, Boli et al. (1997)) others are located in the local sub-group (e.g., a teacher in England), while some English cultural-cognitive traits, as here defined, cannot be found in Wales even though both a Welshman and an Englishman are British subjects⁴⁰ and have shared British cultural-cognitive traits at some level. As such, cultural-cognitions are both grouped and layered. Meanwhile the layers can be said to have porous borders enabling transfer between them (similar to environments and fields) as can be seen where through a European cultural-cognitive group values and ideas (e.g., the Cartesian paradigm and other ideations rooted in the enlightenment) are shared between the French and the English to some extent.

Cognition, on the other hand, one can argue relates not only to the act of thinking, but also to articulating thought (making knowledge explicit rather than tacit), as well as the ideational processes we operationalise to construct meaning out of events (experience) and provide ideas of action. Cognitions are then also central when we are faced with uncertainty or a lack of trained

⁴⁰ On a technical note, as a monarchy Britain has loyal subjects, whereas the French Republic has citizens.

experience as they allow us to articulate responses explicitly to challenges. For example, a highly experienced craftsman may have tacit knowledge as to how to respond when he finds himself faced with a challenge (a crisis) be it a broken pipe for the plumber, a leaking artery for the doctor, or an unruly class for the teacher. However, that tacit knowledge has a root in something, it is either rooted in discovery (here we must keep in mind that discovery is still no *tabula rasa*) or in articulated instruction (such as education). Furthermore, through performing the task the tacit knowledge becomes explicit action. That is, the action is rooted in a cognition that becomes apparent as the individual acts. Moreover, the tacit knowledge may not be enough (the practitioner may lack in experience or be faced with an unknown challenge) requiring the even more difficult articulation of knowledge on the spot, where a solution may be to consult instructions (e.g., a teaching manual) to help formulate ideas of solutions to a problem. Cognition is as such based on internal and external impulses.

According to Scott (2013) there is an inherent link between culture and cognition, centred on the articulation and communication of thought, but also on the construction of culture as a shared and taken for granted understanding (a cognition) of how to behave that is often expressed through emotional responses that are rationalised. As such, cognitions are entwined with culture and cultures that help enable *articulation of thought*. Because culture, as such, is seen as interdependent with cognition (ideations), we may and should conceptually keep culture and cognitions joined in a cultural-cognitive dimension. This is not to say the dimension contain the concepts of culture AND cognition, but rather that what this dimension addresses is cultural-cognitive as one singular concept under one label, which is rooted in the dual concepts of culture and cognition. In other words, cultural-cognitions are here *the base ideational processes* that enable individuals to articulate thought and formulate legitimate action of what should be done in the face of uncertainty. Hence, the concept is central for all facets of policymaking, be it influence, text production, or impact on practice, as it structures how actors comprehend what should be done how.

Through the notion of levels of cultural-cognitions, we may talk of a *national logic* as the cultural-cognitive trait that is shared at a “national” level. A national logic is national in so far as it is embedded within the culture of the dominant group of a state that form an imagined community (Anderson 2006 [1983]), and it is a logic as it is a rationalised and rationalizable cognition, and form part of national myths. National logics are then identifiable guiding principles of a state entity and became a useful tool for comprehending the two cases studied here, as is particularly elaborated upon in Chapter 5. On the one hand, national logics, I would argue, are central for stability and for creating taken for granted ideations within an education institutionalized environment in our current paradigm of nation-states that is prevalent in England and France (see Alexander 2001). On the other hand, the origin, active maintenance, or change of ideations, relate to a different concept within the

cultural-cognitive dimension, that of “cognitive blueprints,” that are often borderless as they are shared across contexts (spatial, temporal, and activity). One example of this is NPM, which is central for the increasing emphasis on “evidence of what works” as the basis of policy as can be seen in Chapter 8.

Past research has found that in the cultural-cognitive dimension, actors tend to employ a collection of efforts to raise awareness and setting the agenda through comprehensive plans of action including both perceived problems and proposed solutions (see Chapter 1 in Scott 2013 for an overview). These efforts can be conceptualised as *cognitive blueprints*, that push ideas and ideations that help with sense making for actors in a field and are believed to be rooted in the dominant views (paradigms) of the institutionalized environment. As such, cognitive blueprints are scripts of global or local origin that provide a roadmap as to how something should be done through knowledge-claims (e.g., research) framed as “what works” (Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell 2018). For example, the push of the “Finnish model” of teacher education may be considered an important cognitive blueprint framed as “what works”, as may organized cognitive emphasis on the teacher as knowing best how to teach as pushed by the DfE in “The Importance of Teaching: The schools white paper” (DfE 2010). Some of the most widespread cognitive blueprints are NPM ideals of good public administration and neo-liberal beliefs in how the market works. Other cognitive blueprints of importance are for example systematic synthetic phonics as the best way for all to learn how to read, or the importance of philosophy as the driving force behind education. As is discussed and exemplified further below, this does not always mean people interpret blueprints the same way, but their behaviours are inherently shaped by them as they articulate and spread within the cultural-cognitive dimension of an institutionalized environment.

Cognitive blueprints and their mimetic mechanical processes allow organizations to engage with uncertainty (Beckert 2010), and relate to discourse and politics. They function both by defining what is a problem, and by providing solutions to perceived problems. As such, cognitive blueprints, I argue, are related to what Rittel and Weber (1973) conceptualized as wicked problems of planning, making them contingent on shifting societal relations and power relations (field contestation). Cognitive blueprints are both dependent on the actors that support them to affect change, and in turn can legitimize actors who engage with them constructively.

As they are related to discourse, cognitive blueprints also constitute both what is used as “best practice” in an environment (the dominant discourse or main-current) and what may become “best practice” (the under-current). For example, as seen in this thesis, England was dominated by a discourse on the teacher as a “scholar” with this being “best practice”. However, through contestation this shifted to an emphasis on the teacher as a craftsperson following 1984 (Furlong 2001, Helgetun and Dumay 2021), while cognitive blueprints comparable to the current “teacher as a

craftsperson” were promoted by some educationalists as far back as 1898 (Cole 2010). That is, “craftsperson” as a cognitive blueprint was an undercurrent in policy terms until 1984 then became an equal and eventually (post 2010) dominant current, whilst teacher as “scholar” has now become a clear undercurrent, still present as a valid cognitive blueprint in the eyes of many, but not dominant as it was prior to 1984. This also indicates that the environment is not fully institutionalized around a singular blueprint (environments rarely are), but that contestation over how to educate teachers is ongoing.

Moreover, I propose that adoption of cognitive blueprints are, in part, imperfect and altered because the cognitive blueprints themselves, as I see it, constitute what Sennett (2008) argued is the ideal of a blueprint that practitioners seldom can reach (a question of skill and capacity). In addition, blueprints may become altered through an evolutionary process, as an ideation rather than an idea, as actors strive to adapt it to local conditions through “translation” (Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell 2018). Hence, a cognitive blueprint when applied is always imperfect, but also evolving to address perceived imperfections; it is ideational and not an idea. As such, the discourse rooted in a cognitive blueprint is not static, but consistently changing on some minuscule level, with implications for institutional stability as maintenance becomes an active process (Mahoney and Thelen 2009, Taupin 2012). For example, the vision of teacher education in France presented in 1989 has become altered since then, but the current teacher education model still largely embodies those ideas in an altered state.

Furthermore, institutionalized behaviour can be changed through alternative cognitive blueprints that each trigger mimetic mechanisms. For example, by denoting new ways of dressing oneself when teaching through claiming casual wear enables closer engagement with students (rooted in study A) or that formal wear causes a more disciplined classroom (rooted in study B). In other words, cognitive blueprints help to change existing rituals, rites, and rationalised myths, or creates new ones thereby affecting practice and behaviour. The ability to align one cognitive blueprint with another dimension (trigger two mechanisms, e.g., a mimetic and a normative) is central for what main direction change takes. This rests on the assumption that who proposes and pushes for a given mode of behaviour (e.g., what to wear) influence the reception of said proposal. However, competing mimetic processes are likely to tug at each other, causing an ideational transformation effect further ensuring what is adopted is not “pure” (e.g., the teacher wears a tie but also jeans). Thus, cognitive blueprints are rarely (if ever) applied without deviation from the plan due to capacity issues and/or competing mechanisms in the institutionalized environment. This is how field contestation and field capacity engage in creating wicked problems of planning, where problem definition and proposed solutions to perceived problems, both, are contested and changing by actors and their divergent agendas (see Chapter 8). The dissemination of cognitive blueprints is often done

in an increasingly unconscious manner through daily routines as practices institutionalize (Scott, Ruef et al. 2000, Scott 2013).

As cultural-cognitive beliefs institutionalize, they may become *rationalised myths* (Meyer and Rowan 1977, Schriewer 2012). These rationalised myths are said to arise when past behaviour is perceived to have yielded desirable results (Pierson and Skocpol 2002) or when a practice has become so ingrained in daily routines within an organizational field that it is taken for granted as “best” and provides culturally supported legitimacy to existing behaviour (Scott 2013). Hence, once a perceived “best practice” has become sufficiently dominant, and sufficiently taken for granted as “good”, it becomes a myth that constrains actors and tends to ossify (through mimesis) the environment. In other words they become fully *taken for granted* (crystalized) cognitive-blueprints guiding ideations and structuring behaviour and perceptions of reality for the majority of the actors in an environment. Furthermore, rationalised myths such as the modern phenomenon of “evidence” based action (see Chapter 8), can become seen as essential to create the key commodity of legitimacy of practices (Zapp, Powell, and Helgetun 2018). Meanwhile, as cognitive blueprints rationalise in an environment and eventually become rationalised myths, contestation becomes increasingly difficult without strong opposing mechanisms to cancel out the constant mimesis of the rationalised myth *dictating* “what works”. Here, actors begin to become passive players as they no longer question their practices or seek other solutions to how they for example teach.

This approach does not see humans as rational, rather it sees us all as believing we are rational as we harken to our rationalised myths and other shared beliefs we imagine to be true. Through this rationalisation process, myths, logics, and symbols help to construct and legitimize ideations of “what works”. In extreme cases rationalisation through myths and symbols may create a sacred duty dictating behaviour as is the case with the French Republic’s obligations in education to uphold the foundational value of meritocracy as is shown in the following chapters.

Additionally, as these practices become institutionalized as rationalised myths, cognitive blueprints we may imagine continue to define “problems” that may no longer exist, or solutions that objectively create worse problems than the issues they solve, without there inherently being a sinister plot to keep people in power or riches. Instead, as cultural-cognitions such as problems and their solutions become taken for granted they are inherently reproduced in their environment. They are after all rationalised. The mimetic process is therefore not ended at any point but reproduces its effects until cancelled by alternative processes or mechanisms (e.g., a “shock”, new coercive measures spilling over from other environments and fields, or constellation rearrangement in the

field). Once this happens, contradictions are likely to arise, and be routinely ignored.⁴¹ The proposition that humans often ignoring contradictions is indirectly tested in this thesis, through analysis of cognitive blueprints and their interaction with other cognitive scripts, regulations, and norms. Hence, cognitive blueprints contain a form of “script” of behaviour that may become a rationalised myth that invades daily practices and cognition, but it is also an enabler of action at any point as it provides individuals and organizations with the tools to act.

The legitimacy of a cognitive blueprint is tied to the position of actors within a field, the normative and coercive legitimacy of actors who present it, the historic configurations of both the institutionalized environment and field, as well as the apparent functionality of the blueprint as seen elsewhere (e.g., what works in Singapore may be thought of as relevant for England under the logic of “if it works there, it will work here”). As such, the legitimacy of cognitive blueprints is highly susceptible to “evidence shows” type of argumentation, as well as the relation between power and knowledge and the normative right of an actor to express himself in regards to knowledge.

To illustrate the complexity and at times self-contradictions of concepts that may be considered cognitive blueprints as they interact with taken for granted daily practices we may look at the academic use of the concept “neo-liberalism”, an apt illustration for this thesis. When dealing with neo-liberalism some authors go back to Milton Friedman and monetarism in the 1950s, some focus on the 1970s build up to Thatcherism, Chicago school, and Reaganomics (e.g. (Fourcade-Gourinchas and Babb 2002)), or developments in Sunny Valley as the political heart and origin of neo-liberalism (Gruening 2001). Alternatively, some put minor emphasis on the mentioned developments, while focusing on the work of the IMF from the 1980s onwards (Kentikelenis and Babb 2019) resulting in slightly different conclusions as to what neo-liberalism is, what it caused, and how it caused it.

Others still focus on New Public Management (often associated with neo-liberalism) as predating neo-liberalism with an origin in the late 1940s early 1950s and RAND (Knafo 2019), contradicting those who trace neo-liberalist and NPM ideas back through liberalism to the days of Empire (Ball 2008, Normand 2017).

⁴¹ It would appear humans are not inherently good at rejecting concepts due to *reductio ad absurdum* (Platonic dialectics) nor alternatively refining concepts through *sublation* (*aufheben*) and the replacement of flawed concepts with new concepts that replace and preserve the old concept (Hegelian dialectics). That is not to say it does not happen, but as the long histories of human philosophy and observation may tell us, social groups often do things for inherently contradictory reasons. Particularly as rituals and rationalised myths become taken for granted as a part of “good” practice even though it acts contrary to a desired goal. E.g., how one side of an argument relating to inspections impact on work-load and quality assurance may completely ignore the other (if you are stressed and overworked, the quality of your teaching might drop if much science on human physiology, cognition, and performance is to be believed). More classical examples relate to the complex interaction of both necessity and freedom for example. In other words, humans are not rational beings in an objective sense, only in a subjective one at best.

In terms of what “neo-liberalism” is, some focus on neo-liberalism as meaning marketization (Knafo 2019), whilst others focus on how the mentioned Milton Friedman and his monetarism focused on state oversight over markets, as opposed to classical liberalism and a *laisse faire* approach (Crouch 2011).

In short, there are many ways of conceptualising neo-liberalism, as with any major concept, in academia, and arguably it has become a taken-for-granted necessity for conducting social science research today that scripts researchers approaches and thought processes (what is often called “bias”) (see Thorsen and Lie 2006). However, no one would question the elements of agency that researchers possess even as they engage with these scripted notions. Nor should we argue that the concept of neo-liberalism is not a useful tool for comprehension, nor that employing the concept is not good practice. This duality between macro-level phenomena that constrain action such as cultural-cognitions and micro-level agency can be said to constitute the distinction between macro and micro-level mechanisms (Mayntz 2004).

We may also infer from these accounts that what a researcher emphasises and focuses on dictates conclusions, perhaps illustrating why we should think in terms of Insufficient but Necessary part of an Unnecessary but Sufficient condition leading to an outcome (INUS)⁴² variable (Checkel and Bennett 2015) rather than singular causation. We must also bear in mind that academics may turn a blind eye to how they themselves help invent and disseminate neo-liberal ideals and blueprints even today.

To summarise, cognitive blueprints can be thought of as clear and seemingly coherent plans as to how something should be done and why. As they garner cultural resonance and legitimacy, they enable new ways of constructing and sharing thought, and become taken for granted as something that works through triggering mimetic mechanisms (imperfect copying of the blueprints). They may also be contested by other cognitive blueprints that prescribe different solutions to similar problems, redefining what should be done. As blueprints become taken for granted, they constitute rationalised myths that are hard to contest and question.

In modal verb terms, the cultural-cognitive dimension may be considered as represented by “should”. It is neither a concrete and absolute command, nor a moral command, but a cultural and ideational incentive to behave a certain way. The logic is: “you should do X because X works and you understand it”. Such a logic is more interpretive and implicit than explicit, as it relates to how an actor understands something and believes others understand in, with less explicit consequences

⁴² To exemplify INUS: If A causes Y in conjunction with B and C: $ABC \rightarrow Y$, AND if A is necessary for the conjunction of B and C to produce Y: $ZBC \rightarrow \text{not } Y$, AND if A is by itself insufficient to cause Y: $AGH \rightarrow \text{not } Y$, AND if there are conjunctions other than ABC that cause Y: $DEF \rightarrow Y$ (equifinality), THEN A is an Insufficient but Necessary part of an Unnecessary but Sufficient condition leading to Y (an INUS variable).

beyond confusion and the possibility of doing something the “wrong” way. If we are to employ a spectrum from concrete to abstract, we may position the regulative on the concrete end, the normative in the middle, and the cultural-cognitive as the most abstract concept of Scott’s three dimensions, as little is as hard to pin down as culture and cognition.

Indicators in the cultural-cognitive dimension have three characteristics of interest to this study: 1) The characteristics of national logics; the taken for granted purpose of something (e.g., why educate) or a function (e.g. the teacher) that is part of an imagined community here we look for language used when describing education and teaching, but also what is left out and not said but present by necessity. 2) Cognitive blueprints; coherent plans defining a problem and providing a solution to said problem, referencing to academic literature, reports, or other types of manuals, an emphasis on evidence (evidence language), and a language of “should”. 3) Rationalised myths; when something that was discussed is no longer discussed but still done, something that is always present but rarely problematized in public debate, a language that plays lip service to a rite or ritual.

3.3.4 Two aspects rooted in policy trajectories: Path dependence and shocks

Path dependence, in a nutshell is when future actions are dependent on past actions, events, and the existing structures of the environment and field (Campbell 2002, Campbell 2004). To exemplify, $a + b$ can only lead to c if a happened before b , or, $a + b$ means C and Y are possible policy outcomes but not D , while $b + a$ (b happening before a) may lead to d etc. In other words, sequence matters when determining an outcome. Hence, the core of the concept is that to any action there are underlying conditions *enabling and constraining*, thereby guiding, that action (Mahoney and Thelen 2009). As such, Mahoney and Thelen talk of it as a “feature” of institutionalization. It functions as a feature either by providing/denying opportunities by shaping perceptions of increasing returns (problem definition) (Pierson 2014), by setting an entity (e.g. country) on a path where a series of subsequent policies are seen as a logical “next step” from what came before (Fourcade-Gourinchas and Babb 2002), by aiding in the articulation of thought (e.g. Rationalised myths of best practice or what works) (Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell 2018), or by influencing why actors want what they want when they want it (e.g., determining what is valued by whom) (Berman 2011, Hay 2011). Path dependence can be used as a concept to explain *why* even the concept of culture is culturally dependent, since underlying historic phenomena such as whether or not we or a political actor have read Thucydides account on the Peloponnesian War may structure our very thoughts and actions (Adler and Van Doren 1972). Therefore, path dependence can be seen as a powerful coercive tool relation to what legally sanctioned structures are in existence, a powerful normative tool in relation to what in the light of past practices is seen as morally right, and a powerful mimetic tool as existing cognitive blueprints may structure our very thought process. That is, it can be seen as an explanation

of how existing institutionalized structures and organizations constrain and enable actors in a field. This line of thought has merit and enables explanations rooted in the heritage of an environment, from which we can create a mechanism of sequence. Therefore, I believe path dependence must be seen as a heuristic tool amongst others in our toolbox to explain maintenance (e.g. how institutions avoid drift, conversion, or exhaustion) and change (particularly direction of change) of institutionalized environments. This transformation of path dependence into “sequence” is rooted in the epistemology of this thesis where the emphasis is on theory and concepts as heuristic tools that enable comprehension of complex social realities. The sequence mechanism is as such key to comprehending legitimacy across all other aspects/dimensions. For example, it may be considered the mechanism in an explanatory chain that triggers a normative mechanism.

However, path dependencies have been found to break due to exogenous shocks or endogenous contestation (Dobbins and Knill 2015, Demailly, Giuliani, and Maroy 2019), with such instances constituting central instances of critical junctures with revolutionary characteristics (Streeck and Thelen 2005). These critical junctures can be associated with “shocks”, such as the effects of the “PISA shock” in Germany (Zapp and Powell 2016), which often lead to new modes of thought and/or field configurations. In relation to such shocks, one may conceptualize an “innovation mechanism” that relates to perceived failures of function and leads to legitimization of “new” innovative impositions. New practices rooted in shocks, once sufficiently legitimized, transform the institutionalized environment as actors attempt to re-rationalise behaviour following critical junctures where paths have become destabilised. Innovation in this sense (institutionalize behaviour innovation) does not mean the new practices have to be novel, they can also simply be old ideas given new life through ongoing ideational work such as a re-discovery of old ideas or importation of ideas from other spaces and fields (e.g. England learning from Finland). Therefore, innovation is closely associated with emergent or residual mimetic process, and the borrowing of ideas across boundaries.

To exemplify the concept of shocks and the potential issues of thinking heuristically in this way; if we draw on Jean-François Condette’s (2014) historical narrative of teacher education in France during the German occupation and Vichy regime (1940-44) and Patricia Legris’ (2014) narrative of the period 1945-1970 in the same book, we may infer that shocks can mean fundamental change, return to prior statuses, and the construction of new forms of ideations. The fall of France in the summer of 1940 constitutes a shock that was used to justify the “end” of écoles normales and the normaliens, however the subsequent shock to the new Vichy system with the allied “liberation” in 1944 enabled a return to what was closely the status quo of 1940 but with some important differences, at the very least in mode of thought as “the Vichy experience raised questions

that reverberated across the second half of the 20th century"⁴³. Moreover, at the return of the normal schools in 1944-45, a central structural difference emerged as they went from educating all of primary teachers in 1940, to an ever-decreasing amount under the French fourth republic (1945-1958) according to Legris. The volatile period then of 1940-44 and the subsequent "restoration" in 1945 is analysable as shocks enabling contestation, before the environment stabilises. Thus, we may think of shocks, even if situations quickly stabilise, as enablers of contestation, particularly as they enable new modes of thought, and question taken for granted conceptions of what works. In this capacity, shocks make trajectories highly erratic. Importantly, however, and as one may consider self-evident, not all political shocks lead to change in teacher education policy, at least not immediately. To exemplify, as further elaborated on in Chapter 5, the change from the Fourth to the Fifth French Republic in 1958 through a military coup, later justified democratically through a free referendum, was certainly a shock to the French governing system resulting in a strong president and increased government stability, but it had no *immediate* effect on teacher education. However, the changes to the French government structure also changed modes of contestation over time, with implications for teacher education policymaking due to a rise in "rule by decree" under a quasi-presidential system. Shocks then, form critical junctures or pivot points that one should likely not ignore regardless of outcome, when analysing long political trajectories and the importance of sequence. Pivot points constitute places where trajectories can be nudged and undercurrents become the main stream taking on the semblance of revolutionary change. This concept was created through this research, it relates to critical junctures, but has different connotations and implications that are demonstrated throughout this thesis and is then further explained in Chapter 10.

In addition to the mechanisms theorised and exemplified above, we may conceptualise sequence and innovation as mechanisms tout court, but that reduces some conceptualisations of the phenomenon. Therefore, as with the three dimensions mentioned above, we must conceptualize enablers and carriers of the mechanisms as well. If conceptualised as a mechanism, the enablers of path dependence we may then summarise are the carriers of existing frameworks and stable organizational fields, with contestation and destabilisation enabling the breaking of path dependence (an "opposing mechanism") mainly through a perceived failure of function and a requirement for revolutionary change in order to improve performance. The former, the historic trajectory ensemble, has actors achieved benefits and risk aversion as mode of compliance to maintain status quo, while the latter "shocked" trajectory complies through a perceived need for change to enable continued performance. When in shock, or following shocking events people act differently than normal as they

⁴³ Freely translated from Condette (2014). Original quote : " l'expérience vichyssoise a posé des questions qui traverseront tout le second xxe siècle." (Kindle edition location1246)

try to recover and cope with what has happened. This constitutes a breaking point where other legitimacies are destabilised due to the shock, leading to increasing needs for a *re-rationalisation* of practices.

For labelling the aspects associated with the mechanisms, we may call the one associated with the sequence mechanism for historic trajectory to denote how the sequencing of events may structure outcomes over time, and the one associated with “innovation” for a shocked trajectory. The term “shocked” is more apt than discontinuous trajectory as shocks do not inherently lead to a discontinuation of practices, but they lead to a change in rhythm that destabilises the legitimacy of practices and enable contestation. The two mechanisms and their aspects then act as explanatories for change and stability in conjunction with the other aspects/dimensions (they do not exist in isolation) with their theorised use being as heuristic devices that help us understand stability and change related to key pivot moments within trajectories.

These two opposing features of path dependence, abrupt change in the form of shocks and apparent stability of a long historic trajectory, are well summed up by Streeck and Thelen (2005) who point out: *“the notion of path dependence seems to encourage scholars to think of change in one of two ways, either as very minor and more or less continuous (the more frequent type) or as very major but then abrupt and discontinuous (the much rarer type). This has yielded a strangely bifurcated literature that links path dependence as a concept to two completely different and in some ways diametrically opposed conceptions of change.”* P.6 What we see here then, is that change has a dual “speed” in the minds of scholars engaged with the concept of path dependence, abruptness and discontinuity in the form of a broken or discontinuous path, and more long term change in the form of continuous path dependence. The former I have here related to a mechanism of innovation and a shocked trajectory, and the latter to a mechanism of sequence and a historic trajectory. Through creating two aspects and mechanisms related to path dependence, the research avoids granting two diametrically opposed traits to the same concept, whilst maintaining the ability to engage heuristically with both incremental and abrupt change. As such, the shock aspect relates to a form of apparent revolutionary change, while the historic trajectory aspect relates to apparent evolutionary change.

The concept of critical junctures may also pertain to moments where contestation was ended in favour of continued maintenance, in such instances depicting opportunities for change. In this instance, we may talk of path dependence and critical junctures as part of a punctuated equilibrium where institutionalized environments experience outwards calm (low amount of change) where incremental rather than revolutionary adjustments take place (Campbell 2002, 2004). Such discontinuity of path also indicates that path dependence is not inherent in an institutionalized environment. Therefore, sequence is a continuously active mechanism that provides legitimacy to

existing practices and delegitimizes others, but one that can be cancelled out by other mechanisms. Because sequence is central to legitimizing (and therefore enabling) other mechanisms, should path dependence and the sequence mechanism become cancelled out, large turmoil is likely to follow as isomorphic processes become derailed and destabilised as the contingent nature of these processes become apparent.

Modal verbs are not a good fit for aspects the way they were for the three dimensions in the sub-sections above. This is illustrative perhaps of the slightly different characteristics between dimensions and aspects as used here. However, for the historic trajectory aspect we may add the exemplar expression: History matters. Meanwhile, for the shocked trajectory aspect we may add the exemplar expression: Change is needed. Meanwhile, these two aspects can collectively be said to represent the temporal context of the institutionalized environment, both in terms of temporal trajectory and points of rupture that relate largely to time and not space/activity as is the case for the three classical dimensions presented above.

Indicators of a historic trajectory are here seen as: references to past policies (building on what exists), limitations in thinking based on past experiences (“we tried that and it didn’t work then so it won’t work now”), high references to records and what was done in the past, and actors legitimising new policies by showing past precedence (e.g. “universities used to dominate teacher education with the teacher as scholar so without further argumentation they should do so again”).

Indicators of a shocked trajectory on the other hand are: A rupture in past referencing (e.g. only going back to 2010 with no talk of 2009), talk of “failure” of performance (e.g. “we rank poorly on PISA, so what we are doing does not work”), and de-legitimization of actors (mainly their voice) due to perceived failures within the field (an undermining of legitimacy through altered perceptions – an endogenous shock).

3.3.5 Field re-composition aspect: Taking new actors seriously

As mentioned, DiMaggio & Powell (1983) found that new actors quickly conformed to the field, however, this is not always the case in relation to shocks, the creation of adjacent fields in the same environment (e.g. The creation of two organizational fields in educational research in Germany following their PISA shock (Zapp and Powell 2016)), nor necessarily so as two organizational fields merge over a new common purpose as is the case in teacher education for example in France as universities are linked with teacher education colleges (the same arguably happened in England through upgrades), or if new actors are bestowed with sufficient power (as was the case with CATE in England) as we shall see through empirical analysis in chapters 6 and 7. In other words, DiMaggio & Powell were wrong in their generalizations on that account. I do not doubt the organizational fields they observed saw new actors quickly conform, however teacher education does not appear to

behave the same way. Therefore, to systematically analyse changes in an environment and associated fields as may happen after for example field imposition, we need a mechanism of (major) change to field constellations that when triggered causes contestation and shifts in legitimacy *in and by itself*. This mechanism may then again trigger other mechanisms, but it represents an identifiable point in time to such an extent we can infer that a mechanism that is not coercive, normative, mimetic, sequence, nor innovation has caused change in an organizational field through the introduction or removal of a previously central actor. This mechanism we may label as (forced) reconfiguration. As such, we may pose the hypothesis: the imposition of universities in the organizational field of teacher education can be understood as a shock that increases contestation and may reconfigure practices, vice-versa the removal of universities or other major actors from the field leave a vacuum that again creates contestation. As such, it becomes evident a mechanism related to the entry and removal of powerful actors to an organizational field is important. Moreover, the removal or entry of a “powerful” actor is likely related to field imposition as two fields collide, particularly should more than one wider environment be involved as is the case in teacher education policymaking. This then means that this aspect is only relevant for some organizational fields, such as teacher education, that is located at the nexus of multiple environments.

The concept of field imposition, an event, is rooted in how one field may impose on another resulting in new paradigms⁴⁴ and grant legitimacy to a reconfiguration (mechanism) of a field. For example, the politico-administrative field takes over tasks previously done by teacher educators and begins to infringe on practices within the teacher education field in new ways through an event that can be labelled as outside imposition and a new paradigm legitimacy, we may imagine a reality where actors are compelled through desire for new benefits and potential gains to reconfigure the field in what we may call a re-composition aspect. Importantly, re-composition does not inherently require field imposition, but field imposition likely always leads to re-composition on some level, or the need for more active maintenance of existing field compositions. As two fields that may be associated with different institutionalized environments come into contact, the re-composition may be particularly volatile when it is the result of imposition as opposing ideas of legitimate behaviour clash. The resulting re-composition may naturally lead to an increased or reduced field as contestation unfolds, and a reconfiguration of legitimacies in all involved environments. Conceptualising the effects of imposition as a mechanism adds a benefit to understand, at a deeper level, what happens when a field is reconfigured follow internal or external shocks (e.g., poor PISA performance), as well as changes related to new state policies that introduce new organizational

⁴⁴ The word “Paradigm” can have different connotations and uses; here it is used to represent an overarching system of reasoning that is culturally embedded in a context. Not unlike Michel Foucault’s French concept of “dispositif”.

actors from the outside (e.g. Universities becoming actors in teacher education in France). This is not likely to happen in isolation from other ensembles and mechanisms but enhances our understanding of events at a fundamental level in a way that only talking of Scott's three dimensions or path dependence cannot.

To provide an exemplar phrase to the re-composition aspect: As powerful actors enter or leave a field they cause havoc.

Indicators of this mechanism are: Changes in practices or policy following the introduction of new (or removal of old) actors, new actor constellations (alliances) related to actors entering or leaving the field (e.g. SCITTs – see Chapter 5), the sudden access of new control levers following the establishment of new actors (e.g. CATE and OFSTED – see Chapter 6).

3.4 Interplay between the aspects/dimensions

The full composition, or characteristics, of the prior conceptualised mechanisms their enablers and the rationale for legitimacy associated with them is summarised in table 3.4. Moreover, the number of imagined mechanisms and aspects *to test for* is more or less only limited by the researcher. Therefore, induction of new thought ensembles and mechanisms is also both possible and to be encouraged, while recognising limitations of time and resources. Importantly, the traditional dimensions in NI literature (regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive) are central for the day to day structuring of the field and are as such more present. However, this does not make them *inherently* more relevant nor important for an outcome. That is, a higher presence in an explanatory chain does not mean more relevant for what that chain explains as all components are required for an outcome to have happened as it happened (if not it does not belong in the explanatory chain in the first place).

The presence and centrality of aspects/dimensions, as we see in this thesis, relates to the context they unfold in and is not absolute. We must analyse all aspects/dimensions equally then we can determine what is most interesting in a given context, while keeping in mind more interesting does not mean *a priori* more important.

The conceptual framework presented above, and visualised in table 3.4 below, consists of two important components: the ensembles of legitimacy, enablers, and mechanism, as well as the interaction between these ensembles. This duality constitute two tools and modes of analysis, one is to trace the ensemble itself, the second is to note where they oppose or complement each other as they become entwined and separated in the environment over time. In a sense, we can imagine the unfolding of ensembles as a vectored scribble. They move in a form of advancement, but the direction is erratic and contingent due to contestation, sometimes history seemingly repeats itself but with distinct differences as well. Additionally, the scribble metaphor is not just one of time, but

also of space as overlapping environments of behaviour and organizational fields of practice and their internal contestations may tug at each other resulting in different iterations of translation and bricolage. Making sense of the vectored scribble is then at the heart of analysing institutionalized environments and organizational fields.

Table 3.4 Characteristics of institutionalized environments

Aspect/Dimension	Rationale for legitimacy	Enablers of the Mechanism		Mechanism
		Example of Carriers	Compliance	
Cultural-cognitive	Culturally and ideationally supported	Awareness-raising through cognitive blueprints	Comprehension, shared understanding of “good” practice	Mimetic
Normative	Morally governed	Standardisation, professionalization (voice)	Social obligation, what is “right”	Normative
Regulative	Legally sanctioned	Control levers	Expedience, fear of consequences	Coercive
Historic - trajectory	Taken for granted historical constructs	Existing frameworks, stable organizational fields	Achieved benefits, risk aversion	Sequence
Shocked - trajectory	Internal or external “shock”	Perceived failure of function	Change is needed for continued performance/existence and re-rationalise practices	Innovation
Re-composition	New paradigm	Dramatically changing organizational field relations	New benefits, potential gains, new rewards	Reconfiguration

The approach centres on allowing for multiple ensembles, also related to the same mechanism (e.g., two competing cognitive blueprints contesting what should be done using a mimetic mechanism) to contest legitimacy of practice, causing change or maintenance. In other words, mechanisms may trigger other mechanisms, and legitimacy in one aspect/dimension may spill-over to create greater legitimacy in another. For example, if an actor has strong normative legitimacy to say what ought to be done in teacher education, it may allow the actor to have a stronger coercive incursion in teacher education. This then is a form of resonance where aspects/dimensions amplify each other to grant increased legitimacy and compliance, reducing the risk of contestation or de-coupling (failure/refusal to comply at a lower level). In addition, one mechanism in one aspect/dimension can transform practices in a different aspect/dimension. To exemplify, coercion through accreditation, certification, and inspection may subvert and alter the norms of teachers over time, thereby shifting how a normative mechanisms can be enabled and articulate. In some cases, this subversion may, in some cases, result in amplification and an end to de-coupling. This I believe is largely related to how policy expresses all facets of institutionalized environments, and as such policy is both subservient to, and can subvert, all facets of institutionalized environments. Hence, there are important temporal elements to the unfolding of

mechanisms precisely because mechanisms do not operate in a vacuum, as well as important overlaps (over time) between how organizational actors shape and are shaped by an institutionalized environment. Therefore, it is important to look at long historic trajectories. Both in terms of change over the span of an individual career of +/- 40 years (e.g., a typical teacher can work for 40 years after completing initial teacher education/training), and the main institutionalized trajectories going back to their presently perceived origin. For example, the French Republic sees its origin as being the First French Revolution, and state centred teacher education is considered to originate with the Imperial University of 1808 as is elaborated upon in Chapter 5. In an institutional sense, whether or not this is the “true” origin is less important than the institutionalized belief (socially constructed reality) that this is the “true” origin.

The main advantage of such an approach is that isomorphism is not taken for granted, and we may infer isomorphism towards what, how, and why. In addition, the approach enables a deeper understanding of the importance of sequence, of trajectories, and how these may reinforce existing practices or become destabilised and broken as they unpack, for example, the black box of "path dependence" through a mechanical approach. Finally, the approach contains a framework that illustrates how ensembles are connected through carrier, compliance, and mechanism, reducing the likelihood our analysis is built on sand.

An important caveat must be mentioned. As heuristic devices enabling the research, conceptual frameworks also limit the scope of the thesis to only identifying, deductively, the presence or not, of causal processes that involve the theorised carriers and compliances. Additionally, awareness raising can happen through other means than cognitive-blueprints, standardisation and professionalization can happen without reference to “voice”, and coercion is not necessarily linked to control levers for example. We can conceptualise these things differently which would lead to different outcomes, but some form of conceptualisation along the way proposed here is needed to render the research feasible.

Chapter 4: Empirical data gathering and analysis

“A researcher may be inspired to think of a new variable that helps explain the outcome of interest by reading Aristotle, Borges, Conan Doyle, or even John Grisham—in addition to gaining insight through carrying out counterfactual thought experiments, or by employing no-variance research designs. The research community should hardly expect hard-and-fast guidelines about how to be creative” (Collier, Brady, and Seawright 2010 kindle loc 2386)

This short chapter draws on the ontological, epistemological, and abstract methodological concerns presented in chapter 2 in order to construct a concrete methodology and method to answers the research questions of this thesis. To provide a roadmap to this chapter: the method of data collection in the two cases is presented in section 4.1. Section 4.2 presents the analytical approach used in the thesis to analyse the data collected in each case, while section 4.3 notes how contrasting comparison strengthens the research, how it was used in this research, and the limitations wrought by a comparative approach. Section 4.4 contains a short note on the ethics of this research and some reflexive considerations on the impossibility of locating the subject and where bias is most likely present in this research.

4.1 Collecting clues to infer mechanisms: Data collection in the two cases

Two forms of analysis are needed to understand institutionalized environments and organizational fields. One rooted in the long historic trajectory as it is rationalized as “true” today, and one with an emphasis on “living memory” of individuals who were relevant for policymaking, taken together these constitute dual modes of institutional analysis as two separate temporal contexts are analysed. For the former, a socio-historic analysis was conducted focused on understanding the formation of current national myths through a socio-historic lens. In terms of material for this analysis, second-hand sources in circulation today were employed such as academic literature, inspectorate documents, and original documents disseminated by actors in the organizational field – obscure archival documents were considered counter-productive for this kind of socio-historical analysis, setting it apart from an analysis of history. This analysis stretched back to the foundation of the “modern” states in England and France in the 17th and 18th centuries. For the contemporary memory analysis, the research employed a mix-method approach mainly rooted in formal document analysis and elite-interviews in its evidence gathering. Furthermore, due to inherent structural differences between the two cases, the data collection was asymmetrical rather than like for like (see e.g., Foster 1999, Alexander 2001). The modes of analysis can be set apart by

date and emphasis, the long trajectories for the case of England constitute the period prior to 1976, whilst in France it constitutes the period prior to 1982. In addition to these main analysis focused on teacher education, an emphasis was also put on comprehending, as far as possible, the wider context that teacher education policymaking is located in for hermeneutical purposes. That is the wider state-policymaking environment and the system of public governing present in the two cases. This was done through analysis of academic literature and government websites (see annex 1.7 for England and 2.6 for France) where the modalities of how government functions is presented, and touched upon in interviews where questions regarding how the state functions in general were asked (see below for the modalities of the interviews). As with the long historic trajectories, the emphasis was on identifying “established truths” and how the English and French stakeholders in teacher education imagined their governing structure to function.

The modalities (number and sources) of the formalised evidence gathering regarding the “living memory” of the institutionalized environments and organizational fields, which is the most complex form of evidence gathering conducted here, are described below in sub-section 4.1.1 (England) and 4.1.2 (France). Meanwhile, organizational information for all relevant actors (identified through snowballing from interviews, policy documents, and organizational websites) was established through the reading of websites, where a focus was on what function the organization performs, what ties it has to whom and how, and what position it takes on different teacher education policies and policymaking practices. These relevant websites are referenced in footnotes in the text when applicable.

The interview objects (N=40, 20 in each case) were chosen from non-probability sampling, with an emphasis on garnering information about the cases (as processes) from key actors, with the sample consisting of actors who participated in the processes under study, under a logic of reducing randomness to garner as much specific and relevant information as possible (Tansey 2007). Thus, the interviews were with relevant actors who either helped construct policy or had expert knowledge of the policy process due to “insider” access as consulted practitioners, public functionaries, external consultants, or others with connections to the process of producing policy in the two cases. The interviews also helped enable a triangulation between different sources until the intent and purpose behind policy became clear. The interviews followed a thematic interview guide, where the interviewee’s story and thoughts on the presented topics became the focus of the interview. The interviews mainly attempted to illuminate what is not present in documents and discover policy practices and taken for granted notions and conceptualisations within organisations. They were loosely structured at first, and then narrowed towards more precise questions towards the end of the interview. Thus, the interview was not driven by hypotheses testing, but by collecting information on actor interpretations of events, or concepts such as what is a teacher, how should

ITE/ITT be done etc. Importantly, this meant analysis happened after the interview not in it, following process-tracing principles presented above of collecting as much information as possible to bring it to bear on a framework. To this effect, relevant documents were read and prepared beforehand, while individual interview guides were crafted for each interviewee covering the themes laid out in the fieldwork plan. For reasons of time, not all themes were covered in each interview, however all interviews yielded valuable insights, often through comments and observations the researcher had not thought of beforehand. Additionally, actors' backgrounds were identified through any relevant means such as profiles on organizational websites or on LinkedIn, then verified at the start of each interview.

4.1.1 English data collection

In light of the research objectives presented in the introduction, for England, all identifiable and directly relevant policy documents (that deal with teacher education and were available to the public) by the government department responsible for teacher education between 1976 and 2020 (annex 1.1) were analysed in-depth. The data collection did go on until April 2020, however, no new policy documents emerged after 2019.

The main advantage of covering 1976-2020, was that it enabled a better understanding, and capture, of the run-up to the creation of the Council for the Accreditation of Teachers (CATE) and the Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) and the evolution of policy since (see Chapter 5), while keeping in mind that “new” ideas do not arise overnight nor are they the expression of a singular will, but rather reflect societal developments over time (Kuhn 2012). Additional text analyses were undertaken on a series of official and publicly available reports and reviews (annex 2, N=3), opinion pieces and letters from UCET⁴⁵ and NASBTT⁴⁶, and speeches (annex 1.3 N=2) to capture important elements external to the core documents and identify how these important actors positioned themselves within the field. For similar reasons the BERA presidential addresses between 1974 and 2018 were read to capture the “academic-educationalist” mood in relation to policy (annex 1.4 N=34). The text analysis was supplemented by mentioned elite and expert interviews across the range of the organizational field in teacher education (annex 1.5 N=20), reaching satisfactory saturation, although the political level (junior-ministers and Special Policy Advisers (SPADs)) became off-limits in part due to the ongoing political crisis related to Brexit, leadership contention in the Conservative party, and a general

⁴⁵ Universities' Council for the Education of Teachers: <https://www.ucet.ac.uk/policy> (accessed 18.11.2019)

⁴⁶ National Association for School-Based Teacher Trainers: <https://www.nasbtt.org.uk/nasbtt-opinion-pieces/> accessed 18.11.2019

election.⁴⁷ OFSTED inspectors first responded positively, but were seemingly denied participation by senior officials. This limiting factor to the analysis was taken into consideration.

4.1.2 French data collection

The French data collection analysis began with the debates surrounding the creation of the MAFPEN in 1982, this enabled an emphasis on what came just before the major structural reform with the IUFM in 1989-92, and was concluded in June 2020 with the observation that the Blanquer reforms (continued work on the INSPE) were put on hold due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

An emphasis was put on analysing the three “legal” types of documents in France, the “loi” (law) N= 8, “décret” (Presidential or Prime Ministerial decree) N=9, and “arrêté” (ministerial decree) N=16, and the implementing policy documents the “circulaire” N=20 between 1989 and 2020 (annex 2.1), from the creation of the IUFM and onwards. The distinction between these types of documents is somewhat important. Laws are made by the National Assembly, the Sénat, and the President of the Republic (all need to sign it). A Presidential or Prime Ministerial Decree is made by the President or Prime Minister and may be ratified by the National Assembly and Sénat to become “law like”. The ministerial decree is signed by a government minister (e.g., minister of national education). The two types of decree are known as “decision documents” and have to be followed as if they were law, but operate in a hierarchy in so far as who has signed it ranks it as does its date (most recent document annuls past documents should they be incompatible with each other) with presidential signatories ranking above the Prime Minister who ranks above the ministers who rank above the prefects who rank above the mayors (incidentally why the government appointed prefect is considered more powerful than the elected mayor).⁴⁸ The significance of this is discussed further in Chapter 7. New policy texts and laws are usually written in such a way that any annulment of past law or policy is explicitly noted in the newer documents, thus it is possible to readily establish a chain of documents.

For the political discourse element, 272 “short” press dispatches (in French “dépêche”) between 1998 and 2018 (subject to availability) in the Agence Éducation et Formation (AEF) were analysed in depth. These were selected through searching a database of all AEF dispatches between

⁴⁷ The United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union in 2016 (following negotiations the UK left on the 31st of January 2020), resulting in a lasting political crisis which saw a change in Prime minister in 2016 following an internal Conservative party election, an election in 2017 resulting in a hung parliament, another change in Prime minister in 2019 following an internal Conservative party election, and then another election in 2019 resulting in a clear majority for the Conservative party, but also the start of intense negotiations regarding the future relationship between the UK and the EU. Of relevance, even senior civil-servants found their time with ministers and their political advisers reduced significantly during this time (E12; E13; E19)

⁴⁸ The relation between these documents is presented on the French states public information website accessible here: <https://www.vie-publique.fr/fiches/20266-quelle-est-la-hierarchie-entre-les-actes-administratifs> (accessed 07.07.2020)

the 1st of January 1998 and the 28th of March 2018 (time of search) for headlines containing “formation des enseignants” [teacher education]. The database contained press statements by all actors in education, such as the government, state-advisory boards, teacher education provider representatives (or individual heads of a teacher education department), unions, and researchers. Due to concerns over availability and reliability of older data, a 20-year period was selected. The first dispatch found was on the 19th of March 1999 while the last dispatch found was published the 25th of September 2017. Naturally only going back to 1998 reduced the understanding and knowledge of the years 1989-98, this was sought to be overcome through existing academic literature, emphasis in interviews on this period, and a recognition that we will always have more data on the immediate past than the far past. Due to the lack of “white papers” in France, this kind of analysis became a necessity to comprehend government thinking. The data became available through the Teachers Careers project this thesis is a part of. Corresponding data for England was not obtainable with the resources at hand during the research process.

Reports by the IGEN (N=11) (annex 2.3), were also analysed. Importantly, IGEN fulfils a broader role than their English counterparts OFSTED, operating as the eyes and ears of the ministry of education as is further discussed in Chapter 7, and conduct information gathering missions comparable to major reviews such as the Carter review in England. IGEN inspectors are also all senior civil-servants (arguably at the pinnacle of their career), with freedoms and responsibilities associated with such a position in France. The IGEN reports were analysed with this in mind.

As in England, interviews (N=20) were conducted with insiders who covered a range of actors who were active in teacher education and teacher education policymaking between the 1980s and today (see annex 2.2). These were then analysed to see how assumptions about France held up, for new insights, and to comprehend the “behind the scenes” events leading up to policy documents, such as instructions to IGEN on whether or not all their reports were to be published as was the case under Vincent Peillon when he was Minister of National Education (2012-14).

The interviews also allowed for access to some internal documents such as organigrams over the functions and responsibilities of different sub-units within MEN and MESRI enabling a further analysis of these organizations. The organigrams and their accompanying explanations of functions totalled 34 pages from March 2020. The organigram for the most central sub-unit of MEN, DGESCO, can be seen in annex table 2.5. This illustrates how some data collection has been opportunistic, but this kind of analysis of policymaking requires methodological flexibility and pragmatism as difficulties in obtaining data is overcome. One should not forget that no data is perfect, and that the epistemological concern is the correct methodology for a kind of data collection and analysis, not an absolutist approach to data inclusion and exclusion as both have equal impact on the rigour and validity of an analysis. What is central then, is attention to how and when a piece of evidence was

collected through rigorous note taking, not an *a priori* constructed ideal plan of data gathering. Such an approach as taken here, at the very least, has the advantage of allowing for surprises, and thus analysis, of what data does or does not exist and is available to a researcher.

4.1.3 Comprehending cultural-linguistic differences and translating between the two cases

By necessity in both cases, a form of social anthropology centred ethnography (Brøgger 1998) was employed to try to understand the culture and language (connotations and idioms) of England and France. Connotations are described in detail in Chapter 2 in relation to general epistemological concerns, here I will clarify how language was addressed in this analysis.

Idioms are words that are used to express meaning that is natural to a native speaker but not inherently consistent with the general rules of a language. For example, the phrase “there is a cat in the living room” cannot be directly translated into French as the word for “there” that is here used idiomatically, has to be translated as “il y a” to meet French idiomatic standards – which directly translates into “it there has” in English (Bodmer 1944). Many policy and education words are idiomatic, and do not translate well. For example, the word “policy” which has no direct equivalent in French where the word “politique” (politics) is used instead, or the term “white paper” which in French would be “document politique” or “manifeste politique” – which would then translate to political manifesto, which in English is not the same as a “white paper”. Meanwhile, English educationalists rarely talk of pedagogy, but instead talk about “subject pedagogy”, which a Norwegian or a Frenchman would call didactics. The phrase “hypothèse” is also not a clear-cut translation, as it is often used by French native speakers where a native English speaker would use “assumption”, or in some cases “supposition”, and not “hypothesis”.⁴⁹ The cultural linguistic comprehension was enhanced through informal conversations before and after interviews, conversations with actors in the relevant fields in relation to academic work (conferences, meetings, chance encounters, and e-mails). The approach to understanding the culture and debates in education in the two countries also included the reading of the politics and education sections in the broad news-sites The Guardian (England) and Le Monde (France) and the education focused Schoolsweek (England) and Café pédagogique (France). The methodology behind this was a very loose entry through curiosity aimed at understanding the “meaning” of words, symbols, and acts (all of which are forms of communication) related to teacher education policymaking, coupled with rigorous note-keeping in OneNote where information was kept alongside my initial and evolving thoughts. Events of interest were also discussed with other academics within the TeachersCareers

⁴⁹ The word “hypothesis” often also means different things based on one’s epistemology and/or academic discipline and institution.

project.⁵⁰ Websites of interest (e.g., newspapers) were saved for ease of access at later dates. Complex words encountered in documents or interviews, or informal conversations/news were looked up in dictionaries and, when necessary, googled to compare the different uses of a word should the meaning not become sufficiently clear through the dictionaries alone. This *non-formal* ethnographic method,⁵¹ where the guide-rod was not a pre-determined plan but evolving perceptions of what knowledge I had to obtain to understand England and France, became something of a necessity in the quest to understand teacher education policymaking in the two cases as an outsider.⁵²

All of the French data was analysed in French, with quotes from documents and interviews translated for the text here by me. Square brackets [text] are used to show when a text is translated. Some English interviewees are only quoted indirectly as well per agreement to protect their anonymity. As all French interviews are translated and only shown in English this became less of a concern in that case.

4.2 Analytical approach in the two cases: Coding and synthesization of data

Taking communication through policy as a starting point, the contemporary memory analysis attempted to trace institutional mechanisms backwards from an outcome, the current teacher education environment (George and Bennett 2005), putting an emphasis on what remnants of the current policy environment and teacher education environment could be found. The emphasis was on identifying the carriers and modes of compliance presented above, through the mentioned two-step process of descriptive inference followed by analytical inference (see Chapter 2, Freedman 2010). As such, the analysis consisted of comparing pieces of evidence to both each other to determine similarities and differences across time and space (triangulation), and to the analytical framework to determine impact on claims. The analysis also drew on what was the perceived development of teacher education in relation to the education system, in historic lines from the 19th century onwards, to help us fully comprehend the long trajectory structuring the environment and understand the “policy text external” factors at play.

⁵⁰ See <https://www.teacherscareers.eu/> (accessed 19.02.2020)

⁵¹ A caveat, this method, due to its informality, holds no validity in and by itself. It only holds epistemic value when joined with the more formal and structured approaches to evidence gathering and analysis described in this chapter, and only due to the inductive-deductive and hermeneutic approach employed in this research.

⁵² This non-formal ethnography arguably also becomes something of a necessity when analysing policymaking in education in one's native tongue. When I did the research for what became Helgetun, Powell, et al. 2018 and Zapp, Helgetun et al. 2018, where we analysed educational research policy in my native Norway, I still had to ensure the meaning and connotations of words and acts through dictionaries, the use of google to compare the use of words, and informal dialogue with people in the field. A failure to recognise this need, to take it for granted, is where a non-formal method becomes informal and a non-method, or at least what can be explicit becomes tacit.

In terms of analytical approach, throughout the analysis, of all data presented above, the aim was to identify the rationales of compliance and enablers of mechanisms as seen in table 3.4.1 in the previous chapter. This was aided through looking for the indicators listed at the end of the section on each aspect/dimension in Chapter 3, and through the modal verbs/exemplars that aided in identifying what constituted relevance for what aspect/dimension. For example, if the language used was one of “ought” more so than “should” or “must” it was considered a normative (moral) statement. Or, if references to what came before was emphasised (e.g., 100+ year old laws as was the case in France), the policy trajectory aspect was considered central, as well as whether or not a sequence mechanism was triggered and how it related to other aspects/dimensions (e.g., coercion and normative legitimacy rooted in a historic trajectory) became the focal point. In all instances, attention was put on how a document may unfold across multiple aspects/dimensions. Moreover, to “map” the organizational field, the profile and relation of actors deemed to be of relevance was analysed.

In terms of coding/synthesis of policy texts, the documents listed in the annexes were analysed in depth through an analytical table seen in table 4.2 below. The first, descriptive, rubric noted the title, type (e.g., white paper or circular) author of the document (e.g., MEN or DGESCO – see Chapter 7), the date of the document and when I analysed the document and the length of the document. The second rubric contained an analysis of who the document was aimed at, what the purpose of the document was (e.g., introduce a certificate in education and link it to standards and inspections – see Chapter 6), the main concerns (e.g. lack of homogeneity of teachers or external oversight over teacher education) and linked topics (how are the concerns framed). These first two rubrics are derived from a step-by-step approach to analysing policy documents proposed by George & Bennett (2005).

The third rubric focuses on actors and relations, first by analysing what actors are mentioned then what other documents are referenced and how (e.g. “Circulaire n° 91-202 du 2 juillet 1991” derives its authority from “Arrêté du 1er juillet 1991”), and what actors have authored these. This included a specific focus on “evidence” used to answer RQ 2 (see Chapter 8). In other words, references in texts to evidence such as reports, statistics, scientific publications, as well as other policy texts were all tracked both for what in the text was directly relevant for teacher education and all general references the text made to other texts. Rubric four contained general notes on the document and quotes that both illustrate (justify) the coding of the documents in relation to the aspects/dimensions presented in this chapter, and the language use in the policy document, particularly how actors are addressed (e.g., language of coercion or deference), and if modalities were put in place for follow up policies after consultation with different actors.

Table 4.2 Coding table document analysis

Title:
Type:
Author:
 Signatories:
Date:
Analysed:
Length:

Target audiences:
Central purpose:
Main concerns:
 Topics:
Actors referenced:
Other documents referenced:
 Evidence presented:

Notes:
Quotes:

Summary:

Name	Relevance	Author	Year	Type	Political party in power

Dimensions:

Data source	Links	Carriers summarised	Compliance summarised
		Regulative:	Regulative:
		Normative:	Normative:
		Cultural-cognitive:	Cultural-cognitive:

These rubrics are then summarized as can be seen in annex tables 1.1 (England) and 2.1 (France), with the added information of who was in power at the time. This table then traces the historical developments of policy. This helped enable both cross-sectional and temporal analysis. Inference is also made to note the main characteristics of the three classic neo-institutionalist dimensions and the triggering of mechanisms as can be seen in annexes 1.6 (England) and 2.4 (France). The field re-composition dimension cannot be presented in such a table view (as it relates not to policy documents) and is instead presented through an analytical narrative in the subsequent chapters, mainly in chapters 5, 6, and 7. Some social network maps were drawn using UCINET 6⁵³ for the case of England to help visually comprehend the layout of the organizational field and the effects of re-composition. This was not done for France due to the access to comprehensive organigrams that served an adequate similar purpose there due to the state centric nature of teacher education in France since the 19th century (see Chapter 5). The relation of actors was analysed in relation to their mention in the documents (as written up in my synthesis notes) not only their presence but also as to how they were addressed (language used), including who the principal audience of a particular policy

⁵³ Available here: <http://www.analytictech.com/archive/ucinet.htm> (accessed 01.03.2021)

document were. The two historic trajectory related dimensions are also not present in the annexes for similar reasons, as they traverse documents and institutions to such an extent that their mentioning in the tables could be misleading.

Thus, the context of a policy text was rendered visible through comparing its (meta)language to other policies, and by systematically tracking references it made to other policies or justifications/explanations as to what the policy was to entail and why it was to entail it.

The profile and positioning of actors in different fields (politico-administrative and teacher education) as well as the wider institutionalized rules (regulative), norms (normative), ideations and rationalised beliefs (cultural-cognitive) of these actors was further identified through interviews, secondary documents (opinion pieces, BERA presidential addresses), and website analysis. The first emphasis throughout these three sources of data was to identify what position an organizational actor (e.g., UCET – see Chapter 6) took on different policy issues, their function in the field (e.g., UCET represents teacher education organizations but does not educate teachers), and what links they had to other actors (e.g., UCET is closely linked through shared board-membership with the organization NASBTT as is elaborated upon in Chapter 6). A second emphasis was on the tools actors had at their disposal or believed other central actors had at their disposal (e.g., fear of inspections), the legitimate norms of (teacher) education in a broad sense, and the legitimate ideas of “what works” (e.g., school versus university based ITE/ITT). The analysis of both emphasises was done through crossing sources of data were available, where multiple interviews were used to see how they reflected on the same issues, and how the interviews corresponded to findings in documents or to information provided on websites. This approach was facilitated through the thorough preparation of interviews as noted above and supplemented by word searches. The word searches consisted of identifying key words through academic literature, apparent key mentions in policy documents, or in secondary documents/websites/interviews. For example, “Finland” was a key focus area both in academic literature and the very central policy document “The Importance of Teaching: The schools white paper” (DfE 2010), and as such all policy documents were searched for the word “Finland” in both England and France. Due to the emphasis on Finland and PISA in England since 2010, other key PISA countries, such as Singapore, were also searched for in key documents with the number of findings per document listed. This was a circular process.

The 272 AEF *dépêche* had their own method of analysis due to their unique characteristics. They were comprehensively coded in MAXQDA with an emphasis on who made a statement (e.g., the union SNES), what was said (the topic of the statement), and how it was said (positive, negative, use of “evidence”). A total of 1.567 codes were attributed to the 272 *dépêche*. The codes then provided quantifiable data on statements. However, such quantifiable data is by no means inherently valid statistical data, it is simply a summary of a qualitative reading.

All the data analysis conducted was constantly compared to other sources of data (within and cross-cases) employing the circular model as presented in Chapter 2. This helped to ensure meaning was understood, and a thorough hermeneutical analysis conducted.

This then constitutes the analysis and coding of each case, the next sections deals with the comparative aspects of the analysis.

4.3 Asymmetrical contrasting comparison

So how do we conceptualise and conduct comparison when analysing teacher education policymaking? In his major comparative work “Culture & Pedagogy”, that compared primary school education in England, France, Russia, the US, and India, Robin Alexander (2001) argued France was influenced by England in the early 19th century on the pedagogical aspects of primary education. He goes on to note that a divergence happened in the later 19th century, with the outcome that England is now (late 20th century) “rediscovering” what the French did nearly 200 years ago in pedagogical terms.⁵⁴ He did not intend to say history is circular, as contexts change, but rather that ideas and idea rooted practice, such as pedagogy or the purpose of the teacher and by extension his or her education, are not bound to singular space-time frames. Ideas are fluid, and not all historical events constitute path-dependence in the sense that A had to have happened before B, but they require dissemination, legitimacy, and implementation, and rely on a multitude of factors that are hard to capture. Moreover, the work of Alexander also shows how contexts do not exist in isolation from other contexts, be they spatial or temporal, and as such, we may talk of global interactions or cross-contextual interactions as omnipresent, particularly as far as ideas and ideations are concerned. In addition, context, which is perhaps *the most central concept employed in any social research*, relates not only to space and time, but also to *activity* - meaning distinguishing contexts is tricky as they may overlap. For example, the context of education in Roman Britain differed for many reasons (purpose, technology, duration) to that of England today, but the practise of the school was in both cases to bestow knowledge to pupils through a form of instruction, so there are some contextual overlaps. Therefore, space and time are important contextual elements we can, and should, compare as we try to infer an understanding of what happened how and why. However, comparison cannot employ artificial “national” borders as the core of comparison in a like for like manner, it must instead operationalise and compare a range of contexts (spatial, temporal, activity) and cross-contexts of these (e.g., the activity of teaching reading in England in 2020). To understand contexts and be able

⁵⁴ The Lancastrian/monitor method he also hypothesises originated in India before being transported to England, and then arguably back again to India in some regions where it had previously not been used.

to compare contexts the analysis employed contrasting asymmetrical comparison, a concept that is explored in this section.

Stavros Moutsios (2018) points out comparison enables us to see contrasts and question taken for granted norms, cultural trails, and ideas in a society in more elaborate ways than any single case can. Something of great importance when the heart of the study are taken for granted practices and modes of behaviour. Moreover, a comparative approach enables us to use more lenses of observation, as the act of comparing forces us to look at an object differently as we prepare to compare it to another object. That is, comparison enables us to see what is taken for granted in a context, and to see that context through different lenses.

For example, what constraints exist in England may not be visible if we only look at the English spatial context (it is taken for granted). By contrast if we see something done in France that is not conceivable in England, we begin denoting what is either illegitimate or not actively thought of (old practices taken for granted to such an extent any new practice is impossible to imagine) in England.

Moreover, contrasting comparison enables “dialogue” between distinguishable contexts to improve our understanding of the contexts themselves (Moutsios 2018) thereby providing a form of parrhesiastic dialogue or game⁵⁵ (Foucault 1983) where we may triangulate between theory, empirical context A, and empirical context B, thereby (in theory) yielding better insights into all three components of the triangulation. In other words, we understand both theory *and* specific empirical contexts, better through comparison than through a single case study.

A comparison of England and France aids in this endeavour as they have historically engaged with similar ideas and ideations of education and state-administration (public policy) within the European sphere since their inception as modern states in the 17th and 18th centuries (Morley 1878, King 1976, Mény and Surel 2009, Tröhler 2020) that have shaped their institutionalized environments. In addition, teacher education in France today does not exist in a complete disassociation from teacher education in England as is further discussed in Chapter 5, some spatial and temporal contexts do align in education (e.g., both relate to PISA, TALIS, and Bologna). Therefore, we must be vigilant when saying context matters, to specify what context, how it matters, and why (Crossley and Watson 2003, Crossley 2010). For example, different linguistic conceptions of “teacher” as illustrated in Chapter 2, may shape connotations in a society and create complexities for comparison. This is also why contrasting case study comparison is of importance, it allows us to

⁵⁵ One may argue this is a flawed, or overly complex, analogy as parrhesia usually involves one “truth-sayer” telling the truth to another – while in this instance they both take turns in being parrhesiasts. However, this is overcome by drawing on Moutsios (2018) observation of the ancient Greeks comparing to learn, not to say one society is truer or right than the other to help re-conceptualize parrhesia in this way.

properly analyse contexts in relation to what may be perceived as other contexts, to see *what is similar and what is distinct*. For example, is the teacher today in England the same as the teacher in France? Or, was the teacher in the 1980s in England the same conceptually as the teacher today? As such, the phrase “context matters” tout court is in and by itself empty, we must show why and how context matters when comparing. What matters is how when and why context matters, and how we may set boundaries to space, time, or activity which we label as a context. As such, as is elaborated below, a comparison between two educative states such as England and France does not only compare the socio-historic context of space and time, but also the *activities* of policymaking and teaching. As such, the methodology used here emphasised what function an organizational actor had and its relation to the activities of policymaking and teacher education.

4.3.1 Insider-outsider approach

In order to engage with contextual differences, the research drew from the beginning on five individuals involved in teacher education and research in England and France. Two⁵⁶ from England and three from France. This was done through yearly “workshops” in relation to the TeachersCareers⁵⁷ project this thesis was a part of, through frequent contact by e-mail and Skype, and in person meetings during fieldwork trips. The national experts were used in order to understand the contexts (mainly through discussion of observations and interpretations), structure the fieldwork and help identify interview objects, and identifying and obtaining documents, in line with soaking and poking principles, triangulation, and a circular process of analysis as discussed above. The main purpose of this approach was to better understand the cultural peculiarities of French and English teacher education, and better triangulate between *outsider*⁵⁸ and *insider*⁵⁹ views to understand connotations and ideations beyond regulative and power phenomena, which often differ and lead to different conclusions and understandings in the social sciences. These dialogues were structured through systematic note taking and continued through the length of the research process as the experts were consulted as new conundrums that were hard to comprehend from the outside emerged. The discussions also enabled a form of validation of interpretations of what policy is made,

⁵⁶ One of these, Ian Menter, also served as a member of my doctoral committee. He is listed here for a desire for transparency of methodology.

⁵⁷ www.teacherscareers.eu accessed 06.02.2020

⁵⁸ Outsider denotes someone who has no direct experience, over time, from inside the object of study. I.e. has not been institutionalized to the environment under observation. It should be noted I have studied political science in France, but not teacher education, nor am I a qualified teacher. Furthermore, I attended school in Norway, so any knowledge I have of the French and English educative, social, and political cultures is as an outsider, speaking both English and French as foreign languages.

⁵⁹ Insiders are here seen as people who have been directly involved in teacher education and/or teacher education policymaking in England or France, for a substantial amount of time (may have become institutionalized).

why it was made, and how it was made. Here it should be stressed that this was a secondary source of confirmation, and that the views of insiders was consistently challenged when their interpretations differed from my outsider view.

Moreover, in both cases, interviews were not only hard to obtain without prior introductions, but due to the protected nature of public functionaries and civil-servants, even identifying who were relevant to speak to required a snowballing approach and the active use of contextual insiders. Overcoming issues with obtaining documents and data, that in some cases even the publishing government department did not have any longer, was made easier through the national contacts and the access they provided to archives and libraries. Much of the research done here could not have been accomplished without this approach.

In addition, the *outsider-insider approach* also had the advantage of enabling an outsider analysis of what insiders “take for granted”, central to the cultural-cognitive and normative aspects of an institutionalized environment,⁶⁰ and ensuring correct comprehension through regular consultations with insiders. The logic of extracting insider knowledge was also extended to the above-mentioned expert interviews to flesh out the main document analysis component of the study as is elaborated on below.

One interesting finding when conducting the literature review for this analysis was to see how most literature is written by insider sources, either teacher educators, former teachers, or people involved in teacher education policymaking in the particular contexts. Moreover, what is called “comparative” work often boils down to one or two insiders writing a chapter in a book on their national system, with very limited actual “case-study” comparison being undertaken for instance (see e.g., Valenčič Zuljan and Vogrinc 2011, Darling-Hammond and Lieberman 2012). In other words, most accounts on England were written by English Actors (who are logically also stakeholders), and most on France were written by French actors. As such, the works constitute insider-views only.

Meanwhile, the degree of proximity between analysis and actor is also variable, for example Robin Alexander in his excellent book “Culture & Pedagogy” at one-point analyses events in light of a three-man review he himself was a member of. Or the comprehensive historical account of the French education system by Antoine Prost (2013), that I reference extensively in this thesis, often resorts to his own insider knowledge (Prost was a government adviser on multiple occasions) and referring indirectly to his own actions to push points across. The same was the case of Alain Savary, minister of national education who introduced the MAFPEN, who analysed the MAFPEN alongside

⁶⁰ The logic of different insights between contextual insiders and outsiders bears resemblance to the reported suggestion by Basil Willey that “it is easier to discover the “doctrines felt as facts” of an age different from our own” (Adler & Van Doren 1972), or in this case of a context not our own.

the director of the MAFPEN in Caen Jean Gulglielmi as can be seen in Chapter 5. Gulglielmi also wrote an interesting and insightful account of the creation and early challenges of the IUFM in Caen, which he was also director of, showing the added insights an insider can provide.

Moreover, one should not forget the often-close ties between academia and the politico-administrative environment in France (and occasionally in England), through advisory roles, recteurships, and membership on advisory boards as is explored in later chapters. The biases one may observe in accounts (of which there are plenty) is natural when the topic of analysis is something the researcher is an “insider” of, in this case teacher educators analysing teacher education policy, which is a producer analysing himself and the conditions he has to work under. For example, there is surprisingly much criticism of government and even schools, but very little in the terms of what universities do/did and can do better. An outsider-insider approach can help deconstruct insider academic views and expand on such limitations in scope. With that being said, many of these sources even though some parts are seemingly biased, are still *excellent analyses*, what is biased is the point of view, not the methodological rigour. Moreover, the points of view provided by insiders are often invaluable in understanding something such as policy the way other actors in the field also understood it, and they can provide contextual information that cannot be found in text form as noted above. However, one must always remain vigilant and critical when reading academic literature, the same way one would when reading government reports or policy documents. Here triangulation is of help. This view on academic texts as an important part of the empirical analysis, and not a traditional literature review, became central to the analysis of the wider context of education and policymaking as presented in Chapter 5.

4.3.2 Comparison to construct “natural experimentation” and help imagine counterfactuals

Contrasting analysis also enables a form of “natural experimentation” where one contrasting case aids in constructing counterfactuals for the other. For example, we could imagine how policymaking in France would be different if they had “white papers” or how it would be different in England if they did not have them there. Contrasting comparison thereby add counter-factual evidence as to the importance of “white papers” as a concept to policymaking and political discourse. As is shown later in chapter 8, white papers are of central importance to legitimizing policy in England, a tool not seen as necessary in the higher echelons of the French educative state in part due to what they see as their inherent legitimacy as “experts” on all things education.

Arguably, the contrasting comparison approach renders the counterfactuals more robust and rooted in empirical observations rather than pure metaphysics. Here I would call attention to a continuum between the metaphysical and the empirical (Scott 2013), to illustrate how counterfactuals rooted in “comparative natural experiments” can be situated closer to the empirical

than purely metaphysical constructs. This happens through "natural" alterations of some variables between the contrasting cases, enabling us to imagine if divergence had not happened at a point in time, or if elements of one system was present in another, what implications that would have on the events that did unfold.

An additional benefit of contrasting analysis is that it enables us to test a framework that might be an "easy fit" in each case separately or in one of the cases in a more robust way. The plurality of cases increases the number of hoops the framework must jump through as it demonstrates its ability to construct explanatory chains, thereby rendering easy tests more difficult to pass (George and Bennett 2005; Collier 2011). In this study, this was employed to further illuminate the distinct processes of rationalisation in the two cases, by seeing if something that was taken for granted as true (e.g. best practice) in one context was treated the same way in another. This was coded in comparative tables, and through constantly moving between the two cases as data was analysed.

Here one should note that this kind of "contrasting case-analysis comparison" does not invoke traditional methodologies of comparison, such as like cases like outcome, like cases different outcomes, different cases like outcomes, or different cases different outcomes modes of comparative analysis, but rather a "similar framework" different cases approach, centred not on a classical qualitative-quantitative divide rooted in the size of the N that often plague comparative research (see e.g. King, Keohane, and Verba 1994, Ebbinghaus 2005, Brady and Collier 2010), but rather on causal process observations.

Meanwhile, contrasting comparison is not a dual set of singular case studies (i.e., two theses assembled into one), as the framework was constructed with comparison in mind, thus the framework has a higher degree of generalisability and lower degree of specificity than would be preferable in a single case study.

4.3.3 Comparison to understand spatial, temporal, and activity contexts in Education

The comparative approach undertaken here mixes some different approaches of comparative education (see reviews in Alexander 2001 and Crossley and Watson 2003) and as such constitutes its own approach within comparative education. The closest existing approach to comparison of this nature is the work of Zapp and colleagues (2018) who used case-study comparison under a unified neo-institutionalist theoretical framework to study educational research policy in Germany, Norway, and the United Kingdom. As well as Brisard (2002) who focused on socio-historical explanation models for understanding differences between England and France through comparison, and the approach of Alexander (2001) to studying the link between state structures, ideologies, and pedagogical culture. Here I build on these methodological approaches by focusing

more explicitly on comparison across the contexts of space, time, and activity, which is central to understanding policy.

Primarily, the comparison has the dual goal of a) using comparison to inform our general understanding of policymaking in education (theoretical use), and b) to understand the peculiarities of teacher education policymaking in England and France. The first goal is achieved through contrasting case study comparison and natural experimentation as described above, the latter through diving into each case in empirical depth asymmetrically then comparing the findings once they have been generalized through the conceptual framework of the research (Zapp, Marques, and Powell 2018). The asymmetry aims to capture the peculiarities of each case, considered vital to understanding education (Crossley and Watson 2003), without too much constraint due to what goes on in the other case (however, some limitations do always exist when conducting comparative research) – this is then at first glance not comparative in a spatial sense. However, comparison is then re-introduced as the empirical events in one case are understood through the contrasting comparison and shared conceptual “meta” categories such as educational state, civil service, or teacher education provider. For example, as we shall see, teacher education provision in France is not directly comparable to that of England other than to establish that they are not the same as they have different forms, layouts, and structures where we would quickly conclude that teacher education is not generalizable. However, they can be directly compared through the ideational meta concepts related to educating teachers (e.g., place of the practical versus place of the subject). Through this approach, we are able to see what general traits of education are (e.g., debates between progressive and traditional views on education), and what are traits particular to a given context (e.g. the form of debates regarding progressive versus traditional views). Thus, we are able to see that at some level, much of teacher education is generalizable whilst at other levels it is very contextually (spatial) dependent.

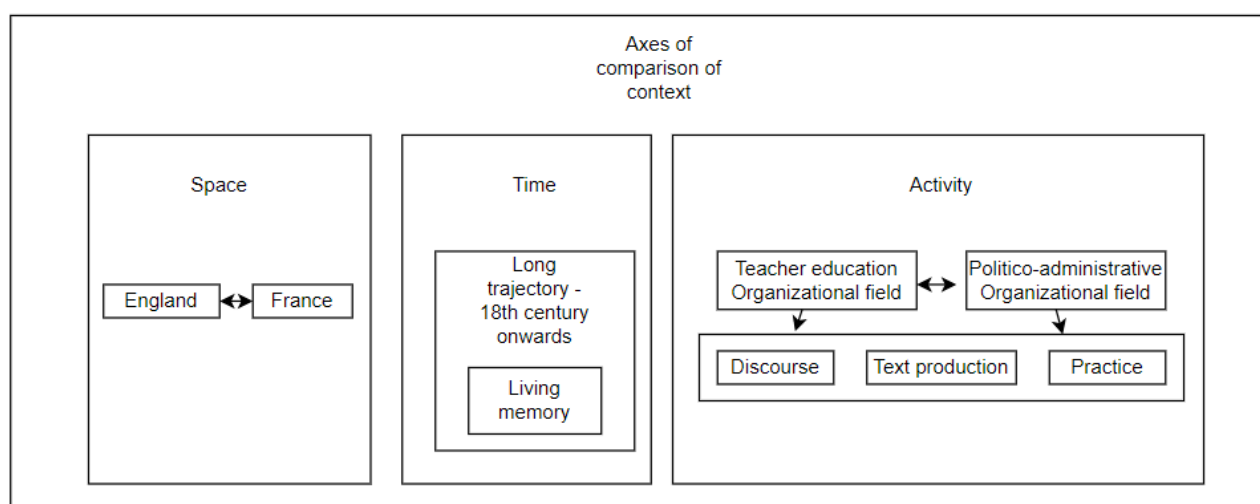
Additionally, the comparison is not only spatial (across cases) but also temporal within the cases. The above-mentioned case-study approach enables a comparison of different temporal periods, such as teacher education prior to the “turn to the practical” in 1984 in England (Menter and Childs 2013) or universitisation in France (Cornu 2015) to the current organizational fields of teacher education as is explored in subsequent chapters. This kind of comparison requires the establishment of central points in time that can divide up different periods across a temporal line (Furlong 2001) as can be seen in Chapter 9. In this research, this was accomplished through sorting all events along a temporal chain, before patterns were identified, and central turning points were established based on the coding depicted above and the indicators discussed in Chapter 3. Such a comparison of events across time enables a comprehension of the important turning points in a policy trajectory and enables inference as to the evolutionary or revolutionary character of developments (Campbell

2004). Through the temporal emphasis, we are better able to understand the temporal socio-historical constructs that are central to understanding the spatial differences and similarities between England and France (Brisard 2002).

Moreover, as the study emphasises not only education but also state-structures, the contrasting comparison extended to the activity of organizational fields. In other words, the distinction between actors in teacher education and political administration, their views, beliefs, and practices, were all compared and provided insight into what can be considered a central trait of one activity, how one field influences another, and what can be considered generalizable traits across activities that all engage with teacher education policy. This is a much-understudied component of comparative education that is perhaps too often focused on spatial comparison. Comparative education too often neglects to a lesser extent temporal comparison and to a large extent the comparison of activity. This research aims to remedy this through a comprehensive comparison of all three contextual aspects, and through this approach provide a blueprint for future comparison of this kind.

The three axes of the comparative approach, centred on space, time, and activity, is summarized in diagram 4.3.3 below. The space aspect then concerns itself with “England” and “France”, the time aspect centres on the distinction between a long trajectory from the 18th century onwards, and a living memory time-period from the 1980s to the present. The last aspect, that of activity, is centred on the distinction between the teacher education organizational field and the politico-administrative organizational field, as well as the difference between discourse, text production, and practice. All of these elements within these axes were then constantly compared to each other in order to illuminate particularities in each one and see how they fit together in a larger picture.

Diagram 4.3.3 Axes of comparison



In terms of limitations however, such a comparative approach does mean that any singular object of relevance to the study cannot pragmatically be treated as well as it could have been in a single case study. For example, instead of 20 interviews in England and 20 in France that crossed the fields of teacher education provision and political administration, a single case study of the politico administrative field in France could have more easily managed 40 interviews there for pragmatic reasons of time (or not depending on access). Moreover, there is always a risk of insights garnered in one case tainting the observation in the second case as our expectations are formed by the first observation. To remedy this as much as possible, and using the concept of the circular method as described in Chapter 2, I constantly went back and forth between the compared objects (temporal, spatial, and activity) during the study. In relation to this, the changes of language across contexts (time, space, activity) are also a considerable consideration when doing comparative research. Not only for the research itself, but also in communicating the research to a multi-lingual audience. To remedy some of these complications, I have employed a series of examples throughout the thesis to help convey meaning and disseminate how I understand the concepts used.

4.4 Ethical and reflexivity considerations

The ethical considerations predominantly pertain to the interviews as all documents analysed were publicly available. The interviewees were made aware that the interviews were part of a doctoral thesis, and that as such my two supervisors would have access to the transcriptions. All interviewees were also allowed to note how I could use the transcripts (e.g., whether or not direct citations could be used), and how they were to be presented in anonymised form (the wording in annexes 1.5 and 2.2) was discussed with the interviewees. As a further precaution I have edited some of the quotes used in this thesis, signalled by square brackets, to protect the identity of the interviewee or people who are not considered public figures, or employed indirect quotes. In some places, where what is said can be considered detrimental to good working relations between or within organizations if the interlocutor(s) is/are identified, I have not signalled the actor code of relevant interviewees.

From a reflexive standpoint, as noted above the researcher is an outsider to both contexts and is not engaged in teacher education nor research on educational theory. As such, I have no stake in teacher education in England and France. However, as this research also covers the relation between academia, teacher education provision, and the state in multiple ways I am implicit through my function as a university-based researcher and scholar of education and policymaking. This is, I would argue, most evident in relation to the role of evidence in policymaking and the findings presented and discussed in Chapter 8 in relation to RQ 2. I have attempted to remain neutral on

questions of epistemology, however, I may at times have become normative in the analysis of “evidence” and how that is distinct from evidence. These concerns, I believe, are not solvable by myself due to the complexities of inherent biases that we all possess (see Knafo 2016 on the impossible task of locating the subject). These biases are likely results of institutionalized environments that I am located within, and as such impossible for me myself to fully comprehend in order to render myself more objective in my research approach. Instead, the fact that I am a Norwegian who is an outsider to teacher education in England and France, but an insider to academic research, may hopefully guide the reader to be cautious when my analysis concern academia and research.

Furthermore, my epistemological approach is rooted in post-positivism and the use of theory as a toolbox, which does imply a loose relation with existing theorizations and a tendency to re-construct concepts in relation to the object of analysis. This likely benefits the research in terms of its capacity to conduct empirical analysis but may limit the theoretical contributions of the research in relation to direct contributions to existing paradigms and schools of thought.

Meanwhile, the epistemological position on the fallibility of research should also serve as an important caveat as to how findings presented and discussed here can be used in a general or applied sense. The thesis is done under the mantra that nothing is absolutely certain (Russell 2014). We only construct an approximation of a contingent truth that may hold for a year, twenty years, or perhaps fifty years if we are extremely lucky, but never for eternity (Weber 2004 [1917/1919]). Hence, under no circumstances is this research *alone without consideration and deliberation* capable of being the basis for policy or practice in teacher education. The importance of this caveat is, I argue, well-illustrated in Chapter 8.

Chapter 5: A brief history of state-governance, teacher education, and the teaching profession in England and France

"Conceptions are the product of the socio-cultural and historical backgrounds of the country in which we live" (Brisard, 2002 p.54)

This chapter draws on this existing literature, including state or inspectorate reports and reviews, and connects it to what policy documents say on teacher education to present the two cases in more depth than was done in the introduction. The purpose of the chapter is to provide an historic account rooted in critical literature review and supplementary empirical observations, to analyse the foundational ideas, logics, and myths of the two states at their modern inception in the 17th and 18th centuries, the state-education link in the two cases over time, and the evolving state administration of teacher education and provision of teacher education since the 18th century. This analysis bridges into the subsequent chapters rooted in more fine-grained empirical observations of the period 1976-2020 (England) and 1982-2020 (France), by providing the longer historical trajectories of relevance and illuminating the underlying taken for granted rationalisations and philosophies guiding behaviour in both cases. Such a level of analysis and contextualisation is often argued to be central for any education related analyses, including education policy (Alexander 2001, Crossley and Watson 2003), and form a key part of the analysis undertaken in this thesis by framing and contextualising the research.

To clarify one central aspect of the language of this comparative work; there has been an ongoing debate in England whether or not preparing someone to be a teacher should be called Initial Teacher Education (ITE) or Initial Teacher Training (ITT), the former can be argued to have academic implications and the latter vocational (Foster 1999). English policy documents analysed here consistently use ITT throughout the period under analysis while non-governmental actors differ between ITE and ITT. We may see the use of the words as part of a "culture war" (what here is conceptualised as part of field positioning and contestation) regarding the meaning of words and what a teacher is, and how one believes one ought to talk about the forming of teachers, which as we shall see is a central part of this analysis. As the purpose of this thesis is not to settle what teacher education/training is or should be⁶¹ this text follows the example of, amongst others, John Furlong (2001) and calls it ITE/ITT. The wording "teacher education" is used when both ITT/ITE and Continued Professional Development (CPD) – education/training after ITE/ITT - is discussed as one.

⁶¹ The research only analysed teacher education policy and policymaking, not good/bad teacher education practices.

This is done for reasons of readability and brevity rather than any authoritative statement on what teaching is, or normative statement on what it ought to be. This appellation also puts the concept more in line with the French word "formation" that is used by all French actors in relation to teacher education. Formation, as Foster (1999) pointed out when comparing practices in ITE/ITT in England and France, is from the perspective of teacher trainees a more encompassing word than either ITE or ITT are on their own, formation is both *education and training*. To illustrate, according to a recent report on teacher education by the French national education inspectorate IGEN-IGAENR: "[Former] that is to mould, modify behaviour. "Formation" is an action which voluntarily moves someone to evolve their practices and even transform them.]" (IGEN-IGAENR 2019 p.11). Thus, "formation" is a word that alludes to the forming of an individual to perform something specific (e.g., learning to teach or learning to use Microsoft Word – the span of contexts (activities) the word "formation" can be used in is wide) and to form intellectual thought. Formation then encompasses both education and training and is a more encompassing word than "education" which is usually used in reference to the upbringing and transfer of knowledge to children. It is reflected also in the French version of continued professional development, which is called formation continue or formation continuée depending on where in the career it is undertaken, and as such may refer to the English word "development" as well.

The rest of this chapter first debates the "global" context of the two cases in section 5.1. Section 5.2 first shows how France has had a deep entwinement between the politico-administrative and education fields due to a logic of the central educative-state rooted in the First French Revolution of 1789-95 (Muzzey 1911) that still shapes education policy in the 21st century there (Normand 2020). The section then contrasts the French state-centrism with how England is historically rooted in systemic "freedoms", classism,⁶² and democracy (self-determination – at least by certain segments of the population) within the public policy sphere leading to a particular education system dubbed a "systemless system" by Martin Lawn (2013) in sub section 5.2.2. Sub section 5.2.3 then goes over the logical differences of governing in a codified law system (France) and a common law system (England). The chapter then turns from the socio-historical context of the state-level to the level of teacher education, showing how teachers were educated at different intervals and how the two educative states oversaw the teacher education system over time in France (section 5.3) and England (section 5.4). Section 5.5 summaries the chapter and provides some further comparative remarks and establishes some propositions that are tested through the rest of the thesis.

⁶² A linguistic note: Classism is here taken to mean prejudice against people belonging to a particular social class.

5.1 The educative state as a global construct but with national characteristics

This section presents the complex interaction over time between the two educative states under study and the global movement of ideas in education.

Importantly, it should be noted that related to educational developments in both cases is the Age of Enlightenment⁶³ 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 all of western education (Tröhler 2020). Meanwhile, the work of intellectuals such as Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire were disseminated across the “Euro-centric world”⁶⁴ with an impact on how both early modern nation-states and education were conceived and constructed (Paine 1995, Anderson 2006 [1983], Tröhler 2014a, Tröhler 2020). 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). Ideas are hard to contain within artificial borders, as they are disseminated by the exchange of people and literature, meanwhile, they also change and transform across time, space, and activity as people interpret them differently.

The last several decades have seen the birth of different comparative approaches from the OECD’s⁶⁵ PISA comparing student performance and well-being in schools, the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievements (IEA) TIMSS 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

⁶³ See <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/enlightenment/> (accessed 04.03.2021)

⁶⁴ The Euro-centric world is here taken to mean places reached by the Nations of Europe, be it the Americas, Australia, or India. The only areas “closed” to this world prior to the mid-19th century was arguably the far-east, such as China and Japan.

⁶⁵ See also the edited book *The OECD's Historical Rise in Education: The formation of a global governing complex* (Ydesen 2019) for interesting accounts of the history of the OECD in education.

Lingard 2013), and in more recent times the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals⁶⁶ that according to Sotiria Grek (2020) has become a dominant influencer in the transnational field of measurement in education. The current global trends constitute 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 multinational 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, Ydesen 2019), whilst *Émile* focuses on the nature of education and the nature of man to philosophise 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.

In Teacher Education policy, global trends that have been observed are copying of high performing, mostly as measured in the OECD’s PISA and IEA’s TIMSS surveys, countries’ approaches to educating teachers, particularly the Finnish and Singaporean models (Steiner-Khamsi 2010, Chung, Atkin, and Moore. 2012, Furlong 2013, Sellar and Lingard 2014, Chung 2016, Adamson, Forestier et al. 2017, Steiner-Khamsi, Karseth, and Baek 2020).

In more recent years, the OECD has 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 and Sørensen & Robertson 2020), 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 maths (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, 2018, 2020). Furthermore, these new surveys of TALIS and TEDS-M may also become a political tool alongside

⁶⁶ These are a set of 17 goals for sustainable development to end poverty that were instigated by the United States of America through the United Nations in 2015. Goal 4 centres on education. See <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/education/> (accessed 11.05.2021)

such existing surveys as PISA and TIMSS in new forms of education governance, centred on cultural capital and ideas more so than traditional hierarchies anchored in a legal framework (e.g., the “educative state”) (Steiner-Khamsi 2010, Chung 2016, Akiba 2017). As is further explored through the thesis, these global cognitive-blueprints of “what works” may open for new modes of contestation, and destabilisation of existing practices and beliefs.

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 centred on a global or globalizing educational culture and rise in international organizations influence in education, “public”⁶⁷ actors such as the OECD, UNESCO, and the EU, as well as “private”⁶⁸ actors such as McKinsey, ARK (see Chapter 6), and even historically defence oriented organizations such as RAND⁶⁹ and Defence Advanced Research Project Agency (DARPA)⁷⁰ 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, Tatto and Furlong 2015, Knafo 2019). 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. This becomes a “blurry space” where national government actors from both England and France take part in OECD and EU meetings, and according to senior French civil servants interviewed (F17, F18) often attempt to both guide and use international actors based on national policy agendas. Meanwhile, reports based on surveys such as TALIS and PISA constitute cognitive-blueprints often employed in national policy discourse and policy texts.

⁶⁷ Public actors are here actors who are directly funded through public funds and with public (i.e. state) oversight. In some areas this oversight is indirect (OECD, UNESCO, even the EU in some areas given its perceived democratic deficits), but it is arguably present through legal frameworks of different quality aimed at protecting tax-payer’s funds.

⁶⁸ Private actors are here seen as organizations who operate independently of direct state oversight. They may be publicly funded through public-private partnerships and so on but remain distinct from “state run” organizations such as the OECD, the UN, and the EU through their legal independence and existence as separate entities under their own boards. As such, the University of Oslo would constitute a public organization as it is wholly owned by the Norwegian State, whilst Queen Maud University run as a charitable foundation would be considered private even though its funds largely come from the state College (it is the only “private” teacher education college in Norway – and it educates pre-school teachers. Coincidentally it is also the only higher education institution dedicated to the education of pre-school teachers).

⁶⁹ <https://www.rand.org/> (accessed 12.03.2021)

⁷⁰ <https://www.darpa.mil/> (accessed 12.03.2021)

Beyond education specific surveys, in academic literature there is also talk of global “scripts” harmonising views (values and purpose) on education across the globe that are frequently associated with the rise in international organizations involved in education. For example, Evan Schofer & John Meyer (2005) note and attempt to explain the global rise in higher education participation across the globe through looking at how international organizations (including universities) spread scientisation, democratisation, and human rights (or a set definition of this). Meanwhile John Meyer & colleagues (1997) note the importance of U.N, World Bank, and International Monetary Fund pressure for socio-cultural convergence. Moreover, Stephen Ball (2008) explores in part how international pressure from “global” organizations lead countries to adopt neo-liberal models of education, often centred in recent years on the phrase “knowledge economy” which summarizes the link between economy and education. In terms of origin, the education-economy link was central to the OECD from its inception in 1961. To quote Daniel Tröhler (2013): *“It is interesting to see how the OECD, in contrast to policies in the United States, never even mentioned the possibility of the use of military power as the aim of science and technology; it was – in accordance to the human capital theory – to serve economic growth, general welfare, and progress. Defining the outline of the general program of the CSTP in the newly founded OECD, the Council declared: “We are deeply convinced that science and technology, and the advanced education on which they must be based, are the pillars on which future social and economic progress must be built” (OECD Archives, C(61)70, 1). In the rhetoric of the early OECD, the purpose of education reform—economic growth—serves a nobler aim, “social development.” In the OECD papers statements such as the following are repeated like a mantra: “The O.E.C.D. policy approach ... may be simply expressed as the recognition that education must be looked upon as an investment which is intimately related to the future of economic and social progress of the individual nations, and of the O.E.C.D. area as a whole” (OECD Archives, STP (63)5, 1).”* (p. 150). The socio-cultural convergence, driven by IOs such as the OECD, is argued to constitute global normative, economic, and cultural pressure to adopt certain standardised approaches to education, in a globalising world⁷¹ (Meyer and Ramirez 2007, Meyer and Benavot 2013).

Furthermore, any socio-cultural convergence in Europe is also arguably driven in part by structural harmonization attempts, primarily the Bologna process and EU interference in education. The 1999 Bologna accord and subsequent Bologna process which has sought to unify degrees across signatories and harmonise on the 3+2+3 structure and the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) where one academic year equals 60 credits. The Bologna accord was signed by both England and France, and has implications for teacher education, which one may

⁷¹ We may also discuss what is meant by “global” as opposed to “regional”, “westernization” or the “western world” as globalisation unfolds differently across contexts.

characterise 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, Knill, and Dobbins 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),⁷² thereby explaining why some countries, institutions and disciplines converge and others do not. With that in mind, the Bologna process has, as we shall see in later chapters, had an effect or been used as tool in French teacher education reforms, but is *comparatively* absent in the context of teacher education in England.

Another harmonising force in education touching on our two cases is arguably the European Union (EU)⁷³. Officially, education is the prerogative of the nation state, without EU influence on the matter. However, the EU has been a driving force behind the Bologna process (Simões, Lourenço, and Costa 2018), and been involved with the work of the OECD on PISA and TALIS (Sørensen and Robertson 2020). The EU has also made large direct 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, Helgetun, and Powell 2018, Zapp, Marques, and Powell 2018). Although the EU’s reach into teacher education is legally limited, as was mentioned in multiple interviews as we shall see, 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, indicators and benchmarks, the Open Method of Coordination working groups running since the mid-2000s, as well as major policy instruments such as the European Semester whose original and official purpose is socio-economic coordination. Their work here is closely related to other “soft powers”, such as the OECD, the Council of Europe, and

⁷² To clarify, two-level games relate 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.

⁷³ England left the EU midway through the analysis; 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 ed. 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.

UNESCO.⁷⁴ In addition, their Europe 2020 agenda identified education as one of five key areas for the Semester to focus on (Stevenson 2019, Sørensen, Grimaldi, and Gajderowicz 2021). As such, the EU plays an important role in disseminating knowledge on the teacher and teacher education, on coordinating trans and intra-national initiatives with expectations of their own, and an actor who raises awareness of perceived issues (e.g. teacher shortages and lack of prestige) and solutions to problems (e.g. improvement of teacher education) (Stéger 2014). 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 (Simões, Lourenço, and Costa 2018). A result of such emphasis has been argued to manifest as a form of “European teacher” (ibid). 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 pitfall of neglecting cultural differences as to what “global” may mean, and how academic concepts such as “globalisation”, “(global) standardisation”, “convergence” or “unification” may be at least as many constructions of the social sciences as empirical observations of “real” phenomenon (see Tröhler 2014a). Instead, globalisation and other catchwords denoting a global interdependence or a global organizational field and institutionalized environment, must be carefully analysed and seen in relation to unique contexts that are both temporally and spatially dependent as discussed in previous chapters. 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, Pons, and Dupuy 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, Helgetun, and Powell 2018) that 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”. Hence, the dynamic notion of ideational processes becomes central to understanding the adoption of global ideas.

⁷⁴ Source <https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policies/cultural-policy-cooperation-eu-level> (accessed 11.05.2021)

To recapitulate and conclude section 5.1, neither state 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 globalisation. Cross-national diffusion of ideas and engagements with similar cognitive blueprints is nothing new. However, what has changed is 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, or the book *Émile*. Hence, the contrasts must be understood as an interplay between different levels of an environment (local, national, global). Therefore, one may say the two cases are distinct, 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 expertise, but in different ways and with distinct emphasises that form different trajectories of abstract state governing logics and explicit teacher education policies to which the chapter now turns.

5.2 Two distinct relations to the concepts of education and governing of the public:

National characteristics, myths, and logics of the state

The purpose of this section is to show the national characteristics of state-administration and policymaking in the two cases. The section will also show how the legal characteristic of the state structures the politico-administrative field. As will be shown through the subsequent chapters the politico-administrative meta-characteristics presented in this section structure the ideations of teacher education policymaking to this day.

5.2.1. France: Revolutions, Republicanism, and Jacobinism shaping a “meritocratic” concept rooted in a centralizing state.

Where England has had a largely incremental movement towards representative democracy and a system where government makes policy through the support of their party controlling Parliament in what Raymond Williams (1961/2011) called the “long revolution”, Yves Mény & Yves Surel (2009) argue France has since 1789 experienced nearly every conceivable form of government as can be seen in table 5.2.1

The current Fifth Republic is characterised by presidential and parliamentary (National Assembly and Sénat) “cohabitation” (see below) and sharing of powers, where the president appoints government, and the National Assembly may dismiss it (King 1976, Poulard 1990). The Fifth Republic was created during the “putch d’Alger” and the French war in Algeria, considered an

integral part of France at the time (not a colony). One of the purposes of its creation was to end the instability that had plagued the Third and Fourth republics (King 1976, Mény and Surel 2009). As we can see in table 5.2.1 below, the republican form of government has been subverted multiple times for a return to a form of autocracy, and back again, often under tumultuous conditions.

Table 5.2.1 Governing forms France 1789-present

Period	Name	Type
Prior to 1789	Ancien Régime	Absolutist monarchy – The King was the state
1789-95	The Revolution	Proto-parliamentary system (First French Republic)
1795-99	The Directorate	Oligarchy
1799-1804	Consulate of Napoleon Bonaparte	Transition from oligarchy to autocracy
1804-1815	First French Empire	Autocratic Monarchy (brief interlude and restoration in 1814)
1815-1830	Restored Monarchy	Constitutional Monarchy, but the King a central figure (cultural and normative context of 1815)
1830-48	July Monarchy	Constitutional Monarchy (change of King following unrest, re-affirmation of the rule of the people)
1848-1852	Second Republic	Semi-presidential republic (Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte the sole president, created following revolutionary tendencies and fighting).
1852-71	Second Empire	Autocracy with Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte as Emperor (Napoleon III)
1871-72	War with Prussia. Socialist/Communist Commune in Paris	Instability across the country, a committee takes over as Napoleon abdicates. A proto-communist state is declared in Paris
1872-1940	Third Republic	Parliamentary republic created out of the ashes of the Franco-Prussian war, while the Paris commune was ended by military force that left a lasting legacy.
1940-44	Vichy France	Oligarchy beholden to Nazi-Germany during occupation. Controlled mainland France and some colonies / overseas departments. In a state of war with Free France and England for all of its existence.
1940-46	“Free France”	De Gaulle’s state-in-exile located in England with some control over some overseas departments and colonies, briefly took charge over mainland France following liberation in 1944
1946-1958	Fourth Republic	Parliamentary republic, noted for high instability and frequent changes of Prime Minister
1958-present	Fifth Republic	Semi-presidential republic, aimed at solving the stability issues of the Third and Fourth republics

However, as Alistair Cole (2010) argues, through the same period of systemic change *“the republic became firmly embedded in the French political consciousness as a natural revolutionary form of government”* (p.1). In the same vein, Romuald Normand (2020) argues that *“Jacobinism, or the idea that the authoritative and Republican Educative State must remain powerful against local and private interests, is also largely shared by policy-makers from the Left to the Right. Legalism, or the importance of legal texts and codes in governing public administration, is also another explanation of the maintenance of this atypical administrative structure.”* p.3. Thus, one may infer that the ideas, ideations, norms, and values of the revolution survived the turmoil of the long 19th century⁷⁵. In other words, the republic and its values has become ingrained as the natural form of governing for France and is inherently tied to the revolutions (and their myths) at least through its

⁷⁵ The “long 19th century” refers roughly of the period from the First French Revolution in 1789 to the start of the first world war in 1914 and the large-scale social change wrought across Europe during these 125 years.

symbolisms and discourse. As we shall see in this chapter, the values of the revolution, particularly that of meritocracy and the associated *concours*⁷⁶, as well as the *sacred duty* of the state to educate are central elements to comprehending policymaking in teacher education in France. These concepts can be traced to the proto-norms of French Republicanism and the ideations that stem from the revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries.

In structural terms, since the president under the Fifth Republic is directly elected by the people, he is considered to hold strong normative power as a representation of the will of the people. The current Fifth Republic system for the most part leaves national policy in the hands of government, and education policy in the hands of the Ministry of National Education (MEN). As noted above, the government is appointed by the President and approved by the National Assembly, meaning one entity can theoretically block the other dismantling the governing of the French Republic.

Electorally, until 2002 the president was elected for 7 years, while the National Assembly was elected once every 5 years, creating the risk of “cohabitation” where the president was from one party and the National Assembly was dominated by other parties, with the result that both sides had to negotiate (co-exist) in order for the French Republic to function (Poulard 1990). This happened in 1986-88 when the Socialist François Mitterrand was president and the centre-right Jacques Chirac Prime Minister; in 1993-95 with Mitterrand still president and the centre-rights Édouard Balladur was Prime Minister; and 1997-2002 (the longest period) when Chirac was president and the socialist Lionel Jospin was Prime Minister, in what has been dubbed a “semi-presidential” system (Marrani 2009). The presidential term was then shortened to five years in 2002, officially to make such “instability” as cohabitation wrought impossible. Meanwhile, the upper house, the Sénat, is elected indirectly by 150 000 Grand Electors who are elected officials at a local level (e.g., Mayors). It has also been argued that history shows that political stability, the goal of the Fifth Republic is not all that common in France, hampering reform and leaving bureaucrats the “main-stays” within the state apparatus (Mény and Surel 2009). Thus, France is a complex co-existence of two forms of

⁷⁶ The heart of French meritocracy, the *concours*, is a competitive examination, either done as an actual exam which is the case in ITE/ITT or as a “by dossier” selection (argued to be transparent and meritocratic) as is the case for becoming an IGEN for example. The intention is that the concours tests one’s knowledge and skills, not who one’s friends are. However, this is found not to work (see e.g., Bourdieu 1984, Bourdieu 1993) in relation to both concours by dossier and the “grand orale” oral examination in some elite institutions. In some ways, the concours by dossier resembles what in other countries (e.g., England) is considered normal hiring practices. It does however have an important “mythical” position in French public life. As an examination it does have some peculiarities, in so far as a set number of places may be open for new teachers (or doctors, or any other profession that has entry to training or position through concours) where “everyone” (originally everyone could sit a concours, at present some criteria must be met) can sit the concours meaning 100 places may be open, 120 may sit the concours, and the 100 top scores should they all meet minimum requirements, would then pass. The remaining 20, even if they pass minimum requirements would “fail”. This can also be found in public service recruitment, such as municipal civil servants who go through a “concours” for their selection.

representative democracy; the National Assembly and the directly elected President, one indirectly elected form of representative democracy; the Sénat, and a national logic centred on meritocracy bestowing normative power to civil-servants to which I now turn.

French civil servants,⁷⁷ including teachers who in France have a status as civil servant of the national cadre, obtain their position through competitive examination, the concours, where entrants are ranked from best to worst, either through an actual test or through a “dossier” evaluation. The dossier evaluation appears to be comparable to a job-interview with a C.V., relatable to the logic Bourdieu (1984, 1993) described as issuing academic “patents of nobility” (certificates), where applicants are ranked based on where they were educated and where they have worked. Interviews or oral examinations may also form a part (and are graded) of both processes of selection. Importantly, all civil servants must pass a concours (by examination and/or by dossier), and promotion is also based on concours.⁷⁸ The central assumption is that such a competitive system, that is transparent (rankings are public) will ensure equality of opportunity, and that the best are promoted. In the French Government’s own words:

“[This ensemble represents a large number of known professions: Teachers, nurses, police officers, prison guards... or less known: court clerks, management controllers or technicians. These professions are in principle accessible by concours, which guarantees equality of opportunity].”⁷⁹

The system itself is often traced back to the revolutions of 1789, 1830, 1848, and 1871 (including the Paris Commune), as a central aspect of the “fight” against oppression of the third estate by the nobles and church. The *fight* (in a very bloody and literal sense in the 19th century) for democracy is as such entwined with the fight for meritocracy in France.

A secondary effect of the French “meritocratic” concours system is that all emphasis in governing (and education) is on equal opportunity but differential outcome, while strong hierarchy is enforced and imposed with a root in “merit” (Dreyfus 2000). When based on a meritocratic cognitive blueprint, a sorting society between the more and less able is logically not a problem, but a desired outcome, since those with demonstrated ability are rewarded and those without it are left behind based on claims of merit. The hierarchical character means the “hauts fonctionnaires”, the higher civil servants, are managed as an elite with large purviews, autonomy, and enforced respect by those lower in the hierarchy (respect for the hierarchy is enshrined in law) as they oversee the production and implementation of policy in all aspects of the republic’s public sphere in a quasi-technocracy

⁷⁷ See also annex table 3.2 for a comparison of civil service obligations in England and France.

⁷⁸ See <https://www.fonction-publique.gouv.fr/score/concours> (accessed 01.07.2020) where concours results are listed, the date of upcoming concours are presented, and the overall function of the concours in relation to the civil service is presented.

⁷⁹ Source : <https://www.fonction-publique.gouv.fr/score/concours> (accessed 01.07.2020)

(Kessler 1986, Thoenig 1987, Eymeri 2006). Technocracy here pertains to the rule of elite expert technicians, or precisely: The government or control of society or industry by an *elite of technical experts*. Here it is important to stress the word “elite” – being an expert or civil servant is not sufficient, one must be in a position of exclusivity (e.g., through certification) and power to be a technocrat. The meritocratic nature of the French state lends itself to the construction of elites and putting them in places of power, and as such to the construction of a form of technocracy. Meanwhile, the “quasi” prefix denotes how there are still democratic elements within the state system (e.g. power of the elected President and National Assembly in some areas) distinguishing it from a pure bureaucratic technocracy without democratic elements. Importantly, technocracy is not the same as “governing by numbers”⁸⁰ tout court, as technocracy emphasises the role of elite experts in governing the masses and *not* inherently the use of data or evidence. Technocrats often select and set standards rather than blindly govern by them, thereby separating a technocrat from a bureaucrat. The central elements to technocracy in France are meritocracy (the construction of expert-elites) and bureaucracy.⁸¹ The bureaucratic nature of France enables both an information flow to the technocratic elites and provide them with control levers for overseeing the public. As we shall see in Chapter 7, central to the French quasi-technocracy in (teacher) education are the national inspectorate, IGEN who through their reports on teacher education contribute to problematisation of policy and propose solutions, and the national data collection and analysis agency in education, DEPP, who fulfil a similar role collecting, analysing, and disseminating large-scale data. Meanwhile, as discussed in Chapter 8, the technocratic nature of France has created a form of “expert-as-evidence” to take hold. These technocratic elements are central to the Jacobin logic underpinning the French Fifth Republic. The Jacobin logic emphasises a centralized republican state with strong central government powers, and supports extensive government intervention to transform society. Under the Jacobin logic, teachers have been seen as agents of the Republic tasked with ensuring the values of the French Republic, and not only as educators (Ozouf and Ozouf 1992, Farges 2017). Moreover, the emphasis on meritocracy as the foundation of the state also means that education and state administration are closely linked at the hip, as the state is argued to reproduce its own system (and thus ensures its continued existence) through education (Bourdieu 1993). Therefore, education administration cannot, under the Jacobin logic, be the purview of the private sector or of local

⁸⁰ Governing by numbers is the use of large-scale data and standards to govern at a distance (Rose 1991) in a form of audit culture, which we see in education in England – see Ozga (2009), Helgetun and Menter (2020).

⁸¹ Bureaucracy here denotes a system where decisions are made by state-officials and not elected local representatives, as well as a system (a natural result of state-officialdom in a codified civil law system) of complex administrative procedures and flows of legal-administrative documents both up and down state hierarchies (e.g., teacher to recteur to DGESCO) and between the administrative-state and citizens who use state services (e.g., parents and pupils).

authorities as has historically been the case in England – it must remain technocratic and bureaucratic.

Although the myth of meritocratic France is defended vigorously by both those who profit and lose-out from it as “fair”, research has found it to be false in reality as social background creates an unequal system where the same “classes” remain in power through social heritage and the masses are held from high office (see *inter alia* Bourdieu 1984, Bourdieu 1993, Goux and Maurin 1997, Brown, Duru-Bellat, Van Zanten 2010). However, this may not be perceived as a problem of the system, but a feature, due to the emphasis on merit over all else (including equality) as mentioned above. Meanwhile, democratic problems arise as the state becomes controlled by the technocracy of the civil service and its high-level civil servants who derive their legitimacy through perceived merit (Thoenig 1987) that may be no more than an illusion. However, the meritocratic logic does at least ensure a form of lip-service to people who may lay claim to merit their position, such as union leaders and those of high education (Bourdieu 1984). These concepts and issues are well treated within the existing literature as seen through the references provided above, here they serve the purpose of reminding us not to glorify “meritocracy” as done in France, nor to condemn it *tout-court*.

In a sense, we may talk of educative-state centred meritocracy as a central, foundational, myth of “la République” in France, which extends as a national logic to cover civil servants, but also professionals and their representatives such as unions. The concours, meritocracy, and voices claimed through merit are central elements of both the teacher education and politico-administrative organizational fields in France as is further discussed in the next chapter. Where the cultural-cognitive and normative dimensions of the institutionalized environment in England centres on informality and obtaining access as is explored below, in France they centre on system, structure, and the trajectory of actors as expressed by their education and passed concours.

It should be noted that “meritocracy” is discussed in relation to the education system in England as well, even to the extent of being satirised as a concept in a dystopian novel by Michael Young (1958)⁸² and has been a central point of sociological research in education (Brown, Duru-Bellat, Van Zanten 2010). However, the meaning of meritocracy is of a *different character* in England than it is in France, especially in a socio-historical light as we talk of national myths. That is, many ideas behind meritocracy, both the kind found in France and in the United States of America (U.S.),

⁸² The actual coinage of the term “meritocracy” is sometimes attributed to Young’s novel. Others, however, claim it originated as a term in France in the 1930’s. As a concept (rather than label), however, it arguably originated in China and came to Europe in the 16th/17th century through the Jesuits who influenced, *inter alia*, Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Later, it entered Britain and can be seen in the work of amongst others John Stuart Mill.

originated in England (as can be seen in the works of Thomas Paine⁸³ (1995)). However, the ideas that spread to the U.S., and later took root in Britain are different to those in France. This Anglo-American form of meritocracy is systemless (in terms of a state-system) compared to the French meritocracy rooted in education diplomas and certificates (systemic and Jacobin meritocracy). The “systemless” meritocracy, as we may label it, is rooted in the construction or reproduction of social status through any “fair” means possible as opposed to through a state education system as is the case in France. It is seemingly rooted in how the U.S. belief in American meritocracy is historically centred on individual agency not systemic structure (Newman, Johnston, and Lown 2015), and on the notion in England that meritocracy means equality of opportunity (Jin and Ball 2019). Meritocracy in this form rests on the ability for everyone to be successful in a society with a loose systemic structure (reduced state) and high individual liberties. Moreover, public positions of power are often held by elected officials, this contrasts to France where state appointed functionaries hold strong positions of power (e.g., the power of the prefect versus the power of the mayor). This also means an earned position in the U.S. can quickly be lost (e.g., failing to be re-elected) compared to the French model where once you are certified by an education degree you *always merit* a high post in society (Bourdieu 1984, 1993). In the mentioned satire by Young (1958), merit was said to be intelligence plus effort, which is similar to the French view, but lacking in the demonstration (certification) component that is at the heart of the French systemic meritocracy. What has become central to the English form of meritocracy then, is the notion of fairness, the equality of opportunity to succeed and clear rules for all to follow, but not the state-education apparatus as the core component of showing and rewarding one’s merit as is the case in France. Therefore, in a comparative sense meritocracy is central to the fabric of public governing in France, far beyond education concerns, but this is not so in England where meritocracy in an ideal sense ends at a level playing field that does not extend to the head of state for example (who inherited her position as queen). This explains in part the emphasis on education certifications and the concours in France, and on high performing school leaders in England as is elaborated upon in subsequent chapters as these models are tested - both approaches harken to a meritocratic model, but two different models. The word meritocracy may appear the same in the two countries, however, the connotations differ significantly.

As a final point on governing mechanisms and meritocracy, in France, presidents and government ministers are usually educated at elite “haute écoles” such as the École Nationale

⁸³ Thomas Paine, born in England in 1737 was an important disseminator (a pamphleteer) during both the American and French revolutions, even serving in the National Assembly of France before imprisoned by political opponents during the turmoil of the revolution. Regarding his two major works, Common sense was first published in 1776 and Rights of Man in 1791. His ideas had a distinct Anglo-Saxon origin and was based on the writings of Locke and Hume, but also the values of the Glorious Revolution and the Bill of Rights. Central to both are the importance of democratic representation (of men).

d'Administration (ENA) after having attended prestigious lycées, haute écoles (e.g. Sciences Po de Paris, École Polytechnique, École des Mines, one of the four École Normale Supérieure etc.), and universities, often alongside heads of business and journalists with graduates forming the so called "Noblesse d'état" [nobility of the state] (Bourdieu 1993, Garrigou 2001). This is argued to further strengthen ties between politicians, the media, private enterprise, and civil servants and is rooted in the education system centred meritocracy of the country (Bourdieu 1984, Bourdieu 1993).

The chapter now turns to the governing system and national logics of England, which as mentioned above is different from that of France.

5.2.2 England: Incremental change from Oligarchy to liberal democracy in a constitutional monarchy.

In historical terms, in England, the current dominance of Her Majesty's Government and Parliament can be traced back (at least) to the "glorious" revolution of 1689, when the divine right of kings came to a definitive end, and the kings and queens (and their advisers) were beholden to Parliament as England became the first constitutional monarchy in Europe. Proto-Democratization happened through the Bill of Rights denoting the monarch as "King-in-Parliament" (Tröhler 2020). However, England was still an oligarchy of the rich and the lords, as it had no universal suffrage and voting rights were tied to property and income (Williams 1961/2011). Importantly, the 1689 reform introduced a belief in a sacred right of representation and of rule by the elected. A failure to respect this fact for the colonies was one of the central reasons for the American revolution as can be seen in the writings of Thomas Paine (1995).

Since the 1689 Bill of Rights, a gradual change has seen the "power" in Parliament shift from the House of Lords to the House of Commons with a very gradual expansion of who held the right to vote. The "Lords" were broken by the 1911 Parliament Act in legal forms, but still exercised normative importance until at least the end of the Second World War, while a more democratic arrangement has since emerged (Mény and Surel 2009). Today, the Lords act as a form of check on the House of Commons by their ability to request re-reads of laws and propose changes to laws. However, the Commons is by far the most powerful of the two houses, both legally (regulative dimension) and normatively (normative dimension).

In terms of relations between Parliament and government in more recent times, according to Anthony King (1976), England has a parliamentary system where the government holds nearly all of the cards and is rarely beholden to Parliament as a whole. Instead, government is beholden to their party, while at the same time the Prime Minister (PM) is head of his or her party, ensuring a form of autonomy to govern bestowed upon government. This creates a form of "power-chain" that goes

from Party (and the leader of the party who is usually also PM) to the PM and further down to cabinet ministers who oversee their departments and junior ministers and are aided by a in theory loyal civil service that is at the disposal of ministers (Dreyfus 2000). However, power relations within a party is often determined by who is a Secretary of State,⁸⁴ who is a Minister, and who is a Member of Parliament (MP), further ensuring the ability of government to govern without too much concern for the house (or party base). However, civil servants are claimed to “work against”⁸⁵ policymakers and to attempt to guide ministers rather than implement their will without question as confirmed by the interviews conducted in this research. Hence, government may dominate the political sphere of party and house, they do not do as they please in an administrative sense within the politico-administrative field.

As for the departments, such as the Department for Education (DfE),⁸⁶ they are headed by a Secretary of State who is by law an MP, and in the case of education is a cabinet minister. Beneath the Secretary of State there are several (shifting in number) “junior” ministers who are also MPs by law. Both the Secretary of State and junior ministers are supported by Special Policy Advisers (SPADs), who hold differing degrees of influence, and receive some instructions from “number 10” (the PM) and the Cabinet Office. As some also argue, much power broking and policy formation happens informally as MPs and lobbyists attempt to reach the ears of Secretaries of State, for example through SPADs or the Cabinet Office or by “accidentally” running into them at events or the halls of Westminster.⁸⁷ This informality, as we shall see in Chapter 6, is central to the politico-administrative organizational field in England.

The civil service in England is characterisable by rapid movement of personnel between different departments and between different areas of responsibility within the departments, in an effort to avoid them “going native” in the sense of taking on sympathies with the people in the sector they oversee (e.g., teachers) (Eymeri 2006). Moreover, they are often at the mercy of senior officials including ministers and SPADs for career progression and are in general politically administered with

⁸⁴ Contextual note: In England, the Secretary of State is the cabinet level individual in charge of a Department of State. He must be a MP or member of the Lords. A Minister (also known as junior ministers) is an MP or member of the Lords who is part of Government, but junior to the Secretary of State within a Department of State. E.g., the Minister for Schools when that title is/was used was responsible for school education, whilst the minister for Universities was responsible for universities etc. Both of which were in turn junior to the Secretary of State who holds authority over the entire Department for Education.

⁸⁵ Work against is here an implication of civil servants not directly implementing policies to the best of their abilities, either by drawing out processes to play for time or by translating instructions to alter policy impact on practice.

⁸⁶ The Department for Education is the government department responsible for education in the United Kingdom (in reality only England at present). It corresponds roughly to the French Ministry of Education (MEN). The similarities and differences between these two is further discussed in chapter 6. For reasons of clear communication, DfE is here employed to refer to the English department, while MEN is used to refer to the French.

⁸⁷ See <https://www.herts.ac.uk/about-us/ideas/2020-festival-speakers/marie-le-conte> (accessed 01.07.2020)

a veil of professional autonomy (Dreyfus 2000). As such, the influence of the civil service is largely informal, and exists in a form of constant soft-power relation (persuasive dialogue) between civil servant, politicians (e.g., ministers), and SPADs.⁸⁸

Moreover, today public policy in England, such as education, is subject to popular opinion through the vote (for an interesting account of the complexities of the “vote” see Lehingue, 2011) as much as it is to “experts” and politicians. This stands as a contrast to France, where representative democracy competes with meritocracy as experts hold a strong normative position in public governing (and vote participation is often low). Meanwhile, England has had a trajectory of reasonably stable governing and *right of the Her Majesty’s Government to govern* within its purview, that is hampered in France throughout its history by instability and the representation of multiple actors (*haute fonctionnaires*) who “merit” to be heard, and a powerful technocratic state apparatus.

Here then we may infer the existence of a national logic in England rooted in liberalism and freedom from the state and the will of the people, whilst in France an opposite logic centred on the duties, obligations, and rights of the state as representing the common good can be inferred. Hence, we may expect the English Government to be held to account on what are their competences (what is their purview and internal expertise) more than what is expected of the French government. Meanwhile, once a right to rule is established in England with apt control levers, the reach of the state may be greater as their need to consult “stakeholders of merit” is lesser than it is in France. The implications of this are presented in the subsequent chapters, where these propositions are tested and the wider ramifications of these distinct logics is explored.

5.2.3 The legal basis of public administration: Common law versus codified civil law

In legislative terms, England remains a constitutional monarchy without a written constitution, ruled by convention rather than the presidential republicanism and legalism which characterises France (Keraudren 1999, Mény and Surel 2009). Nor does England have a strong educative logic dictating the functions of the state (far beyond the education system) as France does with their republican conceptualisation of “meritocracy” seen above. For instance, England lacks a national logic of education linked to the state.

Moreover, England does not have a comprehensive and detailed “code of education” where all legal texts pertaining to education is bound in one long tome or bible of education as is the case in France; meaning the legal link between state and practitioners in education is less systematic and

⁸⁸ See also: The civil service code and the Constitutional Reform and Governance Act 2010, on the obligations and values of the civil service in England

more open for ad-hoc policymaking. This relates to the concepts of common law historically found in the UK versus codified civil law historically found in France (Berman 2000, Tetley 2000).

In a codified civil law system,⁸⁹ as is the case in France, government can interpret law, and make new instructions that are “as law”. The key here is that an overarching law defines the loose frameworks of a policy area (e.g., teacher education) then makes provisions for government to specify (interpret) the modalities of that framework and these specifications are “law-like” – they are not simple instructions, policies, or contracts (Tetley 2000), as principles and precedence are null and void in the face of state legislature (Berman 2000). This can then again have a third layer, where the technocrats in the relevant ministry (e.g., Ministry of National Education) specifies the final arrangements of the law (that are still law-like) and disseminates it alongside a guide to how the law should be interpreted to practitioners. This creates a form of flexibility within the legal system, but also means that informal arrangements not rooted in instructive documents become null and void at the stroke of a pen due to the hierarchy of texts in France. That is, even if it is not illegal it is still not normatively legal nor done.

Furthermore, the concept of “white papers” (containing long-term policy goals and justifications for policy) that are central to policymaking in England, are not present in France. This absence of justification in policy documents was a common feature in France, with some minor references to studies and reports present in “circulaires” (see annex table 2.1 for information on the circulaires analysed). Circulaires should not to be confused with English “circulars”, although they share a common base function, their overall characteristics differ significantly in so far as a French circulaire communicates what is already stated in a legal text, the English circular presented and justified novel policies with references mostly to white papers, this is seemingly done in part to avoid accusations of government “interpreting” laws, a concern the French do not have to the same (legal) degree. The French circulaires are not legal nor instructive texts themselves, rather they are communication documents where policy is communicated and explained to civil servants and other actors (e.g. teacher educators), with the intended audience of a circulaire noted at the beginning of the document. As such, they may be considered policy documents in their own right, but with less legal importance and void of inherent power, instead the power of the circulaires is bestowed upon them by the documents they implement. Circulaires are usually (but not always) used to communicate all kinds of decision documents made by the President of the Republic or the government.

⁸⁹ See also <https://ppp.worldbank.org/public-private-partnership/legislation-regulation/framework-assessment/legal-systems/common-vs-civil-law> (accessed 18.12.2020)

As noted in Chapter 4, France has three types of legal texts: loi, décret, and arrêté. The former is the “law” which must be signed by the National Assembly, Sénat, and President. The latter two are known as “decisions”, are active instructions once signed, and become “as law” should the National Assembly, Sénat, and president ratify it – in line with the codified law typology. This is however not a necessity for their validity, leading to much public discourse of “rule by decree” as the President and/or government may (and does) act without going through the National Assembly and Sénat. The décret and arrêté are hierarchical with the décret preceding (and should conflict arise, annul) arrêts. The hierarchy also extends to signatories, with the Prime Minister outranking a Minister, a minister outranking a prefect, who outranks a mayor etc. If a law contradicts another law, and is signed by the same “level” in the hierarchy, whatever is the most recent document is the one that supersedes the other. This hierarchy is codified in law, and as such is more than convention, it is a legally sanctioned hierarchy of texts embedded in the functional foundations of the French Fifth Republic.⁹⁰ Moreover, arrêts can be, and based on my analysis often are, signed by people who have had their powers delegated from a Minister (e.g. the “DGESCO” or “DGRH” may sign for the minister –these sub-units of MEN are elaborated upon in Chapter 7).

Overarching the French document hierarchy is the constitution of 1958, while the laws and decisions on education are gathered in the code of education.⁹¹ The version of the code of education as written on the 1st of January 2019 comprised some 1537 pages, including administrative and educative instructions, but also the overarching goals and principles of education, including views on school and university life and the rights pupils have to a free conscience amongst other things. In a sense, the code contains the *purposes* of national education from cradle to grave, all in one massive document.

By contrast, in a common law system, such as the one in England, the legislative branch (e.g. House of Commons together with the House of Lords) makes a comprehensive legal text that only the courts of law (and not government) can interpret (Berman 2000, Tetley 2000). Therefore, policies and instructive documents in England are not interpretations of laws such as an Education Act, something policy documents often state for legal reasons (as done e.g., in the very influential education circular 3/84). This means that legal frameworks become inflexible once operationalised and makes courts of law into lawmakers, but it also allows for more informal use of contracts (e.g.

⁹⁰ See <https://www.vie-publique.fr/fiches/20266-quelle-est-la-hierarchie-entre-les-actes-administratifs> (accessed 08.12.2020) on the hierarchies of legal texts in France

⁹¹ The Code of Education (code de l'éducation) is available here: <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichCode.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000006071191> (accessed 28.05.2020)

public-private partnerships as is the case both in education with “independent schools”⁹² such as Eton, Harrow, and Rugby) and ad-hoc arrangements rooted in contracts (e.g. awarding a contract to an ITE/ITT provider to educate teachers) as long as it is within the purview of the law, without the risk of government writing a decree annulling all arrangements at the stroke of a pen. That is, if it is not illegal, it is normatively legal and done. The initial formulations of laws are then more important in common law than in codified law, and laws are *more final* (Tetley 2000).

Thus, to conclude the sub-section, we may talk about France as a unified governing system bound by the education code in a codified civil law system, whereas England is potentially more of a mosaic of loosely associated and bound policies and structural compartments lacking the rigorous detailed frameworks seen in the French republic, but with an overarching legal frame and governing structure nonetheless (a “systemless system”). The implications of this on policymaking are explored further in chapters 6 and 7 when we see how actors in an organizational field relate to these structural constraints.

5.3 The socio-historic context of teacher education policy in France

David Muzzey (1911) argued that: *“All educational problems in France for the last century, and especially since the establishment of the Third Republic, have been moral problems; for the great absorbing need that has been felt by all the men who have labored for the cause of public education in France, from Condorcet down to Ferdinand Buisson, has been to build a school which should furnish the youth of the land training in the fundamental principles of the French Revolution: namely, the sufficiency of the human mind, illumined by the sole light of reason, to devise and maintain a social state in which every virtue shall have encouragement for its full perfection and every man find employment for his utmost talent.”* (p.179). As such, we may infer that a view (at least in 1911) on French education is rooted in the normative dimension, and that the “spirit of the Republic” is central to questions of education, in line with expectations from the place of meritocracy within the French state and nation. As this section explores, the close association between state and education has largely shaped teacher education policy and policymaking in France.

This section begins by looking at the discourse and state institutional logic of education and the place of the teacher within this national logic in France. It goes on to address the state structure

⁹² The independent schools, formerly known as public schools, are fee charging “private” schools with some state support and under state oversight, forming an age-old arrangement of public-private partnership in education in England. According to the DfE: *“Private schools (also known as ‘independent schools’) charge fees to attend instead of being funded by the government. Pupils do not have to follow the national curriculum. All private schools must be registered with the government and are inspected regularly.”* Source: <https://www.gov.uk/types-of-school/private-schools> (accessed 11.05.2021). There are currently around 625 000 pupils in independent schools in the United Kingdom (around 6.5% of all children).

(regulative) of teacher education, followed by the centrality of unions in questions of education in France, before addressing in turn the history of teacher education provision and why in France one must talk of multiple teaching professions in part due to the history of teacher education provision and certification.

5.3.1 Discourse and state institutional structure and logic in La République Française

At the time of the first French revolution, education in France had a strong combined cultural and central state focus, with individual freedoms expressed through an equal chance to both influence politics (through learning to read and write) and hold high office. The ideas of an educative state in support of “la République” were first articulated by Condorcet in his address on national education to the national assembly in 1792 (Condorcet 1792), drawing on the same ideologies and philosophical thoughts as the American founding fathers, but with differing emphasis that reflected the French revolutionary society and the more centralised nature of the Ancien Régime.⁹³

Crucial for Condorcet was the learning of reading and writing so every citizen could be politically active, in addition to mathematics and modern science. Eventually, the ideas that sparked the revolution in France articulated as the myth of the values and valour of “la République” that still reverberates across the French state and education today, as both an educative state and teachers as agents of the republic in relation to the mentioned Jacobin logic of France (Normand 2013, Farges 2017). However, these ideas were contested and not all were adopted, Condorcet favoured limited state control over education for example, something that was not heeded (Tröhler 2020). Moreover, some of the educational ideas of revolutionary and Napoleonic France can also be found in the above-mentioned “*Émile, or on education*” by Rousseau (1921 [1762]), a book that was so loathed by the French elite in 1762, due to professing that only natural religion could be true, that Rousseau had to flee the country to hide out in his native Switzerland. The about face can easily be understood through the denunciation of the church during the revolution. This is perhaps illustrative of how the reception and impact of ideas relate to the state of an organizational field and the values currently dominating an environment, but also that ideas may over time transform environments and fields and form the foundation of “new” trajectories. In any case, it serves to remind us that ideas rarely disappear once disseminated, a central concern in policymaking.

The troubled relations between education, the state, and the church in France did not disappear with the revolution and remained a central issue in education policy discourse until the Ferry laws in 1881 (free education) and 1882 (secular education) regularised the system under

⁹³ The Ancien Régime is a common name in France for Monarchical France prior to the revolution in 1789. The term does not cover the Bourbon Restoration (1814-1830) following the Napoleonic wars, nor the subsequent July Monarchy (1830-1848).

secular state dominance, but with provisions for “private” religious schooling (Prost 2013). A system present today where all teachers are educated by the state, but teachers in religious schools (or those “under contract” who receive state funding, amounting to nearly all religious schools) undergo a separate concours to those who teach in secular schools, barring full mobility between “types” of schools in the absence of undertaking a second concours. This is a contrast to England, where the church still holds a central place in teacher education through for instance the Cathedrals group of universities who educate a large number of teachers for “secular” schools (there is only one teachers’ certificate in England).⁹⁴ Here it is important to note that the French Republic is secular (*laïque*) and has secularity as a core value, as noted in the constitution of 1958’s first article:

“[France is an indivisible republic, secular, democratic and social. She assures equality before the law for all citizens without distinction of origin, race or religion. She respects all beliefs.]”

Meanwhile, a line to ensure equality between men and women in elections, *execution of a profession*, and in social matters, was added to the first article of the French constitution in 2008. This is interesting in light of how women historically dominated primary education and men secondary education, with secondary education was found to be much more valued than that of primary education (Farges 2017).

Although “it” would be a more correct English form than “she” in the above translation, it is at times important to highlight how the French language connotes to a personification of items, as the language does not contain a neutral pronoun (everything is a “he” or a “she”). If we take the importance of language as presented in chapters 2 and 4 seriously, we see how *la France indivisible...* holds stronger connotations because it is a “person” rather than an “object”. I believe this is an often-overlooked importance in the cultural construction of La République Française – which is symbolically much more than the United Kingdom of Great Britain as it has a national myth rooted in the nation (as a person) rather than the monarch as a personification of the nation. The French personification⁹⁵ and myth-making is for example noted by George Chabert (2011) to be central to the French “obsession” with Europe, often expressed through the arts and poetry. Here we may note the close link between the enlightenment, argued by some to be at the heart of the mythos of both the European project and French Republic. In French national imagination the republic is tied to Europe, and Europe to France. Meanwhile, it is no accident then that France was and is a driving force behind European integration (Cini 2007). This is a central element of French public policy, and

⁹⁴ See <https://www.cathedralsgroup.ac.uk/> (accessed 06.07.2020)

⁹⁵ For an example of this, see <https://www.elysee.fr/la-presidence/marianne> (accessed 06.07.2020) on the French national symbol “Marianne” as a personification of the Republic. This personification is arguably something her English counterpart, John Bull, could never embody.

particularly of education policy, central to which is the imaginary and the personification of the *Enlightened* Republic of France that is meritocratic and just under its national motto of freedom, equality, and fraternity.

One should also take note of the emphasis in the first article of the French constitution, where it is stated that France is an *indivisible republic*, where unity across the territory of the state has been a central theme for much of its history, as have questions of centralised versus decentralised power within this indivisible territory. As argued by the American scholar James Young in 1898 for example:

"In no part of the world has the question of administrative centralization assumed such importance as in France. Public discussion of the subject has been almost continuous since the Revolution." (p.24)

Young then goes on to note how centralisation pre-dates the French revolution and is a long running trend (in comparative terms), with intervals of decentralisation as power relations are re-aligned, trends that have continued since 1898 until today (Cole 2010). This centralization/de-centralization focus is, as discussed in this chapter, central for teacher education in France, where discussions swing between the *duties and rights* of universities, the regional académie and its recteur, schools, the teaching profession, municipalities, regions, and the central state.

For example, the struggles between centralisation and decentralisation is a central theme in the edited book *"La formation des maîtres de 1940 à 2010."* (Prost 2014), which provides historical accounts of teacher education reforms between the early 20th century and 2010. What is perhaps overlooked in the book, as in much other literature on the topic, is how reforms in teacher education reflect to an extent shifts in public policy discourses, as well as, developments within the wider politico-administrative and education organizational fields and overarching institutionalized environments, only emphasising how these struggles articulate in education with no reference to the wider structure of public policy.

Moreover, on an important contextual note, the *prefect*⁹⁶ who is appointed by the central government (President) to administer a region or municipality, ranks above the mayor in the administrative hierarchy, meaning that moving power to departments or regions, which in the case of education means the "recteur" of the "académie"⁹⁷ not democratically elected local officials, does

⁹⁶ See <https://www.britannica.com/topic/prefect-French-political-history> (accessed 12.03.2021) for an overview of the "prefect" in France.

⁹⁷ On the "Académie": The name denotes the regional school level in France. These school regions administer public (and private under contract) schooling in France, and are responsible for educating teachers, staffing school, and are responsible for the education of the children within the region. They report directly to the Ministry of National Education, while the local school heads report directly to them in a three-tier system. In 2016 there were 30 academies (including the overseas academies) in France, corresponding to the administrative regions. Ongoing regional reforms, may over time, restructure the academies however.

not equate to a form of democratisation or local control over public functions. This is in line with the meritocratic (not democratic) national logic of France. The central state that is staffed by meritorious civil servants and appoints prefects and recteurs remains central, whilst any semblance of local democracy remains illusory.

However, when engaging with notions of politico-administrative structure and socio-histories, Robin Alexander (2001) remarked how France had a peculiar tendency of central administrators seeing only “one” French primary school as indivisible as the country, whilst observations in schools noted a plethora of differences within what to Alexander was a very teacher driven form of education. One may claim that a system where education is teacher driven is as decentralised a system as one can make it. However, France does still have a centralised curriculum, also in ITE/ITT that must be adhered to. Educationalists have pedagogical, not content, liberties creating a form of hybrid where teachers are masters inside of the classroom (Osborn 2007) and the state is master outside of it (Normand 2013).

Hence, we saw in this sub-section the practical need to not only look at *education* to understand teacher education policymaking, but also *politico-administration*. Particularly in a state-structure centred system of public governing as exists in France, where national myths are prevalent to the extent that it may be argued la République has replaced Christianity as state religion as is further explored in Chapter 9.

5.3.2 The state structure of teacher education governance

In structural terms, France had its first Ministry of Education (MEN) in 1802, whilst education was largely seen as something the republic was responsible for providing to its citizens as argued above. However, there existed a fragmentation between the countryside and the city in terms of duration of the school year, and a fragmentation between the primary schools (to educate citizens) and secondary schools (to educate the administrators of the republic), and the elite tertiary institutions created under Napoleon I, the “hautes écoles” [Higher Schools] where the elites of the country were to be formed. The hierarchy in the subsequent republics, particularly from the Third Republic and onwards, was ostensibly founded on meritocracy, where hard work in primary school ensured access to secondary education, and possibly to a select few, to tertiary education. Education is at the heart of the meritocratic system that supports and legitimizes the French state even today.

The MEN has since its inception been in charge of school education, and of teachers (as employer), but not always of higher education and research. At different intervals throughout history the Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur, de la Recherche et de l'Innovation (MESRI) [Ministry of Higher Education, Research and innovation] has either been its own ministry independent of MEN, or a subservient ministry hierarchically underneath MEN. At present (2020), MESRI is its own ministry,

with its own ministerial cabinet, but has close cooperative ties with MEN factored into the organigram of both (see Chapter 7).

The present role of MEN in regards to teacher education and teacher education policymaking, as it has been for its existence, is to provide a national framework for teachers as their employer (teachers are employed as civil servants by “statut” and not by individual employment contract), and custodian of who can be a teacher through being ultimately in charge of the concours. However, the concours for primary teachers is *administered* at a regional level but this still falls within the hierarchy of MEN and is a delegation of powers within the central administrative hierarchy without local democratic input. In other words, MEN is in charge of training, recruiting, and employing teachers (Prost 2014), and of school content and the education of all children in public schools.

Importantly, teachers’ employment conditions in France, as for all civil-servants, are regulated by law and regulation associated with the teachers’ status as a civil servant of the “national”⁹⁸ order, implying a centralized nature of the teaching profession and the fact they can theoretically be deployed across the territory of France, they do not apply directly to a school. The status comes with strong job security, rights and obligations (Dreyfus 2000). This puts severe regulative restraints on both who can be a teacher, and how they are required to behave in a professional context and makes it a profession where entry is through the mentioned concours. This is in line with the state as employer (*état employeur*), and MEN as the authority of teachers and the civil service “corps” they belong to (HCE 2006). Centrally, teachers are subject to not only education legislation but also legislation on public function and the civil service.

Commentators suggests that in France teachers’ evaluation and accountability mostly stand on hierarchical and bureaucratic procedures in a context of low-stakes and soft accountability that do not favor incentives and/or material consequences for actors linked to their performances such as career advancement or performance pay for teachers (Maroy and Voisin 2013, Pons 2014, Voisin and Dumay 2020), necessitating strong “intake” control as teachers are hard to get rid of once in the system. In fact, once they have passed the concours, French teachers are paid whether they are assigned to a school or not, if they register as seeking a job as a teacher and accept any proposed position per legislation on civil servants. Thus, a teacher in France has no fear of unemployment, as

⁹⁸ Of some contextual importance: civil servants in France are divided between three orders (*corps*) national, local (*territoriale*) and medicinal (*hospitalier*). Each order is again divided by three principal categories, A, B, and C. Teachers are of the national order, category A (requires a university degree). Implying it is a high-status profession within the civil-service, and the state of France. Importantly, this means teachers have no right to make political statements in their professional capacity (just restated in the “Blanquer laws”, but historically loosely enforced) and are considered agents of the republic (official representatives). This implies a centralised bureaucratic organisation of education, rather than a profession driven one.

he is guaranteed his income from the time he enters the profession until retirement. However, policy and law restrict both career and geographic mobility, where career progression is handled by the state-system and regional education authorities attribute teachers to schools. Furthermore, although in general the status of civil servant is normally closed to non-citizens (EU citizens are currently counted “as citizens”), publicly employed teachers from outside of France have been granted the status since 1984. As the teachers’ employment conditions are regulated by law and regulation associated with the teachers’ status as a civil servant, it can be changed unilaterally. Thus, we may derive the existence of a strong state control over the teaching profession, and over the education of teachers. If teachers are agents of the republic as mentioned above, we may posit the republic likely sees it as its duty to educate them. My reading of the literature suggests this is a taken for granted and sacred⁹⁹ duty of the government, to ensure the proper function of the meritocratic system. Hence, we may talk of a symbiosis between the foundational myths of the educative state and the state employer related to meritocracy, where accountability and quality are to be ensured by the system itself through the concours and the system’s “own inherent qualities”.

5.3.3 Unions as a central actor and voice in the normative dimension

It is argued that in French education politics one cannot ignore the unions due to their influence on not only the ideology of education, but also their structural role in different advisory boards and oversight committees related to teacher education (Prost 2013, Seguy 2014). The teaching profession is the most unionized in France, with roughly 30% of teachers being members of a union, compared to around 15% in public professions and 5% in the private sector (Caire 2002, Farges 2017). Meanwhile, the power of French teacher unions, it is argued, comes more from their ability to mobilize the “street” than any power in numbers, or capacity for long duration strikes (Caire 2002, Prost 2013). This is indicative of capacity for a strong normative pressure.

However, the unions are largely fragmented with multiple unions representing members at different levels (primary, secondary, head teachers) and across levels, with different goals and purposes, argued to only be unified in their (at times symbolic) opposition to government (Prost 2013, Seguy 2014). This fragmentation appears to lend itself to a weakening of the normative voice unions can present, as messages become muddled once unions express different views on what ought to be done in teacher education. For example, it has been found that a lack of constructive dialogue and lack of a priori negotiations with policymakers undermines union influence beyond that of an obstructive force who are “against” but rarely “for” something in education (Prost 2013). This

⁹⁹ Sacred is here used to signal something beyond the “ordinary” of public management and is a reflection of the importance of symbolism in France.

then is indicative of a lack of cultural-cognitive presence (e.g., access to strong ideations), and show how normative power alone (the legitimacy of voice) alone is not sufficient to guide policy, particularly as the strong normative position of the state may cancel out the normative pressure unions can exert.

From the state-education nexus presented above, the section now transitions into presenting the changing modalities of teacher education provision since the 19th century until today.

5.3.4 The history of teacher education provision in France: From the Lycée to the INSPE

Historical research shows that one of the earliest forms of systematic teacher education, or formation of the teacher, was through attending a “lycée”. The “lycée”, now comparable to upper secondary schools, was at the time an “elite” school of education for select professions (Prost 2013). Today though there is little that is elitist about the lycée in general (except where elite “lycée” and “prepas” are concerned), beyond being where sorting between an academic and a vocational (VET) track takes place. To contextualise, the oldest records here analysed indicate that in 1792 there were nine lycées in the whole of France (Condorcet 1792) compared to 4200 in 2015¹⁰⁰.

Importantly, the concept of the lycée, and of a divided education between elites and non-elites stems from the Ancien Régime prior to the revolution and can be argued to still reside in meritocratic France. The elite/non-elite distinction rooted in education is often subject to criticism of a “Noblesse d’état” [State Nobility] consistent of highly educated individuals holding high office, as socio-economics and manner of speech reproduce who holds what position as mentioned above.

Gradually the system was restructured, first with the Écoles Normales (EN) in 1879 (by a law that was in partial effect until 1989 – see annex table 2.4) that primary teachers had to attend after graduating from Lycée in order to become good pedagogues. The EN became the Institut Formation Professionnelle (IFP) in 1941 building on the 1937 reform ideas of Jean Zay, who was Minister of National Education in 1936-39 (Condette 2014). This was reversed in 1945 and the end of the “Vichy” regime as the IFPs were turned back into ENs,¹⁰¹ but the ENs were incrementally evolving until restructuring in 1989-92 eventually resulted in larger regionalized schools where primary and secondary teachers were to be educated together in the “Institut Universitaire de Formation des

¹⁰⁰ Source: <https://www.education.gouv.fr/cid195/les-chiffres-cles-du-systeme-educatif.html> accessed 04.07.2019

¹⁰¹ Vichy France is the common name given to collaborating France (headed by Philippe Petain) during World War 2, as the government was located at Vichy while Paris was occupied directly by the Germans. Meanwhile, Charles de Gaulle headed an opposing “free” French government located in London. Scholars debate what should be seen as the legal government of France at this time. Importantly, Petain was named Prime Minister on June 16th 1940 by the legally elected President of France at the time, Albert Lebrun.

Maîtres”¹⁰² (IUFM). Meanwhile, until the operationalisation of the IUFMs secondary teachers had no requirement for formal education or training in teaching beyond the *concours*, which was controlled by the Ministry of Education and still is to this day.

The IUFM institutions were according to an interviewee (F1) in part inspired by the Mission Académique de Formation Pour l’Education Nationale [Academic mission for education/training for the national education] (MAFPEN). The MAFPEN was created in 1982 by Minister of National Education Alain Savary, to teach “new maths”¹⁰³ to existing and future mathematics teachers, at a time when mathematics was seen as one of the disciplines France excelled at (winning multiple Fields medals¹⁰⁴), but perceived to be less so by the 1970/80s than in the past according to F1 (in reality France kept winning Fields medals in the 70s and 80s). MAFPEN quickly expanded to provide a form of in-service training and early career mentoring for all secondary teachers, which had existed for primary teachers since 1972 (Guglielmi and Savary 1999).¹⁰⁵ The goal was to both create conformity to (new) standards and bring in new ideas to teaching, with early elements of “lifelong learning” present. However, institutional constraints meant the latter never fully materialized (Langlois 1998). MAFPEN also published annual recommended plans on CPD between 1983 and 2000 when they became defunct, having lost most of their function with the creation of the IUFM (full integration happened in 1998), which was part of their function to elaborate a coherent policy on teacher education at a level of the académie that conformed to national policy (Guglielmi and Savary 1999). In other words, the MAFPEN was to enact national policy at a regional level and ensure national standards were met. It was composed of some academics, inspectors, and teachers who were certified as MAFPEN teacher-educators (*enseignant-formateur*). The emphasis on CPD and early career mentoring was integral to the IUFM since its creation, and the institution was to handle the full range of teacher education. However, the main elements of the IUFM bore more resemblance to the EN as it emphasized the need for ITE/ITT and a knowledge not only of what to teach but also how to teach. This had been absent from initial secondary teacher education logic prior to 1989, but

¹⁰² “University institute for the education and training [formation] of teachers”. In keeping with the concepts employed in this thesis, I elect to translate “formation” to education and training to ensure the broader connotations of the word are mostly kept. Do also note the words “university” and “maître” in the name of the institute.

¹⁰³ “New Maths”, called “mathématiques modernes” in France, was the advent in the 1960s and 70s of a new way of teaching mathematics, driven in part by the National Science Foundation, that emerged in the United States following the 1957 Sputnik shock (Phillips 2015). The goal was to teach comprehension of mathematics (e.g., through use of root 6 or 8 systems instead of the standard root 10) rather than rote learning. It gained many adherents in France, as well as the rest of Europe. See *inter alia* <https://web.archive.org/web/20170715164210/http://culturemath.ens.fr/histoire%20des%20maths/htm/Gispert08-reformes/Gispert08.htm> (accessed 28.01.2021) on the teaching of mathematics in France in the 20th century.

¹⁰⁴ See <https://www.mathunion.org/imu-awards/fields-medal> (accessed 14.03.2021).

¹⁰⁵ A caveat for Guglielmi and Savary 1999, Guglielmi was the director of a MAFPEN and later the IUFM in Caen, whilst Savary is the same Savary who created the MAFPEN as MEN.

arguably became increasingly central following the creation of MAFPEN and experiences formed there.

The IUFMs fully opened their doors in 1992 after a two-year “operationalisation” period (the law came in December 1989). Importantly, by decree each académie region had its own IUFM (Bon 2014, Legris 2014). Previously an independent organization under the auspice of MEN, the IUFM gradually became an integral part of the university structure by the mid-2000s, which remained under central ministry of education control (see e.g. Sacilotto-Vasylenko and Fave-Bonnet 2011, Prost 2014, Farges 2017).

The IUFMs were to be attached the university structure, but loosely so at first with one IUFM attached to multiple universities in ad-hoc fashion, until reforms in 2005¹⁰⁶ began a process of attaching each IUFM directly under a single university. This progressive adjustment of a reform, one could argue, is possible due to the framework awarded by the mentioned codified law system, where the law of 1989 on the IUFMs can be progressively amended through subsequent ministerial and technocratic decisions.

Related to the increased focus of university attachment of teacher education, legal provisions for entering the teaching profession without requirements of attending any form of practical education should a teacher hold a master’s degree and pass the concours (a proposed return to pre-IUFM days for secondary teachers) were begun in discursive form in 2008, legal forms in 2009,¹⁰⁷ and operational forms by 2011. This was known as “masterisation”. The masterisation was met with heavy resistance not only from teachers, but also from within the research community (Misra 2014, Prost 2014, IGEN-IGAENR 2016, Farges 2017). The IUFM evolved into the “Écoles Supérieures du Professorat et de l’Éducation” (ESPE) in 2012 following a change in government and fulfilling electoral pledges to ensure the place of the practical in ITE/ITT by abandoning reforms of “free masterisation”. Furthermore, since the IUFM reforms, all teachers are required to have a bachelor before starting 2-year ITE/ITT (a master-like total length of 5 years) in the IUFMs. With the masterisation of 2008-11 teachers enter the full profession with a Master degree, as new requirements required teachers to pass the concours and obtain a master (any master, e.g. a master in pure mathematics) before becoming a teacher. With the 2012 ESPE reforms, the requirement to do a 6-month paid internship was added (can be done after obtaining a master), and the Master program Métiers de l’Enseignement, de l’Éducation et de la Formation (MEEF) was created in the ESPEs. The first year of the MEEF prepares the student for the concours, while the second year

¹⁰⁶ Law n° 2005-380 du 23 avril 2005 d'orientation et de programme pour l'avenir de l'école available here : <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/loda/id/JORFTEXT000000259787/2020-11-11/> (accessed 16.11.2020)

¹⁰⁷ Done through a series of Decrees published in JORF n° 0173 du 29 juillet 2009 available at: <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/jorf/jo/2009/07/29/0173> (accessed 16.11.2020)

revolves around the internship and the writing of the professional master thesis rooted in experiences from the internship. Moreover, trainees could attend the two-year MEEF, without attending an ESPE, increasing heterogeneity of ITE/ITT (IGEN-IGAENR 2016). Meanwhile, to this day the MEEF is not a requirement, only the 6-month internship is. In terms of numbers, there has been a steady increase in students in the MEEF over the past few years, with attendance increasing by 4.3% between 2015 and 2016 for example (MESRI-SIES 2017). This increase is reported by the national education inspectorate to be a part of a trend of ITE/ITT students embracing the MEEF as the “best” pathway to pass the concours (IGEN-IGAENR 2013, IGEN-IGAENR 2015, IGEN-IGAENR 2016).

With the IUFM and later ESPE reform, France was on a trajectory towards “universitisation” (making teacher education a part of the university structure). Universitisation is a central term in the French discourse (Cornu 2015), and can be said to relate to the wider global phenomenon of academic drift where higher education institutions (such as the École Normale) become upgraded into universities with an increasing emphasis on research and research based teaching.¹⁰⁸ The academic drifts have been associated with epistemic drifts, where an increasing epistemological emphasis is put by researchers (in academia) on what is denoted by research councils and funding agencies as elite research (Elzinga 1997). As such, new logics of what constitutes “good” research and academic practices often arise from the intersection of academic and epistemic drift (Kaiserfeld 2013, Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell 2018). In France, the universitisation and related academic drift has led to an increasing focus on research based knowledge in teacher education.

The ESPE reform kept the one institute per school region policy, but with minor structural changes and closer integration with a partner university *or* universities (IGEN-IGAENR 2013), thereby completing the attachment of ITE/ITT to the university structure begun in 1989 and accelerated in 2005. The ESPE then evolved into the Institut National Supérieur du Professorat et de l'Éducation (INSPE) in 2019 with broadly the same modalities and mission as the ESPE, but with the goal of harmonizing ITE/ITT across France as is explored further in Chapter 7.

Officially, forming teachers in France is the domain of higher education, with no apprenticeship-based routes available for entry, and a master's degree is required. However, large parts of ITE/ITT takes place in school placement, where the trainees are paid interns (Foster 1999). Meanwhile, the “contract teacher into certified teacher” route, where untrained (in terms of ITE/ITT) individuals with a subject oriented bachelor degree are hired as uncertified contract teachers to meet shortages, can be argued to be a form of apprenticeship route as it is five years of teaching in a school on short term contracts without a certificate followed by an automatic conversion into full

¹⁰⁸ The “upgrades” often create a tiered university system, that is distinguishable between the old elite and the, in research terms, low performing newcomers.

(life-time contract) teacher status in accordance with French employment law. It is not conceptualized nor advertised by the French as such. Moreover, interviews (F2; F4) indicated that the rectorat would ensure teachers were not automatically transformed into full teachers, and that the desire was for contractuels (contract teachers) to undergo ITE/ITT and pass the concours (F5). An equivalence can also be issued for contractuels with sufficient work experience waiving the need for a master's degree should they pass the concours. There are also other ways of becoming a certified teacher today without a master's degree in France. For example, by having more than three children, being a high level athlete, or by passing a "third-path concours" open in some select subjects in some years to fill shortages – in all cases a concours must be passed for one to be a certified teacher.¹⁰⁹ However, contract teachers do not require the concours nor any form of ITE/ITT.

As seen above, the concours remained the *crux of teacher education in France* throughout the period of analysis. It is the only requirement that has remained fixed throughout the period and is often considered what ITE/ITT is aimed at under a teaching to the test logic (Dahringer 2001). The idea is that without correct knowledge you do not pass the concours regardless, thus education and certification is here seemingly normatively linked, with established norms and practices surrounding the long established concours serving as a mark of quality. It should also be noted that there are multiple concours, corresponding to what kind of teacher one aims to become. First there is a primary-secondary divide, and then secondary is divided by subject, on top of this comes the elite agrégée (See Farges, 2017).

Thus, today there is a triad of accountability, all located within ITE/ITT. First the concours, secondly the validation of the internship, and thirdly the validation of a Master level degree. However, there is very little quality assurance of teachers following their entry into the profession through inspections, a contrast to practices in England (Pons 2014).

5.3.5 Multiple teaching professions in France? Meritocracy, concours, and the teacher

The consensus seems to be that historically, in a normative sense, the concept of the teacher in France (at least in secondary schooling) has been the dual role of the teacher as a master of his profession (the "maître"), and as an agent of the republic (see Sacilotto-Vasylenko and Fave-Bonnet 2011, Prost 2013, Farges 2017)). The former perhaps more fully embraced by the teacher professions (plural), the latter a question of individual interpretation at the teacher level.

Furthermore, teachers in France can historically be divided both alongside the education system into two so called degrees (primary and secondary) each of two cycles for a total of four systemic divisions (maternelle – primaire – collège – Lycée) (see Prost (2013) for the evolution of the

¹⁰⁹ See <https://vocationservicepublic.fr/devenir-enseignant-sans-master-c-est-possible> (accessed 05.02.2021)

French school system), and into professional groupings (corpses) based on function. As seen in the previous section, the education of primary and secondary teachers in France was held strictly apart until the creation of the IUFM in 1989-92.

As certificates, linked directly to different education models and competitive examinations (concours), are exclusive, we must talk about several highly distinct segments of the teaching profession in France, separated not only by structure but also by social reality regarding how society and teachers themselves provide divides between primary and secondary teachers, between certifiés and agrégés (Farges 2017), and certified and contract teachers (Bertron et al. under review¹¹⁰). Through unification of teacher training structures, and restructuring of the professional groupings (corpses), harmonization towards a singular profession has taken place, so that today we may, on the one hand, talk about a converging teacher profession in the primary degree. However, on the other hand, secondary degree teachers remain separate between general teachers (certifiés) who compose 62% of secondary teachers, Agrégés (14%), and technical schoolteachers (15%), not to mention the uncertified contractuels (roughly 8% of the total number of teachers) – all linked to different certifications, and competitive examinations (MEN – DEPP 2016). The singularity of primary teachers, compared to the fragmented titles of secondary teachers has been argued to lead to a higher sense of unity and loyalty to the professional grouping, the corps, in primary than secondary schools (Robert 1999).

Interestingly, surveys still separate between professeures d'école and professeurs de collège/lycée (Farges 2017; MEN – DEPP 2016). Moreover, in national surveys of professions and so on, although primary teachers may be compared to nurses, secondary teachers and especially the "elite" agrégée are usually compared to doctors and lawyers, but this is changing as the historically dominant position of teachers in French society (such as being the most represented profession in the National Assembly) is declining (Prost 2013, Farges 2017). Thus, one may argue, primary and secondary teachers in France have *different professional identities* and perceived socio-economic status. However, they are at present, and have been since 1990, largely trained in the same institutional type.

Meanwhile, the fragmented nature of ITE/ITT prior to the creation of the IUFM in 1989-1992 has been found to create tensions of multiple forms: between ITE/ITT lecturers in normal schools and academics in universities, between primary and secondary teacher educators, between subject knowledge proponents and "pedagogy" proponents, and between lecturers from different secondary ITT "teacher colleges" (Gonnin-Bolo 2002, Sacilotto-Vasylenko and Fave-Bonnet 2011, Prost 2014, Farges 2017).

¹¹⁰ This publication is part of the TeachersCareers project.

Much discussion at the time of the creation of the IUFM and since has been centred on the place and content of the concours. Should it be prior to ITE/ITT as it was for primary teachers, or after as it was for secondary teachers, should it focus on teaching or on the subject? In any regard its positioning after the first year and prior to the second was a point of contention already in 1989 (Bon 2014). As we shall see in subsequent chapters these tensions carry on to today (2020), and create friction and contestation within the organizational field, relating to different views on what teachers ought to be and how they should be educated.

Additionally, there were disputes over whether or not the MAFPEN was a “good” model for the IUFM, and in relation to what was argued by secondary trainees to be a shift towards the practical with the IUFM reforms, which some trainees saw as bad and some as good (Foster 1999). What is becoming somewhat clear however, is that the MAFPEN and later IUFM has set France on a historic trajectory reinforced by the 3+2 system and related concepts of universitisation and masterisation now dominant in French higher education, to such an extent that the current format is unlikely to change dramatically barring a massive shock.

5.4: The socio-historic context of teacher education policy and provision in England

The chapter now turns to the historic developments of teacher education policy in England. Building on the early ideas of the age of enlightenment, and a burgeoning recognition of a need to educate the populace, systematic teacher education in England for the purpose of preparing people to teach began in the 18th century and was seen in relation to the emergence of systematic education (Dent 1977). However, education was still ad-hoc as it had been since at least the 1870 Education Act that established diverse local authorities (Robinson 2002). The limited state governing at the time was exercised mostly through financing by awarding grants to schools, as education was undertaken by a mosaic of church, industry, and local authorities (Alexander 2001). The education of the 18th and early 19th century was not widespread nor uniform, but often-entailed apprenticeship models that gradually evolved into state supported monitorial and later pupil-teacher schemes as the “British nation” recognised its emerging role in education. The pupil-teacher scheme adopted in 1846 contained inspirations from the Netherlands and was a response to the discredited monitorial system that preceded it (Maclure 1986). The core purpose of the scheme was to provide funding, bursaries, and a required syllabus of training and annual examination. Interestingly, the scheme only applied to schools that were “under inspection”, that is to say was financed by the state and as such had to submit to Her Majesty’s Inspectorate (HMI), but the inspectorate had no power of coercion, rather they were there to advise and help schools and oversee those public funds were duly applied (Dent 1977, Maclure 1986). As mentioned, the first Ministry of Education came in 1944, and the first full (cabinet level) department only came in 1964 to fully “politicise” education (Jones 2016). Once

education was politicised and became a central government department, political discourse intensified, and change happened rapidly as education governing mentality went from *laissez-faire* to tight oversight and accountability (Phillips 2001) to which the section now turns.

5.4.1 Policy discourse: The great debate in education

This sub-section discusses the Great Debate in education and its discursive effects on education and policy.

Already in 1961 the OECD noted that *“the fight for education is too important to be left solely to the educators”* (OECD 1961 p.35), inaugurating or perhaps rather embodying the emergence of a discourse on education (and by extension teachers and their education) as a central means to economic growth and state prosperity (see also Tröhler 2013, 2014). This global discourse arguably formed a backdrop to national debates on education in England, putting existing norms and practices in education under attack as a renewed focus was on the link between education and the economy as seen further above.

The OECD was in 1974 invited by the then Department of Education and Science (DES) to review education policy, focusing on the 1972 White Paper “A framework for expansion” published by then Secretary of State for Education and Science Margaret Thatcher. The OECD review concluded that the DES was the most important organization for determining the direction and tempo of educational development in England, that the powers of the state was nevertheless limited, and that the focus on quantitative measures and allocation of funds rather than the purpose of education was a detriment to the policy process (Chitty 1991).

In the same time period, the established norms and practices in education also came under attack through what were called the “Black Papers”, a series of articles (the name itself a play on government “White Papers”) by disgruntled academics (most notably Brian Cox) published in the peer-reviewed academic journal “Critical Quarterly” between 1969 and 1977 (MacCabe 2008). The Black Papers attacked what was seen as *excessive* progressive education¹¹¹ directed by academia and sanctioned by government. The papers, considered a “black day for education” by Edward Short (Secretary of State for Education, Labour) in 1969, met with approval from many schoolteachers¹¹². In recent years, it has been argued that the first two (out of a total of five) had the largest impact, and that within ten years they became significant ideological blueprints for the Conservative “new right” in education (Ball 2008). Cox himself reportedly later lamented the harm he perceived the

¹¹¹ Reportedly the authors of the Black Papers were not against progressive education tout court, but to its excesses. See <https://web.archive.org/web/20070929022136/http://www.criticalquarterly.com/histories.asp> (accessed 30.06.2020)

¹¹² See <http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/history/comp.shtml> (accessed 16.11.2020), to be found under program 3.

papers to have done to the teaching profession.¹¹³ The papers came just two years after the influential 1967 Central Advisory Council for Education (England) report “Children and their Primary Schools”¹¹⁴ on primary education in England, which favoured a *progressive child-centred approach* to primary education.

To explain this important concept in detail, progressive education¹¹⁵ here relates to a child-centred approach of learning through discovery (internal learning) and an emphasis on the whole child that originated with Rousseau and Dewey.¹¹⁶ Progressive education is opposed by traditional views that are rooted in knowledge transfer from teacher to child (external learning) often coupled with strict discipline and the school as a place of learning and little more, which originated with Plato and Aristotle.¹¹⁷ The notions of strict discipline and knowledge transfer, although different concepts, are often seen as complementary in the traditional school of thought the same way progressives (at an extreme) see whole child focus and discovery as entwined. Furthermore, progressive education is rooted in learning for the sake of learning (internal motivation), whilst traditional education is rooted in external motivators such as grades and prizes or punishment such as repetition of failed years (what the French call “redoublement scolaire”). This divide is central not only to methods of teaching and teacher education, but also what subjects are emphasised within education (see e.g., Wyse, Hayward, et al. 2018). This is an age-old debate, as can for example be seen in opposing views on how to teach foreign languages to adults in the 1890s, with a split between educationalists in favour of the at the time progressive approach of natural/direct method of not learning grammar (learning like a child) and those who considered this ludicrous because an adult is not a child (Bodmer 1944). One example of progressive educationalists today would be the Progressive Education Hub of Montessori and Steiner Schools in England,¹¹⁸ or the L’Association Nationale pour le développement de l’Éducation Nouvelle (ANEN) in France.¹¹⁹ An example of traditionalist views in education today is the DfE appointed “behaviour tsar” in England Tom Bennett,¹²⁰ while the whole French public education sector can be argued to be predominantly traditionalist with an emphasis on knowledge transfer and subject mastery (Alexander 2001). Importantly, there is a continuum between these two ideal types, as such, one can be progressive but still oppose excessively progressive approaches to education. The categories can also be said to be extensively broad (encompass too many things), and

¹¹³ See <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2008/apr/28/culture.obituaries> (accessed 08.07.2020)

¹¹⁴ The report is informally known as the “Plowden report” after its chair, Bridget, Lady Plowden.

¹¹⁵ In French progressive education is called “Éducation nouvelle”

¹¹⁶ See <https://libguides.ioe.ac.uk/c.php?g=482249&p=3298233> (accessed 12.04.2021)

¹¹⁷ See also <https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/users/philosophy/collabpete.htm> (accessed 25.02.2021) for an overview of these different approaches to education.

¹¹⁸ See <https://www.progressiveeducation.org/about/> (accessed 12.04.2021)

¹¹⁹ See <http://anen.fr/> (accessed 12.04.2021)

¹²⁰ See <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/behaviour-hubs> (accessed 12.04.2021)

if we move from ideal-type to real-type it is perhaps more accurate to use multiple axis (x, y, z) rather than a single axis (x) to denote distinctions between child-centeredness and teacher-centred learning, and internal-external motivation that does not inherently belong along the same axis even though they are often used together in the discourse of progressives and traditionalists. However, such a multi-axis approach would also render the research more complex, and not bring much more clarity to the object of research. As such, a dichotomy with a continuum between the two extremes as used here serve a heuristic purpose here, while both “progressive” and “traditional” are well-established categories in educational debates and research. These categories are further visited in Chapter 9 in a contemporary light.

To return to the Great Debate, some university-based researchers have noted the changing discourse and political approach to education felt today due to Prime Minister James Callaghan addressing the lack of accountability in a 1976 speech at Ruskin College (Phillips 2001, Ball 2008). The speech was the first time a sitting prime minister spoke about education in public (Phillips 2001). The catalyst for the speech, and the great debate that followed, was according to Chitty (1991) the 1973-75 economic crisis, which finally caused the role of education to be re-examined in economic terms by political groupings in England. This then constitute an external shock to the education environment, that must be seen in connection with cognitive blueprints on the link between the economy and education

Together these three events, the OECD’s statement ushering in the “knowledge economy”, the Black Papers, and Callaghan’s Ruskin speech, formed the backdrop of the “great debate” in education on the purpose of education, who should control it, and the need for oversight. The debate was started by Callaghan in 1977 (Ball 2008), that is argued to have culminated with the 1988 Education Reform Act and a core/common national curriculum (Chitty 1991). However, as explored in later chapters, the core of the great debate remains at the heart of public debate in education even today.

Central to the debate was what has been called “secret garden of the curriculum” that came under attack. Threads of the black papers were in part picked up, concerns of industry were put front and centre particularly following the 1973-75 economic crisis, and a need for teacher accountability was recognised by government (Chitty 1991, Furlong 2001). The phrase “secret garden” was not used in the speech itself (Callaghan 1976), but had reportedly been used by Lord Eccles, Minister of Education, already in 1960 (Gillard 1988), and became a central phrasing in the great debate (Chitty 1991). Hence, we note that the debate had been taking place on the “back-burner” for a while, with the “secret garden” being under attack since 1960, and the first black paper coming in 1969, whilst the major pivot to the front line of political discourse came with Callaghan’s speech in 1976.

Furthermore, Callaghan's speech has become somewhat of an infamous myth since, where the content of it is (I would argue) overstated, and perhaps more reflective of memories of debates and selective reading and use of literature that is not sufficiently scrutinized. This contributes to reducing the complexity of the great debate to Callaghan's short speech and reducing complexity to simple left-right concerns in education, critique of policy, or as justifier of policy.¹²¹ For example, Callaghan highlighted in the speech that *"We spend £6bn a year on education, so there will be discussion. But let it be rational. If everything is reduced to such phrases as 'educational freedom' versus state control, we shall get nowhere. I repeat that parents, teachers, learned and professional bodies, representatives of higher education and both sides of industry, together with the government, all have an important part to play in formulating and expressing the purpose of education and the standards that we need."*¹²² In other words, Callaghan did not go out with "all guns blazing" as later accounts may make it appear, but rather called for an increased place of government oversight due to taxpayers' funding of education, a light touch by today's standards that was not seen as such at the time.¹²³ What is perhaps most interesting, and to some controversial, with his speech is the emphasis on industry and education for work, not for the sake of education, in something of an echo of the OECD's emphasis on the education-economy link mentioned above. As such, the Ruskin speech may also be considered an initial change in England in relations between education for "cultural" (e.g., nation/identity building) and education for "functional" (e.g., defence or economic) reasons, that can be linked to similar changes begun in the US following the Sputnik-shock and promoted through the OECD (Tröhler 2013). Centrally, we here see ideations stemming from cognitive blueprints increasingly coupled with normative legitimacy and government as the legitimate overseer of public expenditure.

These historic events, some forgotten, some distorted, still provide an important backdrop to current policy discourse as is discussed in the next chapter, but they also show how discourse and perceived power (e.g., the power of the Prime Minister) alone is not sufficient to explain policy choices. It only appears as if they do when we only focus on paths taken and the critical juncture at which a path was chosen, forgetting the complex nature of history as "facts" are constructed. For example, by taking for granted that "the great debate in education" started in 1976 (Callaghan's

¹²¹ E.g. Minister for Schools Nick Gibb's speech to the Association of School and College Leaders in 2016 (see https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/26176/1/The%20importance%20of%20the%20curriculum%20-%20Speeches%20-%20GOV_UK.pdf accessed 22.07.2020) where Callaghan is mentioned selectively and the great debate hardly at all. Or head teacher Julian Grenier claiming "secret garden" was said in the speech, a phrase the transcripts I have found do not include. (See <http://juliangrenier.blogspot.com/p/what-is-secret-garden.html> accessed 22.07.2020)

¹²² A transcript of the speech is available here:

<http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/speeches/1976ruskin.html> (accessed 28.01.2021)

¹²³ See <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/dec/13/ruskin-speech-education-jim-callaghan-reforms> (accessed 22.07.2020) for an interesting view on the speech by journalist Fiona Millar.

Ruskin speech) rather than 1969 (first Black paper) or 1960 (first public talk of a secret garden of the curriculum). Alternatively, thinking of the “knowledge economy” as beginning with Tony Blair in 1997 neglects the work of the OECD from 1961 onwards, and the discourse of Callaghan in 1976. History and complexity matters, however, based on my reading many in England, including academics, seem to forget this as actors engage in political discourse, at times in the wrong fora (e.g., academic journal articles), or neglect to look at what came before the period they are interested in analysing. Both are epistemic faults.

In terms of good comprehensive historical lines focused on policy discourse, John Furlong constructed an interesting periodization table of events between 1976 and 2001. He looked at the contexts of influence on policy debates, text production, and influence on practice based on a framework by Bowe & Ball (1992). The framework centres on the different contexts of policy as presented in Chapter 3, section 3.2, where, as mentioned in Chapter 3, Furlong breaks down the context of practice in ITE/ITT into three sub-contexts, pathways, content, and links to school. What is interesting to note from his analysis as can be seen in table 5.4.1, is how academic courses were largely insulated from practice prior to the 1980s, and perhaps also from work and labour “needs” to an extent then justifying the concerns of Callaghan discussed above. Moreover, such periodization helps with understanding how discourse may drive change over time but is not “pure” in its impact on policy texts that again are further translated as they move to the context of practice. Such insights become apparent once policy is broken down to constituent parts and is not reduced to only mean “national level discourse” or legal texts. This thesis draws on this periodization approach in Chapter 9, verifies it as far as possible, expands and updates it through the analytical lens of this research, and constructs a similar overview of policy discourse in France.

A further complication in the English context in regards to teacher education policymaking and policy discourse has been argued to be the aversion amongst most unions to deal with issues of “education” and “professionalization” if that comes at the expense of industrial concerns such as pay or work conditions (Carter, Stevenson, and Passy 2010). Thus, the teachers lack what can be considered an *important normative voice* on teacher education issues, and enabling government to prescribe the professionalization aspects as unions limit their call at more opportunity for CPD rather than advocating what CPD should contain (ibid). Beyond only focusing on the power of policymakers or the work of present voices in debates, we must also analyse the absent voices in the debate and how their absence influences the normative dimension of an organizational field.

Table 5.4.1 Periodization of discourse and policy in Teacher Education in England 1976-2001

	The context of influence Key policy debates	The context of text production Key policy texts	The context of practice Influence on (i) Pathways	(ii) Content	(iii) links to school
Pre 1976 Key theme: the professional teacher as "scholar"	The search for degree worthiness	University regulations define "degree worthiness"; teacher educators are autonomous experts	B.Ed. as conventional academic degree established	Academically led	Academic courses largely insulated from practice
1976-84 Key theme: Fragmentation and autonomy	Little centrally directed policy debate; among teacher educators, growing dissatisfaction with academic model	Few national policy texts; educators remain autonomous experts	HE-provided courses continue but some limited experimentation with "school-based" models	General trend to "relevance" but great diversity of content	Still largely insulated from practice but some experimentation; CNAAGave some lead to "professional relevance"
1984-92 Key theme: professional teacher as "expert"	Emerging New Right critique; ITET criticised as too academic and unresponsive to changing world of schools – marketization, national curriculum; challenge of teacher shortage	Circulars 3/84 and 24/89. Establishment of CATE to "manage" HE; Articled and Licenced Teacher schemes introduced	Conventional courses develop new strategies for "integration"; new routes developed for new populations; new models (Articled and Licenced Teacher schemes) emphasising school experience	Relevant degree subjects defined; time in school defined; hours on English and maths defined; content broadly defined.	Recent and relevant experience for tutors established; increasing time in school; curriculum much more school-focused but left to HE to define how that was interpreted; Emergence of reflective practice as key concept for linking theory and practice
1992-7 Key theme: the professional teacher as competent practitioner	Mounting neo-conservative critique argues for more focus on subject teaching and end to "trendy left-wing ideology"; continued concern over "low quality" and variability in the system	TTA bureaucrats take control; utilise OFSTED inspection framework linked to "quality" ratings as mechanism of controlling the system	HE-provided courses develop "partnerships" of different sorts, mainly still HE-led; new routes (SCITT and OU) developed to challenge control of HE	Competences introduced but combined with "reflection" by HE; inspection framework increases pressure on content; pedagogy as key area of autonomy for HE	Student time in schools increased; funding to schools, financially destabilises HE; "mentoring" and competences emerge as key aspects of school practice; inspection framework progressively imposed on schools too
1997-2001 Key theme: the new professionalism?	Government-led demand for modern labour force – flexible, with collective rather than individual values, responsive to changing national policy priorities	Strengthening of control through publication of "league tables", some institutions close. New documents on content – "standards" and National Curriculum; Green Paper 1998	Conventional courses continue to be strictly "policed" through OFSTED	More elaborate "standards and National curriculum in English, maths, sciences and ICT introduced	Schools must contribute to training in relation to "standards" and National Curriculum

Source: Furlong 2001 pp. 120-121

In England, the place of inspections must also be addressed. The national school inspectorate, the above-mentioned HMI was founded in December 1839 to oversee the fledgling state-funding of schools (Maclure 1986). Their role became one of advising both the state and schools, as well as overseeing some standards on how public funds were used. By the 1980s and the great debate in education discussed above, the role of HMI became transformed through a dual process of a) more focus on quantitative research and transparency of advice given to schools and government, and b) an increasing role of oversight in line with the new emphasis on accountability in education (Smith 2010). This culminated in the re-branding of HMI to "The Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills" (OFSTED) in 1992. From then on OFSTED were heavily present within teacher education policy, as overseers of teacher education provision and ensurers of quality, as we can see from Furlong's table above.

5.4.2 Teacher education provision in England: Qualified Teacher Status as regulative control lever

Entwined with, and at the heart of, the political discourse on education from the 1980s onwards was teacher education, which quickly became seen as a way to influence what goes on in education through capturing the hearts and minds of the teacher (Furlong 2001).

At first, in the 1800s, teacher education was structured through religious societies such as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) founded by members of the Church of England, who recognised that teaching was a skilled craft and thus that teachers ought to be trained (Dent 1977). It is argued that over the course of the 19th century, teacher education became increasingly systematized, as residential and day-training colleges were created. However, these were only partially state funded and often required private funds to expand capacity, ensuring a differentiated growth and application of training regimes (Dent 1977). State responsibility was first codified in the Education Act of 1902¹²⁴ following debates begun near the end of the 19th century, where local education authorities were granted the power to supply training colleges for teachers, but this was not a requirement, nor did it come with a uniform plan of implementation (Dent 1977, Maclure 1986). By 1925, a divide was emerging between universities who were to train their (secondary) teachers for four years, while the local provisions and colleges who mainly educated primary teachers were recommended to only keep their teachers in professional training for two years (Maclure 1986). Meanwhile, there were efforts to unify ITE/ITT through joint examination boards across provision type, and normative encouragements for cooperation between provider types. The divisions and fragmentations that could be observed were just as much social as educational according to Maclure (1986), in line with general developments in English education that has historically been class based (Williams 1961). Thus, from its origin the ITE/ITT system of England has been largely fragmented, segregated, and segmented. Even today, as we shall see, we may talk of these concepts as prevailing in both ITE/ITT and CPD.

From a fragmented background of diverse provision rooted in the autonomy of local authorities, teachers' colleges, and universities, the first "modern" centrally (government) controlled certificate required to teach in England, the Qualified Teacher Status (QTS), came in 1984 and was to encompass and unify the teaching profession according to the DfE (DfE 1983, 1984). The QTS is today, as then, the only formal requirement to teach in maintained schools (Carter 2015) and is arguably the only harmonising force in teacher education in England.

¹²⁴ See Robinson 2002 for an interesting histography of how the 1902 education act has been perceived by education historians. See also <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Education-Act-United-Kingdom-1902> (accessed 12.02.2021) in relation to debates relating to the act.

It should be noted that the QTS has not been required for people who teach in “academy schools” since reforms introduced by the coalition government (2010-15) put an emphasis on this new form of “outcome focused” supervision of schools (Baxter and Floyd 2019). These academies, a new kind of school governance circumventing Local Education Authorities through semi-autonomous schools directly responsible to the DfE through OFSTED inspections of quality, constitute at present more than half of schools in England. They were introduced in 2002 as “sponsored academies” and existed as one minor form of alternative provision until new policies following 2010 put an increased emphasis on academy chains as a part of privatization of education. Over time, there has been an increasing emphasis on large Multi-Academy Trusts (MAT)s where multiple academies are joined within the same governing structure, such as ARK or Harris (Juneman and Ball 2013, Mathou, Sarazin, and Dumay 2020). According to the British Educational Suppliers Association there are currently 1,170 Multi Academy Trusts in England that manage at least two schools. 29 MATs have 26 or more schools, 85 have between 12-25 schools and 259 have 6-11 schools. The majority of MATs – 598 – have five or fewer schools.¹²⁵ Interestingly, it appears as if the academies still believe the QTS is very important, and that degrees and certificates matter for teachers who need to be educated in how to teach (Mathou, Sarazin, and Dumay 2020).

The QTS was at its inception associated with the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE). CATE set out criteria that ITE/ITT providers had to meet if they were to be granted the right to award the QTS (Childs and Menter 2013). As we shall see in Chapter 6 where we delve deeper into the transformations wrought by CATE on the organizational field, central to CATE and its successors was their limited scope to *recommend*, not determine, who were to be granted the right to award the QTS. Meanwhile, certified providers only recommend who should be granted QTS, final authority on both who could conduct QTS awarding ITE/ITT and whether or not a trainee was to be granted the QTS rested, legally, with the Secretary of State for Education, the cabinet minister in charge of the DfE.

Moreover, CATE, together with the QTS and HMI (then later OFSTED) inspections has been argued to have had a lasting and profound effect on teacher education and teacher education policymaking since (Childs and Menter 2013, Whitty 2014, Quirk-Marku and Hulme 2017). The introduction of CATE in 1984, which assessed ITE/ITT courses against national requirements, was the first advisory council of its kind in England and began a trajectory of increasing centralized oversight first through competences, then standards (Whitty 2014).

CATE was to be comprised mainly by teachers and educationalists and was first headed by a teacher educator with a university background, and was seen by some to have a soft touch (Childs

¹²⁵ Source: <https://www.besa.org.uk/key-uk-education-statistics/> (accessed 12.04.2021)

and Menter 2013). However, as remarked by Barton & colleagues (1993), CATE initially refused to approve several courses before relenting in 1985 due to pressure from the sector and approved all courses the following year with limited explanation as to why. The creation of CATE and the certification of teachers that came with it, it has been argued, was rooted in a general dislike of the lack of oversight over education (including teacher education) that has developed over time, indications of poor performance in SIMS and TIMSS, and the election of the conservative Margaret Thatcher in 1979 (Furlong 2001). However, the emphasis on control when CATE was first established, it is argued, goes beyond a desire for accountability for its own sake, but also to facilitate reforms following the neo-liberal ideology of the Thatcher government (Barton, Pollard, and Whitty 1993).

Furthermore, CATE was reconstituted into the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) in 1994 (1994 Education Act) with the expanded purview of *determining* the number of training places a provider (e.g., university) was to have.¹²⁶ The shift saw the organization go from being a “council” into being an “agency”. However, the hierarchy remained clear with the Secretary of State as the entity responsible for awarding the QTS, while the TTA was to advise the Secretary of State. The TTA may be an agency at arm’s length, but it was still in a direct hierarchical line to the Secretary of State for Education (Childs & Menter 2013). The TTA was seen as a success by the incoming Labour government in 1997 who retained it and its head of office (Ball 2008). A reform of the TTA came in 2005, with a re-branding as the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) to add emphasis on “life-long learning” and reflect changing government views on education and the importance of CPD (Beck 2009, Childs and Menter 2013).

A further shift is argued by MacBeath (2012) to have emerged in 1998 with the national curriculum in ITE/ITT and an emphasis on Quangos (Quasi-autonomous government organisations) such as the TTA as determinants rather than producer interests. However, such a narrative is somewhat countered by accounts that emphasise the TTA's predecessor CATE as seen above, the sequence of events does not support a Quango shift as taking place in 1998. Moreover, the TTA was established in 1994 (four years prior to the reported 1998 shift in direction and new emphasis on Quangos) under a Conservative government, and the national curriculum in 1998 under Labour, whilst the TTA was a continuation of CATE in most aspects. Thus, any form of Quango focus in ITE/ITT should be put to 1984 and the creation of CATE more so than any “new Labour” policy shift in 1998.

¹²⁶ The 1994 Education Act is available here: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1994/30/data.pdf> (accessed 01.02.2021)

5.4.3 Multiple types of provision: Pendulum swing between higher education and schooling

Historical research on teacher education provision has focused on what has been conceptualized as a pendulum swing between higher education and schooling (Dent 1977). Building on that analogy, Jean Murray & Trevor Mutton (2016) argue the pendulum has swung away from higher education since 1984, towards schools through government interventions. They note shifts and changes to the higher education sector and its increased heterogeneity since 1984, but also that schools and government had become closely linked and had taken over much of what was previously the domain of academia in teacher education provision and content creation, echoing concerns raised by others such as John Furlong (2013). This swing can be said to relate to the comparable concept of “turn to the practical” (Childs and Menter 2013, Quirk-Marku and Hulme 2017). However, the pendulum swing has more temporal explanatory powers as it denotes and explains shifts, whereas the turn to the practical denotes and explains a singular event, or events as the term has been used both about 1984 and 2010.

ITE/ITT in England had its first major swing/turn towards the practical in 1983/4 with the White Paper “Teaching Quality” (DES 1983) and the subsequent implementation of it in Circular 3/84 (DES 1984) that required that all ITE/ITT educators had recent and relevant teaching experience. The circular led amongst other things to the development of the Renewal Of School Experience (ROSE) program where higher education based lecturers were to return to the classroom one day a week if they had not had “practical” teaching experience for the past five years (Furlong 2001, Childs and Menter 2013). A second swing to the practical is the introduction of a “school-led system” in 2010 (Whitty 2014).

The concept of a school led system was first presented in the 2010 white paper “the Importance of Teaching” (DfE 2010), expanded upon in 2011, and implemented in 2013. The main components of the school led system was “School direct”, a new policy from September 2013 onwards that centres on attributing ITE/ITT places directly to schools, and the expansion of SCITTs. School direct is led by a “lead school” who ensures DfE criteria are met, and coordinate with other schools and the ITE/ITT provider(s) they are partnered with. The purpose was ostensibly to enable schools to take control over the recruitment and training of their teachers, in a “school-led” system¹²⁷ where a school “shops” for training from providers such as SCITTs or universities. A SCITT is a school or chain of schools, usually a part of a MAT, who educate teachers in a one-year post-graduate scheme. They do so either in partnership with a university and can then award a Post-

¹²⁷ See <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-school-led-teacher-training-programme-announced#:~:text=Starting%20in%20September%202013%2C%20around,been%20in%20place%20since%201998>. (accessed 05.11.2020) and <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/school-direct-guidance-for-lead-schools> (accessed 05.11.2020)

Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) and the QTS, or without a university partnership in which case they can only award the QTS. In both cases, the graduated teacher is allowed to teach in all maintained schools in England as only the QTS and not the PGCE is a requirement. The basis of the SCITT was created in 1992, the same year polytechnics were upgraded into universities, but they were relatively few in number until the early 2010s (Whitty 2014). According to Whiting and colleagues (2018), recent trends have seen an increasing number of teachers being educated/trained in SCITTs, rather than in universities, or through school-direct initiatives.

Murray & Mutton (2016) also raise concerns over recommendations in the recent Carter review (Carter 2015) to stress how only the QTS and not a PGCE or Bachelor in Education (B.Ed.) is required to teach in England, as well as lamenting perceived issues in relation to School Direct and the potential drop out of universities from ITE/ITT as the pendulum has swung too far towards schooling. In these accounts however, it is important to note that the researchers are in essence analysing themselves, as they are stakeholders in teacher education policymaking through their work as teacher educators.

The picture becomes more nuanced once we undertake an in-depth descriptive (rather than normative) look at developments between 1984 and today. Universities were said to have a form of dominance by the 1980s (Furlong 2001), as from the 1970s onwards, teachers' colleges became gradually absorbed by larger higher education institutions (HEIs), that were later upgraded into full universities in 1992, with teaching becoming an "all graduate" profession over time.¹²⁸ Discussions over the place of the practical has however not dissipated nor changed much in form over time, still taking a central place in current discourse on teacher education and what it should contain (Whitty 2014, Adamson 2017, Quirk-Marku and Hulme 2017). In a short-lived turn to the universities, Labour in 2009 introduced a Master's program in Teaching and Learning (MTL) in a drive to make teaching a master's profession, which was subsequently de-funded by the incoming Conservative government following the 2010 elections (Chung, Atkin, and Moore 2012, MacBeath 2012). However, some of these programs continued to exist through internal university funding. A central takeaway here is the importance of funding, and of government initiatives to construct new forms of university-based teacher education.

Meanwhile, the year 1992 also saw the introduction of formal requirements for university-school partnerships in ITE/ITT, and the opening of new routes to obtaining QTS (Whitty 2014). Most ITE/ITT in England today is delivered in partnership between universities and schools, both if the route is university led or if it is school led (MacBeath 2012). It has also been argued that the

¹²⁸ The decision to move towards an "all graduate" profession came in 1979, by 1983 as mentioned roughly 1/3 were graduates according to the DfE (DfE 1983; DfE 1984). At present, all teachers who hold the QTS are graduates, with an increasing number holding post-graduate degrees as well.

partnerships are “skewed” in favour of schools rather than universities, particularly in the one-year Post-Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) route and less so in the four year B.Ed. (Brisard 2002). What is often overlooked in the literature on teacher education in England, is any effect caused by the 1992 “upgrades” of polytechnic colleges into full universities, a form of universitisation and academic drift, which can be argued to have opened up space for later developments of alternative types (non-university based) of ITE/ITT and CPD provision. The upgrades created a diverge field of separation between what became the Russell group of high performing (and old) universities, so called plate-glass universities (distinct from the old red-brick universities) created in the 1960s in the first round of “upgrades”, and the post-92 universities of former polytechs (Furlong 2013, Helgetun and Dumay 2021). Meanwhile, many of the post-92 universities had a strong presence of large teacher education departments (tracing their lineage back to teachers’ colleges), whilst many of their staff were, and are, on lecturer-only contracts, and did not conduct research (Furlong 2013, Zapp, Marques, and Powell 2018). This then constitutes a truly heterogeneous “system” of higher education with limited codification. In addition, it is important to bear in mind that education departments hold a poor reputation within *some universities* and are seen as “cash cows” (who trains teachers for a lesser cost than the tuition fees bring in) rather than scientific institutions in their own right (Furlong 2013). As such, the changes to partnership requirements in 1992 also take on different characteristics once understood in light of the dramatic changes to the higher education organizational field wrought by the “upgrades”.

Interestingly, according to the 2020 “Initial teacher training (ITT): criteria and supporting advice” published by the DfE, the required time spent in schools is higher in the B.Ed. (160 days) than the PGCE (120 days), however the B.Ed. is four times as long as the PGCE (4 years as compared to 1). This then becomes a conceptual issue, relating to whether or not the three-year undergraduate degree “counts” as university emphasis in ITE/ITT when doing the PGCE. This is a central issue of how ITE/ITT is conceptualized in England, which differs significantly from the old conceptualisation of secondary teacher’s required competences in France as discussed above.

It should also be noted that although the B.Ed. and PGCE are the “standard” forms of university ITE/ITT they are not the only ones, universities run a range of different courses that award the QTS, structured around the 4-year integrated or 1 year post-graduate model, but with different names, for simplicity, here we employ the B.Ed. and PGCE denominations. This approach is justified through the official position of the University Council for the Education of Teachers (UCET), the National Association for School Based Teacher Trainers (NASBTT), the Chartered College of Teaching, and the Teaching Schools Council is that there are only three routes: Undergraduate, post-graduate, and employment based (School Direct or SCITT with pay, relevant for shortage subjects or shortage areas). This holds as a form of “meta category” of entry routes, but there are natural differences and

nuances underneath these umbrellas, as where one obtains one's degree is often considered of some importance (Mathou, Sarazin, and Dumay 2020).

CPD has also been a point of contention between universities and schools. Under Conservative Secretary of State for Education Kenneth Baker (1986-89) a five-day period per year was to be used for professional development, still often called "Baker days" today. However, universities felt marginalized by developments in education beginning in 1984 and found themselves in opposition to government policy on CPD as well, mainly lamenting lost opportunities for critical reflection on practices (Bates, Gough, and Stammers 1999, MacBeath 2012, Furlong 2013).

The turn towards the practical is, as we shall see in later chapters, still very relevant in ITE/ITT and CPD political discourse in England today. However, we may question if the changes in 1984 *also* relate to harmonization of ITE/ITT requirements and standards, with a loss of freedom for universities ongoing to this day, rather than a nation-wide change from theory to praxis oriented ITE/ITT. Indeed, one of the main points of tension in the teacher education and politico-administrative fields in both cases revolve around the place of, and tension between, the practical and academia, but with different conceptualisations and connotations of both "academia" and "the practical" seemingly present within their respective cultural spheres and institutionalized environments.

Meanwhile, one "academic" development of note in recent times is the rise of "Teach First".¹²⁹ Teach First is inspired by, but not directly modelled on Teach for America (Whiting et al. 2018) and was first introduced in 2002. The program is located within the university sector, but not necessarily in teacher education departments, and thus constitutes a separate part of academia to the B.Ed. and PGCE routes discussed above. It is also a two-year program in "leadership" where graduates are imagined to spend a few years teaching in underprivileged areas before moving on to other positions either in the education system or in non-education related enterprise. It is a small provider in terms of absolute numbers, and its value for money has been questioned by NAO (2017). Teach First teachers, alongside teachers from major MATs and their SCITTs, have been argued to be on the precipice of constituting a form of "branded professionalism", where one is an ARK, Harris, or Teach First teacher, rather than a general teacher (Whitty 2014).

To summarise what is seemingly important to note given the research findings presented in this sub-section, is that the provision of ITE/ITT in England has not been stable historically, nor has it ever been dominated by one type of provision for any length of time. Parallel systems have developed and been integrated, only to diverge again later on. Therefore, this thesis argues that an important oversight would be to fail to separate between "university" and "higher education"

¹²⁹ See <https://www.teachfirst.org.uk/> (accessed 10.04.2021)

institution, as there is a historical difference between a teacher training college, polytechnics, religious institutions, LEA maintained provisions, and research universities who all have at different intervals undertaken teacher education (initial and continued). Through a separation of universities and tertiary education, the dynamics between a SCITT and a university provider also arguably changes. Moreover, the first “unifying” force was the government through creating the QTS in 1984, with CATE the first oversight body tasked with ensuring accountability of ITE/ITT. Hence, the picture is perhaps much more complex than a pendulum undergoing one swing from higher education to schools.

5.5 Concluding remarks of the chapter

The analysis presented in this chapter showed how the socio-historical developments in England and France have constructed institutionalized environments in both education and policymaking (public governance), where what is thought possible, as well as how something should and ought to be done, is structured by ingrained practices and beliefs rooted in historically constructed legitimacies that are open to contestation but within fixed frameworks determined by the environment.

Central to this institutionalized environment at a first glance is how the French educative state, because of the symbolism of *La République*, must show the semblance of a singular unitary entity with one education system and one teacher education. Moreover, it must all be done “in-house” within the state apparatus due to the rationalised myth of French state-meritocracy. England is a strong contrast to this system, lacking the state symbolism of *La République*, the English state is instead a gathering of institutions (e.g., the Monarch, Parliament, the courts, and government – but also universities and private enterprise), under a rationalised myth of individual liberties (if it is not illegal, it is legal), without an encapsulating state concept such as *La République* is in France. Therefore, the nature of an educative state is context dependent. In England it exists in a different taken for granted cultural-cognitive dimension compared to France, while both are constructed through a difference of paths that can be traced back to the 17th and 18th centuries and even further. England may have been different without the Magna Carta limiting the power of the central state (the King at the time), whilst France may have been different had Louis XIV not been able to proclaim himself the embodiment of the state through the now famous (although apocryphal) statement “*l’état, c’est moi*”.

To devise some testable propositions that are further explored in the rest of the thesis based on the information provided in this chapter, in regulative terms, in England, there is a strong link between the QTS and HMI/OFSTED inspections as control levers (coercive mechanism), the need for accountability in education and the role of expert teachers in teacher education (two distinct

cognitive blueprints), and the normative dimension of the environment. In France by contrast, the emphasis is on the state-system itself and it is believed, through a rationalisation and institutionalization process rooted in a national meritocratic myth, that it is capable of ensuring its own quality. It is also characterised by a strong intake control through the concours. The emphasis on meritocracy may also open France up for NPM inspired reforms, where “objective” data and performance measurements take centre stage. Moreover, France has a close relation between education and state that can be traced back to the first revolution, which is supported by a Jacobin logic of republicanism that further legitimizes state intervention.

In normative terms, where France is as noted at the start of the chapter rooted in the sacred duty of the state to educate through the myth of meritocracy rooted in the revolution, England is characterised by the claimed *right* of the state to educate, and to ensure the quality of teachers and their education. Meanwhile, the somewhat abstract and foggy fabric of state-education relations and how that likely structure policymaking in education, differs significantly between the two. The French republic has to educate and certify teachers; she cannot abdicate that duty and remain the meritocratic republic it imagines itself to be. England is a different case, characterised by historic freedoms in education and a systemless system.

In the cultural-cognitive dimension we see two contrasting cases where one is rooted in liberalism and the other in state universalism and republicanism, but with similar tensions rooted in disagreements over what education is and *can be*. As well as how one may best educate a teacher in a finite amount of time. How much time should be granted to researchers, expert teachers, and school placements within the confines of teacher education? This then becomes a central point of contention within the organizational field of teacher education and shows the presence of multiple institutionalized environments with their own norms, ideations, and beliefs as is further explored in the next chapter.

Regarding the historic trajectories and field composition, England has had an erratic relation between providers and the central state where the state has made limited inroads into constructing teacher administrative and normative behaviour. This has begun to change through successive attempts to govern at a distance and has progressively affected the organizational field since as is explored further in the next chapter. Meanwhile, France is characterised by state-centred traditional-bureaucratic administration but also a stable dual trajectory of two professions until 1989 where primary teachers’ education was state prescribed, the education of secondary teachers was only controlled through the concours. With the IUFM, we see a large shock to the system as both primary and secondary teacher education is shifted towards a unified system (however this remains a work in progress). As is explored in Chapter 7, this set up large changes to the teacher educative and politico-

administrative organizational fields and created new modes of contestation as the reforms begun then are still unfolding today.

Chapter 6: Organizational fields in England

"All the English trainees approved of the fact that, in their system, great importance was attached to the formative process of developing teaching competence, and that this process was continuously assessed throughout the course. They also welcomed the principle of a clear framework of assessment criteria, known by and worked to by all participants (although most felt that the Standards for QTS were unnecessarily detailed and prescriptive)."
(Foster 1999 p: 138)

As discussed in the previous chapter, provision of ITE/ITT and CPD in England has undergone much change between 1984 and 2020 rooted in a discourse that begun in the 1970s. As seen, an increasing emphasis on the school and state oversight over teacher education happened in that time-period. This chapter looks in-depth at these changes in relation to the impact it has on the teacher education and politico-administrative organizational fields in England, and how changes to the fields again impacts policymaking in a symbiotic relation thereby answering RQ 1 in regard to England. The chapter does so by looking at a wide range of actors, and the tools available to them, through an organizational field lens centred on the period 1976-2020. As such, the approach here is to see the field as something that can be, and is, perceived by its actors as real (see chapter 2 on perception as a social reality). The following chapter does the same for France. The separation of Chapters 6 and 7 into two is for reasons of clarity when presenting the organizational fields. The remaining chapters of this thesis take a more integrated approach to comparing the two case studies to further utilize the concept of contrasting comparison as presented in Chapter 4 than is done here.

The main argument of the chapter is that teacher education has been transformed from 1984 to today (2020) through coercion centred on DfE accreditation of teacher education providers, DfE certification of teachers, and inspection control levers coupled with a mimetic mechanism, furthering a central cognitive blueprint centred on division between academia and school practitioners. These processes are enabled through dual normative processes rooted in the perceived need for government oversight over public funds and public education (politico-administrative) and the (initial) legitimacy of (high performing) teachers and school leaders who staffed CATE-TTA-TDA. These entwined processes have also reconfigured power relations within the field and granted the central government a powerful position in ITE/ITT at the expense of local authorities and educationalists in academia. As such, there is presently a clear divide between insiders to the policymaking process, and actors who now find themselves on the outside of this process with limited entry points beyond contestation over "what works" as is picked up on in Chapters 8 and 9.

As a caveat, when addressing a shift from “academia” to government, one should pay heed to the remark of Marques & Powell (2020) that: *“Contrary to more established, prestigious academic fields such as law or, more recently, business studies, education has long struggled to bolster its legitimacy within the higher education system, especially in research universities and in English-speaking countries (see, e.g., Lagemann 2000). This challenge often resulted from the incorporation of teacher education into the university. Further, its variable traditions as a multidisciplinary field that focuses on the study of educational processes and practice via numerous, sometimes conflicting, disciplinary lenses make it more challenging to grasp holistically (Lawn and Furlong 2009; McCulloch 2017).”* (P.830). As such, education is not a stable nor integrated discipline within the university structures of the world. In England it is considered a discipline comprised historically of four other disciplines, but with increasingly blurred borders as it takes on its own form (Furlong 2013). Additionally, according to the 1998 BERA presidential address given by Pamela Lomax, there was a lack of constraint in disagreements regarding education and educational research, which does not appear to have disappeared. Therefore, a shift from “academia” always involves the necessity to define what part of academia it has shifted from. In this case, the shift is from teacher education departments in academia towards government, which is further compounded by the troubled place of teacher education departments within academia and the difficulty of precisely denoting what teacher education in academia in England is (e.g., in relation to university-SCITT partnerships, the heterogeneity in education departments between universities as noted by Furlong (2013) and so on).

In terms of layout of the chapter, section 6.1 shows how the English system of public governing functions in relation to teacher education between 1976 and 2020, who are the actors and what are their roles. It shows the limits of the DfE, and how it lacks both internal expertise and normative legitimacy. The next section then follows up on this by analyzing how the DfE was able to obtain a central position in teacher education through CATE-TTA-TDA (see section 5.4.2 in the previous chapter) and the legitimacy bestowed by these organizations. These two sections together present the relevant components of the politico-administrative field as they interact with the teacher education field in policymaking. The subsequent section (6.3) then looks at the teacher education providers as they have struggled to interact meaningfully with policymaking following new forms of governing introduced from 1984 onwards. Sub-section 6.3.2.2 contains a mini-case analysis of the MAT Absolute Return for Kids (ARK), rooted in interviews and document analysis, to better understand new dynamics that have arisen with the “school-led system” (see Chapter 5) in teacher education, particularly their desire to become a university with degree awarding powers. Section 6.4 concludes the chapter.

6.1 Historic developments and main actors at the educative-state level

To briefly recapitulate Chapter 5, only the government and Parliament operates, legally sanctioned in any case, within the prescriptive policy and law aspect of the regulative dimension forming a near monopoly of this part of the organizational field. However, by contrast to France as we shall see in the next chapter, the English state does not have full responsibility nor control over all forms of state education, and intervention is historically both unpopular and indirect through financial control levers pushing towards a model of steering at a distance in most aspects of public policy (Mény and Surel 2009), due to weak state legitimacy in the *normative dimension*.

Furthermore, although funding can theoretically come from other sources, English teacher education is by and large (at present) funded by the public (Government and Parliament) through direct funding or privately through student fees. However, the student fees are supported through government loans and regulated in terms of maximum amount by government (in 2019 it was set at £9 250 per year), whilst the number of students a provider can accept is also limited by government. Government also provides bursaries for students in shortage subjects to help improve recruitment, which can be supplemented by different public or private scholarships (especially for high achievers) that may or may not be tied to ITE/ITT.¹³⁰ As such, the state is the primary actor in the regulative dimension.

6.1.1 Relations between Parliament and Government in teacher education

In England, audits and oversight over the government are done by the National Audit Office (NAO)¹³¹ and is aimed at ensuring “value for (taxpayers) money”, who works for Parliament and report directly to MPs in relevant select committees. Thus, some parliamentary control can be said to exist over public policy as they interpret NAO reports and recommend actions to government to remedy concerns. Legally, should Parliament ever see the need, they may censure¹³² government and hold them to account by votes of no confidence, that may be rooted in NAO reports for additional weight. This may be used by the opposition as a political tool to trigger a debate rooted in the failure of government to perform. If the motion carries and government is censured, it would trigger a political crisis and likely lead to an election within 14 calendar days unless a new government is formed in that time. To my knowledge, no government has been censured over teacher education.

¹³⁰ Source: <https://getintoteaching.education.gov.uk/funding-my-teacher-training/bursaries-and-scholarships-for-teacher-training> (accessed 15.07.2020) - the site also contains an overview of subjects, where the three highest paid by government are “Chemistry, languages, maths or physics” at £26 000. The bursaries are “grade based” for eligibility and require a 2:2 as a minimum if attending directly from undergraduate, or for the applicant to hold a Master or PhD degree in the subject.

¹³¹ see <https://www.nao.org.uk/> (accessed 01.02.2021)

¹³² A censure triggers a vote of no confidence in a government. See <https://www.parliament.uk/site-information/glossary/censure-motion/> (accessed 10.04.2021)

Additionally, NAO may only attempt to measure “value for money” in light of how government has gone about meeting their own policy goals. They do not evaluate the effectiveness of policy or politics, but the implementation of it. Their recommendations relate then to method for achieving policy goals, not what policy ought to be. Hence, they may provide blueprints in the form of recommendations that relate to how a goal may be achieved but have no normative voice on what purpose teacher education policy should serve. This remains the main tool of Parliament to intervene in teacher education and reduces them to an actor present in the regulative and cultural-cognitive, but not in the normative, dimension.

Meanwhile, the analysis shows that documents (or paragraphs) presenting future policy which require Parliamentary approval (of funds, laws etc.) are systematically and over time worded differently from those dealing with what is labelled by the government as *non-ministerial departments*¹³³ such as OFSTED (inspections) or OFQUAL (quality in education) or the subsequent council/agencies CATE-TTA-TDA who oversaw the QTS. These non-ministerial departments are addressed in terms such as “instructed to” and “will”, while Parliament is recognized as sovereign (or independent from the government) through phrasings such as “pending Parliament approval” in line with a common law system. This also shows that the DfE arguably sees OFSTED, OFQUAL, CATE-TTA-TDA and other agencies, as sub-servient to them, and not independent bodies. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 5, in the common law system of England, a government may not interpret law, only the courts may do so, yielding to the right of Parliament to make law, of the courts to interpret law, such that government’s role is limited to executing law within its parameters.

Furthermore, most policy documents in England both implement and justify the central aspects of their political goals in the same documents. This is not only done in larger broad-picture or long-term papers commonly known as White papers, but is also present in circulars and instructive documents.¹³⁴ As such, the documents indicate a held belief by the DfE that policy must always be justified as it is presented (rather than a taken for granted legal right of the educative state to dictate in education), and indicates that they expect policies to be challenged after their publication, and gives policy documents a more political (rather than legal) characteristic. The policy documents’ formatting then separate the legislative from the executive sphere of state-administration.

¹³³ See <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/public-bodies-reform#:~:text=A%20non%2Dministerial%20department%20is,its%20own%20estimate%20and%20accounts>. (accessed 11.02.2021)

¹³⁴ Circulars were the policy documents issued to set out more exact instructions in education until 1998 when they were replaced by nameless instructive documents (see annex table 1.1 for the change in “naming” practices of policy documents). This included more than a change of name, as previous circulars were “numbered” (e.g. circular 3/84 which was the third circular of 1984) and indicated which circulars (past policies) they replaced, the new instructive documents are more loose in form and lack this reference to past decisions and instructions.

Additionally, the layout and content of the policy documents is also a first indicator of how the DfE operates without broad attempts to seek consensus before policy documents are published, something that may be more of a requirement when laws are formulated as well due to the official readings in both houses of Parliament. Therefore, there is a *de jure* role for Parliament that the interviews indicate is neglected within the organizational field, illustrating perhaps a *de facto* lack of parliamentary oversight in education, in turn illustrating a low presence in the regulative dimension despite of Parliament's law-making powers.

However, as mentioned in Chapter 5 ministers of the crown in England must, by law, be a Member of Parliament, either of the House of Commons or the House of Lords. Therefore, even though government is dominant over Parliament in matters of teacher education, Parliament is still represented *in government* – something which is not always the case in France. France has no such requirements, and ministers (of education at least) are usually not elected officials whilst serving as minister. For example, the current Minister for National Education, Jean-Michel Blanquer is a former recteur of Guyana and Créteil, an agrégée in public law with a background in academia who has also held multiple administrative posts in MEN (most importantly as DGESCO) throughout his career, and has not held elected office.¹³⁵ This is perhaps illustrative of the emphasis on representative democracy (parliament) in England and on a hybrid technocratic-representative model of meritocratic democracy in France.

6.1.2 The civil service: Role, function, and neutrality

In England, who is a “civil servant” and what function the civil service performs, is a complex question. In an idealised sense, civil servants pass civil service entrance exams and are “life” employees who move between departments applying their expertise neutrally and apolitically in politico-administrative affairs with equal ignorance of departmental affairs (e.g., education) to advise government on how to run the country.¹³⁶ However, reality is different. One interviewee, an academic who works as a by-contract (external) policy adviser (E16) pointed out:

“Within most departments you will have a political team, and in the department for education the 7th floor is the political team. But within that, you will have appointments that are political. Party political. And you will have civil service appointments and yet they are working as policy advisers for the ministers. So there is not a complete clear cut between am I working for ministers or am I not working for ministers. It's often quite opaque. So we talk to

¹³⁵ Source: <https://www.gouvernement.fr/ministre/jean-michel-blانquer> (accessed 09.07.2020)

¹³⁶ See <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/civil-service/about> (accessed 10.04.2021)

people who were formally civil servants but in practice they were doing the work for ministers.”

Meanwhile, according to another interviewee who works on influencing policy for ITE/ITT providers (E4), civil servants are seen as generalist who should be kept at some distance from practitioners:

“They have a policy across all government departments that they move civil servants on when they go native, they call it going native, so the point at which they understand things too well and start to sympathize with the sector, they deliberately move them on.”

It was argued that this emphasis on movement was a characteristic of the civil service as a whole and not just education, with civil servants often moving between departments (including all civil servants I interviewed). This may weaken the attachment of civil servants not only to education, but also to their institutional function. For example, as civil servants are used to being shifted around, should what once was an internal DfE function become externalized (privatized or put in a Quango) one may expect internal resistance to be lower due to a lack of professional attachment to education. According to E1, the movement also made contact with the DfE a source of frustration over time, as six months had to be spent just working out how to communicate effectively with a civil servant (i.e., construct a common language), and then the civil servant became re-assigned and the whole process had to start over.

Moreover, according to interviewees on the inside of the DfE, if civil servants in England do not get along with ministers, they have “to go”, meaning there is little neutrality in communicating information, but rather a highly politicised environment of *demanded loyalty* that is considered legitimate in the normative dimension of the politico-administrative field. For example, as noted by a senior civil servant (E7):

“you have to learn to work with your minister in a way and if you can't, you can't do your job. So you know basically...Once they've lost confidence in you, you can't really make anything happen and you sort of become unable really to function so you have to go, you have to move in some way.”

In addition, due to the above-mentioned frequent turnover of staff and a lack of internal expertise, it is also noted that ministers, the few who remain in place for a considerable duration of time, such as current minister for schools Nick Gibb, may know more than civil servants.

“Because of the turn-over in the department. Because of the reduction of numbers, you've got people that don't really understand the system to defend it and therefore they go see minister of state Nick Gibb who has a better knowledge of the system than most of the civil servants because he's been there for so long and has understood it. And if he disagreed or whatever

[pause] So, you've got yourself in a situation when you haven't got civil servants who've been there for 20 years who can say: "Well, actually this doesn't work, we've tried it"" (E9)

The work of civil servants, regarding transparency and neutral loyalty to the laws of the country is also complex. For example, one civil servant (E19) stated that they had to consider what could be written down in minutes and what information to be transparent and open about, to protect ministers and out of fear that complete transparency and adherence to the Freedom of Information Act would lead to a more "closed" environment without room for discussions between politicians and civil servants.¹³⁷

"I wouldn't also be too open with what kind of advice we give the ministers in those conversations with the ministers. They [the talks] have to be quite confidential as well. Because they [the ministers] need to feel like they can talk openly and freely and we're not going to go and tell everyone what they say." (E19)

The interviewee justified this further through referencing fear of things being "taken out of context." This is arguably a human sentiment, but also a professional ethos where the civil servant may feel obliged to protect their minister in line with the normative standards of the profession. Thus, there is a contradiction as norms (the professional behaviour of a loyal civil service) face regulations (the freedom of information act), implying a lack of legitimacy for the current law when contested by contradictory norms. That is, the normative dimension here has a higher causal effect on behaviour than the regulative dimension, which may indicate a low level of institutionalization of the current civil-service regulations.¹³⁸

Thus, to summarize and conclude the sub-section, the civil service in England can be seen as a professional group rooted in their own education, professional norms, beliefs, and expertise that is distinct from both education and teacher education as civil servants are predominantly generalists and not experts on a specific field or domain such as education. Meanwhile, civil servants move around a lot and are at the mercy of politicians in more ways than one, weakening their adherence to rationalised cognitive blueprints of "what works" if these blueprints are not also adopted by the political cadre. They are as such suspect to volatility (change), and to be led by the political cadre of the educative state. This volatility also reduces their ability to gain expertise in their field (e.g., education), and is said to be rooted in a fear of civil servants "going native" and feeling sympathetic for the sector. In other words, specific expertise on the domain a department is responsible for is not only absent, but also seen as contrary to good practice. This is something well known to the teacher

¹³⁷ The Freedom of Information Act, enacted in 2000, grants the rights of citizens of the UK to information held by public authorities, including departments and civil servants. See <https://www.gov.uk/make-a-freedom-of-information-request> (accessed 08.07.2020)

¹³⁸ These regulations can be seen in Annex 3.2.

education field and lowers the esteem civil servants are held in by teacher educators who reportedly find them lacking in knowledge (and ability to communicate), and has been the case for the entire period under analysis.

6.1.3 The Department for Education

In terms of internal workings, the Department for Education (in 1976 known as the Department for Education and Science, I consequently use DfE for the sake of simplicity in this thesis except where distinction matters) has a Secretary of State for Education as head of the department, with several junior ministers working for him/her. The number and areas of responsibility of junior ministers change with time, currently (2020) comprising a minister of state for universities and one for school standards. These are supplemented by three parliament undersecretaries, one for children and families, one for apprenticeships and skills, and one for the school system. The latter of these is a member of the House of Lords (Baroness Berridge), whilst the rest are members of the House of Commons. According to interviewees, web-site analysis, and policy document references, these are helped by multiple “policy units” that are established for different working areas such as teacher education or school performance, usually comprised of civil servants and “external advisers”. According to some of the interviews conducted (E1; E3; E4; E6; E7; E11; E14; E18; E19), there is much friction between different groupings as different government ministers, MPs, party members, and politicians’ aides (e.g., policy unit advisers) struggle for influence. This was observed both by interviewees on the inside of the state (civil servants), and those on the outside (e.g., external advisers or teacher educators in dialogue with the DfE). Meanwhile, authority rests with elected officials, and relevant experience is often not crucial for obtaining a position of power or influence according to all interviewees.

Moreover, as far as I can tell (and with keeping in mind that absence of evidence is not evidence of absence), only three Secretaries of State for Education since 1981 had a background of some sort in education. Gillian Shephard (1994-1997) and Estelle Morris (2001-2002) were former schoolteachers, and David Blunkett (1997-2001) had a postgraduate degree in education.¹³⁹ At the same time, no prime minister has had a background in education.¹⁴⁰ This implies a weak connection to teachers’ norms over time within the political echelon of both the DfE and the Prime Minister’s office, arguably compounded by the lack of educational expertise in the civil service as discussed above.

¹³⁹ I am unsure how long Blunkett actually worked as a teacher before entering politics full-time.

¹⁴⁰ Some, such as Gordon Brown, have been university lecturers which falls under tertiary education – however, none have had a background from schools or the academic discipline of education.

In terms of numbers, the DfE is relatively small compared to other departments according to data compiled by the Institute for Government,¹⁴¹ having just shy of 10 000 people under direct line management of the Secretary of State for Education. This is well below the number of employees at the Ministry of Justice (slightly above 70 000) or Department for Work and Pensions (slightly below 70 000) for example. In a historic light these figures are much larger for the DfE than they used to be, as one interviewee (E3) noted

“In my day, it was only 2,000 people.”

He worked as a civil servant at the DfE until 1996, then at the TTA until 2000, and now liaisons between university-based teacher educators and the DfE. The statement from E3 and the current numbers from the Institute for Government above show both that the DfE was historically not highly staffed, but also that there has been an increase in civil servants working directly for the department in recent years. For comparison, as we shall see in the next chapter, because they line manage teachers, MEN is directly responsible for over 1 million employees.

Moreover, the mentioned former civil servant (E3) remarked on how the DfE operates in relation to the small staff numbers:

“A lot of it is done through local education authorities of schools. The Department didn’t do anything directly, it didn’t run anything, whereas the National Health Service does run hospitals.”

This is indicative of a “weak” department as the DfE has historically overseen education, regulated and funded it, but not run it directly the way the NHS runs hospitals, meaning the relative low number of staff relates to the DfE as an overseer in education rather than a direct administrator. This may not only open up for NPM type reforms of steering at a distance but make it a necessity.

6.2 Policy tools: Control levers and reconfigurations of normative legitimacy

As discussed in Chapter 5 (section 5.4.1), education was, in the eyes of policymakers, considered the domain of educationalists until James Callaghan’s 1976 speech at Ruskin College. The main tensions then, as now, seem to revolve around the rights of academia versus the obligation of the state (to oversee taxpayer’s funds and hold education to account), the role of schools in teacher education, and the purpose of education regarding a general (cultural) focus (e.g. educating citizens) or an economic (industry) focus (e.g. “knowledge economy”).

Meanwhile, as explored by Furlong (2001), the discourse of government officials and politicians, such as Callaghan, was also not enough to trickle down and alter practices in teacher

¹⁴¹ Source: <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/civil-service-staff-numbers> (accessed 07.07.2020)

education. Ways often have to be found to circumvent normative resistance and construct a new system (which included new actors) to alter an organizational field such as teacher education and make it accountable. That “something more” in England became accreditation and certification coupled with inspections as central control levers. Through this approach, the policy-as-discourse became pushed through policy-as-text, where strict regulative measures were legitimised through cognitive-blueprints such as the “Black Papers”, the OECD’s emphasis on the link between education and economy, and NPM administrative ideals as discussed in the previous chapter. In this section, the transformative power of imposed (regulative) control levers on normative legitimacy in teacher education is explored, as policies focused on accreditation, certification, and inspection became carriers of new beliefs and helped shift the under-current centred on the importance of practical experience in ITE/ITT to become the dominant-current. In other words, there was a “turn to the practical” or a pendulum swing from academia towards the schools. In addition, the section also explores the *related* shifts in voice that came with the changes to the field constellation.

6.2.2 Evolution of CATE and the impact of the actor on the organizational field: New actors, new control levers 1984-2012

Central to the evolution and composition of the teacher education organizational field in England was the establishment of CATE in 1984 (see Chapter 5). With it came a new actor, who was to report directly to the Secretary of State for Education, and be staffed by expert teachers, providing a new tool for the DfE that had some normative legitimacy through the presence of (high performing) teachers.

Historically, as discussed in the previous chapter, university-based educationalists were considered by society, to some extent, the moral governors of education together with the classroom teacher who was still left to his own devices. According to one interviewee (E17) active as a teacher and later researcher in the 70s, this was not seen as ideal for the teachers who often desired more structured support and guidance.

The *laissez-faire* approach changed to some extent with circular 3/84 and CATE, which provided a new moral authority on “good” practices in teacher education as an alternative to academia, and report directly to the Secretary of State for Education (DES 1983, DES 1984). In a blow to the existing normative practices of academic educationalists, circular 3/84 contained a requirement of recent classroom experience for “ITT” lecturers, which resulted in a program of “retraining” for academics, where they were sent back to school under ROSE. This was a controversial approach, that implied the expertise of many academics was not sufficient as they had been outside of the classroom for too long.

Coupled with an emphasis on classroom experience for lecturers, the circular introduced a prescribed “time-spent in schools” for trainees (set at no less than 15 weeks for post-graduates in a one-year route). This ushered in the increasing focus on school-based practice as part as ITE in England. The emphasis on school-based practice has since become even more pronounced as university based PGCE students (the main route of teacher education (NAO 2016)) today are required to spend roughly 2/3rds of their time (24 weeks) in schools (DfE 2017).

Related to CATE and the QTS, we may infer the development of a normative trajectory related to “what a teacher is” and who ought to determine it. In the white paper “Teaching Quality” (DES 1983) government began a drive for more homogeneity within the profession coupled with government control over it, which was further operationalised in circular 3/84 which introduced both CATE and the QTS.

“it is for the Secretary of State for Education and Science, in accordance with the Education (Teachers) Regulations and in consultation with the Secretary of State for Wales as appropriate, to say whether the course is suitable for the professional preparation of teachers and hence the conferment of qualified teacher status.” (DES 1984 p18).

Meanwhile, CATE was to advise the DfE in determining who would be certified providers of ITE/ITT. Certified providers could then recommend who could be certified with the QTS. Only the DfE¹⁴² could award the QTS – not the provider nor CATE. Furthermore, CATE was to be comprised of:

“practicing school teachers, teacher trainers and elected members and officers of local education authorities, with the aim of giving the Secretaries of State the benefit of the advice of experienced professionals with a broad knowledge of the best practice in teacher education.” (DES 1984 p.19)

Power over the teaching profession was to be the prerogative of the DfE who were to be advised by a council of education experts (picked by the DfE) in CATE, thereby linking the politico-administrative field to the (teacher) education field. This also transformed legitimacy considerations by providing “expert” authority behind government decisions in the form of referencing to advice given by CATE, who were a more legitimate voice in education than the DfE due to being staffed by educationalists and not civil servants.

In addition to obtaining control over who could be a teacher with the creation of CATE and the QTS, the circular also made the QTS distinct from any academic degree (e.g., B.Ed. and PGCE) through the phrase:

¹⁴² The DfE was called the Department of Education and Science (DES) in 1984, I use DfE for all iterations of the current Department for Education and its predecessors unless otherwise specified for clarity reasons. To my knowledge, both education and higher education (including universities) has always been under the purview of the DfE – Science on the other hand has moved around between departments at different points in time, without impact on teacher education as far as I can tell.

"the approval by the Secretaries of State of initial teacher training courses is distinct from the validation of courses for academic purposes." (DES 1984 p18).

The line was echoed in the subsequent Circular 24/89, with an increased emphasis on the "professional" standards of the teacher being the province of the reconstituted CATE and the Secretary of State for Education, and not academia. As such, standards were to be centrally prescribed and not developed organically by the profession.

"the accreditation of ITT courses is separate from their academic validation. Accreditation is concerned with the suitability of courses as a professional preparation for teachers." (DES 1989b p.1)

This meant that the universities' prerogative to grant academic degrees was kept intact and explains for example why SCITTs today cannot grant the PGCE without a partnership with a university. However, it also meant that academic degrees had no bearing on who could be a teacher. Only the state-administered "professional" certification, the QTS, determines who is a certified teacher to this day. Therefore, academic degrees do not form the basis of ITE/ITT nor are they a necessity for a teacher being awarded the QTS, they are an added component to university based ITE/ITT or ITE/ITT given in partnership between a SCITT and a university.

Meanwhile, even though such extremely classroom-focused means as ROSE ended in the 1990s,¹⁴³ the emphasis on the importance of involving schools in teacher education are also restated in the current (2021) ITT requirements that were published in 2017:

"Provision that is not school-led must assure the significant role of schools in recruiting, selecting, training and assessing trainee teachers." ((DfE 2017)p23).

This also constitutes a shift from classroom experience (the classroom teacher) to school leadership participation in designing ITE/ITT and evaluating trainee teachers with implications for who is seen as the dominant voice in questions of ITE/ITT as it moves from the teacher towards the school leadership.

The regulations and criteria evolved, through a national curriculum in effect between 1998 and 2002, into what is now known as teacher's standards to which teachers are to be educated/trained and are expected to meet throughout their career. The national curriculum, which was introduced in circular 4/98 was comprehensive (140 pages long) and set out the:

*"standard of knowledge, understanding and skills **all** trainees must demonstrate in order successfully to complete a course of initial teacher training and be eligible for Qualified Teacher Status"* (DfEE 1998) p.1) (original emphasis on **all**).

¹⁴³ Due to a lack of data, I have been unable to establish the exact date ROSE ended. As far as I can tell it was after 1992 and before 1998.

The curriculum was replaced a document published by CATE's successor, the TTA (not DfE) called "Qualifying to teach: Professional Standards for Qualified Teacher Status and Requirements for Initial Teacher Training" in 2002, which contained a similar phrasing on the QTS to that used in 1998 by the DfE:

"The Standards apply to all trainee teachers, whatever route they take to Qualified Teacher Status. They allow providers autonomy in deciding how they will organise their training and respond to individual trainee teachers' needs. [...] These Requirements apply to all types of provision and all ITT providers must meet them." P.4

However, the document was only 18 pages long, and was a row-back on the national curriculum in terms of its scope and detail, whilst it also symbolically granted more power to the "profession" through being a TTA publication. According to an interviewee (E12) the DfE now considers circular 4/98 to be an example of how not to write policy documents due to the large backlash it created. The DfE it would seem had overreached their normative legitimacy and deferred to the TTA in 2002. The content of the 1998 national curriculum and 2002 standards is further discussed and compared to the French teachers' competences in Chapter 9 (section 9.2.2) when the emphasis is on the more abstract institutionalized environment.

CATE was to base decisions on *information* from HMI inspections in 1984, the TTA, TDA, NCTL, and the DfE internal Teaching Agency as the latest iteration at the time of writing, are to base their decisions on *evidence* from OFSTED inspections. A fear of failing these inspections is according to our interviews with academics in both Russell Group and post-92 universities, and SCITT administrators, present across providers today. For the universities, the fear is compounded by the relatively low status teacher education departments often have in universities (E1; E2). However, relevant interviewees (E1; E4; E6; E14) noted that inspections are a very real thing for all providers regardless of type or status and should be taken seriously and with compliance in mind. This can also be related to the clarity of hierarchy, since only the Secretary of State can formally award the QTS and remains final arbitrator of who can be certified as a teacher and who can be accredited as a provider of both ITE/ITT and CPD. Hence, the two basic components, accreditation of providers and certification of teachers in light of centrally prescribed regulations (now named standards) still to this day remain the central control mechanisms over initial teacher education, enforced through rigorous inspections and a *fear* present throughout the field of being denied the right to recommend their trainees are awarded the QTS.

By the time of the "school led system", that was progressively launched between 2010 and 2013 (see Chapter 5), government was firmly in control over teacher education and quickly found ways to scrap the TDA with wide-ranging consequences for the organizational field to which the chapter now turns.

6.2.3 Changing voices and modes of access to influence policymaking

We may infer that a shift in who were promoted as the main experts on teacher education happened gradually with the mentioned shifts from CATE to the TTA and the TDA. With CATE, university based educationalists had their expertise questioned through an emphasis on recent and relevant classroom experience while the emphasis was put on (high performing) teachers, then teachers gradually became somewhat phased out first in favour of high performing school leaders as CATE became the TTA, and then by people with civil service backgrounds as the TTA became the TDA.¹⁴⁴ Importantly in terms of field transformation, the TDA became gradually internalised into the DfE between 2010 and 2012 as the National College for Teaching and Learning (NCTL – officially up and running in 2012), since 2018 called the Teacher Agency (TA), which could be seen as a continuation of centralizing in government hands the standardisation and professionalization of the teacher. With the internalization, the TDA became staffed almost exclusively by civil servants. This was initially done through a conversion of employment status of existing employees. This resulted in what some of the insider-interviewees (E7; E12; E13) have characterised as a cultural-cognitive change towards a civil servant mentality of “churn” (frequent movement from one post to another), new realities in terms of one’s “place” and right to protest decisions openly, and an anonymization of who worked for the agency.

“When the TDA existed, the people in senior roles were quite sort of public faces. You’d hear who the people were, on the website.” (E12 – a civil servant who worked for the TDA).

Meanwhile at present, an issue according to our interviews (E1; E10; E15) is getting a hold of the right people. Moreover, even though much of the staff did stay on with initially similar roles, by 2010 the number of former teachers employed had dwindled and any who found it hard to conform to the new practices were “retired” or relocated, as they were unable to function in the new environment or disagreed strongly with the restructuring and having to deal more directly with policymakers and policy advisers. Central to the phasing out of old TDA staff was the requirement of a particular kind of “tact” in dealing with ministers centred on keeping confidence that some struggled to adjust to, that is relatable to how we saw in section 6.1.2 that civil servants who could not work with their ministers “had to go” regardless of how protected as a professional group they supposedly are.

With this change in status and new professional requirements, the interviewee noted that former teachers and educationalists present in the TDA, particularly the ones who spoke up to ministers, saw their influence reduced, their work area changed, or their employment terminated (e.g., forced retirement). This illustrates a shift in normative legitimacy, as government can “silence”

¹⁴⁴ See for example this report by the U.S. based non-profit “National Center on Education and the Economy” on the TDA for an overview of its expanding role. <http://www.hunt-institute.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Improving-Teacher-Training-Provision.pdf> (accessed 11.02.2021)

dissenters in a way they could not in 1984. This was rendered possible by the gradual shift from teacher staffed CATE in 1984, to a civil service staffed TA in 2019, as the mechanisms of change have unfolded incrementally to reconstruct the environment.

Furthermore, as there are no obligations for the DfE to listen to what outsiders have to say, limitations for non-governmental actors' influence in England were repeatedly expressed in interviews. For example, the Russell groups sub-group on education reportedly have to use the threat of news-paper headlines to influence policy (E1; E7), or representative organizations feel direct opposition is pointless and only compromise obtains any form of result (E3; E4). This is of central concern in the field if we think about the fragmented mosaic of provision that exists, and has existed, within teacher education in England. A result is the disappearance of *non-invited* academic and teacher voices access to policymaking. To illustrate, some teachers and academics such as Sir Andrew Carter, the head teacher at the highest performing school in England, South Farnham, and Professor Samantha Twiselton, the Director of Sheffield Institute of Education at Sheffield Hallam University (a post-92 university), have the ears of policymakers as can be seen in their work on the 2014-15 Carter Review of Initial Teacher Training. However, Sir Andrew and Professor Twiselton did so on invitation from the DfE, not through a structural or normative right to be heard. A consequence of this is a reduction in voice diversity and increased homogenisation, but also a form of increased polarisation as one field (politico-administrative) imposes itself on another (teacher education) as it has brought two distinct institutionalized environments and their values and beliefs into direct and confrontational contact. As the politico-administrative field relates to policy, which structures practice, it holds the upper hand and causes issues with being heard for teacher educators who do not conform to the new reality. This has caused much frustration within the teacher education field, as teacher educators believe they end up shouting at a wall rather than talking to open ears.

The tensions present in 1976 (and 1960 for that matter as discussed in Chapter 5) which came to a critical juncture in 1983/4 with the creation of CATE and the QTS are still central today as political discourse and policy texts re-fight old debates as can be seen in annex 1.2 and is further explored from an institutionalized environment perspective in chapter 9. To illustrate this point beyond what is described in the annex, BERA together with RSA launched in 2013 a large project to promote the role of research in teacher education (BERA-RSA 2014), a role they seemingly deem as "lost" since the perceived glory days prior to 1984. According to an interviewee (E9) this can also be seen in relation to comments made by Michael Gove in 2009 and 2010 related to the "blob" and what was deemed as severe attacks on academia and their performance in teacher education. The "blob" was an insult used by Michael Gove towards critics of his policies and referred to "Big Learning Organization Bureaucracies" that, as the "blob" became lampooned by the Conservative party and

their allies as a gooey monster out of a 1958 Steve McQueen movie.¹⁴⁵ This caused much distress and resentment at the time from targeted researchers, teacher educators, and teachers. By the mid-2010s the term appears to have fizzled out of frontline political debates.

Meanwhile, as a “quasi-independent” organization of interest, we have the Chartered College of Teaching,¹⁴⁶ nominally the professional representative body of teachers and a continuation of the College of Teachers that can trace its lineage back to 1849 as the College of Preceptors.¹⁴⁷ However, the College has historically had low membership numbers, was directly funded by government at its latest re-constitution in 2017, and was dependent to an extent on government finances at the time of analysis. Furthermore, its predecessor has not figured as a central actor in teacher education policymaking over the long trajectory analysed here. However, it does seem the influence of the College might be increasing. It figures as a joint signatory on the 2019 Recruitment and Retention strategy (DfE 2019) for example alongside the three teachers’ unions Association of School and College leaders, the National Association of Head Teachers union and the National Education Union, as well as the Education Endowment Foundation (financer of education research), Confederation of School Trusts (association for school leaders), the National Governance Association (an association for school governors, trustees, and clerks), and OFSTED. This is the first time a government policy document on teacher education has been signed by these kinds of actors together, perhaps indicating a new way of producing and *legitimising* policy, as the signatories can appear as a seal of approval. As this is such a new event, it is hard at present to say how this will develop at the time of writing. Once more, we also see how the mosaic of actors are brought together on a per-topic basis, without any lasting structuration enabling prediction of what the future may hold as the whim of politicians override legal frameworks and loose (non-institutionalized) arrangements. The strategy came about due to repeated failures to meet DfE recruitment targets, and a history of retention issues as is discussed in Chapter 9.

Another emerging actor of note in the new normative landscape, at the time of analysis, was TeacherTapp,¹⁴⁸ a phone application aimed at surveying teachers on a daily basis and using the information gathered to give teachers a voice according to their website. The application due to its use of “evidence” and historic ties between some of its staff and the DfE means that it is an interesting tool for understanding the shifting modes of communication between teachers, teacher educators, and the DfE that has emerged in the past few years where communication has become

¹⁴⁵ See inter alia <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/shortcuts/2013/oct/02/michael-gove-referring-to-the-blob> (accessed 11.05.2021)

¹⁴⁶ See <https://chartered.college/> (accessed 08.10.2020)

¹⁴⁷ See <https://chartered.college/our-royal-charter/> for a history of the College (accessed 08.10.2020)

¹⁴⁸ See <https://teachertapp.co.uk/> (accessed 30.11.2020)

increasingly digital through for example blogs, opinion pieces hosted on an organizations website, or tweets (see also Helgetun and Menter 2020).

Academic, founder of Education Datalab,¹⁴⁹ and occasional analyst for the DfE, Dr. Becky Allen, launched the application in early 2018 with funding by the Gatsby Foundation and Nesta.¹⁵⁰ The data is gathered through three daily questions, selected by the operators of the application, and is presented as “survey data”. The goal at the time of launch was to help deal with the ongoing retention crisis, and the application quickly grew in popularity to currently encompass thousands of daily users according to their website. Meanwhile, the data gathered is often disseminated through twitter and the media. This then constitutes a *new form of actor* within the organizational field made possible due to the transformations described above, with potential implications for field composition (particularly teachers’ voice and norms) over time.

The transformations discussed in this section, according to the conceptual framework used here constitutes a re-configuration of the organizational field, as actors change roles and purpose and new relations need to be constantly formed both in relation to the context of influence and the context of text-production. The re-orientation resulted in less access for non-state actors to text-production, and a cementing of government as a form of “gatekeeper” even for influence (see also Helgetun and Dumay 2021). In a sense, one may see the organizational field as characterised by a form of network in a “loose” hierarchy between organizations that rely on the DfE as a central network-node for their existence or right to exercise their function. Thus, actors are likely dependent, to an extent, on access to the DfE in order to fully function within the field. Meanwhile, ITE/ITT has moved increasingly in the direction of a “school-led system” to which the chapter now turns.

6.3 The place and role of providers in policymaking in the “school-led system”

The types of ITE/ITT and CPD provision in the two cases is distinct, as are the roles of providers within the policymaking organizational field. England has a mosaic of providers where few are alike. As often stressed by actors in the field (e.g. UCET, NASBTT) a SCITT may be more similar to a university than another SCITT and a university may be more similar to a SCITT than another university. Arguments also revolve around how many “paths” and routes there are into teaching, as briefly discussed in Chapter 5.¹⁵¹ This fragmented nature of the mentioned systemless system

¹⁴⁹ Education Datalab does “by contract” analysis of education and education policy, at times for the DfE. See <https://ffteducationdatalab.org.uk/> (accessed 30.11.2020).

¹⁵⁰ See <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/apr/10/tapp-app-tackle-teaching-crisis> (accessed 30.11.2020)

¹⁵¹ See e.g. <https://www.ucet.ac.uk/downloads/10310-UCETNASBTTCCTTSC-Letter-to-Damian-Hinds.pdf> (accessed 01.02.2021)

transplants to their influence and place in policymaking. By contrast, to France as we shall see in the next chapter, England has abandoned all attempts to harmonise process through dialogue and cooperation, focusing instead on *homogeneity of outcome* through standards and inspections. What is of particular interest in England is the entry of new actors in the form of MATs and SCITTs, and how they transform the environment by bringing in new logics and practices and challenge the dominance of universities not only in teacher education but also as higher education degree awarding institutions. This section will go more in depth on the evolution of teacher education provision and how the complex organizational fields of teacher education providers influence policymaking.

6.3.1 The rise of MATs and SCITTs as new actors in the organizational field

As presented in chapter 5, historically in England the emphasis has been on the universities, with a gradual shift towards schools with the rise of SCITTs and school direct since 2010. This has created new actors for the organizational field, both in terms of providers and interest organizations for these providers. SCITTs, or rather school based teacher trainers are represented by NASBTT who have increased in importance since 2010. However, NASBTT is also closely aligned with the organization representing university-based teacher educators, UCET, to the extent that the leader of NASBTT, Emma Hollis, sits on the board of UCET and the leader of UCET, James Noble-Rogers, sits on the board of NASBTT (accurate as of 2020). A common theme in the discourses of both organizations at present is that of partnerships as central to “good” ITE/ITT, rather than emphasising a choice between schools *or* universities.

This view on partnerships is also shared by other actors such as the Cathedrals Group and GuildHE. The Cathedrals group is an organization which brings together all universities with a church foundation, at the time of writing 16 in number. At present there are, according to the Cathedrals group, over 7000 church schools in the UK who are the main focus area, but not exclusively so, of the universities organized within the group. They published in 2017 together with GuildHE an organization representing higher education, a comprehensive collection of articles on teacher education, gathered from actors across the field, with an eye to joining actors from across the school-university divide, with an emphasis on a “third way” in ITE/ITT that is not focused on either academia nor schools but on partnerships (House and Carter 2017). The book refers both to teaching as a vocation, and the importance of teacher education (as opposed to training), but also contains *important Christian views*. Apart from the Christian views, the third way approach championed by the Cathedrals group and GuildHE is not that far removed from current practices in France (see Chapter 7, section 7.4). Here we note a form of complexity in England, with one QTS and singular set of teacher standards, but a mosaic of providers of vastly different world views and *potential views on education*. This, I argue, is at the heart of the English systemless-system as it pertains to teacher

education, and why it is complex when the DfE stifles alternative views by controlling who may directly influence policy-as-text. The first chapter of the book was written by James Noble-Rogers the leader of UCET, who as mentioned above, is outspoken on the importance of partnerships and the co-existence of both universities and SCITTs.

According to interviews with the central actors, the approach towards partnerships is not necessarily rooted in an ideological belief in partnerships as 'best practice', but in a pragmatic calculation of what was possible given the current environment. As one actor put it in relation to the emphasis on partnerships as a way to work with government rather than against them:

"Some of our members think we ought to be more aggressive. And when we are, they all cheer, but that's not how we get results. Sometimes we have to be, but that's when you're forced to be, and a lot of what we achieve and do, they can't see. But we know we've done it"
(E3)

However, not everyone shares this view of prioritizing results over posturing. For example, one academic both confirmed the practice by some actors in the field, whilst critiquing it:

"I told [redacted] whatever policy comes out, the response is: how can we work with the politicians and never standing up and say "no, you're wrong." Because the argument and the approach is it's better to be in the room discussing, influencing where you can than standing up against nonsense. I think sometimes if it's ridiculous nonsense, you have to stand up against it." (E1 – academic who often speaks with the DfE)

Hence, some see the response is to oppose government actively, whilst others prefer cooperation.

Another compounding problem which was remarked was how vice-chancellors (de-facto heads of universities) did not prioritise teacher education in their discourse with the DfE, thus robbing teacher education departments of important allies:

"I think if you get the vice chancellor to go and talk to the minister... but you know thinking about education, there are other things in education, higher education that he's going to want to talk to the minister about and teacher education no." (E1)

As another actor (E2 – an academic in teacher education) pointed out, relations between teacher education departments and universities often becomes a question of money. A shared view in the field seems to be that teacher education departments in the eyes of many university administrators are "cash cows" that do not represent real "science".

"A lot of departments of education, the universities, you get some looking for the excuse to stop teacher education because it is seen as a poor cousin within the university." (E1)

This extends to the work of other actors who can be put in difficult positions due to conflict between university leadership and teacher education departments. According to UCET leader James Noble-Rogers for example:

*"We mainly work with the Education Departments, but there could be times... I mean, there have been times in the past where an Education Department has asked us to make representations on their behalf to the senior management, and I do that. I offer to go talk to the senior management about teacher education policy and the likely future for universities involved in teacher education, I do that. But what I won't, I can't do, is take up arms against the universities if there's a conflict between them and their education departments, because, as I said, it's the institution we represent"*¹⁵²

Meanwhile, since 2010 and the emphasis on a school-led system and the rise of MATs and SCITTs, there has been an increasing place for what is deemed "teaching schools", rebranded in 2019 to "system leaders".¹⁵³ A teaching school is a high performing (OFSTED rated outstanding) school tasked with aiding lower performing schools through continued professional development of teachers and head teachers, advise on how to run SCITTs and general school to school support and sharing of "what works". These schools are loosely organised through the Teaching Schools Council (TSC)¹⁵⁴ that has become a source of "expert" advice and legitimacy for the DfE. The teaching schools themselves help spread "best practices" to less performing schools while the education of teachers is becoming more and more school-based through SCITTs and school direct, resulting in what has been dubbed *"the self-improving school led system"* being in place by 2016 according to the DfE (DfE 2016). The self-improving school led system was an important concept first presented in 2010 in "The Importance of Teaching" white paper (DfE 2010), where high performing schools (represented by their leaders) were to be the driving force behind education policy, including in teacher education, both in terms of ITE/ITT and CPD. As presented on the TSC website's front page: *"The self-improving school-led system is at the heart of the government's vision for education in England. Simply put, this means that schools are being empowered to make decisions about how to improve and to work collaboratively to support each other to do so."*¹⁵⁵

6.3.2 ARK as example of the current complexity of teacher education

To further understand the field dynamics in England, the chapter will now present the complexity of new large actors involved in schooling, ITE/ITT and CPD by looking at the Multi-Academy Trust (see Chapter 5, section 5.4.2) ARK, who have positioned themselves as an important actor in both ITE/ITT and CPD in a short amount of time following shifts in government policy in

¹⁵² Stated in an interview I was allowed to quote with name.

¹⁵³ See <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/get-school-to-school-support-from-system-leaders> (accessed 13.02.2021)

¹⁵⁴ See <https://tscouncil.org.uk/> (accessed 06.03.2019)

¹⁵⁵ Source: <https://tscouncil.org.uk/> text on the main page of that URL on the 13th of February 2021 at 14h28.

2010-13 towards the “school-led system” mentioned above (Junemann and Ball 2013). ARK was chosen for this mini case study due to its important position within policymaking as it is comprised of several teaching schools, its former leader, Amanda Spielman, has since 2017 been Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector (HMCI – the head of OFSTED) and was a former chair of OFQUAL (2011-16), whilst current and former ARK employees were mentioned as key figures in DfE working groups on education by an unaffiliated interviewee (E6). It is not argued that ARK is representative of all MATs in the organizational field, but the case provides interesting insights how actors compete for legitimacy, and strive for influence within the field, thereby illuminating to an extent the context of influence MATs operate in. An understanding of MATs and their role in teacher education is increasing in importance as teacher education in general moves towards a school-led system and takes on NPM traits of steering at a distance through standards and inspections as mentioned in section 6.2 above.

Most interestingly, the MAT ARK, seems to have a desire to provide, and as far as possible control, all aspects of education by not only running SCITTs in a network and through proxies several CPD organisations, but also aims to be awarded university status. The rationale is so it would be able to grant the PGCE or a master’s degree without requiring a partnership with a university; everything could then be done “in-house”. This relates to how SCITTs may award the QTS on their own but require a university partnership to award the PGCE as only universities, by law, can award higher education degrees. Here we also note the path dependent importance of the above-mentioned separation of the QTS from higher education degrees at its inception in 1984. The sequence mechanism can be said to unfold as events in 1984 open new possibilities within the organizational field today, the same way SCITTs have been constrained since their inception in 1992 by the fact that the PGCE and B.Ed. are academic degrees that only universities can award. As a counterfactual, we may imagine the current landscape as markedly different had the QTS automatically awarded either a B.Ed. or a PGCE. There would be less need for partnerships for example. Meanwhile, had the QTS been linked to the B.Ed. and PGCE as a pre-requisite for obtaining the QTS, but only universities had been allowed to award them (and thus the QTS), there would be no SCITTs without partnerships. Hence, the separation of the professional certificate and academic degrees in 1984 has strong consequences to this day.

In their modus operandi ARK have historically focused on “incubating”, that is to support financially and structurally, different initiatives such as the Ambition Institute¹⁵⁶ (a graduate school for teachers providing CPD), which is a merger of two previously separate entities with ARK ties, Ambition School Leadership and the Institute for Teaching. The actions of ARK here support

¹⁵⁶ See <https://www.ambition.org.uk/about-us/> (Accessed 24.06.2020)

expansion in the teacher education field under their direction and continue trends of forming mosaics of loosely connected organizations.

According to an interviewee (E18) with inside knowledge of the process, the origin was rooted in a long-term plan on ITE/ITT and internal CPD that evolved over time as ideas circulated the organizational field.

“[Y]ou can set up a SCITT but actually, you have to think the overall career progression for all teachers in the network and how you’re going to get them all to be great and get great quality teaching in every single school. And so, that adds a number of things like we need to make sure that after you’ve done your ITT and your induction,¹⁵⁷ there’s an opportunity for you to do a masters, to become an expert teacher. We need to think about everything with learning, about how we develop great teachers, we’re passing them on to schools to use their internal CPD with existing members of staff.”

From this idea of “whole career” thinking about teachers, the interviewee argued a new mode of educating teachers emerged centred on turning organizations of school-based ITT and CPD into a university. This would ensure closer cooperation between teachers’ education and the schools, as well as ensure career progression centred on forming expert teachers in the vision of the academy trust (in this instance, ARK).

“So [redacted] basically pitched that we should become a university. We should get degree awarding powers so we could run our qualifications within our network. So, that was then baked into the 10 year strategic plan for Ark, the network was to get university status to get degree awarding powers. “

This statement calls attention to the importance put on certification (of university awarded master degrees for example) in both normative (value of a degree) and regulative (funds for degree programs/tuition fees) terms.

ARK was here envisioned as an incubator of the project that would span ITE/ITT and CPD. We may infer that purpose of these incubations was to provide a comprehensive “cradle to grave” offer for ARK teachers, but also to provide quality CPD to teachers where CPD is seen as an extension of ITE/ITT and classroom experiences. The reason these institutions required ARK incubation was said to relate to government policy and risk concerns, where the support of a large and leading organization ensured the viability of the project when applying for government funds. This also is an expression of how public-private partnerships operate in teacher education, where larger entities, often with ties to the DfE (as is the case with ARK and Ambition), construct applications for public funds within a

¹⁵⁷ In England, induction refers to the currently two years (previously one year) of traineeship following the awarding of the QTS. In this period, newly qualified teachers have the right to mentoring and reduced workload.

framework. The framework then limits competition, and enables larger, or politically central (e.g., high performing), entities to dominate the field. Through becoming a degree awarding institution, ARK and Ambition together aim at becoming capable of handling teachers from ITE/ITT through recruitment (internal) and continued development, all done in-house. This would arguably constitute a minor novelty in education in England, as one entity would be responsible for both educating teachers, employing them, and educating children.

The E18 went on to note that universities and other established actors in the field were competitors for funds:

“Obviously, an existing organisation that’s already big and established and sustainable could have gone for that contract we went for. Universities for example. Lots of people had bids to get this contract and we were lucky that we had the bid. The security, the stability, the sustainability, the financial stuff from Ark and then our idea what the program was going to be.”

It seems new actors meant less funds to go around to existing actors who were outcompeted by the success of ARK.

Meanwhile, new ideas rooted in different environments to education (in the case of ARK the worlds of finance and law, if we look at some of their senior managers, and ties to Teach First) and modes of teacher education also alter the normative and cognitive considerations within the field. These changes are then, in an abstract sense, comparable to logic changes within the TTA as it became internalized as the NCTL and came under increased politico-administrative influence (as civil-servants) as discussed above. Thus, one may infer that the addition or removal of actors in the field may alter the characteristics in the field in both a material and ideational sense, the former in terms of distribution of funds and size of organizations (how many compete for the same total sum of funds and students) and the latter in terms of what constitutes “good” teacher education, lending credence to the importance of the hypothesised constellation aspect and reconfiguration causal mechanism to understand and explain the organizational field dynamics in full.

What we also see with ARK and Ambition is a prime example of how networks and prior acquaintances play out in education. For example. the former head of ITE/ITT at ARK was a Teach First coordinator prior to working for ARK. In addition, ARK also has ties to the OFSTED leadership, as mentioned at the start of this subsection, with the former head of ARK Amanda Spielman now occupying the position of HMCI, a position reportedly also offered to other heads of SCITTs/MATs who were high performing and in good standing with government (E14). Moreover, as is further addressed in Chapter 8, these high performers with connections, such as employees of ARK and Ambition, are often included in DfE reviews and task forces on how teacher education should be run through identifying “what works”.

Hence, again we see how the organizational field in England is characterisable by a mosaic, by a fragmented field with actors loosely connected to different ideas, norms, and organizations loosely held together by the DfE and a flow of data (see also Lawn 2013 on data holding education together in England).

6.3.3 The evolving continued professional development provision in England

The first central plans on CPD came in 1983 through circular 3/83 and consisted of yearly funding schemes. At its inception, the scheme was aimed at retraining teachers from surplus subjects to subjects where there was a lack of teachers (mathematics, physics, and technical subjects), train managers and subject co-ordinators and improving the knowledge of low performing teachers, before evolving into more general CPD aimed at enhancing competences (see annex tables 1.1 and 1.6), developments largely absent from much literature on CPD.

CPD became organized through long term planning schemes in 1998 with the In-Service Education and Training (INSET) scheme for the (then) Department for Education and Skills (DfES) (Soulsby and Swain 2003). Following a review, INSET was replaced in 2003 by the Postgraduate Professional Development (PPD) programme, with according to the Centre for the Use of Research and Evidence in Education (CUREE) an aim to improve the responsiveness of courses to local needs, increase the accessibility and flexibility of courses, and increase the participation amongst teachers and monitoring the impact of courses.¹⁵⁸

Today, England has a myriad of CPD providers with limited oversight or coordination. Head teachers are responsible for “selecting” what CPD their teachers need in what is a form of free market where CPD is not centrally prescribed. Universities believe they should be central in CPD, while SCITTs believe they are better equipped to provide it than universities are as they are connected directly to schools and the classroom. However, the number of providers do not end with ITE/ITT providers, but also extends from individual teachers who sell CPD, to interest organizations such as NASBTT and unions. One actor interviewed (E8)¹⁵⁹ noted that he preferred unions handle CPD as they represent the entirety of the profession, whilst actors such as NASBTT only represent SCITTs and UCET only represents universities. Furthermore, it complicates matters with regard to CPD that there is an important split between head teacher unions and teacher unions. One interviewee who works as a researcher and government adviser (E16) stressed how teacher unions are fragmented between heads and classroom teachers, and how classroom teacher unions do limited CPD, head teacher unions do a lot of senior management training. Meanwhile, CPD is also increasingly linked to

¹⁵⁸ See <http://www.curee.co.uk/publication/tda-postgraduate-professional-development-ppd-reports-year-2> (accessed 18.06.2020).

¹⁵⁹ Due to this persons position within the state apparatus, only indirect quotes were authorized.

different forms of certification. For example, the above-mentioned Chartered College of teaching awards the Chartered Teacher (Cteach) certificate to members who have undergone the College's CPD.

However, not all CPD leads to certification, the mentioned TeacherTapp organization, through the application platform, have also branched out into "CPD" as they call it through disseminating blog posts and by referring to their shared data as CPD. *"The app is a free and easy CPD resource that can improve your teaching. You can also see what thousands of your teacher colleagues across the country are thinking about the most important education issues of the day."*¹⁶⁰ What is interesting to note here is that CPD is not framed in terms of certification, nor in terms of structured learning (education), instead the framing is one of *self-learning on a daily basis through reading*. However, they also claim to be a strong normative voice in the field through implying the reading of TeacherTapp's disseminated information is CPD (as opposed to saying all reading about education is CPD). As such, on the one hand it is arguably not a provider of CPD in a regulative sense (no certification). On the other hand, it is a normative force in so far as it attempts to affect the conception of CPD through claims that reading the TeacherTapp blog posts and taking part in their surveys (and seeing the results) constitute *a form of CPD* that according to TeacherTapp has backing from the teaching profession and academia both. Thus, we again see the mosaic nature of English teacher education provision and interest organizations rendering a harmonized approach high impossible, unless CPD becomes centrally prescribed by the DfE, something which seems normatively unacceptable by providers. For example, as E16 noted:

"I just don't see any distinction between any of these organizations because ultimately the problem is that your incentive is to bring in money. To bring in money to pay your bills, who cares that you're a university, it doesn't mean that you're going to be any more ethical in the way you device CPD than if you're an individual commercial provider. So you end up in this difficulty that those who provide it really don't have an incentive to turn around head teachers and say this isn't going to be right for your staff. Or they have no ability to deliver what they ideally would want to deliver to help staff get better because actually no one would be willing to pay for it and we can't free up enough teachers' time to do these things. So you know there's blame on all sides when it comes to what's wrong with CPD and there's no easy fixes. You have to both fix questions around money, capacity within schools, time on timetable the organizational challenge of wanting to have different teachers do different things within a school."

¹⁶⁰ Source: <https://teachertapp.co.uk/who-is-the-app-for/> (accessed 30.11.2020)

Hence, what we may note is that the ethics of even universities is under attack, in a sort of “low trust” environment, rooted in an over-emphasis on value for money and financing of teacher education institutions that operate in a quasi-market outside of state protection and but subject inside to of state control through inspections. Here we may then note how the system of independent providers constrain CPD, and with it CPD policymaking, as funding and lack of a unified actor who can be made responsible for CPD limits what can be done. Any policy aimed at improving CPD, as is desired by most in the teacher education field where as far as my analysis can tell CPD is uniformly seen as dysfunctional, must therefore target the mosaic market.

Furthermore, England does not have a system of certification of CPD providers, and on the one hand there are concerns that instituting such a system would only cause problems as private actors such as Pearson may swoop in.

“I’m very sceptical of that certification within the system. I’ve seen it happen and I know what will happen. What will happen is that large commercial organizations like Pearson will become very good at certifying stuff and the stuff that they certify won’t be high quality in terms of what people learn, it will be high quality in terms of are the documents in place, have they constructed objectives have they met the objectives they are completely irrelevant things. Because that is what always happens with certification. Whereas actually there are some individual kind of former teachers who go around and do training days who would never manage to get their act together to get themselves certified, to get themselves a gold star on what they do because they don’t really have any evidence that what they do is brilliant and you know and so on. And yet they are great and they are better than having some sterile large course. So we can’t certify in circumstances where it is very opaque what constitutes good practice. We’ve sort of known secret practice when we see it but no one is suggesting a system where someone goes around the country actually observing people giving training and saying whether it’s good or not. No ones proposing that, they are proposing paper work systems to certify. And we do this at our peril, we will live to regret certification I am sure of it.” (E16)

On the other hand, some, such as the Chartered College of Teaching are in favour of certifying the CPD process to assure the quality of the training provided. This view was published in a report in April 2021, and rooted in a project commissioned by “the Wellcome Trust and delivered by the Chartered College of Teaching, the Teacher Development Trust and Sheffield Institute of Education.”¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ Source: <https://chartered.college/quality-assurance-of-teachers-continuing-professional-development/> (accessed 14.04.2021)

In the first statement against systematic CPD certification, one may note a logic rooted in standards (here expressed as paperwork) rather than qualitative observation and merit based promotion to the role of CPD certified teacher. Moreover, one may remark how England is far from having a normative environment with accepted professional standards of what good teaching and good education is, where what constitutes good practice can often be seen as opaque beyond the imposed standards inspected by OFSTED. Meanwhile, as the report by the Chartered College indicates, some actors in the field also push for a more systematic and overseen approach due to perceived failures of performance in how CPD is currently being done.

6.4 Discussion and concluding remarks

The introduction of CATE and the QTS in 1984 had profound effects on the teacher education organizational field (Childs and Menter 2013). Central to these effects was the imposing of the politico-administrative field on teacher education made possible through CATE and the QTS and their coupling with HMI/OFSTED. This imposition was legitimized in part through the institutionalized environment as normative legitimacy was granted through the staffing of CATE and its successors the TTA and the TDA. I will return to this analytical point in Chapter 9. Meanwhile the expressed need for accountability and oversight central to discourse long before 1984 (Furlong 2001, Phillips 2001) was in my view legitimized through powerful cognitive blueprints that pushed a general turn towards NPM and neo-liberal ideology not only in teacher education, but also in British public policy in general (see e.g. Mény and Surel 2009 for a comparative account of NPM in British public policymaking and public administration). The coupling with HMI/OFSTED in turn enabled oversight and rationales for compliance. As such, we may talk of CATE and the QTS as a first step in creating the current organizational field, the normative transformations this entailed over time as a second, and the coupling of CATE with HMI as a third. Meanwhile, as access for actors shifted along with field configurations wrought by the introduction of CATE, and later the internalisation of the TDA in 2012, influence also changed (progressively) as educationalists favouring “ITE” were marginalised and pushed increasingly to the outside of the policymaking process. Meanwhile, politico-administrative actors (distinct from educationalists) gained increased influence and voice within the organizational field and allied themselves with actors who favoured “ITT”.

At present, the teacher education field is characterised by a split between university-based teacher educators, and school based teacher educators as discussed in Chapter 5. However, the mosaic is further complicated through the distinction between “partnership” and non-partnership and the expressed interests of organizations such as UCET and NASBTT, the Cathedrals group, and the GuildHE that emphasise cooperation and a “third way” of ITE/ITT. This is perhaps further indicative of the misleading nature of the “pendulum” as used by Murray & Mutton (2016), as

teacher education is a much more complex question than a dichotomy between higher education and schooling. The pendulum explanation also overlooks the heterogeneity within higher education and school-based teacher education as well. This is especially true if we include the inroads of ARK and the Ambition institute in CPD, and towards becoming a degree awarding higher education institution, which would constitute not only a pendulum swing but also a re-conceptualization of higher education and academia. The pendulum must as such defy gravity and move in three (or four depending on how one views ARK as a “university” should that come to pass) directions to cover an emphasis on the practical, an emphasis on academia, and an emphasis on partnerships that is arguably not the same as a middle point between the practical and academia in the current field of teacher education. As such, the pendulum swing is good at providing a degree of understanding of teacher education in England, however, the complexities present in the organizational fields necessitate additional explanatory factors.

However, this “new” teacher education field is not free of *old lingering tensions* nor is it free of contestation and debates over “best” practices in teacher education. The increasing legitimacy of SCITTs can be seen as new fronts in contestation over the place of the school and school-based educationalist views versus the place of academia and academia-based educationalist views that has been ongoing by some accounts since (at least) 1898 (Dent 1977).

Furthermore, the tensions in England have taken on a dual form as the current landscape reflects more of an insider-outsider duality than the heterogeneity of views present in education. This can be linked to the introduction of set standards with CATE and the QTS, followed by inspection oversight and incremental centralization over ITE/ITT policymaking, and an exclusion of other voices particularly from 2012 onwards. Thus, it is easy (but perhaps false) to see it as a contestation between progressive educationalists in universities and educational traditionalists located in OFSTED designated high performing schools. What is important to bear in mind is that academia is not homogenous, nor are high performing schools and their leaders. Instead, it appears as if contestation has become a two-step process, where outsiders first argue strategy and messaging between themselves (e.g. within and between UCET and NASBTT) before attempting to breach the inside of policymaking to influence outcomes (policy). This is contrasted in France, where negotiations are more “open” in a single step configuration as most actors have a legitimate voice that is at least symbolically heard. That is not to say there are no two-step contestations in France (there always are within organizations such as ITE/ITT providers), but that the character of these contestations are different and more structured within the system as opposed to outside-in type configurations. Perhaps this also shows a flaw in the duality thinking of much existing field theory (Martin 2003,

Dubois 2014), as we may perhaps talk of degrees of access rather than in terms of insiders and outsiders.¹⁶²

¹⁶² A linguistic note, insiders and outsiders in an organizational field sense (all dimensions) as used here differs from the methodological emphasis on the distinction between the knowledge of insiders and outsiders in a strictly cultural-cognitive sense as discussed in Chapter 4. However, the observation on a continuum between two points rather than a dichotomy is likely apt to employ when discussing insiders and outsiders in a cultural-cognitive (comprehension) sense as well. How well the connotations of a word such as “craft” are understood may be rooted in a continuum (how well one understands the speaker’s intent) rather than a dichotomy between whether or not one understands the connotations to any degree.

Chapter 7: Organizational fields in France

“the gap between practical and theoretical components still presents a problem for teacher education.” (Sacilotto-Vasylenko and Fave-Bonnet 2011 P.177)

The above quote by Sacilotto-Vasylenko & Fave-Bonnet was written in regard to the 1989-92 IUFM reform, but this chapter shows that the observation remains central for teacher education in France today. The analysis in this chapter centres on the politico-administrative and teacher education organizational fields in France as they relate to policymaking between 1982 and 2020, in order to answer RQ 1 in regard to France.

As we shall see in this chapter, the organizational fields relevant to teacher education policymaking in France centre on the state, and particularly the Ministry of National Education (MEN) and the sub-units¹⁶³ within its hierarchy (including teacher education providers) and the Ministry of Higher Education and Science (MESRI) (including the universities). The field itself is largely characterised by a strong hierarchy, or rather plural hierarchies, centred on the central government and particularly the MEN. The role of the central government in reforms rests on France being a state-centred system where teachers and many teacher educators are civil servants, as well as a system that is rooted in Jacobinism and a meritocratic state where reform is led from up high.

The core argument of this chapter is that the transformations in the teacher education organizational field in France centres largely on the creation of a singular systemic actor for ITE/ITT and CPD separated across the academic regions, but unified through a central conference of IUFM directors, now called the network of INSPE directors. The changes to the politico-administrative involvement in teacher education is rooted in two central transformations: At first the singular organizational form following the creation of the IUFM between 1989 and 1992, and secondly the integration of the IUFM under the university structure first in 2007 and then again further in 2012 as it became the ESPE. The ESPE reform can be said to have been ongoing between 2007 and 2012 as the integration of the IUFMs into the university structure was not complete until then and is still ongoing today with roots in the previous 1989-92 IUFM reform, as is explored in this chapter. Meanwhile, the integration was already envisioned in 1989, and as such I posit that the reforms since then have all been further implementations of the vision laid down with the creation of the IUFM.

As a caveat to the language of “reform”, such as the 2012 ESPE reform, that is often used in literature and public debates in France on teacher education, I posit that developments in France

¹⁶³ “sub-unit” is a translation of the French concept of sub-units and sub-offices within the MEN hierarchy such as the Office for Pedagogical Innovation, or Office for the Forming of Education and Teaching personnel that belong to the under-direction of innovation, formation, and resources that belongs to the DGESCO unit of MEN. See annex 2.5 for the DGESCO organigram for a visualization of these relations.

should arguably not be understood as a series of large reforms, but as processes. Rather large policy decisions and debates are followed by years of implementation and more debates resulting in incremental course adjustments. For example, the IUFM was initially created by law in 1989, that was refined by a décret in 1990 per instructions in the law, and an arrêté in 1991 per instructions in the décret, and it was not in *full* effect until 1992 across the entirety of the French state and was not expected to “better educate and better recruit” teachers until then (Guglielmi 1998). Therefore, all three years are correct for the creation of the IUFM depending on what one uses as determinants of the proposition, such as legal founding, first institution created, full operationalisation. To me, this is indicative of an evolving reform that began no later than 1989 and was fully implemented no earlier than 1992.¹⁶⁴ To further illustrate this point, the 2012 ESPE reform was rooted in prior developments of universitisation and masterisation that had been ongoing since 2005 and was followed by a five-year implementation period as laid out in the initial legal texts establishing the ESPEs in 2012. The national inspectorate, IGEN, was tasked with supervising the implementation period and making yearly recommendations to MEN regarding perceived issues and their solutions (IGEN-IGAENR 2013). Moreover, the ESPEs became operational in 2013. As such, when the word “reform” is used here we should talk of a process, such as the IUFM *reform process*, rather than the IUFM reform of 1989, 1990, or 1992 as is frequently used in French academic literature (e.g., Guglielmi 1998, Sacilotto-Vasylenko and Fave-Bonnet 2011, Bon 2014, Misra 2014, Farges 2017). Therefore, this chapter is not overly concerned with the reforms themselves, instead it emphasises the contestation within the organizational fields in relation to these ongoing processes of change in teacher education policy.

As with the former chapter on England, this chapter begins by presenting the politico-administrative and teacher education organizational fields at an educative-state level, centred on MEN, in section 7.1. The limited role of non-state actors is presented in section 7.2, before central tensions both within and between the teacher education and politico-administrative organizational fields since 1989 is discussed in section 7.3. Section 7.4 then presents the concept of tri-party negotiations that is central to teacher education policymaking today. Section 7.5 summarises and concludes the chapter.

7.1 Ministry of Education and Ministry of Higher Education, Research and Innovation: Hierarchies and cooperation

The first article of the 1808 decree establishing the Imperial University, the first large-scale state-centralisation of education, decreed that “[*Public education in the whole of the Empire is*

¹⁶⁴ Arguments can be made that given the goals of the IUFM in 1989, the reform is still ongoing with the INSPE being the latest iteration of the IUFM reform aimed at harmonizing ITE/ITT and CPD across France.

exclusively confined to the University.”¹⁶⁵ Article 2 made this even more precise decreeing “[No school, no establishment of any instruction can be made outside of the Imperial University, and without the authorisation of its chief.]”¹⁶⁶ Article 3 decreed that no one could teach at a school within the Empire who was not a member of the Imperial University. The law made the state the singular dominant actor in education. The singularity of public education is *not absolute* today, as some private schools outside of MEN control do exist, but the large majority (including religious schools “under contract”) are centrally governed (see also Alexander 2001, Prost 2013). It is here, perhaps, more conducive to think of the Imperial University *system* as a form of proto-ministry of national education in France, that had administrative responsibility over *all education*, rather than a university focused only on higher education and research.

Meanwhile, the 1808 decree also established the requirement of teachers in any level being educated at a level above the one they taught at (a primary teacher needed a lycée degree, while a lycée teacher needed a university degree) in its article 31, a central component of the historic divide between primary and secondary teachers still central to discourse and governing concerns today. The decree also laid out a hierarchy of subjects/disciplines where a degree in letters was required before one could obtain a degree in mathematics, as well as requiring all teachers to at a minimum hold a degree in letters. Reading and writing, as Condorcet had argued in 1792 in his report on national education, was to be at the heart of public education. Moreover, article 38 of the decree demanded loyalty to the state of all Imperial University members (including teachers), a requirement maintained today for all teachers. Article 47 called for consequences should the standards of the teaching corps not be met, signalling at the very least a “proto” form of professional ethos for teachers in France. All of these articles in the 1808 decree, despite being nearly 200 years old at the time, are central to understanding the IUFM reform, and the current challenges of policymaking in France. This is a system that is hierarchical, even between subjects, characterised by a centralized and unitary administrative state, as well as strong professional ethos and standing of teachers compared to the fragmented and mosaic nature of England as seen in the previous chapter.¹⁶⁷ The 1808 decree as such provided a blueprint and normative legitimacy as to how the state ought to be

¹⁶⁵ Translated from : “ Art. 1. – L'enseignement public, dans tout l'Empire, est confié exclusivement à l'Université.”

¹⁶⁶ Translated from : “Art. 2. – Aucune école, aucun établissement quelconque d'instruction ne peut être formé hors de l'Université impériale, et sans l'autorisation de son chef.”

¹⁶⁷ One may always argue there are educative states with stronger control and stronger professional ethea, however in a binary comparison between England and France this statement holds unquestionably. However, do note Robin Alexander (2001) on how the illusion of a singular primary school in France is broken when individual schools are observed and compared. The statements here only apply to the “policy” level not classroom practices.

structured, and ushered in state dominance in education and teacher education, as well as providing the core idea from which later ideations on teacher education must relate to.

From its origin as the technocratic Imperial University, the first Ministry of Education came in 1828 with the Ministry of Public Instruction. The Ministry got its current name, the Ministry of National Education (MEN), in 1934.¹⁶⁸ MEN on its website traces its origins to the Imperial University of 1808 and the 1789 revolution and presents this as a source of legitimacy rooted in the long history of the French educative state.¹⁶⁹ The status and history of MEN are thus in stark contrast to the much shorter history of DfE as seen in the previous two chapters.

As a ministerial department, MEN is the largest by far in the French state, employing 1 058 800 out of 2 506 900 “fonctionnaires d’état” [civil service of the state category] in 2019 according to the national statistics institute INSEE¹⁷⁰. Out of these, 870 900 were teachers and the rest held other functions. The higher number of MEN employees is because the ministry technically *line-manages* all teachers and has done so since its inception in 1828 as the Ministry of Public Instruction. In terms of employment, the sub-unit Direction Générale de Ressources Humaines (DGRH)¹⁷¹ [general directorate of human resources] is responsible, while the Direction Générale de l’Enseignement Scolaire (DGESCO)¹⁷² [general directorate of school teaching] is responsible for education content, including negotiating the content of ITE/ITT and CPD with providers (currently the INSPE) and unions. The DGESCO office is responsible for all education content, including teacher education and the concours. DGESCO also refers to the person in charge of the DGESCO office. The DGESCO (person), is a civil service position that ranks directly below the director of the cabinet¹⁷³ in the hierarchy of MEN and is frequently a signatory of arrêtes and circulaires (instructive documents that may become law like). The DGESCO is tasked with enacting policy and ensuring the will of the government is followed down the hierarchy, but also to help plan for the future (future reforms and policy) and develop plans (maquettes) for education (curriculum), examination, and ITE/ITT and CPD through the sub-office for pedagogical innovation (BIP). Alongside BIP, there is also the under-director for teacher education

¹⁶⁸ MEN has undergone some minor name changes, being called the Ministry of Education between 1974-81, and has had different other ministries attached to it thereby expanding its name. E.g. between 2009-12 it was the Ministry of National Education, Youth, and Community life. The base name, however, has remained the Ministry of National Education since 1934.

¹⁶⁹ Source: <https://www.education.gouv.fr/le-ministere-de-l-education-nationale-de-1789-nos-jours-41534> (accessed 10.12.2020)

¹⁷⁰ Source: <https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/2493501#tableau-figure1> (accessed 07.07.2020)

¹⁷¹ <https://www.education.gouv.fr/direction-generale-des-ressources-humaines-dgrh-3224> accessed 25.06.2020

¹⁷² <https://www.education.gouv.fr/la-direction-generale-de-l-enseignement-scolaire-dgesco-7517> accessed 25.06.2020

¹⁷³ The director of the cabinet is a political position in France, who is responsible for coordinating between the minister and the civil service – he has a staff of policy advisors collectively called the cabinet of the ministry to aid in this task.

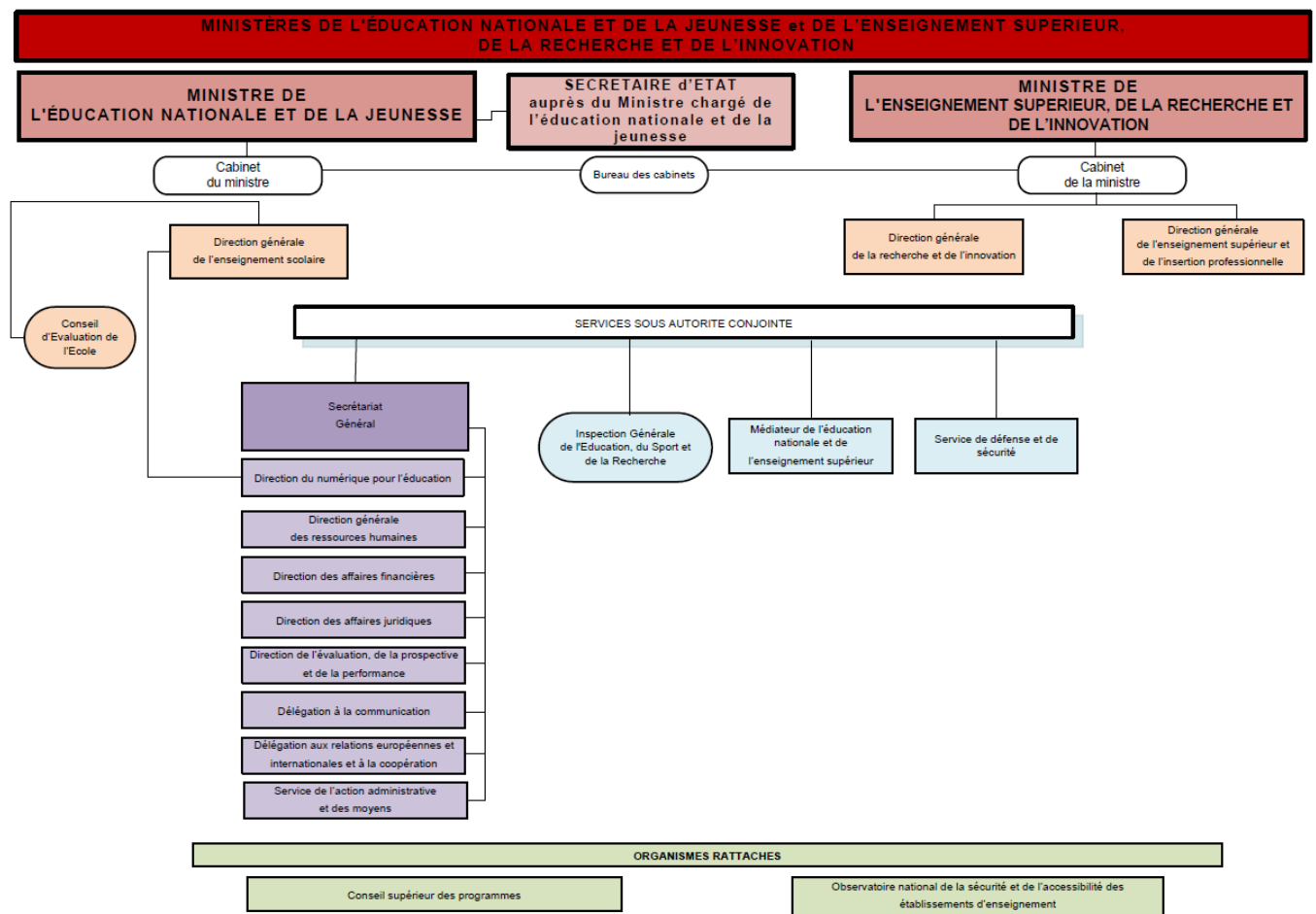
and his office, who participates in plan (maquette) negotiation in ITE/ITT and is officially (hierarchically) in charge of the INSPEs and is responsible for the quality of teacher education. The office of the under director for teacher education and BIP is perhaps comparable to an internalized version of CATE-TTA-TDA-NCTL-TA and parts of OFSTED and OFQUAL that is staffed by a mixture of teachers, academics, and administrators. DGESCO is in other words the executive office of MEN and collects in a complex hierarchical system all functions of the French state related to content of education and teacher education.

Meanwhile, universities in France are line-managed by the MESRI that is sometimes part of MEN and sometimes its own independent ministry, dependent on the political desires of the government and president. In relation to teacher education, whether MESRI is independent or under MEN, MESRI operates *alongside* DGESCO and DGRH who are the central offices within MEN in regard to both teacher education and schooling. Teacher education has never been the official purview of higher education at a ministerial level in France.

Due to the hierarchical nature of French public administration, the organigrams – organizational charts – are central to the inner workings of the organizations as it dictates who decides over who, with multiple actors interviewed referencing to these and providing versions of them. By comparison, no such reference to hierarchy and organigram was made in any of the English interviews. Below in figure 7.1 we see the “Meta level” of MEN and MESRI. Each box within the Meta level organigram denotes a unit within MEN. These boxes contain their own organigrams denoting hierarchies within each sub-unit down to specific office levels.

“The MEN” also has a dual meaning in France, the same word is used for both the ministry and the minister. This duality also extends to the MESRI and all other ministries, as well as the DGESCO. In symbolic terms, the minister embodies the ministry and the DGESCO person the DGESCO office, the same way the president embodies the presidency in French political science theory. The language of “embodiment” is central to France, as can be seen for example in how according to De Gaulle when he founded the Fifth Republic, the president was to embody the spirit of the nation (see e.g., Kubicek 2016).

Figure 7.1 Organigram of MEN and MESRI – Meta level



Source: (MEN 2020)

Moreover, a Minister of National Education does not have to be an elected official in France, a requirement in England. The person holding the position may be a former public servant as is the case of Jean-Michel Blanquer who has been MEN since 2017. However, the past ministers under the presidency of François Holland (2012-17), Vincent Peillon (2012-14), Benoît Hamon (2014-14) Najat Vallaud-Belkacem (2014-17) all had political party backgrounds similar to the English model of party insiders being given different ministries. A difference between a MEN with insider knowledge and one who did not have it was noted by officials interviewed. Peillon, for example, was very clear that all IGEN reports (see below and chapter 8) were to be published and that he needed them to help govern as he had no insider knowledge of education. This was contrasted by Blanquer who has a background in education, was clear on what he wanted to accomplish, and according to interviewees, “speaks the language” of education. Blanquer was also seen by interviewees as a more polarising figure than his predecessors, precisely because he had a clear position on what he wanted to accomplish. However, one interviewee (F19) noted that some of the people in Blanquer’s ministerial cabinet did not understand education and were hard to deal with. What we do see is that

knowledge of education is important for navigating the teacher education organizational field, and that this knowledge is unevenly possessed by political actors in the politico-administrative field over time. This also relates to how in England, a problem for the entire politico-administrative field was the lack of knowledge of education in the civil service, a problem that is less present in France due to the education background of much of the senior civil-service staff in MEN.¹⁷⁴ The section now turns to the peculiarities of the French civil service, which encompasses all teachers.

7.1.1 The French civil service

By contrast, to what we saw in the previous chapter on England, the French civil service has a strict code of conduct known as “obligations” (see annex table 3.2 where these are compared to the English civil service code). Moreover, senior civil servants rather than ministers in France often communicate new policies to the public and may also serve as spokes persons for government (e.g., while serving as director of the above-mentioned ministerial cabinet), a task usually performed by an elected official in England, providing further contrast between the two countries, where one is a quasi-technocratic meritocracy and the other is a parliamentary democracy. Importantly, the quasi-technocratic state in France is a political project where claims of rationality and the expertise of public functionaries, who are claimed by the state to merit their position of administrative power through their education (Bourdieu 1984), often shroud political debates and limit deliberation as is further discussed in subsequent chapters. Meanwhile, the names of office heads and their deputies is available on the MEN’s website, often along with contact information. Functionaries are not “hidden” in France, however below the DGESCO they are not front-line faces either and are not expected to make or defend policy through their discourse. In fact, according to the French civil service code of conduct they are forbidden to do so unless express permission is granted by a superior (obligation of discretion in public communication).

Civil servants in France do on occasion serve in a “political” office or do so after a career in the civil service. To exemplify, a former cabinet director in MEN (equivalent to a head “Special Policy Adviser - SPAD” in England) started his career in public administration of education working at a lycée, rectorat, and then consecutive central state level, before becoming cabinet director and is at present an auditor at the cour des comptes.¹⁷⁵ This is, to my understanding as an outsider, would be

¹⁷⁴ On a methodological note, I only checked this for staff who worked on teacher education. It was done through cross referencing names on organigrams such as the DGESCO under-director responsible for teacher education who is a former teacher, inspector, and recteur of an academie. This means the in-depth quality assurance of this observation was only done on current employees. However, all the data (documents, interviews, academic literature) point towards a high presence of former teachers and education administrators within the senior staff located in the offices of MEN on Rue de Grenelle.

¹⁷⁵ See <https://www.letudiant.fr/educpros/personnalites/lejeune-bernard.html> (accessed 07.07.2020)

considered a typical “high performing” career, as the civil service seamlessly flows into the political compartment of high office – meritocracy extends from the civil service and into elected office.

Furthermore, even senior civil service positions are political appointments, while the posts are often shrouded in meritocratic myths and rites, such as the concours by dossier, where the name “concours” is added to what in essence is a normal job application where a C.V. and interview is assessed. Meanwhile, in further contrast to England, civil servants in France, at least in education, often have a background in education, either as former teachers, researchers, or with some higher education degree related to education. These educationalists then work alongside people with an education in administration and politics (e.g., ENA graduates). At the pinnacle of the civil service in education is the DGESCO unit and its sub-offices (see annex 2.5), while just below we find the recteurs who head the various académie, the heads of service/main offices within MEN (e.g., head of DEPP) and the national inspectors to whom we now turn.

7.1.2 Inspections in France: Observers and knowledge producers who grant a voice to teachers

France has for the entire period studied here had a dual line of accountability. One administrative echelon centred on the head of establishment and the rectorat, and one educative echelon centred on the inspectorate, both unified again under MEN. In teacher education, the inspectors function mainly as the eyes and ears of the ministry, as providers of CPD, and as dialogue partners (mentors) to teachers, and relate in terms of policymaking mainly to fact-finding and knowledge production.

The French inspectorate contrasts with OFSTED in so far as their primary functions are not to ensure compliance nor measure performance, which is theoretically ensured in France through the system (concours) and loyalty to the hierarchy. In reality, there is often something of a behavioural de-coupling between regulative and normative expectations as one moves down to the level of teachers and researchers, where some follow the rules to the letter and others do not. Teachers and researchers enjoy autonomy and protection to a certain extent and are not under the “fear of inspection” as was the case in England as we saw in the previous chapter, thereby making this de-coupling possible due to a lack of compliance tools to trigger coercive or normative isomorphism.

The main inspection actors of interest for policymaking are the national inspectors in the Inspection Générale de l'Éducation Nationale [General Inspectorate for National Education] (IGEN). The national inspectorate was originally founded by Napoleon III in 1852 and took its current form and areas of responsibility regarding education in 1965 as the Inspection générale de l'administration de l'Éducation nationale [General inspection of the administration of national education] and was

renamed to IGEN in 1999. IGEN was renamed to Inspection Générale de l'Éducation, du Sport et de la Recherche [General Inspectorate for Education, Sports, and Research] IGESR in 2020 following a merger of IGEN and the Inspection Générale de l'Administration de l'Éducation Nationale et de la Recherche [General Inspectorate for the Administration of National Education and Research] (IGAENR)¹⁷⁶ and the attachment of “sports” to the responsibilities of MEN. The changes in 1999 and 2019 have, as far as I can tell, had no impact on the function of the national inspectorate in relation to teacher education. All IGEN reports analysed here were co-signed by IGAENR (previously known as IGAER) and the cooperation between the two inspectorates had a long history prior to the merger.

The current function of IGESR is to:

*[exercise missions of inspection, control, audit, evaluation, expertise, support and advice in the domains of education, higher education, research, youth and sports. It intervenes equally in the domain of public lecturing, documentation and libraries.]*¹⁷⁷

According to interviews with IGENs (F9; F12; F15; F16), they considered themselves experts and knowledge providers first and foremost, and not inspectors of teachers or ITE/ITT providers. Moreover, it is considered the pinnacle of a professional career in education, with the only senior hierarchical positions being in the political echelon (cabinet) of MEN, reflected in the organigram in figure 7.1. Former recteurs for example, may become IGENs.

However, IGEN inspectors are increasingly often tasked with “helping” recteurs implement policy, and together with regional inspectors – the Inspecteurs Générales (IG) – oversee education, including teacher education, as the eyes and ears of MEN. Not all IGEN agree with overseeing recteurs, instead they see their role as more of fact-finders and problem solvers than agents of accountability, their “evidence” gathering function. Here then we note a potential conflict between the regulative and normative dimension as new instructions from the hierarchy (MEN) conflicts with the professional ethos of IGEN. Importantly, following the 2012 ESPE reform IGEN was tasked with providing annual updates and advice on the implementation of the reform until 2016, mainly focused on what was working and what could be improved how in a general nature. This seemingly granted IGEN an important function in determining future policy and granted a voice to what is perceived as “high performing” teachers who have advanced through the ranks to one of the highest professional functions of the civil service.

Moreover, the reports analysed here (annex 2.3) give the impression of IGEN-IGAENR as a binder between practitioners who are outsiders to the halls of power such as teacher educators, trainees, teachers, and researchers and policymakers who read the accounts of the former in the

¹⁷⁶ See <https://www.enseignementsup-recherche.gouv.fr/cid20300/mission-et-organisation-de-l-i.g.a.e.n.r.html> (accessed 11.12.2020)

¹⁷⁷ Source: <https://www.education.gouv.fr/igesr> (accessed 20.07.2020)

IGEN-IGAENR reports. This is done through the emphasis on interviews with teacher education providers, teacher educators, and ITE/ITT trainees in the reports, where recommendations are based in part on reported desires and concerns of these local stakeholders. Thus, IGEN-IGAENR grants a form of voice to practitioners in addition to the voice granted through the unions, rectorat, and directors of the INSPEs.

IGEN inspectors also enjoy a high degree of autonomy according to themselves. However, they are required to follow instructions as civil servants, since all civil servants are required by law to be loyal, to be apolitical, and to implement the will of government in all things and usually comply. Here then we see an overlap between coercion (legal framework) and normative (professional norms of compliance) constraints to ensure the function of top-down hierarchical governing. The coercion of the legal framework centres pre-dominantly on the lengthy code of education mentioned in Chapter 5.

One may also note how knowledge can be power, and that inspections as eyes and ears rather than judge, jury, and executioner is still a powerful tool. That is, IGENs can shape practices of both policymakers and teacher educators (and teachers) through their reports and advisory roles. This constitutes their place and function in the organizational field, their work as “evidence” producers on the other hand is further analysed in the next chapter.

7.1.3 State advisory bodies granting a voice to professions, but also legitimacy to policy

France has a series of formal advisory bodies that are organized by the state, but staffed by professionals such as inspectors, academics, teacher educators, and education administrators (e.g., recteurs). These include the Centre National de Études des Systèmes Scolaires [National Centre for the Study of Education Systemes] CNESCO,¹⁷⁸ that was constituted in 2013 as one of two reconfigurations of the Haute Conseil de l'Éducation [Higher Council of Education] (HCE) that existed between 2005 and 2013 and replaced the Conseil National Des Programmes [National Council for Programmes] (CNP) that originated in 1989, alongside the IUFM. The other re-constituted council that is linked to the HCE is the Conseil Supérieur des Programmes (CSP) [Higher Council of Programs] that continues the core function of the HCE of advising on education and education performance. Both the HCE and CSP comprised experts nominated by politicians, however, the HCE had a mixture of members named by the President of the republic (3), President of the National Assembly (2), President of the Senat (2) and President of the Economic and Social Council (2), whilst the CSP has its members named by MEN. By contrast, CNESCO comprises a mixture of politicians and experts both, being comprised of two members of the National Assembly and two senators (both of left-right

¹⁷⁸ See <http://www.cnesco.fr/fr/accueil/> (accessed 30.11.2020)

parity), two members of the Economic and Social Council, and eight qualified experts on education. The role of CNESCO is to advice on matters of education through the publishing of reports and “scientific evaluations”.

Another council of note is the Conseil Supérieur de l'Éducation (CSE)¹⁷⁹ that was established in July 1989, in Loi d'orientation sur l'éducation (N° 89-486 du 10 juillet 1989) the same law that created the IUFM and is still active today (2020). It consists of 97 members from the range of education (teachers, inspectors, administrators, enseignant-chercheurs etc.) and is intended to provide information to the public on education and advise government on questions related to education (including teacher education). However, the analysis undertaken indicates that they are largely a form of release valve (granting the semblance of a voice) with limited policymaking impact compared to actors such as IGEN, DGESCO, or the directors of the INSPEs. However, the CSE can be mobilised in public discourse as a form of legitimisation of actor views (not only the governments).

The functions and presence of these different advisory bodies and councils is in line with common practice in the French state of individuals holding multiple offices and functions as reward for services rendered, to legitimize voices, and to uphold the semblance of meritocracy and democratic debate. If necessary, positions can be granted or even created to placate individuals as well, a practice that is much debated when the topic is senators or prime ministers also being mayors of different cities, and one that can create conflicts of interest.

The councils can then perhaps best be understood as a normative entity rooted in a French republican tradition associated with a certain type of meritocracy and the expertise of different individuals and their professions (plural), enabled by the state. This can perhaps also be seen in relation to what was called a habit of placating people when moved from authoritative positions for political reasons (e.g., when a recteur is relocated for political reasons), where appointment to a council position can be a gesture to sooth ruffled feathers. What these councils and advisory bodies are also indicative of is a culture of formalising relations between actors, rather than acting “ad-hoc” in the formation of information gathering units to help in policymaking as is the case in England as discussed in the previous chapter. This then is a key trait of the state as framer of a field, where entry to the contexts of influence and text production are not only guarded by government as a gatekeeper, but what organizations exist within the field is also largely the product of state policy.

7.2 Limited presence of non-state actors in public debate

This section discusses the presence, role, and function of non-state actors (unions, think tanks, and global organizations) in public debates on teacher education policy.

¹⁷⁹ see <https://www.education.gouv.fr/les-organismes-consultatifs-9314> (accessed 08.10.2020)

The AEF dépêche analysis of 272 short press releases between 1998 and 2018, found that 150 out of 558 actors who made statements on teacher education were union representatives, indicating a central place in the public debate for unions. Unions are often organized in umbrella organizations such as the SNES-FSU¹⁸⁰ a merger of SNES and FSU which is currently the largest umbrella-union for secondary teachers. However, the analysis indicated that there may be contradictory statements made by member unions of these umbrella organizations, as such they are not fully unitary actors. These constellations of unions also change over time. With that in mind, the largest umbrella group in terms of statements made, as measured in the dépêche analysis, was SNES-FSU by far with 80 mentions out of 150 statements by unions, the second largest was SGEN¹⁸¹ with 13. However, coding error may be applicable as navigating the different unions is complicated and how they are presented in news-clippings further complicates the information flow. All in all 34 different unions were identified (some of these were the same unions that had re-constituted themselves over time due to mergers or re-branding), all addressed by their acronyms. Meanwhile, unions are also considered to see themselves as counter-powers to the state (see Prost 2013, Seguy 2014). This emphasis of unions on being a counter-power was also stressed by an interviewee (F6). However, what did become apparent was that SNES systematically defended the IUFM, and noted the importance of research in ITE/ITT so the teacher is capable of adaption in an ever-changing profession. Meanwhile, the SE-UNSA shares this regard, and wants to avoid the IUFM becoming a profession school (it should remain a research-oriented entity). This can to some extent be seen as a defence of (old) state policy, and reflect more progressive-traditionalist or research – practitioner based divides than any form of being “counter-powers” in a broad sense. Counter-power can then be a moniker to hide behind as interests are pushed.

Parent organisations were also present to some degree, particularly the FCPE¹⁸² who were mentioned in 16 dépêche. However, the majority of their press-releases was in relation to the 2008-2012 masterisation debate, and often in conjunction with statements made by unions. Their stand here was against an emphasis on subject mastery at the expense of pedagogy and psychology of education.

Think tanks, another actor-group generally considered important in education in France are largely absent beyond some minor publications on teacher education by Terra Nova,¹⁸³ a left-wing think tank, in 2011, 2013, and 2015. The 2011 publication¹⁸⁴ was against masterisation without

¹⁸⁰ <https://www.snes.edu/> (accessed 11.12.2020) – SNES is a union for secondary teachers

¹⁸¹ See <https://www.sgen-cfdt.fr/> (accessed 15.02.2021)

¹⁸² Organisation representing the concerns of parents – see <https://www.fcpe.asso.fr/> (accessed 21.04.2021)

¹⁸³ See <https://tnova.fr/> (accessed 11.12.2020)

¹⁸⁴ See <https://tnova.fr/notes/formation-des-enseignants-reconstruire-sur-un-champs-de-ruines> (accessed 11.12.2020)

practical experience from teaching (internships) and in favour of what became the ESPE. The 2013 publication¹⁸⁵ focused on a recent Cour des Comptes¹⁸⁶ report on teacher education, stating that the teacher profession needed re-thinking in light of recruitment and management concerns. The same topic was raised in the 2015¹⁸⁷ publication, focused mainly on recruitment and management of teachers and not content of ITE/ITT.

Regarding “global” organizations, the dépêche analysis indicates a low historic presence or even reference to traditional actors such as the OECD. UNESCO was mentioned in 7 dépêches, the OECD was mentioned in 3 dépêches, whilst PISA was mentioned in 5 dépêches and Bologna in 3 (with ECTS invoked in 6). In temporal terms, the first OECD mention was in 2010, while UNESCO had 6 of its 7 mentions before 2008, then 1 in 2015. PISA was mentioned in 2002, 2009, 2010, 2014 (as PISA 2012), and 2016 (as PISA 2015). The 2002, 2009, and 2010 references were just to “PISA” with no year added behind as with the latter two. The use of PISA was also largely to open a means of attack on government policies by noting how France did not top the table. For example, the 2009 reference to PISA, by the president of the FCPE Jean-Jacques Hazan, was aimed at undermining the proposed masterisation reform of teacher education by Xavier Darcos that was aimed at increasing teachers’ subject knowledge and not their skills in pedagogy and psychology of education. Hazan used PISA in the debate on masterisation by stating that the key to improving France’s PISA result was more pedagogy and psychology of education, not more subject mastery. The statement was, arguably, a political one where PISA was not used as a source of “evidence” for what to do, but as a source of attack on current policies. The line of “attack” on the politics of Darcos began by lamenting the lack of consultation of the FCPE.

7.3 Tensions and negotiations between actors

Now that we know the main actors relevant for teacher education policymaking, we can analyse the evolving contestation of provision and teacher education content. In this section, we first look at the 1989 IUFM reform, this is followed by noting the increase in tensions between MEN and MESRI (not just at a ministerial level) rooted in the increasing proximity of the university structure and teacher education. The following section goes from administrative tensions to analyse the historic cleavages of what teacher education should focus on. The following sub-section takes a brief

¹⁸⁵ See <https://tnova.fr/notes/gerer-les-enseignants-autrement-un-diagnostic-rude-des-pistes-de-travail-a-ouvrir> (accessed 11.12.2020)

¹⁸⁶ See <https://www.ccomptes.fr/en> (accessed 25.02.2021) on the Cour des Comptes who oversee public expenditure. Education is the purview of the third chamber of the court.

¹⁸⁷ See <https://tnova.fr/etudes/le-recrutement-et-la-formation-des-personnels-de-l-education-nationale> (accessed 11.12.2020)

look at the relation between France and the rest of the world in discursive terms, before issues related to CPD are discussed.

7.3.1 The 1989 IUFM reform and subsequent tensions: Negotiations between actors

This sub-section looks at the modalities of the 1989 IUFM reform and how it began to restructure teacher education.

Within the administrative structure and logic of the strong educative state, in charge of education and with a state prerogative to denote who could be a teacher, the IUFM were first created, as a legal concept through the Loi d'orientation sur l'éducation (N° 89-486 DU 10 juillet 1989). The law abolished the 110-year old law "La loi du 9 août 1879 relative à l'établissement des écoles normales primaires" and ended "les articles 2, 3 et 47 de la loi du 19 juillet 1889 sur les dépenses ordinaires de l'instruction primaire publique et les traitements du personnel de ce service, modifiée par la loi du 25 juillet 1893, et l'ordonnance n° 45-2630 du 2 novembre 1945 portant autorisation d'établissements publics d'enseignement," that regulated ITE/ITT prior to the IUFM reform. The law on the IUFM was to take effect once the IUFM had been established, and not at the date of entering the statute books. The law also made provisions for future policy by government and MEN to hash out the details of the new reform through decrees and arrêtés.

The law of 1989 was followed by a slightly more detailed arrêté in 1991, as was pre-determined in the 1989 law. Importantly the arrêté left some details within its framework to be presented in later circulaires and discussions with institutions to progressively implement the reform, as no overarching and final plan was presented at that time. Thus, the legal framework from the beginning put the French government and ministry of education at the centre of reform procedures, but also created room for *future negotiation*. According to interviews (F1;F14) this also left much room for the IUFMs to develop within their local context pragmatically, and resulted in heterogeneity in terms of organization of the IUFM and content of ITE/ITT (see also Guglielmi (1998) for an account of this). The purpose of the reform was on the one hand to unify ITE/ITT by making it post-graduate for primary teachers and introduce training and theory in how to teach to secondary teachers, and on the other hand to provide an institution who could provide systematic CPD modelled after the MAFPEN. In that regard, the analysis shows that *the language on CPD* in relation to ITE/ITT and the IUFM-ESPE-INSPE has remained stable since 1989. The main idea is that there is a need for centralized organization of CPD that can be tailored to teachers' needs and connected to ITE/ITT in a continuum, a reform that according to a 2018 IGEN report remains to be done 29 years after such restructuring of CPD was begun (IGEN-IGAENR 2018).

Complications arose associated with the attachment of teacher education to universities. This began with the IUFM reforms in 1989 but has become greater since then as the number of

researchers in teacher education has increased incrementally. There was a hike in the number of academics directly employed in an IUFM in 2007 due to a change in government emphasis on this point as the IUFMs were integrated fully with universities, as opposed to being loosely associated institutions as was the case between 1989 and then. As one senior academic (F14) who has educated teachers since the 1980s put it:

[so this has evolved, it is evolving, that is to say the large shift was in 2007, it varies between académies where the IUFM were integrated with universities. So this integration reinforced the university component, the weight of research and notably questions of recruitment. That is to say at present when we do a national overview between 30 and 50% of the staff are lecturer-researchers. In Créteil for example we are currently at 30% while in 2013 we were at 23% so you see a shift in recruitment to favour lecturer-researchers. In the INSPE in Aix-Marseille the transformation has been much more dynamic since 2007 due to transforming lecturer posts into lecturer-researcher posts so they [Aix-Marseille] are at 50%]

The interviewee also highlighted how these developments reflect choices made in 1989/91, which we may infer as a mechanism of path dependence constraining action. This phenomenon of heterogeneity rooted in the IUFM reforms is argued to be at the heart of the 2019 INSPE reforms today, which aim to centralize further the fragmented nature of provision. The fragmented nature of ITE/ITT has been pointed out repeatedly in IGEN inspections as a problem that ought to be remedied in order to both increase performance and ensure the required unity of education in France (see annex 2.3). A central argument is that a teacher may teach anywhere in France, and then to ensure equality (and meritocracy) they need to be trained the same way in all providers. However, local actors such as universities and teacher educators do also note the pragmatic need for heterogeneity, as different universities have different competences, and the cultural (path dependent) traditions in distinct IUFM/ESPEs cannot be broken up through central decree. Here we may then note tensions between actors in favour of equality through singular unity and homogeneity, and those in favour of performance emphasis through local pragmatism and taking advantage of what exists locally in terms of resources and challenges. What is also interesting is that individual actors may hold both of these views at the same time, depending on what exact topic was being discussed. For example, IGEN reports, as confirmed in interviews, both propose further harmonization of ITE/ITT whilst calling for individual and pragmatic recognition of needs in terms of CPD. Importantly, IGEN appears a driving force behind reforms. Hence, it is difficult to create clear heuristic dividing lines on this form of tension. Instead, it would appear as if there were multiple cognitive blueprints in the form of scripts readily available in the institutional environment that manifest within the organizational field, without ideational homogenization.

Furthermore, as noted by an interviewee who was involved with creating an IUFM (F1), they had limited state guidance in recognition of the fragmented nature of ITE/ITT between academic regions prior to the 1989 reform. This is reflected in the analysed IGEN reports that note efforts to harmonize practices, differences in compliance with policy, and different challenges (economically, logistically, administratively) between academic regions, resulting in an emphasis in the ongoing INSPE reform to harmonize ITE/ITT. This is where the logic of the French central-state encounters complications of a practical nature, and normative resistance to change.

Hence, with the procedure of the 1989 IUFM reform we see a strong focus on legal frameworks and of allowing MEN to incrementally transform teacher education (through dialogue with practitioners) as opposed to singular reforms where a readymade solution is presented. Meanwhile, different actors such as IGEN, but also unions and ITE/ITT providers provide commentary on how the reform should unfold, what goals should be, and how goals can be achieved.

7.3.2 Tensions between MEN and MESRI following the IUFM reform

This sub-section looks at new tensions that begun to emerge with the IUFM reform between MEN and MESRI, centred on two different governing logics.

Interviews mentioned that over time, tensions between MEN/DGESCO and MESRI was a source of conflict and delay of reforms, this observation was supported by the *dépêche* analysis where conflicting views were expressed. Teacher education is as mentioned the domain of MEN, whilst universities and research are that of MESRI. Issues then arose, from the creation of the IUFM onwards, as the IUFM was to attach itself to universities, conduct research, and draw on research for ITE/ITT and CPD, crossing over from the domain of MEN to the domain of MESRI. This appears to be less of an issue when MESRI is a sub-office of MEN, and more of one when MESRI exists as its own ministry. This is rooted in territorial posturing of ministers and civil servants alike, but also an issue of communicating across hierarchies that are held strictly apart in legal terms. How tensions are articulated is related to the composition of the field. To remedy some of these complications, MEN and MESRI have an overlapping “office” in their organigram to ensure coordination between the two ministries.

Two different hierarchies met with the IUFM reforms, and as the two have further integrated, particularly since 2007, DGESCO must now increasingly negotiate with universities as opposed to dictating their internal hierarchy as was the practice while the IUFM was only loosely associated with multiple universities. According to one interviewee (F14), this is central to the ongoing INSPE reforms and perceived issues in the current administration of teacher education that operates along *two different logics* or in her words systems:

“[There is a vertical system descending from the minister of national education [for education], and a system that is more collegial and horizontal for higher education]”

To describe the two distinct systems of governing/nance, the head of an academic region (politico-administrative geographic region), the recteur, is nominally in charge of all education within his denominated area, schools, teacher education, and universities (although his university role is mostly symbolic, as the president of the university has the de-facto power) and reports directly to MEN. Importantly, the recteur has his employment re-appointed every Wednesday at 9 am, and as such may be de-facto fired/relocated (or de-jure not be re-appointed) every week. As most recteurs (but not all) are former teachers they are still civil servants and are re-located should their employment be terminated (for example as IGEN inspectors) as ruffled feathers are attempted to be smoothed over. However, the hierarchy and responsibilities are clear, the recteur is to implement government policy without too many questions or he risks not being re-appointed next week. Meanwhile, the director of an IUFM-ESPE-INSPE is named by MEN through an arrêté for five years and is hierarchically subordinate to the recteur. This is central to the MEN system of governing through hierarchy and enforced loyalty, however, the same modalities cannot be applied to university presidents, councils, and researchers who have a different level of normative protection. A recteur can be re-posted to Guyana (e.g., this was done with Blanquer before he became MEN) or be removed from the post of DGESCO or director of the MEN cabinet to become an auditor with the Cour des Comptes, the same is not inherently the case for a university professor. Meanwhile, the administrative (de facto) head of the university (its president) is in France elected by the academic staff of the university and is not appointed by the government.¹⁸⁸ The recteur is chancellor and de jure head of the universities in his académie, however, this is a ceremonial position rather than an administrative one as the university hierarchy answers to the president of the university not the chancellor. Thus, MEN has a strong control over the recteur who is officially in charge of teacher education within an académie, as well as over the director of an IUFM-ESPE-INSPE, however, neither MEN nor MESRI have direct control over the president of the university teacher education is attached to. Academic freedom is a strong normative and cultural-cognitive (rationalised myth) concept as ingrained in France as it is in many other countries today. Turning now from administrative tensions and governing logics to concerns in the teacher education organizational field over what teacher education ought to be.

¹⁸⁸ This is enshrined in the code of education's article L712-2

7.3.3 Historic cleavages regarding what teacher education should focus on

This sub-section looks more in depth at the tensions, and denotes the central arguments presented by different actors on what teacher education should focus on.

Out of the 272 AEF dépêches analysed between 1998 and 2018, 71 make a reference to practical experience in ITE/ITT, 8 discuss the place of the subject versus the place of the practical, 17 to research. In the category of content (overlap permitted), 7 mentioned theoretical knowledge, 17 mentioned subject knowledge, 19 mentioned pedagogy, and 12 mentioned didactics. Meanwhile, the analysis also indicates that the IUFM fought hard for their place and role in ITE/ITT in France during the period they became a more integral part of the university structure (2005-07) and later through the "masterisation" process under Sarkozy (2008-12).

To provide an illustration for how the contestation between two segments of academia, the subject expert (e.g., mathematics professor) and the teaching expert (e.g., didactician in mathematics), and the teaching profession as represented by schools is manifest in France in relation to the 2019 INSPE reform, this quote by F14 is perhaps apt:

[There is exactly the question of the place of the professional in relation to the university, the place of the pure subject and the applied subject. There is the professional because what is defended by the INSPE is that teaching is a craft (métier) and what is important is having solid subject knowledge but not only. One needs to be capable to transmit one's knowledge. ... there are some subjects that are closer to this ideology of the professional that it is important to keep in mind it is a craft. It is not necessarily a transmission of knowledge. Some subjects have a more classical vision of things, by thinking that it is sufficient to have a high level of subject knowledge]

The importance of "pure subject" was reported by (F11) to be a central concern for some universities, but less so in others depending on the place of the INSPE within the university structure and on local relations. We also see how views on what ITE/ITT should contain and what teaching is depends in part on the subject matter in question. Hence, it is hard to denote the university as a unitary actor, but rather (as in England) a mosaic of interests opposed to teacher educators in the INSPE who largely see teaching as a craft which needs components of pedagogy, didactics, and educational science. However, it was also noted (F11) that within the INSPE themselves there was much debate over the place of lecturer-researchers (theoreticians) and teacher-mentors employed part or full time as teacher educators (practitioners), a debate echoing the discourse in England on a pendulum swing between higher education and schooling as discussed in the previous two chapters. Thus, a picture is perhaps emerging of "teaching" as a contested profession, where there is disagreement over both what it is (and how to teach), and how one best learns the act of teaching. This also creates a "messy" organizational field that is not harmonizing. This can in part be explained

by multiple institutionalized environments coming together over the field, as academics, teachers, politico-administrators, and a myriad of intellectual traditions related to subject come together. One may only think of all debates in academia between different disciplines and fields of research to understand just how hard it is to denote even what a researcher is, let alone a teacher.

This is somewhat similar to the behaviour of universities in England since 2010 when challenged by the SCITTS as discussed in the previous two chapters. As such, we see the common phenomenon of dominant actors defending their place and their function within an organizational field against the imposition of outsiders (be they schools/SCITTs or universities).

Even though we may talk of a move towards universities in France through the concept of “universitisation”, it is not a move away from practical experience all together. On the one hand, administratively the INSPE is now firmly under the university structure. On the other hand however, the time spent in schools during ITE/ITT has not changed since 1991, and beyond a short period in 2011-12 students have had to undergo an internship (or have their work experience, for example as contractuels, validated as equal to an internship) in order to work as a teacher. For secondary teachers, some even talk of a lower attachment to the university following the IUFM reform as learning how to teach was not a requirement for them prior to 1991 and the opening of the IUFMs. This helps explain the tensions between the place of the subject, the place of learning how to teach, and by extension the place of the university and the place of the school/practical – that is often also related to old social separations between primary and secondary level teachers (Bourdieu 1984, Farges 2017).¹⁸⁹ The post-2012 approach in France can perhaps be superficially compared to the English “third way” of partnerships as championed by the Cathedrals group and GuildHE (see Chapter 6), as it emphasises the co-existence of the practical and the theoretical and a systemic partnerships between mentors in schools, teacher educators in the INSPE, and subject experts in the wider university.

7.3.4 France and the world

This sub-section looks at the relation between France and international trends such as Bologna and PISA, and note how they are used in the national discourse on teacher education.

In France, Europe and the EU always comes first, and the rest of the world second (see also Chabert 2011 on the ideations behind France’s view on Europe). Both the OECD and UNESCO are headquartered in Paris, something that according to a senior civil servant (F17) has some bearing on the relation between France and the rest of the world. The coordination of such relations is at a

¹⁸⁹ Bourdieu for example places the primary teacher within the petite bourgeoisie and the secondary teacher in the middle bourgeoisie. Academics, to Bourdieu, mostly belong to the haute bourgeoisie.

ministerial level handled by the Délégation aux Relations Européennes et Internationales et à la Coopération (DREIC)¹⁹⁰ [Delegation for European and international relations and cooperation], who act as a link between the French government and organizations such as the OECD, UNESCO, and EU. They coordinate the work on PISA with Direction de l'Évaluation, de la Prospective et de la Performance [Directorate for Evaluation, Planning, and Performance] (DEPP)¹⁹¹ the MEN internal department for large-scale data collection and analysis for example.

In terms of political discourse as seen through analysis of the AEF dépêche, European concerns are also presented by government as more central than French concerns at times, as Bologna and internationalization are both pushed as rationales behind ITE/ITT reforms, and requirements that *all* master level programs contain living-foreign language courses.

A prime example of Bologna used as a key argument in teacher education debates can be seen in this statement summarised in AEF dépêche 429350 (18/02 2003) by the conference of IUFM directors (CDIUFM):¹⁹²

"[Replacing the professional master thesis stretches the link between research-practice of the job. It pushes aside ITE/ITT as a part of the bachelor-master-doctorate process. It is to deny the European dimension. It is to go against all the efforts of harmonization of European systems initiated by Bologna.]"

Bologna is here framed as "what works" for European harmonization and is used as an argument against replacing the professional master thesis. Here we also see the Bologna Process of European harmonization and the 3+2+3 cycle of bachelor-master-doctorate (not used at all in England for example) used as a central argument against changes to the master component of ITE/ITT in France. By comparison, England has had no move to standardise on the ECTS nor on the Bologna 3+2+3 system of three-year Bachelor followed by a two year Master and a three year PHD. Instead, undergraduate ITE is 3-4 years integrated, whilst post-graduate entry is 3+1 (not 3+2). Making ITE/ITT two years in length was discussed through a public government consultation in 2017/18¹⁹³ but extending induction from one year to two was chosen (DfE 2019), meanwhile the discourse centred

¹⁹⁰ See <https://www.education.gouv.fr/delegation-aux-relations-europeennes-et-internationales-et-la-cooperation-dreic-7418> (accessed 25.06.2020) on DREIC

¹⁹¹ A note on the translation: the French word "prospective" is a complex word that can be directly translated to the English "prospective", but it connotes to a form of futurology, the study of a prospective future or futures, and knowledge of the future with an aim of shaping it. As such, it is perhaps best translated by the word "planning" that better reflects the English concept of "policy planning".

¹⁹² The CDIUFM is a grouping of all IUFM directors (comparable to heads of professional programming in England) that advice government on teacher education, and represent the IUFM as an organizational block in negotiations on e.g. the ITE/ITT curriculum. They are state-representatives in their function as the IUFMs are fully internal to MEN.

¹⁹³ Called the "Strengthening Qualified Teacher Status and improving career progression for teachers Government consultation" See <https://nta.org.uk/departement-for-education-consultation/> (accessed 18.12.2020)

on ITE/ITT content (what needs to be learnt) rather than conforming to Bologna. It appears Bologna is, if anything, a political project that national educative states engage with rather than one that is governed from the top.

Meanwhile, as noted in interviews (F8, F9, F12, F13, F14, F15, F16, F17, F18, F19), much of the engagement with Europe/the world is political as French state actors have been good at arguing against PISA for example by highlighting French exceptionalism, and how context matters in education. This is not to say they do not seek to learn from other countries, but that it must also be relativized and compared to French internal data from e.g. the above mentioned DEPP. This quote by one senior civil servant (F18) is particularly illustrative of such concerns:

“[it is always relative, but it is always interesting to look at policies [politiques] elsewhere and compare that to what we do in France. Because, for example, we have surveys done by DEPP that place us differently [than PISA]. I think we must relativize, and accept the view of others, to better evolve ourselves]”

We may argue that Bologna seems to fit the French reform agenda better than PISA does, and the reach of actors for international accords or surveys is rooted in a desire to strengthen arguments in the national policy field (see also Moravcsik (1993) on state incentives to play of “Europe” to overcome national constraints).

Interestingly, in England “context” is more of an argument pushed by academics than government who embrace poor PISA performance to push reforms (e.g., in the Importance of Teaching 2010 white paper). However, French resistance to PISA seems to have come to an end with the current government who are making a big deal out of the lack of equality in France as measured by PISA, as it breaks with the meritocratic foundational myth of la République. Poor performance in league tables is not a problem it would seem, for example, France ranking below Finland, which was noted as a “small country” by F18, but failure to provide the semblance of meritocracy is. This is in line with the rationalised myth of France centred on the meritocratic Republic discussed in Chapter 5.

7.3.5 Issues related to continued professional development provision in France

As general debates on teacher education are often dominated by ITE/ITT, likely for reasons of perceived importance, this section puts a particular emphasis on CPD to illuminate some of the tensions and concerns within the organizational fields in relation to this aspect of teacher education. This is of particular importance when analysing France, as CPD reform has been one of the core concerns of all teacher education provision reforms since 1982 and the creation of MAFPEN.

France, again, contrasts England in terms of system and values but has some similar issues once we look at the practical aspects of CPD policy and policymaking. As first discussed in Chapter 5, CPD first became systematised through MAFPEN in 1982, and became one of the functions of the

IUFMs and their successors the ESPE and INSPE. Moreover, the ESPE reform was in part done to improve the link between ITE/ITT and CPD. However, CPD is also given by the inspectorate, particularly IGEN-IGAENR inspectors who provide CPD for teachers in their sector of knowledge (subject for secondary teachers, pedagogy for primary) which corresponds to the teaching job they did prior to becoming inspectors (e.g., a German as foreign language teacher is an IGEN responsible for German as foreign language and provides CPD to teachers within this discipline). Beyond these two main forms, CPD is also offered in a range of institutions, such as CIEP¹⁹⁴ and online portals such as M@gistere¹⁹⁵ which has been pushed by successive IGEN-IGAENR reports, as well as Formiris and CNFPT that are more recent additions. Viaeduc is also a central actor as a professional network centred on CPD (IGEN-IGAENR 2018). Although offers are present and there are many systematic approaches to improving CPD, as the most recent (2018) IGEN-IGAENR report emphasis there is both a fragmented landscape where the effectiveness of CPD is hard to measure (but assumed to be low based on interviews with teachers) and that there is a lack of recognition of the strong individual characteristics of the teacher in France, who see themselves as a professional who should “pick themselves” what additional training/education they need.

The problems seem to be that the strong individual character of teachers in France, and lack of instruments to ensure compliance, leads to de-coupling between intentions in CPD (policy) and practical implementation/compliance at a teacher level. This has again caused the discourse on CPD to be somewhat circular since 1982, with the 2018 IGEN-IGAENR recommendations (12 in number) echoing stated intentions in 1982 and 1989/91. Hence, CPD becomes an ideal illustration of the complexities of policymaking when implementation of policies become an issue, and of how desires that are disconnected from practitioners rarely result in ideal solutions. Therefore, even despite intentions, and perhaps mostly for economic reasons, the creation of the IUFM and the ESPE and now INSPE reforms have re-structured ITE/ITT but made very limited impact on CPD despite policy intentions.

The issue of CPD in the teaching profession is argued to be tied to contestation over who holds the expertise (teachers or teacher educators etc.), financial costs of covering for teachers who are absent from class in order to undergo CPD, and to practical considerations such as time to do CPD. However, teachers in France report only working 38 hours a week compared to 54 hours in England in TALIS 2018, while the time spent doing CPD is limited in both cases. One can then propose that the concept of time (to do CPD) is culturally contingent (what is an acceptable workload is clearly higher in England than in France). Meanwhile, CPD is hard to do during work hours due to the

¹⁹⁴ See <https://www.france-education-international.fr/en> (accessed 15.02.2021)

¹⁹⁵ See <https://magistere.education.fr/> (accessed 15.02.2021)

cost of replacing a teacher for a day (or even the possibility of finding qualified teachers for this purpose). Thus, to understand policymaking one needs an understanding of how a culture conceptualises things such as “time for CPD” or what is acceptable amount of time spent working, and an understanding of material considerations rooted in what is practicable from an economic standpoint. Economic that is, if one accepts economics relates to production and produce of something (in this case teachers) and is not inherently linked to capitalism and commodity centred on profit. The cultural aspect also relates to norms as far as the English and French societies both seem to normatively expect children to have educated/trained teachers (so the teacher cannot be replaced by the lunch lady or the head of human resources as “supervisor”), and that classroom sizes are to be small, so one teacher cannot teach 40-60 pupils whilst his colleague undergoes CPD.

7.4 Tri-party negotiations between providers, universities, and MEN represented by the recteur

Multiple-actor negotiations on teacher education policy is an integral part of teacher education policymaking and is often rooted in the cleavages discussed above. This is formally structured by tri-party negotiation within the state as the state as employer represented by the rectorat negotiates with the director of the IUFM/ESPE/INSPE (and their delegates) and the president of the university (and their delegates) on central issues such as the ITE/ITT curriculum (maquette de formation),¹⁹⁶ resulting in a form of cohabitation and forced consensus on text production according to an interviewee (F14). The INSPEs, as the IUFM and ESPE before, often coordinate their positions through the network of INSPE directors¹⁹⁷ (formerly the CDIUFM as noted in Chapter 5). However, negotiations often include the views of unions, advisory councils, and national inspectors as well who influence the policymaking procedure even here.

The formal tri-party negotiations ensure a form of provider input from what since 2019 is called the network of INSPE directors (previously the council of IUFM/ESPE presidents), as they negotiate important policies such as the education plan for ITE/ITT and how policy may help the IUFM/ESPE/INSPE contribute to CPD. However, this is a closed group of leaders, not a forum for teacher educators or teachers to exercise a form of voice (lobbying is always an option). The leader of the INSPE network is the most central figure in the national level negotiations and is reported by interviewees to do some a priori advising and negotiation with MEN regarding policy to make formal meetings run smoothly. These formalized negotiations also enable dialogue between INSPEs and

¹⁹⁶ These maquettes can be seen on the websites of INSPEs, for example here for the INSPE in Bretagne: <https://www.inspe-bretagne.fr/l-offre-de-formation/les-maquettes-de-formation> (accessed 15.02.2021)

¹⁹⁷ See <https://www.reseau-inspe.fr/> (accessed 15.02.2021)

their “parent” universities in a collective manner with the central state as arbitrator, as tensions can in some locations be present, particularly regarding budget concerns but also ideological views on the education of (secondary) teachers (subject versus pedagogy).

Normatively speaking, France is characterised by “polite” disagreement and consensus seeking, but under the auspice of a hierarchy where attempts at consensus building is done within the presence of the hierarchy, where one is conscious of who is in charge according to an INSPE director (F14). This emphasis on hierarchy, a union leader (F19) considered a complicated characteristics of the system in France, before stating:

[When you are at the top of the hierarchy that gives a sentiment of superiority in relation to those who are below you. That which we demand is that dialogue can be a dialogue between pairs. That is to say people who are similar, equal you know, but who are each in their role which is not the same, but without the idea of the hierarchy ... Thus, it is more complicated, they have a tendency to be very condescending. That is to say, they say « it's like that » we do not really have a dialogue in the sense that each takes count of what the other says in order to advance, to finish by finding a synthesis] (F19)

In simpler terms, some are more equal than others. This was something the union found problematic when negotiating with senior civil servants and politicians. This can also be complicated under the current administration, that has a higher degree of non-educationalists present in key roles according to the union leader, as the non-educationalists have a tendency to be condescending.

The fact that this was a change under the current administration and linked to the influx of young non-educationalists was mentioned by other actors as well, and seem to be an exception to past practices where educationalists had been more central, based on the interviews conducted.¹⁹⁸ The union representative did find it easiest to be heard under the Socialist governments of François Holland, than under the centre-right of Nicolas Sarkozy and Jacques Chirac, but this one may imagine is indicative of the close relations between unions and the left in France, as in England where the same phenomenon was mentioned. The concerns of the unions were not echoed by all actors, as some believed access was good for all, others not so much. That is, it became impossible to generalize around a consensus on whether or not consensus was *actually* sought, but conditions were consistently reported to be *less friendly* at present than under the previous MENs. This seemed to be for a combination of two reasons, the controversial nature of the current MEN Jean-Michel

¹⁹⁸ Here it should to be noted that the current French government is reportedly highly staffed by young people, economists and lawyers mostly, with ties to McKinsey as reported in the newspaper Le Monde. See https://www.lemonde.fr/m-le-mag/article/2021/02/05/de-la-creation-d-en-marche-a-la-campagne-de-vaccination-mckinsey-un-cabinet-dans-les-pas-de-macron_6068833_4500055.html (accessed 15.02.2021)

Blanquer and the influx of new young staff in senior positions without insider-knowledge of education.

Lastly on provision of teacher education, in contrast to England, providers are in France an integral part of the state structure, directly owned and administered by MEN (the INSPE) and MENSUR (the universities). There is no pure private-private or public-private provision for teacher education in France today as all teachers need to undergo placement in schools through the MEEF program in an INSPE. However, preparation for the concours can be done privately, but that is also usually done in some specialized lycées that are under state authority and ownership. The teacher education organizational field is structurally under the politico-administrative organizational field with a direct hierarchical line between the two. As such, there is no steering at a distance possible in France in regards to teacher education of public school teachers. Meanwhile, the state educates teachers for private-under-contract schools (who comprise some 20% of student numbers), but again this is handled by the state for the private market.

7.5 Discussion and concluding remarks

In this chapter, we have seen that France has a state centred system of hierarchical governing in teacher education, corresponding to the wider system and logic of the educative state as discussed in chapter 5. However, the system also has “built in access” to different stakeholders across levels, through fixed advisory boards such as CNESCO. Moreover, the network of INSPE directors help ensure a voice for practitioners, whilst unions are consulted on matters of teacher education and teacher professionalism. Thus, it can be argued the educative-state holds the regulative power, but the normative rights of other stakeholders cannot be denied by the educative-state at present.

France has undergone three central reform processes since 1982 with major implications for the politico-administrative and teacher education organizational fields. The first in 1989-92 created the IUFM as the first organization-type responsible for educating both primary and secondary teachers. The reform reshaped the organizational field both in terms of provision by introducing a 3+2 system, but also restructured the administrative structure by merging several long existing institutions into one (Guglielmi 1998, Prost 2014). The second reform in 2012 created the ESPE and furthered the integration between the universities and teacher education begun with the 1989-92 reform (Bon 2014, Misra 2014). The third, still ongoing during the fieldwork for this thesis, is the INSPE reforms, aimed at harmonizing ITE/ITT across the territories. I argue that these reforms have continued to try to achieve the goals of the 1989-92 reform, by eliminating local variations implemented out of necessity in 1990, fully integrate the universities with teacher education, and create a functioning system of CPD centred on the universities working in tandem with the civil

service (e.g., IGEN). As such, even though we may conceptualize and identify three reform processes, we may also think of it as one long ongoing process begun in the 1980s.

During the reform processes, the gradual integration of teacher education providers and the university created new forms of contestation and negotiation between actors in the field as the legitimacy and position of the universities changed, MESRI became more central than before, and the IUFM-ESPEs themselves found their professional conditions evolving. Behind these changes as a central link in justifying universitisation and masterisation was the Bologna process, as well as the work of the national inspectorate in France on the importance of continued harmonization and integration of the IUFMs/ESPEs as they followed up on the initial 1989 legal texts, which at an ideational and normative level was coupled with union support for the IUFM reforms. The reforms themselves were structured by the hierarchical nature of the French state, which presently both ensures access to multiple voices to policymaking and constrains who can speak by being the central actor in both the politico-administrative and teacher education fields. As such, the state in France is more than a gatekeeper as was the case in England, it is the guarantor of the system and the framer of field configurations. However, it is also found that in relation to teacher education provision and content the teacher education field is fragmented and rife with strife over how teachers should be educated in the limited time available, and just as importantly, who should educate them.

One may claim the policy debates in France seems to *turn around* the concept of giving and taking to obtain a form of liveable consensus, and that the INSPE did not obtain everything they wanted, they had ultimately to listen to MEN, whilst the unions were heard but not always listened to. In other words, the normative emphasis is on making sure everyone is at least content as far as possible, that pragmatic solutions are sought, and that all actors have their say. However, the hierarchy is omnipresent complicating matters and leaving some to feel ignored, whilst who is in charge is always clear. Here we should note the strong connection between fields and environments in France, the meritocratic culture ensuring at least the pretence of everyone present being intelligent (merit to be heard) and decorum is always maintained in a meritocratic cult(ure) where form and hierarchy outperforms substance. Meanwhile, we can infer that complications do quickly seem to enter the dialogue within an organizational field once there is increased distance between the education and state-policymaking environments, e.g. once non-educationalists occupy central positions within MEN as noted in this chapter. Moreover, there is a clear tension between the normative dimensions emphasis on seeking consensus as the right thing to do, and the cultural-cognitive dimensions engrained (taken for granted) emphasis on hierarchy and the rights of senior officials.

As a whole, the field is characterised by a central hierarchy and direct state-ownership compared to the mosaic in England we saw in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, problems are

claimed by stakeholders to be present in the form of unclear responsibilities and influences between MEN and MESRI, as well as friction over the place of the INSPE within the university structure. This one could argue relates to the intersection between organizational fields with slightly different professional norms as has been observed elsewhere such as the split between PISAologists and Bildung centred academics in Germany (Zapp and Powell 2016). The central take-away from this chapter, and the previous, is how organizational fields cannot only be understood through a focus on the regulative-administrative system nor on actor relations, it must also look at the tools the actors have at their disposal and how they can operationalise these (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, Scott 2013).

The analysis shows that government struggles to obtain oversight and control over teacher education is one of the central aspects of the organisational field in both cases. Nevertheless, the control levers differ and are used differently in the two distinct organizational fields related to teacher education in England and France. The former centres on steering at a distance and a decoupling between the DfE and providers in structural terms, whilst the latter has a continuous hierarchical structure with MEN and MESRI together as owners and operators of all aspects of education, including higher education. What is important to note is the similarity of tensions within such different contexts. This is perhaps due to the contextual similarity of *core purpose of academia* (free thinking) and of politico-administrators (governing and overseeing public funds) being the same in both England and France, however, conclusions on this are hard to reach based on the research undertaken here.

Chapter 8: Legitimation of political discourse and policy: The construction and use of “evidence” in policymaking

“When someone says, “Science teaches such and such,” he is using the word incorrectly. Science doesn’t teach anything; experience teaches it. If they say to you, “Science has shown such and such,” you might ask, “How does science show it? How did the scientists find out? How? What? Where?”” (Feynman 1969)

In the previous chapters we saw how the organizational fields in the two cases separate between insiders and outsiders, and that the DfE and MEN are central actors in granting access to the policymaking process. Central tools to both influencing and legitimising policy in such a system can be said to be cognitive blueprints of “what works” and the normative legitimacy of professions to express an opinion (e.g. on what is “valid” knowledge). Past research has found an increasing emphasis on the use of research and the associated concept of “evidence” to justify policy, with wider ramifications for the policymaking process and for the organizational fields (Scott, Ruef et al. 2000, Saunders 2007, Steiner-Khamsi 2012, Chung 2016). Meanwhile, the interaction between knowledge and governance is complex, but growing in importance in education (Fazekas and Burns 2012), with politically selected knowledge used as a governing tool through for example government websites denoting “what works” (Decuypere, Ceulemans, and Simons 2014). Such emphasis on figuring out “what works” in complex situations through the construction and dissemination of knowledge constitutes the central component of cognitive blueprints as seen in Chapter 3. Therefore, “evidence” is arguably a root disseminator and rationale of legitimacy behind mimetic processes, the understanding of which is central for comprehending how institutionalized environments interact with organizational fields.

This chapter operates from the proposition that the concept of evidence as used in political discourse has become a fluid and unfixed concept that one struggles to pin down. As such, evidence and “evidence” are not the same, the former is rooted in epistemology and long-held practices and beliefs within the philosophy of science, the latter is rooted in political discourse and expedience to ensure legitimacy and increase one’s persuasive power. In other words, I use evidence when addressing the use of sound epistemology to find out what is going on in the world, and “evidence” when addressing the political construction of arguments to feed political debates and construct legitimacy for a policy.

As we shall see in this chapter as it addresses RQ 2, the current modes of thinking around evidence and “evidence”, both, are rooted in the path dependent socio-histories of the politico-administrative environment in both England and France. In other words, it shows how and why

context (time, space, activity) matters, and when differences in context may yield comparable outcomes and how we can learn cross-contextually, a central theme of this thesis. This is important in relation to both discourse linking “evidence-based policymaking” (EBPM) to NPM (and neo-liberal reform) and the error of reducing the conceptualisation of current practices to “measurement” as the linking between research and policy is of a broader nature relatable to societal shifts in how we view the intersection between governance and knowledge (Fazekas and Burns 2012, Normand 2017).

In this chapter it is argued that both England and France are in an *evidence era*, where policy instructions and even the act of policymaking are justified through a language shrouded in talk of research, data, and best practice. This evidence era is rooted in what has become a rationalised myth (Meyer and Rowan 1977) centred on a belief in the necessity for policy to be evidence based, as the concept of EBPM has redefined the relation between science and policy (Normand 2017). This is found to be the case in the context of influence in France, and both the context of influence and text production in England.¹⁹⁹ However, there are some important differences between the two cases in the *articulation of evidence-concepts* in policymaking, where England is rooted in “evidence shows” type of argumentation France has a large place for “experts-as-evidence”. To preview some findings: in France, we can talk of two layers of policy communication, one pushed to the front through policy texts, and one pushed through policy discourse and negotiation. “Evidence” is largely mobilised in the discourse. This is different in England where policy texts are also part of the discourse in their mobilisation of legitimacy arguments in policy texts. Here we may infer the role of the legalism myth in France where authoritative policy documents need no legitimisation, but the political discourse does. Interestingly, as far back as 1984/89 (at the least) this difference can be observed in the form policy documents take. This has an impact on how we can methodologically analyse the two cases, as we must look more at what surrounds a policy-text in France, whilst in England the justification of a policy is found within the text itself.

Meanwhile, measurement, a concept central to what has been deemed an age of measurement devoid of purpose (Biesta 2009), continues to be important in an “evidence” era – it is not argued that it has disappeared. However, current practices involve a whole range of efforts to justify policy in terms of “evidence” that go beyond quantification and standardisation, the hallmarks of measurement. Such justifications, in political debates, are in England rooted in references to literature ranging from peer-reviewed academic literature to McKinsey reports, blogs, and popular magazines such as The Atlantic or simple statements of “evidence shows” without explicit sources provided. By contrast, in France, there has been an emphasis on technocratic production of

¹⁹⁹ It can also be argued that this is the case in the context of practice in England, however, the data collected for this research, due to the formulation of the research questions, is limited in this regard.

“evidence” since the 19th century, but with an arguable uptake in the past decades as large-scale data has become more readily available. This technocratic approach is reflected in the large emphasis on evidence gathering eyes and ears such as IGEN, or statistical data collectors and analysts such as DEPP that is frequently referenced in public debates. However, the French Republic is also, as seen in the previous chapters, a political system where technocrats are subject to political will and are political actors in their own right. As such, France is a quasi-technocracy at best as argued in Chapter 5. Therefore, “Evidence” I argue is a good label for what we see today, as it has connotations rooted in clues, observations, and experience that can be applied to establish both “what works” and what constitutes a social “problem”, both applications shift how public discourse may be undertaken and problematized. Meanwhile, “measurement” connotes what can be quantified and standardised, as such, measurement is a central form of “evidence” but evidence is also *more* than measurement as it connotes to unquantified and non-standard sources of knowledge as well (e.g. anecdotal evidence, perception of problems, the knowledge of experts). That is, if measurement usually relates to quantitative large-scale data and related instrumentation, “evidence” is a much broader term that encompasses different forms of “research shows” types of argumentation that lay claim to a form of rational legitimacy, that is distinguished from argumentation rooted in broader value driven normative, philosophical, and purpose inclusive discourse in teacher education. Thus, “evidence” is the archetypical legitimizer of cognitive blueprints and is in turn subject to rationalized myths and the ability of actors to collect, disseminate, and legitimise it.

The rest of the chapter begins by defining and theorising on some key uses of “evidence”, specifically “evidence” as a rationalised myth centred on NPM that prescribes measurement and scientism in decision-making (Knafo 2019) in section 8.1, and “evidence” as a cultural-cognition embedded and taken for granted in policy processes today in section 8.2. The chapter then turns to empirical observations and analysis to show how policymaking and policy influence in England and France centre on contestation of “evidence” and the dissemination of politicized claims of “what works” in education. Section 8.3 focuses on the production and dissemination of “evidence” from both an organizational field and institutionalized environment perspective. Section 8.4 focuses on the purpose and content of “evidence” as it enters policy texts, whilst section 8.5 emphasises the “global” aspect of “evidence” by focusing on references that note “what works elsewhere”.

Through the chapter, knowledge on the organizational fields presented in the previous chapter is drawn upon and expanded as it illustrates how actors engage with, and use, research to construct “evidence” in order to support or critique claims of “what works” and thereby influence policymaking. The chapter also leads into the next one by inferring how organizational fields are embedded within larger institutionalized environments, particularly through emphasising the impact of rationalised myths on practices within a field.

8.1 “Evidence” used to legitimize policy and the influence of NPM

The importance of analysing “evidence” myths in policymaking relates at a fundamental level to how politics relates to socio-cultural ideas and norms that may legitimize power and coercion (Béland and Cox 2011). In addition, “evidence” has become a central legitimizer of political ideas and norms in recent times (Saunders 2007, Menter 2013, Verger, Steiner-Khamsi, and Lubienski 2017). As such, we may suggest that “evidence” is the core of policy-as-discourse at present and has a strong presence in policy-as-text.

Moreover, past research has found that different kinds of knowledge, easily warped into “evidence” for political ends, can constitute a form of knowledge-based power for the state. This can be done, for example, through digital spaces of evidence where interactive instructions on how a task ought to be performed can be found (Decuyper, Ceulemans, and Simons 2014), or through fixed parameters people can be measured against as they provide “evidence” of function and even self-evaluate their performance through such “evidence” measures (Ozga 2009). At an international level the same modes of self-evaluation can be found for example in PISA or TALIS (see Chapter 5), through the “evidence” provided by international organizations (e.g., the OECD, UNESCO, or the World Bank) (Zapp, 2018, 2020), or ideas and theories disseminated by research institutes and universities (e.g. NPM and neo-liberalism) (Knafo 2019).

Meanwhile, knowledge as a governing tool is distributed across organizational fields and environments *unevenly* as some actors hold more power through claims of legitimate knowledge than others, but such power is *never monopolized* (Heller 1996). Therefore, should this be correct, in order to understand policymaking, one must understand the knowledge and information *mobilised and weaponised* as “evidence” by different actors vying to influence and shape policy. Such an understanding then rests on the legitimisation of one kind of knowledge over another and forms a central element of contestation over “what works” in the cultural-cognitive dimension (Scott, 2013). In other words, the same modalities that enable states to govern through knowledge, often operationalized as “evidence”, can be employed to nudge state policies by third party actors (e.g., unions or think tanks) as state-level policymakers (e.g. the DfE or MEN) attempt to make sense of complex realities. The duality of state governing through “evidence” on the one hand and states themselves being heavily influenced by “evidence” for their sense-making on the other hand, is at the heart of the “evidence” centred myth.

The reason for the transformation of evidence into “evidence” is, a priori and across cases, likely two-fold. On the one hand we have the use of “evidence” purposefully selected to support policy (the core tenant of e.g. “policy borrowing” – see Steiner-Khamsi 2012), on the other hand, we have translation effects as both technocrats and politicians attempt to emulate good research

practices as mimetic mechanism(s) push a form of scientism where ideals of good research (epistemology) are improperly implemented (see also Saunders ed. (2007) on issues of communication between researchers and policymakers).²⁰⁰

Furthermore, arguments used in debates can be seen as irrational and invalid if they are lacking “evidence” rooted in observability or quantifiability, or without an “expert” seal of approval such as the interlocutor being able to claim “expert-as-evidence” by being a researcher or high performing teacher. “Expert-as-evidence” is here a term denoting a person whose professional knowledge is seen as sufficient to constitute “evidence” of “what works” (without the need for observational or quantifiable data) and relates to the types of professional knowledge discussed in Chapter 3. To an extent, the “expert-as-evidence” is a recognition of the tacit knowledge a high performing professional may have (e.g., on how to teach). To illustrate the concept of “expert-as-evidence”, if we draw the premise to its logical conclusion, a peer-review for example gets its legitimacy through “expert-as-evidence” as the difference between peer-review and non-peer-review is the approval of two or more researchers with expertise in the field bestowed on a text. As such, a peer-reviewed journal article can conceptually be compared to “expert-as-evidence” in public debates at a fundamental level, however it has slightly different connotations as the context of activity differs.

An “evidence” era rooted approach lessens the scope for philosophical debate on purpose and value that can be considered central to education in democracies. Therefore, an emphasis on “evidence shows” rather than arguments of “purpose” are key indicators of an “evidence” era.

In global discourse, this lack of purpose and value-oriented debate in favour of “scientism” and “evidence” of “what works” is argued to be one of the core tenets of NPM to which the chapter now turns.

8.1.1 New Public Management underpinning the shift towards an evidence era

Central to all conceptualisations of NPM is an emphasis on measurable outcomes and data-driven governing/steering at a distance, something well covered in existing literature (see e.g. Gruening 2001, Ball 2008, Knafo 2019, Ozga 2020). NPM can be seen as a series of administrative reforms of public policy, observed globally regardless of political party in power focused on evidence of “what works”, and “value for money”²⁰¹ in a form of technocratization of public services, increase

²⁰⁰ These mechanisms can for example be triggered by by NPM blueprints or the success of “science” in World War Two See Tröhler (2013, 2014) and Knafo (2019) on the history of scientification of governing in the United States and how this can be linked to World War Two.

²⁰¹ Value for money is a loose term centred around how much outcome one receives based on input, often measured in economic terms. It figures frequently in political debates on education in England, from the value of money of government policy to the value of money of attending university.

in capacity to “scientifically” measure performance and input-output relations, as well as a reconfiguration of private-public relations, and contracting out of services (see e.g. Keraudren 1999, Hood 2001, Hood 2007, Meyer and Ramirez 2007, Ball 2008, Simonet 2014, Normand 2017, Knafo 2019). Paradoxically then, NPM, is conceptualized as covering both increased state technical and science capacities²⁰² (technocratization merged with a form of scientism), and privatization by contracting out. In this chapter, I focus on the technocratic and measurement component of NPM.

Regarding policymaking, research into education policy has found NPM ideology leading to a form of evaluative state centred on measurement and competition rooted in budgetary constraints and guided funding²⁰³ as well as monitoring and assessment of “quality” and other measurable outputs.²⁰⁴ However, such changes seem to be *translated* or altered by contextual socio-historical developments and sense-making (Bleiklie 1998, Bleiklie 2009, Bleiklie and Michelsen 2012, Normand 2017). Thus, we see an overlap between research and policy, as an increasing emphasis of research is to provide *evidence for policymaking* and governing, but with socio-cultural contingent modalities. This is where NPM, I posit, becomes an ideation centred on a cult(ure) of “evidence” that helps foster new ideations rooted in the concept of measurability and blueprints of “what works” that is constantly evolving and adapting. The cult of “evidence” centres on an inflated belief in both the capacity of science to dictate what works, as well as the necessity of “evidence” to underpin political statements and policies. This context sensitivity of the cult of “evidence” one may hypothesise is a large part of why it is attractive (*evidence* on the other hand is not so adaptable to political and social whims).

Under a NPM paradigm, a culture of evidence becomes prevalent, where the emphasis is not on how something works, but that it is statistically shown to work. In other words, that it can be measured. It is argued that one major deficit with such a technocratic approach in education is that it fails to take into account contextual variation and shifting purposes of education (Biesta 2008; Tröhler 2014a). However, it clearly resonates with politico-administrative trends in relation to NPM and a technocratization of public services, eroding inter-personal trust in favour of measurements (Ozga 2009, Tröhler 2014b). Importantly, technocratization through emphasis on large-scale data

²⁰² A prime example here is, historically, the approach of Robert MacNamara to warfare where the use of mathematic models and claims of “scientific rationalism” underscored the U.S approach to warfare in Vietnam. This approach was again rooted in the perceived role of science in winning World War two. As argued by Knafo (2019) for these reasons, RAND, a military-industrial complex research enterprise, has been central in the development of NPM ideology and the merging of technocracy and scientivism in public administration.

²⁰³ Guided funding is here a broad concept that encapsulates competitive funding and ear-marked funding released under certain conditions – as opposed to broad funding such as lump-sum budgets.

²⁰⁴ Students trained in X amount of time, research performance, student satisfaction, capacity to meet user demands (in teacher education terms this can be envision as capacity to train sufficient number of teachers to prescribed specifications).

ignores questions of meaning and sense-making (Tröhler 2014b). This, as we saw, is central to what here is dubbed an “evidence era”.

8.2 A priori theorising the link between “evidence” and policymaking in England and France

A first step in theorising “evidence” as a rationalised myth in a given context (e.g., England and France) is to consider how it forms an integral part of common beliefs and shared understandings that legitimize cognitive expression, in other words its relation to the cultural-cognitive dimension as conceptualized in Chapter 3. Although fallible and contested, the concept of a rationalised myth may be seen as an integral part underpinning a blueprint of best practice. In essence, a cognitive blueprint denotes awareness raising and agenda setting through comprehensive plans of action including both perceived problems and proposed solutions often in the form of “what works”. As such cognitive blueprints have been found to constitute a central carrier of mimetic change (Scott, Ruef et al. 2000, Scott 2013, Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell 2018), which is a powerful tool for shaping practices and bestowing legitimacy to action. These claims of “what works” must then often relate to dominant rationalized myths in order to legitimise themselves in a given context. Therefore, if “evidence” is a rationalized myth, it must be something which is unavoidable when attempting to legitimise “what works”. As this chapter shows, this is the case in both England and France today, but the two countries relate differently to the concept of “evidence” over time. The section will now discuss the concepts of knowledge production and evidence construction in relation to England and France, before it theorises on the origin of the current emphasis on “evidence” in the two cases.

8.2.1 Origins of the current cult of “evidence” as a rationalised myth in policymaking in the two cases

Although much research has been done on the role of academia, research centres, IOs, and private actors in relation to “knowledge production” and “evidence construction” (Zapp, Marques, and Powell 2018), state actors are often overlooked in proportion to their significant role, especially as data collectors for large-scale databases. Meanwhile, the main producers of “evidence” in policymaking, in both cases, are neither from IOs, academia, or any private enterprise, instead originating with state agencies who collect and analyse data such as OFSTED, the DfE, and state reviews in England (see Chapter 6), and IGEN and DEPP in France (see Chapter 7). However, some differences should be noted. Whereas MEN in France does most of the work internally, the DfE in England often contracts out the production of “evidence” due to a lack of internal competences or

available staff. On the one hand, contracting out is a central element of NPM ideology. However, on the other hand, because the DfE has never had large internal research capacities, it is hard to argue this is here an indicator of “new” NPM type reforms. Instead, the absence of a strong and well-staffed central state in education in England may have led to low resistance to NPM ideations of contracting out. By contrast, the strong educative state in France, discussed in previous chapters, has more incentives to resist NPM inspired reforms. However, such resistance would then also likely require members of the French politico-administrative cadre (particularly IGEN and DEPP) to demonstrate their capacities to provide “evidence” and guide French teacher education.

In teacher education in England, one may suggest that the origin of the current face of the “evidence” myth can be traced to the creation of CATE that, as discussed in Chapter 6, was instructed to work with HMI and base decisions on information from HMI inspections upon its creation in 1984. As far as the analysis can tell, this is the first official iteration of explicit “evidence-guided” policy in teacher education. Furthermore, one may argue the dominant audit culture (Graf 2009) has in part led to “self-referral” as a central characteristic of the English education policy environment, including in teacher education, where the system looks to internal data entrenching existing trends. Increasingly, more data internal to the system are collected, and referred to as the evidence base of new decisions. This works through the establishment of “best practice” within the system in the form of OFSTED rankings of teacher education providers, the use of internal reviews of the system to identify “what works” and what does not (e.g. the 2014/15 Carter review – see Mutton, Burn, and Menter 2016), and a peer-to-peer system of teacher education improvement SCITT providers. We may therefore imagine that the system not only looks abroad to justify policy in a form of “policy-borrowing” (Steiner-Khamisi 2012), but also inwards towards internal reviews, national censuses of the teacher workforce, and inspections (Whiting, Whitty et al. 2018).

Additionally, it is important to remember that even though policy is outwardly seemingly based on forms of evidence in England based on claims in policy documents that often talk of “evidence”, research has found it too often lacks sufficient contextualisation, particularly when imported from abroad. For example, Chung (2016) suggests that some attempts to model English education on Finnish “successes” in PISA, can lead to “evidence-based policy-making” becoming “policy-based evidence-making”.²⁰⁵ Nor are citations and excerpts from scientific research always

²⁰⁵ An epistemological note: Policy borrowing as expressed in the work of Chung bears resemblance to the common press term of “policy tourism” that is argued to arise anytime officials look at what works elsewhere. I would object to such a term as it forget that even though context matters, we can still likely learn from comparison. See e.g. Foster (1999) for an example of cross-contextual learning with a purpose.

correct or accurate representations of that research.²⁰⁶ Importantly, the practice of “academic style” citations in policy documents appeared to be much more significant following the establishment of the Coalition Government in 2010. Prior to that, what “evidence” was behind decisions was more obscure, even though large scale projects were funded to improve both policy and practice under Labour (1997-2010) (Saunders 2007, Rickinson, Sebba, and Edwards 2011). Thus, indications are that from an origin in the 1980s, “evidence” has obtained an increasingly prominent place in policymaking in England.

In France on the other hand, one may draw some lines of an “evidence era” all the way back to the French revolution and the origins of meritocracy as a concept founded on enlightenment principles, and justification of position and policy based on measured qualities (e.g., concours ranking) of the state-technocracy. Here the research noted a close connection between the quasi-technocratic and meritocratic logics of the French state, and the concept of “expert-as-evidence” that is a central component in the French governing system. As we saw in the previous chapter, and is further elaborated below, central to French governing is the role of both IGEN and DEPP, two central technocratic organizations within the French state who derive their legitimacy largely from the meritocratic nature of MEN employee career trajectories (e.g., from teacher to IGEN through the force of one’s increasing expertise). Meanwhile, the bureaucratic nature of French public function mentioned in Chapter 5 ensures that these experts can both collect evidence and disseminate it through institutionalized processes centred on hierarchies and a codified civil law system where bureaucratic decrees ensure technocratic oversight over local democratic processes. This capacity for central technocratic-bureaucratic oversight goes back to the days of the Imperial University, and the establishment of an expert corps of inspectors under Napoleon the first. Importantly however, at its origin the techno-bureaucracy was not centred on statistical data, and arguably even today France is much less centred on data than England is – continuing instead to emphasise the role of the high performing experts of the state, often educated in the prestigious *grande écoles* such as ENA, Sciences Po, or ENS de Paris. Central to the French technocracy then is the discipline related background of civil servants, whereas noted in previous chapters MEN employees usually have a background in education. This differs from the non-technocracy of England, where civil servants and

²⁰⁶ See this 2016 (<https://www.timeshighereducation.com/blog/use-misuse-and-abuse-research-education-white-paper> accessed 15.07.2019) blog post of Professor Ian Menter for an instance of this occurring in the white paper “Educational Excellence Everywhere” (DfE 2016) where his research according to him was used, misused, and abused. My remark here is always: “why didn’t they just call him if they were interested in his research?”

politicians alike often do not have a background in education, and as such cannot lay claim to being experts in matters of education.²⁰⁷

The historic use of “evidence”, particularly “expert-as-evidence”, to justify policy in France is only understandable through Bourdieu’s (1984) notion of cultural capital, where elites have a form of “evidence” manifest as cultural capital to show their earned position in the state hierarchy and the validity of their opinions.²⁰⁸ This then is a different historic origin (path dependence) to that of England, and as such also manifests not as references to “evidence” but the “expert-as-evidence” of what policy should be adopted under a Jacobin logic of meritocratic technocracy. Importantly, meritocracy inherently contains claims of “evidence” (as measurement and certification through “formation”) to justify why one individual is *ranked* higher in a social hierarchy than another.

As such, the apriori assumption of the research was that both England and France are in a form of “evidence era”, but that the particularities differ. It was assumed that England is focused on NPM ideations of measurement and references to what goes on elsewhere, whilst France centres on internal knowledge production and state-sanctioned “experts-as-evidence”. These assumptions were supported by the empirical findings to which the chapter now turns.

8.3 The production and dissemination of “evidence”: Snake-oil salesmen peddling “evidence” to the field?

This section looks at the interaction between the educative state and outsiders, as well as the characteristics of the two contrasting state-systems related to “evidence” production and use, and how outsiders can relate to insiders in an attempt to push policy one way or the other. It also shows how complicated it can be for outsiders to gain access to data in the first place, and thereby making “evidence” power-games a multi-step process of gaining data access before one may consider gaining policy influence through “evidence” dissemination. This then becomes an apt illustration as to how central “evidence” is to policymaking, and how central the organizational field is to research in teacher education.

Statistics and data is as one senior MEN official (F17) put it: “[*political*]” S/he went on to note how it is politically selected for collection and for dissemination, but also in terms of *interpretation*. This, depending on one’s epistemological standpoint and conceptualisation of politics, is an inherent trait of any research (see Chapter 2) as our socially constructed minds ideate and cognate around our

²⁰⁷ To illustrate this point with an anecdote; the head of department for post-16 further education and training at the DfE has a PhD in medieval English literature. Meanwhile, a BIP employee who works on curriculum planning in France holds a PhD in sociology of education. Both are highly educated individuals, and both are very intelligent, however, only the French example can lay claim to technocratic expertise in education.

²⁰⁸ This is a borrowing or inspiration rooted in Bourdieu rather than anything he ever said.

observations based in part on what we expect to see, and in part on what we desire to see. However, as will be made clear here, such bias can also be actively amplified through politicized endeavours to peddle “evidence” to the field as any well-spoken snake-oil salesman of old (see also Menter (2021) on snake-oil salesmen in education). Within the above quoted one-word statement is collected much of what this section is about, the political nature of “evidence” construction. Central to politics in relation to “evidence” is contestation over what constitutes “evidence” (including *who* can speak legitimately on what is “evidence”), what the legitimized “evidence” says, and how this (perpetual) process of contestation shapes the policymaking practices within the organizational field.

Solutions to “policy” problems are often linked to evidence produced through academic research, that is easily transformed into “evidence” as it moves from a research environment to a policy environment. In England, much emphasis is on how research can and should be the centre of teacher education. For example, recent work by Malone and Hogan (2020) attempts to push for “evidence” as rooted in John Dewey’s pragmatist approach to both education and research, stating the importance of “action research” in informing policy. Others, such as Burn and Mutton (2015) emphasise the strengths of research, particularly “research-informed clinical practices”, in teacher education. In addition, according to existing academic literature, in England there is a whole range of efforts to justify policy in terms of ‘evidence’, for example, through referencing what works elsewhere (Chung, Atkin, and Moore 2012, Chung 2016), through comparisons with medical research (Goldacre 2013, McKnight and Morgan 2020) or through aspirations for Randomised Control Trials (RCTs) such as those favoured by the Education Endowment Foundation to become the basis of policy (Menter 2013, Gale 2018). RCTs are not as prominent in France, where there appears to be more recognition of them as forming an integral part of some epistemological approaches that are often linked to different academic disciplines.

Meanwhile, BERA launched in 2013 a project to analyse the future role of the university and research in teacher education, that centred on the role of research in teacher education.²⁰⁹ As such, a main emphasis from education departments in academia in England is on pushing for a place for themselves in teacher education, rooted in research that indicates their importance in fostering good teachers. However, as they are in essence researching themselves and their own role, the use of such research as the basis of policy positions becomes somewhat problematic, or at the very least constitutes a conflict of interest.²¹⁰ Concurrently, the emphasis of the DfE has been to push “evidence” of the central role of schools and professional teachers in teacher education, that form a

²⁰⁹ See <https://www.bera.ac.uk/project/research-and-teacher-education> (accessed 22.04.2021)

²¹⁰ For an alternative practice, the evaluation of educational research in Norway is often undertaken by Swedish or Danish researchers to avoid the problem of researchers self-evaluating.

central part of the discourse in white papers and instructive documents since 1983. Hence, central to evidence and “evidence” in England is the ongoing contestation between schools and academia.

Debates in France do not only emphasise epistemological debates or how one can use “evidence” in policy or teaching, but also on the *role and form* (including composition) of advisory bodies such as the mentioned CNESCO (Chapter 7). Such bodies are of interest here as they engage with informing policymakers, legitimize policy, and hold them to account (their roles are often contradictory in nature) with “evidence”. As such, these advisory bodies can become central actors in policymaking.

Furthermore, in France, a complex system of the national research network Centre for National Scientific Research (CNRS)²¹¹ conducts much of the research in universities but are not fully part of the universities at the same time due to delimitations between the CNRS staff and the teaching faculty. Moreover, prestige differences exist between the haute écoles (e.g., the four École Normale Supérieure (ENS), that are again hierarchized with ENS Paris as the pre-eminent institution in education) and the universities. This is not to mention French particularities over time such as the INSPE and its predecessors complex relation with the university structure over time as discussed in the previous chapter, meaning there is no pre-eminence in terms of “universities” as the source of evidence in teacher education in France.

Furthermore, as noted in earlier chapters, academia is in both England and France not a unitary actor. The research methodology, epistemology, and philosophies (including the purpose of education) differ across disciplines, faculties, fields, organization types (e.g. university versus haute école), and organizations of the same type within academia (one university differs from another in slight ways). This matters here as different academic disciplines, that in both cases often see education through different ontologies, epistemologies (e.g. views on RCTs), and purposes, have asymmetrical access to official advisory roles such as membership of CNESCO or the CSP in France or participation in the Carter Review or Core Content Framework in England as evident by their compositions.

From these broad lines, the section now emphasises the modalities of data gathering in the two cases, and how actors may construct “evidence”, in relation to organizational field configurations.

8.3.1 Data gathering: The construction of “evidence”

A researcher who often works for the English government as a contracted data-analyst (E16) noted when asked if the data was easy to access:

²¹¹Centre national de la recherche scientifique. See <http://www.cnrs.fr/> (accessed 18.12.2020)

“No, it is a complete nightmare, and it is increasingly difficult”

But s/he continued by illustrating how this is a recent phenomenon (as is large-scale data of this kind being accessed by multiple actors) through highlighting that:

“I mean so you know when I started doing research in 2004 it was easy, you would have a tiny number of academics in the country who were able to use like in this case the national pupil database.”²¹² You all had personal relationships with the chief analyst at the time, you knew each other and him really well. We had a user group for people who used this data you know. So we would meet twice a year and it was very light touch, to the point of e-mail relationships and at the time sending CD-ROMs through the post. To transport data on it. But gradually the system became more and more difficult to navigate.”

Here then we see how the organizational field has shifted as actors have multiplied. Increased difficulties in obtaining data was also argued to be related to new concerns over data security both due to data breaches and new legislation to protect data.

“[t]he awareness of data security issues became more significant, there was never a data breach on this kind of database, but the perception of the risks went up. And the civil servants became more concerned by demonstrating that they were complying with the legislation, that was wrapped around these data sets. Essentially if I send my child to a state school in England, I can’t exempt myself from these data sets, we have legislation that you can’t have your child in the data set. And the legislation makes it very clear that you have to use the data to do research on things associated with educational attainment.” (E16)

An effect of these changes on the research process was reportedly an increased emphasis on “long-winded research proposals” and bureaucratic procedures that complicate the access to data and limits what data can be analysed how, that also required an increased emphasis on the benefit of a study. Therefore, it seems that technology and awareness related to technological risks have changed, and has penetrated the education environment (as any other part of public policy) in relation to data protection, thus a field or is overarching environment are neither existent in a vacuum but constantly relate to the “outside”. Secondly, legislation is a powerful instrument of government and the politico-administrative field to constrain actions in other fields, and coerce actors to conform, particularly once it pertains to “resources” (in this case data as a resource). Interestingly, one may think of data as a resource worth its weight in gold once it is rare enough and protected by legislation. Thirdly, an emphasis from the DfE (a requirement for access) is that the data-use is explicitly framed in terms of attainment – an indicator of an outcome (measurement)

²¹² The national pupil database is a Department for Education run database with records on pupils aged 2-21 in state funded education in England. See: <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/national-pupil-database> (accessed 04.02.2021) on access procedures today.

focused system. Lastly, the field has become crowded since 2004, while the emphasis of the interviewee was on academics as dominant when s/he started out.

Moreover, the interviewee (E16) went on to state that:

“There is a divide within the Department for Education between the civil servants responsible for data security and those who are interested in analysis. So, those who control access to the dataset had no incentive to ever let you have it, because they have no outcome criteria in their kind of performance review around have these datasets been used to improve education. So all they do is find reasons not to give you data, so it’s very frustrating”

Her one may note that the DfE is not a homogeneous actor, it is composed of a multitude of environments, centred not only on the policymaking environment, but also concerns from an analytical environment (the role of civil-servants to analyse and provide information) and a security environment (the role of civil-servants to protect the public and ensure adherence to the laws of the land), painting a complex picture of behavioural interaction within the same space and organizational field. In other words, the politico-administrative field can perhaps be seen as comprised of multiple sub-environments.

Interestingly, compliance and therefore also interest seems linked to internal accountability, what is looked at in the performance review, or at least that is what the researcher in question believes. True or not, we may at least infer a belief present in the environment that accountability shapes behaviour, and that performance targets are at the heart of any rationalisation by civil-servants, whilst researchers seem to rationalise actions in value for money as in “how much research can I produce based on how much input in terms of time”. This is a common consideration in academia (see e.g., George and Bennett 2005, Brady and Collier 2010, Checkel and Bennett 2015 who all call for pragmatic considerations in research design).

Meanwhile, data on education and teachers in England is by and large collected by government, or on government remit, but analysed by contractors, academics, and independent research centres such as National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER)²¹³ and Education Policy Institute (EPI).²¹⁴ This is done either by DfE contract where the DfE contacts the researchers in question directly, or through competitive funding through agencies such as the Education Endowment Foundation,²¹⁵ or directly to the DfE. The DfE themselves do look at data, and do analyse data, but according to interviewees they recognise the lack of internal expertise in many areas, and thus the need to “contract out”. This relates to a separation between the education and politico-administrative organizational fields, where practitioners and educationalists are kept at an arm’s

²¹³ See <https://www.nfer.ac.uk/> (accessed 01.02.2021)

²¹⁴ See <https://epi.org.uk/> (accessed 01.02.2021)

²¹⁵ See <https://educationendowmentfoundation.org.uk/> (accessed 16.02.2021)

length, especially since the internalization of the TDA as discussed in Chapter 6. We may also note issues with this approach related to the mentioned high turnover, where people feel they are constantly trying to build and re-build relations with people in a system where civil-servants frequently move around and change departments. As the above-mentioned contractor (E16) put it:

“Because I ran a user group and I have been a head user, you know I do know them all really well but there is still considerable turnover with staff. You know we have a tradition in this country that the civil service people move departments. So, it’s hard to build these kind of relationships to get access to data.”

The interviewee later also noted how even if they responded to a competitive tender issued by the DfE, access to DfE large-scale data was not guaranteed, as the tender may have been issued by one office within the DfE (e.g., teacher supply) without sufficient legal or administrative clearance on data access from another.

However, it was also remarked by the same actor (E16) that:

“When they have more analysis than they can get done within the department, they can put out a kind of quick competitive tender or quick e-mail saying does anyone want to do this piece of work for you know a few thousand pounds or whatever and just get it done. So that speeds things up a bit but again you’ve still got to sort out data access, and then I suppose a lot of the time there are people you know personally in the department calling you up just saying we need an answer to a question. If you got the permissions in place that allow you to answer that question, then you can just tell them the answer. So, there is a lot of that, a lot of just yeah privately speaking to civil servants. Finding out answers to questions, whether it was possible to do it.”

After a follow up question, it was noted that there is an overlap between civil servants, special policy advisers and government ministers in regard to “commissioned” work. Hence, we see that issues of “access” and government as a gatekeeper but with limited internal competences creates perceived complications in a culture of rapid turnover, both in terms of dialogue as seen in Chapter 6, and in terms of “evidence” construction, and the impression that one hand of the DfE has no idea what the other is doing.

By contrast, in France, the policy document analysis shows a high reliance on internal and DEPP analysis in relation to large-scale data, particularly in IGEN-IGAENR reports. As mentioned in the previous chapter, data in France is centred on the DEPP who according to their website are tasked to:

*[exercise their competences of evaluation and measurement of performance in the domains of education and training. They contribute to the evaluation of policy by the minister for national education.]*²¹⁶

The view is that DEPP collects and analyses data, that can be supplemented by externals (e.g. academic researchers), but government rarely contracts out the same way as in England. For example, much of DEPP's work on work force numbers, school costs, and school performances²¹⁷ is in England handled by a range of external actors such as Education Datalab²¹⁸ or the NFER,²¹⁹ often with funding from the Education Endowment Foundation, and with their own interests guiding what is looked at and how. Data is then obtained directly from the DfE. This relates to a higher internal capacity in France, and a tradition of a strong educative state that "masters" all of education and merits its role, in contrast to the historically smaller state, market oriented, and liberal minded (arguably also open minded) English case where the state is not to dictate all of education.

Meanwhile, in addition to "large-scale data" gathering and analysis, both countries employ types of "fact finding" missions, aimed at resolving or identifying specific problems in the education sector, including teacher education. However, these missions are not autonomous and rooted in epistemology, but political undertakings. To exemplify, one central actor in England stated that when s/he was tasked with assembling a team for a major ITE/ITT review *"there were certain parameters as to who had to sit on the group."* (E16). Another interviewee (E6) mused that the reason for his selection to be on a ITE/ITT review was that his/her PhD thesis had been positive towards the role of schools in ITE/ITT, noting that in reality his/her position was much more academia friendly than perhaps the DfE originally thought. In France, as mentioned in Chapter 7, IGEN reports are subject to MEN review before publication, and fact-finding missions are usually commissioned by MEN. Meanwhile, in England, reviews are increasingly forming an important part of legitimising positions within the mosaic field as high achievers in the eyes of government (e.g., Andrew Carter) are tasked with undertaking reviews. As such, in addition to providing cognitive blueprints to shape practices, the reviews legitimize the performances and views on education of some actors who are selected to be on reviews because they think "the right way", whilst excluding those who do not, all without actual debate on the purpose of education – the purpose is tacitly given. In France, the reviews have been different in so far as they are largely done by IGEN inspectors, and not by independent academics, head teachers, or other people who are considered to have a relevant background as has been the case in England. This means that there are fewer concerns over who has to sit in a group,

²¹⁶ Source: <https://www.education.gouv.fr/direction-de-l-evaluation-de-la-prospective-et-de-la-performance-depp-12389> (accessed 23.06.2020)

²¹⁷ See <https://www.education.gouv.fr/etudes-et-statistiques-1145> (accessed 24.07.2020)

²¹⁸ See <https://ffteducationdatalab.org.uk/> (accessed 24.07.2020)

²¹⁹ See <https://www.nfer.ac.uk/publications-research/> (accessed 24.07.2020)

and more of an understanding that these reviews must attempt to hold some objectivity. Here then we see the contours of different views on validity and purpose of reviews.

To illustrate this distinction in views of validity and purpose, one of the very first things (unprompted) one person who had participated in a major review in England told me was that:

“It had no validity, reliability or really . . . You know” (E6)

In such a way as to indicate, this person as a researcher, would not call the review “research” based. Even though the policy it informed was claimed to be evidence based. Meanwhile, in France, an IGEN inspector noted that they did not have “hypotheses” as an academic would employ, but rather came in with their remit and tried to induce knowledge from there, implying what they did was not research but something else. However, having read the reports and spoken with their authors it became clear that if they did not have stated hypotheses, they did have a priori propositions on what should be done. What is perhaps central then, are how actors perceive things. What they perceive as academic or not, and what they perceive their work to be in relation to the perceived work of others.

Interestingly, IGEN-IGAENR reports sometimes draw on literature and other reviews to discuss empirical observations and make recommendations for action not unlike an academic applied literature review. For example, the most recent report on CPD in France (IGEN-IGAENR 2019) employed 38 references ranging from Eurydice to OECD publications, internal DEPP analysis, and 12 academic papers on how to improve education and teacher’s knowledge. However, by contrast the 2016 report on the ESPE reform contained no such literature, beyond claims to be based on recent data from audits from MENESR, DGESCO, DGESIP, DGRH, ESPE, CPU, HCERES, 6 named studies, and a trial project in Guyana. It should be noted that this report was to survey the ESPE implementation process, not to make ground-breaking discoveries and thorough recommendations on future directions. The same pattern was present in all the ESPE reform-accompanying reports (listed in annex 2.3). Thus, the layout of the reports seems to be adapted to the task at hand and may reflect the attitudes and competences of the inspectors assigned to them. As a whole, IGEN-IGAENR reports constitutes perhaps applied science more than basic research as they give specific recommendations to specific problems, but their methods are not much different from those often employed in academia and does hold more epistemological validity in that sense than the English reviews even when the English reviews are done by academics.

The Carter Review also does hold *some* research validity one may argue depending on one’s epistemological and methodological criteria (see also Mutton, Burn, and Menter (2016) on the peculiarities of that particular review which is argued by the authors to have been written by two voices that provides some nuance between the role of schools and academia). One could even argue that negotiations between authors, reviewers, and editors also grant a political nature to conclusions in academic literature, making them no more valid than for example the Carter Review’s politicised

conclusions, that is not to say I believe it to be so, but the arguments can be made. However, the interviews with people involved in writing these reports paint a distinctly different picture of the process behind information gathering in England and France.

What was most striking is the amount of politicking going on between people assigned to a review in England, representing different points of view and perhaps the fact that many are stakeholders as argued in Chapter 5. This is perhaps also amplified in the case of the Carter Review by the ongoing tensions between those in favour of SCITTs and those in favour of university based ITE. This is not necessarily a bad thing, however, it is simply a *contrast* to the procedure in France. Disagreements may help to foster better outcomes, and at the very least highlight underlying issues and enable questioning of foundational myths in education that limits perception. Particularly if we see this in relation to the importance of overcoming confirmation bias. Hence, we also see what can be perceived as important epistemological questions present within the two approaches to fact-finding missions, and that as with large-scale statistical data use fact-finding missions are more characterisable as “evidence” producing rather than evidence producing.

The findings presented in this sub-section is then indicative of the Jacobin logic of the French republic as discussed in chapters 5 and 7, an emphasis on competent civil servants in a semi-technocracy *guided* from a political cadre but with high autonomy and professional integrity. We also see the need to include “semi” before “technocracy” as the political cadre (e.g., the Minister of National Education) of the politico-administrative field can overrule the technocrats at a final instance. This is absent in England, where civil-servants are *subservient* to politicians in a liberal-democracy logic.

8.3.2 The impact of the policymaking environment on knowledge construction and dissemination

This sub-section elaborates on the impact of the policymaking environment on knowledge construction and dissemination.

As with the rest of (teacher) education policymaking in England, advice on teacher education policy is largely driven by ad-hoc advisory groups, often related to reviews such as the Carter Review. There is also no such position as “official advisor” or “external advisor” to the DfE/government as far as I can tell. For example, one actor (E16) who is frequently consulted by the DfE when prompted if she had such a title answered:

“No, I don’t think they have things like that”

This may relate to issues of understanding the questions and be a method flaw on my part – as well, as a case of absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, but it may also highlight the often ad-

hoc nature of providing advice in England, and with what official positions exist within the system or not. This is perhaps also shown in how E16 also noted that whether or not s/he was paid for an advisory role s/he would take on, depended in part on whether or not s/he asked to be.

Through the interviews, it became apparent that issues of *duty or obligation* to help the state were largely overlooked by people who worked on reviews or DfE assembled working groups, advisors were in it either for the money or other personal or organisational (e.g. for the university) rewards, to affect what they saw as needed change (e.g. more school focus or more academia focus), or to hold government to account (government seen as incompetent) or a combination of these – but not out of a sense of duty to the educative state. Demands for access to data, and interest in being an advisor was also largely framed by interest, or outrage at current practices, not civic duty. Here I distinguish between moral outrage and civic-duty as the first can be understood as every individual actor or organization have their “morals” whilst civic-duty harkens to a nationwide moral dictated centrally by a constitution and through the elected will of the people or the meritocratic right of bureaucrats. That is not to say the concept is not present, but that the discourse or the front and centre ideations as to why someone would provide advice for government was not framed in such terms. It appears as if the notion of civic duty is less central in England than notions of interest (opinion), morals, and finance, perhaps being indicative of the weak normative position of the educative state in England, and the mosaic nature of public life and public-private relations in a liberal state. Hence, it is apparent that non-state actors in England see no obligation to help the educative state they themselves are structurally external to, and that in their eyes lack normative legitimacy as custodians of public education, regardless of whether or not that educative state is dependent on their expertise to function. In other words, the DfE in England is not seen as fully legitimate as an educative state entity. This does go both ways. For example, for the DfE to contact the University of Oxford directly, to obtain a policy document they would like to analyse, was unthinkable. Whilst authors cited in policy white papers, such as “Educational Excellence Everywhere” from 2015, were not systematically contacted to provide input. This kind of advising on works by their authors (experts), or sharing of documents, was noted to happen in relation to reviews (e.g., the Carter Review) by E6, but then largely through acquaintances (ad-hoc) rather than existing systems. The lack of existing systems is perhaps a central reason for the lack of cooperation out of duty (a form of neutral exchange) between the DfE and the external expertise they are reliant on for evidence gathering and analysis. In any regard, both the need to pay and the lack of formal duty-related collaboration are key neo-liberal traits that prevail in English state-society relations as a whole.

By contrast, in France, in keeping with the systemic nature of their politico-administrative organizational field, advisers are usually officially positioned as part of advisory councils with some

form of official title and function such as CNESCO, the CSP, or the network of INSPE directors as mentioned in Chapter 7. The advisory body/bodies have changed name, form, and remit, multiple times over the years, but rarely is there no official body to advise government on education policy, whilst the councils usually contain a range of actors with differing views on (teacher) education.

That is not to say France is without controversy nor do actors quietly subjugate themselves to the will of MEN. For example, interviews indicated good access for concerns to be heard (see Chapter 7), while complex negotiations on “purpose” of education and teacher education, as well as how to spend available funds are central topics. A recurring topic in IGEN-IGAENR reports support this interpretation of field negotiations through highlighting financial complications and dissenting teachers (in questions of CPD) that relate just as much to disagreements over purpose as disagreement over “what works”. As such, even though the system is more comprehensive (more systematic) and state-centred it is not free of interests to affect change or holding government to account, but this was less central and more constrained by the strong legitimacy of the French Republic to intervene in all matters of education. Thus, agendas do exist amongst all actors in France as well, who do see some form of personal (e.g., prestige) or organisational (e.g., more funds for the teaching done in the INSPE) reward. However, *the optics differ* between the two cases. In other words, they define, frame, and see things differently at an ontological level.

Here we see how the values of the French Republic, constructs a tight systematic structure rooted in centralized tendencies. Thus, France has a different relation to civic-duty and the educative state than England and must call upon a form of dialogue and advisory roles that is rooted in senses of national propriety rather than ad-hoc problem solving. Hence, we see how the organizational field of the state and its institutionalized environments constrain and enable advisory roles, as information is sought to construct or discover evidence for policymaking in line with the hypotheses of neo-institutionalist theory as discussed in Chapter 3.

As seen above, in both cases the final word on whether a state commissioned report is published is up to the DfE/MEN – ensuring they are a gatekeeper on dissemination. In relation to the DfE as gatekeeper, actors in England noted they emphasise often how policy is received by policymakers, more so than validity and robustness. Perhaps an apt illustration of how limiting this can be is this statement by a lead investigator on a review in England:

“We have to see how it will land. How it will land with the politicians. So, if I had written a report that was different, the government could just say: ‘Thank you very much for your report.’ It would never get published.” (E14).

In France, the tone was more loyal in a sense, as IGEN inspectors saw it as a right of MEN to decide what was to be published, they do after all work directly for MEN, as opposed to reviewers in England who are outsiders brought in for a specific review. However, the IGENs interviewed

lamented the fact that many reports located in the MEN locales in rue de Grenelle are sealed to the public and forgotten once ministerial teams are replaced. Moreover, IGEN inspectors reportedly did not think much on “how it would land”, but instead emphasised doing as good a job as possible within their remit, their beliefs, and their *professional ethos*. Thus, the only thing a “review team” or IGEN inspector can be ensured of is someone in upper management within DfE/MEN reading their reports, not that they will be made available to the public, but they attempt to respect neutrality and acknowledge the rights of MEN to make decisions on education policy.

Additionally, there were considerations as to how one could “pre-translate” research in both contexts, to help ensure that policymakers understood it, particularly so in England where researchers remarked a low competence within the DfE to, in their mind, understand research and “evidence”. In France this was compounded by an emphasis on “education language” that most civil servants in MEN or IGEN-IGAENR did speak, but the cabinet level did not always do (an exception is the current MEN Blanquer as mentioned in Chapter 7). Thus, one may note a troubled chain from the original research to when “evidence” eventually appears in policy. This is not a straightforward issue, but one that relates to the position of government, the competences of civil servants, and the attitudes of researchers and their “political” competences as well. In any regard, translation of research may be considered an epistemological minefield that is hard to navigate, particularly as comprehension of concepts (connotations) differs between organizational fields, organizations, and actors.

Hence, in terms of evidence production, a central question relates to who has “access” to what, which questions are attempted to be answered, and how can we disseminate evidence. Specifically, statistics and observations are political, and “evidence” is more apt than evidence to label the type of knowledge used in policymaking and political discourse.

If we look at the temporal positioning of state sanctioned teacher education reviews, the IGEN-IGAENR reports seem to be published after relevant policy documents (see annexes 2.1 and 2.3), thereby serving as an *a posteriori* justifier in some sense, and a guide-rod for policy implementation in another and reflect the reforms as ongoing processes rather than done deals. By contrast the Carter Review was published prior to major policy works (e.g. Carter review in 2015, with the subsequent white paper Educational Excellence Everywhere in 2016, before the 2019 recruitment and retention strategy and the Core Content Framework and Early Career Frameworks were launched – in which ITE/ITT was kept at one year and induction extended to two following consultation responses (this is one of the few instances the DfE held extensive consultations and basing ITE/ITT decisions on them as far as I can tell). Thus, we see to an extent two opposing approaches, that can be in part linked to how teacher education policy in England is according to the documents “final”, whilst in France it is stated to be an ongoing process. However, the link between

IGEN-IGAENR and MEN is continuous as are consultations between different stakeholders so policy-as-text even is not a singular event but a continuous process where inspections refine policy rather than control its implementation, this is distinct from England where instructive documents are referral documents in their own right to which OFSTED inspects towards to ensure actors comply. This distinction is characteristic of the different systems and a general commonality found in the difference between a common law system and a codified law system as discussed in Chapter 5.

In England, external actors with an interest in education policy, including teacher education policy, find it difficult to be heard, but note an importance of blogs and twitter over peer reviewed academic articles, in part due to what policymakers read, and in part due to time and timing issues in the political narrative. For example, one actor (E16) framed it quite directly:

"It's really important though to not do it via academic articles because they don't get read. And the whole process of the turnaround of the article is just way way too slow in relation to the policy dialogue and narrative that is going on. And that is the advantage of being able to blog you know."

The actor also noted that using blogs enabled a form of public pressure on policymakers, as it was read by thousands of teachers and commentators:

"When I blog you know it's read by thousands of teachers as well and commentators, and I think that is the most powerful way to affect change. And I know that policymakers hate it. And they say "you know why don't you just come to us and talk to us about these things?" Well ultimately you know that is just a control instrument that they have. And my, my greatest power is coming out saying things publicly"

Thus, what we see is a culture of public discourse and debate, but also one that may become confrontational as actors with different opinions on things such as purpose come to a head. It should be noted that my analysis of post 2010 policy documents (see annex 1.1) do show *some* citations of academic literature, however, it is limited and dominated by reviews, internal analysis, and newspaper articles/blogs giving credence to the above observation. For example, in numerical terms, 2/34 citations aimed directly on "what works" in teacher education in the influential 2010 white paper "The Importance of Teaching: The schools white paper 2010" (DfE 2010) were academic peer-reviewed journal articles, the rest were a collection of newspaper articles, reports and reviews by different organisations (including universities), and internal publications. It became impossible to determine the origin of listed "evidence" in the subsequent 2016 white paper "Educational Excellence Everywhere" (DfE 2016) as only last names and years were given as references. For example, footnote 8 reads: *"Musset (2010); Reinhartz and Stetson (1999); Menter (2010)"* (p.29) with no other information provided in the document as to what works these are (no titles!) nor what first

names, or initials, go with these surnames.²²⁰ The pattern in this example was repeated for all footnotes – it may be that an editing mistake left the bibliography out of the published version of the white paper. This indicates a failure to comprehend and copy the practices of referencing used for example in academia, regardless of the intention behind the referencing. If the intention is to provide good transparency and draw on research (e.g., NPM in ideal form) it is a failure to properly do so. If the intention is to justify policy by claiming to use evidence of what works, it is a failure to properly do so. The reasons for this translation effect and subsequent failure to meet the ideal form can perhaps be found in the practices of policymaking, where as seen in previous chapters there is often a lack of in-depth knowledge about the subject (due to high turnover), as well as a likely lack of time (politics move fast) and a lack of established culture on how evidence is to be used such as the tradition in academic publication of peer-review and editorial oversight.

Furthermore, E16 noted how findings (but not datasets, so the research *cannot be replicated* something which may be considered important given the resent replication crisis in e.g., psychology - see Ritchie 2020) could be made public, with the only limitation being a requirement to notify the DfE press office 48 hours before publication of something “newsworthy”. This was noted to have been a contentious issue rooted in government not being fond of government data being used to critique government policies, which was ultimately resolved in the researcher’s favour, through arguments of public interest. Perhaps this is indicative of a culture of openness (insight) and of the normative legitimacy of academics and researchers to hold government to account. Thus, we see several epistemological issues with how data is collected, analysed (hastily), and disseminated (no replication possible), meanwhile the term “evidence/data shows” is employed indiscriminately as the borders between activism and research become blurred. TeacherTapp, mentioned in Chapter 6, is here a prime example of the most recent form of this blurring, as respondents must reply to the survey to gain instant access to what other teachers respond to the survey, and doing so daily builds a streak of engagement. This data is then claimed, by TeacherTapp, to influence education policy.

In France, the public debates as observed in the AEF dépêche analysis, is not data-driven the same way as in England, leaving more room for philosophical arguments and allusions to the national logics and myths of France as discussed in chapters 5 and 7 by actors such as unions leaders, researchers, or civil servants who may operate under the aegis of “experts-as-evidence”. However, there remains a strong belief in the underlying rationality and evidence of IGEN inspectors, whilst unions commission surveys and use such data to further their discourse.

²²⁰ See also this blog post by Ian Menter who believes he might be the “Menter 2010” they are talking about: <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/blog/use-misuse-and-abuse-research-education-white-paper> (accessed 04.02.2020)

It is also more common for dialogue between actors behind closed doors in France than in England, as academics and journalists (and bloggers) attempt to maintain relations with policymakers and civil servants. Even though, some critique is presented through the “blogsphere” and “twittersphere”, the nature of the dialogue is different at an institutional level, in part due to earlier and broader policy consultations and attempts at constructive dialogue as reported by all the people interviewed in France. This then relates to the highly different organizational field constellations between England and France as discussed in the previous two chapters. Dissemination is a question of field composition as much as it is a question of “evidence”.

8.3.3 Presentation form of “evidence”

In terms of presentation form and where and how “evidence” is used, actors the field in England put “data” front and centre often resorting to using the word “evidence” to set their discourse and legitimize the agenda (solutions and problems). To illustrate, the word “evidence” is used 84 times in the most recent white paper “Educational Excellence Everywhere” (DfE 2016) and 97 times in the “Carter Review of Initial Teacher Training” (Carter 2015). To exemplify the use (place) of the word, the start of the synthesis on ITE/ITT recommendations in the Carter Review is:

“Overall the evidence we have about the system suggests that it generally performs well, with some room for improvement in particular areas. Data provided to the review group by OFSTED suggests that the majority of trainees are being trained within ‘good’ partnerships. OFSTED inspected accredited providers training the following number of trainees between November 2013 and May 2014: 1855 (14%) were trained by outstanding ITT partnerships; 10870 (82%) were trained by good ITT partnerships; 505 (4%) were trained by ITT partnerships requiring improvement.” (p. 5)

Meanwhile, actors in France often keep “evidence” in the background as a strategic reserve used once the premise is set, however, a shared belief in both contexts is that rationality (evidence of some kind) must be the foundation of policy and discourse. This is done for example in IGEN reports by first presenting a synthesis of the findings that denote the concepts (e.g. what is “formation” as presented in Chapter 5) and purposes of teacher education policy (e.g. harmonisation or improved CPD, that is also conceptualised), and lays out challenges based not only on findings (data) but also on political goals and stated purposes. The data underpinning findings are not shown in this synthesis, which instead focuses on a broader presentation of findings in relation to the mission undertaken and the desired outcomes of teacher education, before data is employed. In this system, faith is put in the author and his synthesis, just as much as in the presentation of data such as

statistics and numbers – the expert is recognised as a constructor of evidence. In both England and France these exemplar patterns were present for the range of actors analysed, not only the state.

“Evidence” had limited presence in actual policy documents in France but was prevalent in IGEN-IGAENR reports that reportedly underpin policy, and is mobilized in political discourse. This provides a form of contrast to England, where transparency in the policy documents themselves, since 2010, is incredibly high. In France, the main “evidence” sources referred to in policy texts are largely IGEN-IGAENR reports and other fact-finding mission reports (e.g. senatorial missions), as policy documents themselves (e.g. circulaires) do not contain justifications for policy beyond some occasional brief reference to a report. As such, we may talk of the French civil service, particularly IGEN, as a form of “expert-as-evidence”, where trust is put in the meritocratic system and on the integrity and quality of advice senior civil servants provide to policymakers.

This is a contrast to practices in England where policy documents lay claim to be rooted in “evidence of what works”. Such practices were (mainly in white papers, and not so much in relation to teacher education) present since at least the 1983 white paper “Teaching Quality” which justified the introduction of CATE and the QTS and had an uptake under “new” labour where civil-service external “experts” and “expert groups” became a core component of white paper justification. A noticeable shift came in 2010 regarding the format and transparency of where the evidence came from. All documents looked at between 2010 and 2019 had a high number of references and citations to signal where “evidence” came from. Ostensibly, this was initiated by Michael Gove to increase transparency (E12), alternatively, it was an attempt to further legitimize policy through the language of science. The former explanation of transparency holds merit in how it relates to the changes to HMI in the 80s to focus more on transparency through measuring, and the noted ideals of fairness and democracy in England that do value transparency. The continued impact of NPM ideals and ideations on the need for transparency and clear measuring sticks is also a potentially contributing factor, as well as policymakers’ search for legitimacy and provider compliance. Regardless of the rationale for the changes, they were dramatic in scale. In the documents analysed, the only use of traceable references to where “evidence” came from in relation to teacher education between 1983 and 2010 was in Circular 24/89 with five, whilst the 2010 white paper “The importance of Teaching: The schools white paper” made 108 references, 34 of which were relevant for teacher education. However, as seen above, the epistemic validity of these references is highly questionable, lending credence to explanations rooted in legitimacy/compliance or epistemic incompetence. In any regard, this is indicative of a paradigm change that pushes “evidence” further to the forefront, especially if we look at how “evidence” is presented and used in the texts as shown above. Therefore, regardless of motives, Gove’s changes in 2010 are of significance as far as “evidence” *presentation* is concerned and constitute a shift in how the organizational fields can

engage with “evidence”. This then is a sharp departure from how Labour for instance engaged with evidence between 1997-2010 where claims of evidence informing policy was made, but the source of the evidence was opaque. For example, in the 1997 white paper “Excellence in Schools” (DfEE 1997), the word “evidence” is used 18 times.

“evidence shows that the current situation is unacceptable There is already evidence that the focus we have placed on primary education, on increased use of homework, on raising expectations and specifically on standards of literacy and numeracy is already bearing fruit.” (p.17).

Meanwhile, only OFSTED and the Literacy Task Force Report is given as an exact source of any evidence in the document (neither were directly relevant for teacher education).

Thus, “evidence” is pushed to the forefront of teacher education debate in England and set the stage through a data-driven approach. By contrast in France the data is brought to bear once *the stage is set* through philosophical and normative goals and concepts rooted in the national myths and logics discussed in previous chapters. Hence, the important notion of “purpose” is in France dealt with more explicitly than in England where purpose has all but disappeared from debates. The implicit purpose in England, however, is to achieve a form of value for money, which appears to centre on high performance as measured by standardized tests in relation to the cost of such performance. The need to demonstrate this value for money extends up to government, who are challenged by NAO (2016) to show how their policies provide value for money, thereby perpetuating a focus on data and evidence where the purpose is data and evidence.

8.4 The purpose and content of evidence in policy: The context of text production

What we see then is that the purpose of much evidence, be it from external actors such as E16 above, or reviews from IGEN-IGAENR or expert groups such as the Carter review is to participate in the political narrative and drive policy as “evidence”, and not to provide a database of evidence accessible and used systematically in policymaking. This one may argue relates to the complex nature of policy, and the importance of purpose which research cannot dictate, but also to a culture of politicking present in both contexts analysed. But what then of the main themes in “evidence”? and how are these reflected in policy documents? This section attempts to address these questions by focusing on the themes in policy documents and reviews.

The themes in the French policy documents largely revolve around meritocratic themes of equality of opportunity, such as harmonization of teacher education and ensuring the concours and good use of school placements and validation of internships without much variation across time. In terms of teacher education content, the main focus was between what “educational theory” is required and how subject knowledge it is important to have. Remove the date on an IGEN-IGAENR

report since 1989 and it can be re-used for any subsequent debate on teacher education with very minor modifications. Much data is gathered by IGEN-IGAENR through interviews with teacher educators and trainees in ITE/ITT, to grasp challenges related to the quality and attractiveness of the IUFM/ESPE/INSPE – particularly as the place to prepare for the concours. There has also been a large emphasis on CPD, mainly on its importance and its absence in teacher education with different suggestions as to how one may fix this shortcoming. In general, there is limited push for major structural reform, instead emphasis is on what to focus on in ITE/ITT, and ensuring the implementation of policy to ensure the functioning of the meritocratic system.

I use the phrasing “educational theory” here to encompass views that posit it is important to know how to teach and how pupils/students learn. In Norway this would be called “pedagogikk” (pedagogy – not to be confused with the English term subject pedagogy, which in Norway is called *didaktikk* (didactics) nor the French term “*pédagogique*” which relates to applied and practical teaching), in France we have *théorie de l'apprentissage*, but also *la pédagogie*, and “*science de l'éducation*” (theory of learning) that are meant to be encapsulated by the broad use of “an educational theory” here.

In England, recently the main focus is on two distinct but related themes with their own distinct sources of “evidence”. One centres on restructuring and the school-led system, centred on the 2014-15 Carter Review (Carter 2015; DfE 2015). The second focuses on retention and CPD of early career teachers and is rooted in the round-table discussions leading up to the Early Career Framework (DfE 2019a) and Recruitment and Retention Strategy (DfE 2019b), this is predominantly aimed at improving the recruitment and quality of teachers. By contrast to France, England has had a shift in focus over time. The 2010 white paper “The Importance of Teaching: The schools white paper 2010” focused more on quality of teachers and drew heavily on the McKinsey report “How the World’s Best-performing School Systems Come Out on Top” from 2007 by Michael Barber and Mona Mourshed.²²¹ The other key source appears to be data from OFSTED inspections and evaluations of national such as test and exam performance, school workforce census, and other large-scale data sets enabling “governing at a distance” through the use of numbers, all centred on the aforementioned logic of value for money– outputs being evaluated only in relation to inputs. Moreover, England has also seen an emphasis on CPD begun in the 1980s (as in France), but with a recent uptake in relation to the Early Career Framework and Core Content Framework in the light of ongoing recruitment issues. This is something of a spiral as the earlier CPD themes in the 1980s were as mentioned in Chapter 5, the re-training of teachers to overcome shortages in some subjects.

²²¹ For a harsh critique of the use of this report, see Coffield (2012)

8.5 Referencing what goes on “elsewhere”

In both cases there seems to be much interest in looking at what goes on elsewhere in order to figure out “what works” or defend an ideological belief in “what works” in the face of other ideologies, as this section explores.

To exemplify, in England, Finland, the most referenced country, was mentioned nine times in the “The Importance of Teaching: The schools white paper” (DfE 2010), and was employed as a central justification for proposed new initiatives surrounding research informed teaching. It was also mentioned, twice in the DfE document “Training our next generation of outstanding teachers” (2011), 11 times in the house of commons education committee report “Great teachers: attracting, training and retaining the best” (2012), and once in the “Carter review of Initial Teacher Training” (2015) and the DfE “Teacher training plan” (2011). Beyond Finland however, there were also several references to other PISA high performing countries in different policy and political documents. For example, Singapore was mentioned *79 times* in the House of Commons Education Committee report “Great teachers: attracting, training and retaining the best” (2012). Singapore was also present in the two central white papers since 2010, appearing four times in “The Importance of Teaching” and twice in “Educational Excellence Everywhere”. By contrast, places closer to home, such as Scotland or Ireland, were not referenced.

However, an emphasis on “Finnish style” teacher education was for the most part subsequently dropped after the initial flurry not being mentioned at all in the 2016 white paper “Educational Excellence Everywhere”. The abandonment of calls for a Finnish model was due to perceived cost issues related with the model reducing its value for money according to a senior civil servant (E12). Thus, how well thought out the emphasis on Finland was, and thereby its merit as “evidence” in a major policy drive is a matter of some doubt. Meanwhile, the phrasing “evidence-based” increased as it was used 24 times in “Educational Excellence Everywhere” and only once in “The Importance of Teaching”. As such, even though the referencing to places such as Finland was reduced, there was still a high emphasis on “evidence”. Moreover, even though Singapore was mentioned, alongside Germany and Poland, in “Educational Excellence Everywhere”, it was not held up as a reference of good practice (do as country X) but rather as a country outperforming England and used as a justifier as to why England could do better (we should do better than country X). This then is a cognitive shift from an emphasis on learning from others (e.g., policy borrowing – see Steiner-Khamsi 2012) to one centred on competing with others. This observation correlates to findings of Sørensen (2017), who found that PISA and other best performance comparisons were used to frame TALIS in England.

France, by contrast to England, did not have the same emphasis on “PISA countries” in their state sanctioned evidence documents such as IGEN-IGAENR reports. Other countries that those who

perform extremely well in PISA are often referenced or mentioned in these reports, such as Norway in (IGEN-IGAENR 2018), and more as “reference societies” rather than a “high performer” in education. However, reference society can be considered a translation of high performer, through questions such as “good reference of what” that are comparable to “high performing in what”, the end result is also the same as external contexts are used as sources of learning, but also legitimisation of problem definitions and proposed solutions to problems

Meanwhile, the AEF *Dépêche* analysis notes a presence of references to other countries in public debates that differs from the one seen in England. The most referenced text was the Bologna declaration mentioned 9 times out of 272 *dépêche*, with the highest mentioned country being Germany which was mentioned 9 times as well. However, one of the Germany references was in a negative light (what not to do), four were deemed “neutral” neither encouraging or discouraging what was done in Germany, whilst four were in a positive light and constitute references to “evidence of what works”. In total there were 31 references to 15 different countries. If we remember that this covers 1998 to 2017 and is all of the dispatches in a comprehensive database that mention teacher education, we may note that overall, very few actors do relate to what goes on elsewhere in any systematic way in their media discourse, at least compared to the emphasis on Singapore present across multiple documents in England. There was also no pattern found in regard to who referenced what, it seemed instead to be “what fits my discourse right now”. Moreover, the focus in France was largely on neighbouring countries such as Germany, Austria, and Belgium (but not Spain or Italy), a contrast to England where Singapore and Hong Kong are central, but Scotland and Ireland are not. Note that this is not at all directly comparable to the English data from the document analysis but is a necessity due to how policy justification and discourse is done differently in the two contexts (itself an interesting point of contrasting comparison). As a caveat it should be mentioned this can be a feature of the limited information provided in the *dépêche*, the data is not perfect, and should only be awarded mild inference power in isolation.

Where France did reference what goes on elsewhere however, was in relation to universitisation and masterisation. Multiple actors mentioned that the reason they pushed for including a master thesis (even though it remains a professional master of 30 pages summarizing the internship) in ITE/ITT and the drive to put the IUFM more fully under the university structure was “similar events in the rest of Europe”. The problem with this is that most European countries did not have this kind of system in 1989 when the reforms started, nor in 2007/2012 as the most dramatic changes were undertaken. There were, as far as the analysis here undertaken can tell, very few concrete examples provided, for what was seemingly a French desire for masterisation and universitisation, justified through (false) referencing towards “Europe” and European trends. However, European discourse did centre on the importance of such reforms, with Norway for

example finally undergoing masterisation in 2018 and are currently having an ongoing process of universitisation, whilst francophone Belgium are at the cusps of similar reforms. England, it can be argued, universitised with the 1992 “upgrades” (however what makes a university? Is it the name? or is it research? Or is it the presence of lecturers with PhDs? If the latter, England never universitised) but has made no movement towards masterisation at the time of writing beyond the 2017/18 consultation and began a large scale de-universitisation drive in 2011/12 with the school-centred approach to ITE/ITT as discussed in previous chapters.

Meanwhile, as seen above, French discourse did seemingly also centre on conforming to the Bologna declaration with ECTS and a need to maintain the 3+2+3 system as discussed in Chapter 7, but there was no noticeable use of “evidence” rooted in comparison to justify this approach, such as referencing how other countries conformed or benefited from the Bologna system, beyond emphasising France’s obligations and desires for international exchange in tertiary education (including ITE/ITT). Interestingly, the only reference to what actually went on elsewhere in the *dépêche* was a critique of Bologna because only France was adapting it, made by an academic, Yves Lenoir (*Dépêche* n°273738 published 12/03/2010), a professor at Sherbrooke University in Quebec, Canada. Evidence was not used to support the adoption of Bologna, beyond the mentioned arguments that Bologna is “what works” for European harmonization.

Thus, we note that “evidence” can be constructed in an international dialogue, but this is not always done. Perhaps illustrative of the important position PISA has in England, that is absent in France as discussed in previous chapters. Meanwhile, French discourse seems, even when internationally oriented, to be more focused on France (the duties of France) than on what goes on elsewhere. This fits with overall impressions of the French “evidence” use, which seems to centre on internal actors and events rather on external ones.

What the findings presented in this sub-section seem to indicate is that both England and France are highly selective in their engagement with what goes on elsewhere or in Europe – indicating high state autonomy as well as a selective view on “evidence” collaborating the classification of national data collection as presented above. With external referencing, we may also note a likely increase in comprehension issues by policymakers and researchers alike, as different contexts have to be dealt with and analysed as mentioned in the introduction of this chapter. On the one hand, some academia-based researchers too often say “context matters” therefore one cannot look to what goes on elsewhere (at all). This is a troublesome epistemological position when one does not go deeper by looking at what cannot be learnt across contexts, what can be learnt, and how may one learn it. On the other hand, other actors may too easily import “foreign” solutions without adapting them to the new context. In other words, there seems to be a failure, especially in England less so in France (due to less foreign referencing) to *engage properly with contexts* and

comprehending the *underlying structural and cultural phenomena* that enable one form of performance or another in education.

8.6 Discussion and concluding remarks of the chapter: Use of “evidence” to justify policy, a feature of the current day and age?

Based on observations presented in this chapter, one may claim England, and to a lesser extent France, are both in an evidence era to such an extent referring to "evidence" is a necessity for intervening in policy discourse and legitimising policy as text, regardless of whether or not episteme rooted in empirical observations exists to address a policy problem. As addressed in this chapter, different actors are engaged in evidence production, struggling both for access to policymakers and to data. Meanwhile, England also has a complex relation between “externals” who analyse data, the competences and desires of the DfE, and the commissioning relationship that is built into actor relations and the remit analysts operate with.

All English white papers and instructive documents analysed have since 2010 used a large number of references to evidence in order to support and legitimize policy, indicating that referencing evidence has become a *sine qua non* there. However, as shown, these are often subverted to justify policy rather than being actual state of the art knowledge that supports policy objectively (much of this arguably also relates to limits to our current understanding of teaching and learning, and limits to our current subject knowledge). This is in line with observations on the prevalence of policy based “evidence” making rather than true evidence based policymaking in England (Chung 2016). What one may also infer, is that England tends to make use of a form of external evidence, where legitimacy is found through the language of science and through referencing “what works”. Emblematic of this is scientific style citations, the anchoring of policy in grand reviews, and an emphasis on measured outcomes in the sub-set of the evidence era we know as the age of measurement, where what is measured is what is valued (Biesta 2009).

This is somewhat different in France where evidence production is more of a systematized and structured affair in a quasi-technocratic and bureaucratic system of codified civil law. Nevertheless, tensions over political considerations regarding what constitutes evidence, who should collect it, how to collect it, and what policy approach findings actually recommend still linger within the system. This is particularly important if we bear in mind the social characteristics of “expertise” within the French state, and the dubious nature of French meritocracy in practice. According to Bourdieu (1984, 1993), the education system has its own titles of nobility it bestows on those who master the system and may lay claim to knowledge they may not possess as culture, not knowledge,

is at the centre of the politico-administrative and science fields. These titles then denote who are the technocrats of the state, and as such has a right to express themselves as experts in education.

Moreover, French claims to rational knowledge have not been found by the analysis here to be conducive to neutral policies in France, particularly as stakeholders lobby for their views, and the ideologies of civil servants twist knowledge (see also Bourdieu and Christin (1990) for similar observations). The result is the same as in England - evidence becomes “evidence”. Meanwhile, the use of “evidence” is perpetuated through the rationalised myth of evidence-based policymaking and the subsequent requirement to present “evidence of what works” of some kind to legitimize one’s discourse within the organizational fields. In both contexts there is a large emphasis on research and *a priori* knowledge construction as a source of legitimacy, which is central to policymaking following trends of increased emphasis on knowledge in governing/nance (Fazekas and Burns 2012, Normand 2017). Hence, both cases appear to find themselves in an “evidence era” paradigm where the use of “evidence” has become a rationalised myth to good policy in line with initial assumptions.

An “evidence” era would also imply the wicked nature of policy problems is ignored. As Rittel and Webber (1973) argued, we cannot currently plan using science, regardless of the quality of existing knowledge, because the number of answers to questions that we need to know is too large. Moreover, the, to them, separation between natural sciences and social sciences rests in the fixed characteristics of problems in nature, they are tame, by contrast society has answers that relate to questions we ask, and these change in relation to problem definitions, discourses on purpose, and plurality of objectives, they are wicked problems. Wicked problems require an ability to predict not only solutions to problems but also what the problems themselves would be and would be defined as over time (Rittel and Webber 1973). This is particularly true as policy problems are both politically and socially constructed and *relate* to a form of accountability (legitimacy) to the public as diverse actors engage in agenda-setting and contestation of practices (Zittoun 2014).

Meanwhile, educationalists in academia are not the central providers of “evidence” in either case, regardless of the observed dominance of the research university in global knowledge production (Powell, Baker, and Fernandez 2017), or observations of academic or epistemic drift as has been observed in different contexts (Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell 2018). As such, the evidence era is not a by-product of epistemic or academic drift. It is perhaps rather a driving force behind academic drift.

Historically in England, government tended to put much more emphasis on the expertise of its own bodies such as the Teacher Training Agency or OFSTED, than on Higher Education Institutions in questions of the professional development of teachers (Bates, Gough, and Stammers 1999). The same is present in France where the mentioned statistical agency together with “fact-finders” such as IGEN-IGAENR are central “evidence” producers. Additionally, anyone who wishes to do large-scale

data analysis in England or in France, must often go through some form of external agency such as government (or the OECD with PISA). This creates an organizational field that is characterised by central nodes in its net-like structure, where parts of knowledge are tied to control over access (Fazekas and Burns 2012) and exhibits indications of a power-game where access to data can enable problem definition and solving, thereby enacting societal (field) change (Heller 1996). Thus, we see a plurality of legitimate actors or actors who see themselves as legitimate in a national context of education, without clear *dominance* of any kind.

Arguably, the lack of structural homogeneity across institutions in relation to research on education leaves increased room for contestation over evidence and denies academia any monopoly over research, and therefore evidence, in both cases. In fact, academia must not be seen as a unitary actor or organizational grouping in terms of research production.

The outcomes in England and France today of two distinct but similar cults of “evidence” rests in how the current systems of “information” gathering for policy purposes came to be and is currently constituted. On the one hand, England is rooted for a range of reasons in NPM ideology (see Ball 2008) of measurement and scientism (see Knafo 2019 and Tröhler 2014b on the link between these concepts). On the other hand, France, is rooted in rationalisation of action in a rational meritocratic republic created as a counterpart to the divine rights of *kings and priests* in the 18th century ossifying into the Jacobin logic of today (Normand 2020). I would argue both the enlightenment ideals underpinning the French Republic and the neo-liberal and scientist paradigms underpinning English practices ought to be questioned as problematic and lacking in a form of *parrhesia* where actors speak freely and are free to speak in such a way, to deconstruct and question ingrained myths (Foucault 1983). Such a parrhesiastic game may help both to move back from policy-based evidence making towards a form of rational teacher education policy, and have it rooted in purpose, a central component to learning and knowing (Dewey 1990 [1929], Biesta 2007, Biesta 2009, Malone and Hogan 2020).

One outcome of the NPM focus in all aspects of education in England is that teachers are becoming what Marilyn Osborn (2007) articulated as *expert technicians* under a paradigm centred on *delivery of performance* (meeting standards), but absent clarity on educational theory in general and as such an ability to teach in diverse circumstances and to different standards than those currently in effect. This delivery of a performance paradigm, argued to be rooted in neo-liberalism and NPM, is absent in France (see also Brisard 2002, Normand 2013, 2020).

The distinctions in the two approaches harks back not only to differing relations with NPM ideas, but also to the mosaic nature of the organizational fields in England and the more systemic, state centred, structure in France, where actors have a culturally ingrained moral right to be heard that is much more institutionalized than in England. One may also question the cultural-cognitive

sense-making capacities of a politico-administrative cadre often removed from education in engaging with evidence rooted in education. In both cases, there are large translation issues (Maroy, Pons, and Dupuy 2016, Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell 2018) as research practices encounter policymaker practices, connotations, and ideations (Saunders 2007), with the outcome that evidence becomes “evidence”. These questions of comprehension are particularly important if we bear in mind the importance of comprehension of language.

The trends of the evidence era are more dominant in policymaking in England as the Cartesian paradigm has been given a form of steroid injection there. The first “treatment” to accelerate an emphasis on measurement in England according to the research presented here came bundled with NPM ideals in the 1980s, this is similar to findings of inter alia Ball (2008) and Ozga (2009), then a second acceleration came with the “evidencification” of public policy in the name of transparency in 2010. This acceleration is absent in France who employ a model similar to the pre-1980s England where senior HMI inspectors were more comparable to the role of IGEN as fact finders (see Smith (2010) on the historic role of HMI in relation to research) than OFSTED inspectors are today (Pons 2014). Meanwhile, France, contrary to England, seem capable of operationalizing the civil service and leading national voices on education as “experts-as-evidence”, reducing both the capacity and need for overt emphasis on measurement and accountability, the teacher remains in charge of the secret garden of the curriculum (Prost 2013). However, “evidence” (including measurement) still figures as an integral part of the quasi-technocratic Jacobin state in France founded on a Cartesian logic. This is seen in the focus in France on IGEN reports rooted in interviews with ITE/ITT trainees, teachers, and researchers, and statistical data from state agencies such as DEPP (see chapters 7 and 8) to inform and guide (pilote) teacher education reforms. NPM is then a symptom (indicator) of this ongoing evidencification which can arguably be traced back to the Age of Enlightenment, and presently manifests itself as an “evidence era”. The observed NPM reforms in the 1980s is as such not a paradigm change, but undercurrents rooted in scientism that come to the forefront. This again is dependent on the conceptualization of NPM and scientism. The lesser apparent emphasis on “evidence” in France than in England is then due to a lack of focus on standard based accountability and value for money in the former compared to the latter country.

The epistemological problem with the evidencification of public policy is that problems and solutions in societies are cultural constructs as noted by Rittel and Webber (1973), what we ought to do are normative value questions rather than questions of “what works” due to a necessity of adding “for what?” (Biesta 2009), whilst as mentioned what works elsewhere may not work here (Crossley and Watson 2003, Crossley 2010). The limitations of such an approach are also well articulated by Hannah Arendt (2018 [1958]), when she stated: “[T]he mathematization of physics, by which the absolute renunciation of the senses for the purpose of knowing was carried through, had in its last

stages the unexpected and yet plausible consequence that every question man puts to nature is answered in terms of mathematical patterns to which no model can ever be adequate, since one would have to be shaped after our sense experiences. At this point, the connection between thought and sense experience, inherent in the human condition, seems to take its revenge: while technology demonstrates the "truth" of modern science's most abstract concepts, it demonstrates no more than that man can always apply the results of his mind, that no matter which system he uses for the explanation of natural phenomena he will always be able to adopt it as a guiding principle for making and acting." (p.287). Meanwhile, technological innovation as it applies to measurement in education over the past 20-30 years is primarily increases in computer power enabling large scale statistical analysis (Ozga 2008, 2009). In addition, new modes of large-scale data collection and dissemination have emerged, enabled first through the internet (see Decuyper, Ceulemans, and Simons (2014) for an interesting account on how the internet transforms governance in education as a tool of dissemination), and more recently through phone applications such as TeacherTapp.

To further connect the concept of evidence era to existing literature, what we have seen here in both England and France is a form of *technocratization of public function*, that can be related to the Cartesian paradigm (Arendt 2018 [1958]) and Age of Enlightenment (Tröhler 2020). This is present in both cases but with *different modalities*. The essence of the Cartesian paradigm is a reduction of complexity into manageable parts and the coupling of innate ideas and deductive reasoning (e.g., through statistical data) to overcome problems with observation and the uncertainty of Reality. However, during the imperfect copying, Cartesian doubt seems to have disappeared in favour of certainty in the infallibility of the scientific method and/or mathematics. What also seems to be happening in both cases, in relation to the mathematization of public function, is a *medicalization of education* (Tröhler 2014b), that is a medical approach to policymaking in education where symptoms of a disease (a societal problem) are claimed to be present and a cure is proposed (Menter 2020), often with forms of "evidence" (measurement or interviews) to back up ideological claims. This is arguably all encapsulated by the notion of an evidence-era.

Chapter 9. How Institutionalized environments structure and transform the organizational fields over time: Inferring the work of mechanisms

"teachers in France had a narrower, more restricted and classroom-focused conception of their role which centred almost entirely on what they saw as their accountability for children's academic progress. Teachers in England, by contrast, saw themselves as having a more wide-ranging and diffuse set of responsibilities both inside and outside the classroom. They also saw themselves as having a strong responsibility for their own professional learning, something which was largely lacking in French responses which were focused more on the immediacy of the classroom." (Osborn 2007, p.244)

So far, we have seen the wider context of the educative states England and France as they engage with teacher education policymaking in Chapter 5, while in chapters 6 and 7 we met the main actors in the relevant organizational fields and how they related to each other in two distinct approaches to public policymaking and the governing of teacher education. In Chapter 8 the emphasis was on the centrality of "evidence", and what "evidence" actually is, in the two cases as actors attempt to legitimize their discourse and change or reinforce practices. This chapter aims to capture and present the trajectories of what the societies of France and England have wanted from their teachers, how values and beliefs embedded in the institutional environment has evolved and impacted thoughts on what a teacher is and how he should be educated as expressed in policy. It looks at transformations of teacher education policy through different aspects/dimensions of the institutionalized environments and their mechanisms of change and maintenance between 1976-2020 in England and 1982-2020 in France. This chapter is of a more abstract nature than the preceding ones whilst it infers the *essence* of the institutionalized environments influencing teacher education policymaking in the two cases. As such, it constitutes a different point of observation to chapters 6, 7 and 8, as it analyses the institutionalized environment (shared beliefs and ideas) and not the organizational field (actors and their relations, tools, and legitimacies) in an attempt to fulfil the need to look at an object such as policymaking through multiple lenses (Ball 1993, Scott 2013). Therefore, this chapter draws on earlier chapters to set the premise, before it infers how change came about through the work of institutional mechanisms thereby addressing RQ 3.

The chapter begins by presenting a periodization of events that distinguishes between different contexts of policymaking in section 9.1 for the time period 1976-2020 in England and 1982-2020 in France. Here it is argued that the mechanism of coercion, most often associated with policy

(e.g., by Scott (2013)), is *not central* to the context of influence, instead figuring most prominently in the context of practice. This section also serves as a recapitulative overview of the evolution of teacher education policy in the two cases (the *what*). Section 9.2 analyses the interaction between national myths and cognitive blueprints as the two crucial, but different, mimetic enablers either amplify or cancel each other out. A first central line of analysis here is the legitimization of state intervention in the public sphere through public policy and the work of the civil service. This is the crux of the policymaking environment in the two cases. A second central line of analysis in this section is the synthetic cross-section of debates between progressive and traditionalist views on education that is central to understanding teacher education policymaking from the point of view of the education environment. This section's entry point is the broader, central, debates in the two environments. Section 9.3 then merges the two environments by analysing the governing of teacher education and how the two cases relate to NPM inspired steering at a distance. Section 9.4 draws on the findings presented in this thesis to construct clear statements on the explanatory chains on *how* and *why* teacher education policy in the two cases have changed between the 1980s and today and the impact of institutionalized environments on organizational fields in relation to teacher education policy. Section 9.6 concludes the chapter.

9.1 The contexts of influence, text production, and practice in living memory

The policy trajectories in the two cases are complex and multi-faceted. To help make sense of them we may draw on the policy context framework of Bowe & Ball (1992) (influence, text production, practice) discussed in Chapter 3, and the derived table concept of Furlong (2001), as presented in Chapter 5. Such an approach holds the advantage of providing a structured view of long time-lines, and the disadvantage of only looking at compressed elements of said timeline. The table on England (table 9.1.1) deviates from the one presented by Furlong (2001) as it covers the period of 1976-2001 to reflect the empirical observations and analysis undertaken here. This is not meant as a refutation of Furlongs research. The different emphasis and slightly different findings are instead an acknowledgement of the different data sources and ontological lenses employed in this research compared to in his. Through this periodization, we are able to see the main characteristics of both the politico-administrative (text production) and teacher education fields (practice) and how they relate to the institutionalized environments in the context of influence (policy-as-discourse) over time. As such, we can begin to infer the characteristics of the re-composition and two trajectory aspects of the institutionalized environment and their relation to the three classical dimensions – regulative, normative, cultural-cognitive. We may then also begin to infer the work of their associated mechanisms, a process completed in section 9.4.

Table 9.1.1 Periodization of discourse and policy in Teacher Education in England 1976-2020

Period	The context of influence Key policy debates	Perceived problem(s)	The context of text production Key policy texts	The context of practice Influence on (i) Pathways	(ii) Content	(iii) links to school
1976-1983 Key theme: Teacher as “scholar”	Secret garden of the curriculum – role of academia in education, role of schools, role of government	Lack of oversight	Limited policy texts on ITE/ITT – main contestation as debates and reports (reviews).	Multiple paths, universities as “A tier”, academic autonomy and local provision	Academia governed	Ad-hoc, local provider determinism
1983-1990 Key theme: accountability	How to improve teacher education and ensure accountability. Also retraining of teachers through CPD to meet shortages.	Constructing oversight and accountability, creating a place for schools, what of academia?	Creation of CATE and QTS, creation of some initial standards – government begins to position itself as a gatekeeper through an intermediary QUANGO	Some initial reduction (not approved courses) – by and large the same structure continued. Partnerships between universities and teacher colleges	Academic – government symbiosis, but with a clear hierarchy putting the DfE on top but reliant on CATE to prescribe content framework and HMI to ensure compliance and quality of provision content	Strong links required – ROSE and placements
1991-1997 Key theme: upgrades	Drastic changes to higher education impacting teacher education, and academia. CPD needs to become systematised	A need to increase quality	Upgrades of polytechs – higher education unified under the moniker “university”	Reconfiguration of provider sector – everything is now a university and as such contains a university degree.	Same as before, transition from CATE to TDA and HMI to OFSTED in terms of constructing the framework and ensuring compliance.	Relaxation of “required” knowledge by teacher educators, continued emphasis on placements and a practical component to ITE/ITT
1997-2001 Key theme: responsibility and quality re-stated	Importance of education put front and centre, government responsible without excuses	A need to put education front and centre in the knowledge economy	Introduction of national curriculum by circular in 1998 – reduced place for the TDA, increased place for the DfE.	Highly structured – attempts to harmonize ITE/ITT	Prescribed framework	Continued emphasis on placements
2002 – 10 Key theme: a teacher is more than a “teacher”	Teacher as more than a transmitter of knowledge, pastoral care and social worker responsibilities. Teaching as a “master profession”?	Increasing equality and fostering a good community centred on the school and education	End of national curriculum – increased inspections and emphasis upon standards	Opening of new routes, teach first.	Some move towards master level education towards the end of the period	Continued emphasis on partnerships and university link to schools
2010 –16 Key theme: teaching as a craft	Poor quality of ITE/ITT, lofty ideals and woolly aspirations. Teaching as a craft not a profession. A teacher can be trained as an apprentice to a master.	The teacher needs to “refind” his purpose as an educator. Poor PISA performance	School centred ITT – multiple routes into education – school direct funding. Increased autonomy tied to more accountability. Quality important. Importance of teaching 2010	Rise of SCITT and school direct, reduction in university-based routes numbers. Increased focus upon the PGCE	Content of ITT set by standards and inspected by OFSTED. Standards “simplified”. Quality of ITT content central.	Majority of time spent in schools (roughly 2/3rds) increased focus upon school centred learning and teaching as a craft.
2016- Key theme: self-improving craftsperson	Teacher recruitment and retention. The place of research in ITE/TT	Recruitment and Retention issues – lack of teachers	Enhancing attractability. Opening new routes of recruitment. Bursaries to recruit in some subjects. Teacher (profession) based research through the Chartered College of Teaching.	Continued rise of the SCITT and school direct. School based routes (SCITT and school direct) trained more teachers than the universities in 2018	Content continues to be regulated through centrally prescribed standards, ensuring a common framework. OFSTED required rating lowered.	Increased importance of schools through school direct. Schools “purchase” training places from SCITTS and university providers.

Table 9.1.2 Periodization of discourse and policy in Teacher Education in France 1982-2020

Period	The context of influence Key policy debates	Perceived problem (s)	The context of text production Key policy texts	The context of practice Influence on (i) Pathways	(ii) Content	(iii) links to school
1982-89 Key theme: fragmented professions	Some need for pedagogy and science of education for secondary teachers, particularly in response to “new maths” – a need to (re)train existing teachers through CPD. Primary teachers rooted in pedagogy.	Performance issues, ensuring meritocracy.	loi du 9 août 1879 created the École Normale, creation of MAFPEN in 1982	Creation of MAFPEN, primary teachers educated in “écoles normales” – limited organized ITE/ITT for secondary teachers	Pedagogy for primary teachers, subject knowledge (only) for secondary teachers. New emphasis on CPD	Present for primary teachers, limited for secondary teachers
1989-2005 Key theme: Lessening divide between primary and secondary teachers, need for link with university	Need for a unified teaching profession identified (failure of performance). Recognition of individual characteristics of regions – heterogeneous provision. Where to put the concours and what should it contain? – identified need for research in ITE/ITT. Attempts to establish links to academia	Transition issues between primary and secondary education. Demographic changes. Trainees not happy with their education according to IGEN reports	Creation of IUFM by law (1989) By Arrêté (1991) Continuous reform process through evaluations and “dialogue” between state and providers	New “master” level education – 3+2 system of 3 years in a university followed by two years in the IUFM	First year focus on subject and theory – preparation of concours. Increased focus on pedagogy for secondary teachers compared to before	Strong link to schools in the second year – emphasis on teacher as “intern” who teaches the class and is responsible for it (with pay) in second year for both primary and secondary teachers
2005-2011 Key theme: universitisation and masterization	Changes to the university sector with implications for teacher education – streamlining of IUFM's link to universities	A need for more “science” and research in education – linked to restructuring of research (France performing poorly in research). Some secondary teachers not happy with current provision according to IGEN reports	Decree opening for becoming a teacher with Concours and master's only.	Same ITE/ITT pathways as before, but opening for more teachers who have not gone through ITE/ITT – thereby creating an alternative path of “subject only”	Increased emphasis on research and subject knowledge, increased emphasis on the place of researchers in the IUFM	Same link to schools in ITE/ITT – but weakening for those who preferred “alternative routes”
2012-2018 Key theme: need for training in schools	A need for some ITE/ITT is recognised, continued emphasis on research in ITE/ITT and the need for “reflective teachers” who are research literate and continue to learn (CPD). Harmonization of provision begun (one university oversees one ESPE)	Teacher education needs to be under state control and linked to the school (electoral pledge). Recruitment issues. Trainees not happy with their education and feel underprepared.	ESPE created by law in 2012 – continued process of reform with yearly IGEN oversight and reports until 2016. Decree requiring MEEF internship to become a teacher.	Creation of MEEF under the ESPE – requirement that all teachers attend the second year of the MEEF to undergo “paid internships”. A focus on ITC for CPD is evident.	Internships become increasingly a form of “induction” with mentorship. Emphasis on CPD (re)stated.	Reinforced rights for interns to some follow up from schools – “new” positions of “mentors” in schools established – mentors may also teach in universities (ESPEs)
2019- time of writing Key theme: harmonization and centralization	A need to unify and harmonize ITE/ITT across the territory. Concerns present since 1989, but not seen as practicable before to force harmonization.	Poor PISA performance, disadvantaged regions, teachers are mobile, but their education is local. Recruitment (but not retention) issues, seen as a risk of loss of quality.	Creation of INSPE (by law 2019)	Further harmonization and integration between universities and INSPE	Largely the same, but new attempts to harmonize content across regions.	Concours moved to the end of ITE/ITT in 2021/22

A caveat: these tables only capture the main and dominant ideas and policies and is as such a synthetic view rather than a full explanation of the historic developments. Therefore, the section should be understood in combination with the information presented in preceding chapters.

To begin with a look at field re-composition, which can be observed in the historic trajectory of England depicted in table 9.1.1: prior to 1984, we saw in previous chapters how education was left mostly alone within a mosaic of multiple providers. However, the entry of CATE constituted a re-composition of the field as the state enlarged its position, while existing actors found themselves with a new ally (e.g., traditionalists in favour of practical school based ITT) and enemy (e.g. progressive educationalists in favour of a *laisse faire* model with the teacher as a scholar) as discussed by Barton and colleagues (1993), and shown in Chapter 6 of this thesis. This re-composition came through a reconfiguration mechanism as existing actors were forced to re-align themselves. This enabled the triggering of new mechanisms such as coercion through accreditation and certification but is arguably more than an enabler as the very act of creating CATE did “something” to the field and begun a process of transforming legitimacies in the institutionalized environment as well as through the interconnection of the two. This something we may see as a field effect (Martin 2003), or a form of “mechanism” that we may conceptualize as imposition of the politico-administrative field on the teacher education field, that is coupled with the entry of the policymaking institutionalized environment onto teacher education through this imposition. The imposition event also triggered a reconfiguration mechanism as actors in the field suddenly had to relate to CATE and the QTS. A further re-composition of the field through the theorized reconfiguration mechanism also came in 2012 as seen in Chapter 6, when the successor to CATE, the TDA became internalized and ensured new forms of professional standards and norms took hold. This was arguably not a continuation of the re-composition wrought by CATE as it constitutes an instance of a powerful actor leaving the field (CATE entered). As such, the events are linked in a causal chain (no CATE, no 2012 event related to the TDA being internalized), but they are separate links in that chain. As a caveat, it should also be noted that the imposition phenomenon is dependent on how we construct the borders between fields. For example, if teacher education policymaking is seen as one field rather than the intersection of the teacher education and public-administration field, the notion of imposition is not of any use to explain changes. This shows how concepts guide and limit the research process. The advantage of such an approach then also becomes clear, it enables a comprehension of the complexity and contestation wrought by the creation of CATE in 1984, because it enables us to distinguish between the political side of education (accreditation, certification, inspection) and the teaching side (teacher education) and note how these fields respond to different environments and therefore different values, beliefs, and behaviours. The imposition then, denotes how unwelcome and troubled the intervention of the politico-

administrative field onto the teacher education field in England was in 1984. The heuristic and conceptual separation of the politico-administrative and teacher education fields allows, in both cases, an understanding of the tensions and frictions between these fields as they were constantly in contact through the notion of “policy” but never shared the same practice as teacher educators primary function is to educate teachers and politico-administrators primary function is to administer the public sphere.

Meanwhile, in France as we can see in table 9.1.2, the central re-composition of the field with environment implications came in 1989-92 with the creation of the IUFM. This upended the teacher education and politico-administrative fields both and ensured new forms of normative legitimacy were a possibility as universities turned into an increasing fixture in primary teacher ITE/ITT, whilst educational theory became a mandatory part of secondary teacher ITE/ITT. Here the reconfiguration mechanism again ensured that existing actors had to seek new relations within the field and enabled normative and mimetic mechanisms to trigger as well. The normative changes have been in the form of an increased voice for pedagogues in secondary teacher ITE/ITT, and mimetically through cognitive blueprints centred on the university as the place for teacher education. The reconfiguration took longer in France than in England (is still ongoing), however, the effect is still inferable as the current landscape of ITE/ITT is shaped in a dominant fashion by the creation of the IUFM (the entry of it as an organizational actor in the field) the same way CATE transformed ITE/ITT in England.

Importantly, what we see here is that the reconfiguration mechanism both inherently affects the field and the wider environment. Meanwhile, an interplay between mechanisms can here be seen, as pivot points enabling the innovation mechanism triggered the reconfiguration noted above. The distinction between reconfiguration and innovation we may here note is that innovation can have field effects independent of new actors, such as the changing role of universities in France in 2005-07, that is different from the entry of a new organizational actor as happened with the IUFM in 1989-92.

In both cases there are also shifts towards a focus on early career CPD linkable to cognitive blueprints, and perceived shortcomings in the system. The French education inspectorate IGEN and IGAENR published a joint report in 2018 on CPD for secondary teachers, noting the importance of moving from “formation continue” to “developpement professionnel” as CPD was to become focused on the individual professional who could learn by himself (“se autoforme”) and knew himself best what CPD he needed, citing OECD (2013; 2015), European Commission (2013), and the World Bank (2018) as references and justifiers of the proposed changes. At the same time, the DfE published two important documents to this effect, the “Early Career Framework” and “Core Content

Framework” in 2019, both of which push for a seamless integration from ITE/ITT to “induction” to CPD.

However, these similarities remain at a superficial level as the intricate details of CPD remain differentiated between the two cases, and with national characteristics. Moreover, the historical steps of each case do somewhat differ, with France already in the early 1990s adapting a similar language (at least at its heart if not its exact wording) on the importance of seamless integration from ITE/ITT to CPD. For example, circulaire no 91-202 du 2 juillet 1991 stated that:

“[It is essential to perceive the education/training of the student in the IUFM not in an isolated fashion, but as a stage – a foundational one – of a continuous process of education/training. Elements of this education/training can be prior to entry to the IUFM (pre-professionalization modules for example). This education/training may be completed when leaving the establishment, particularly based on identified short-comings during initial education/training.]”²²² (p.2)

This is a line of argumentation that has been continued in circulaires and IGEN reports since.

However, as noted in interviews, no funds were made available for this kind of seamless CPD, and teachers were largely against it even though unions agreed in principle. There were too many practical obstacles.

England on the other hand, has as in France an emphasis on the importance of CPD, but the approach has been somewhat more dynamic and different to that in France. In the 1980s, early CPD schemes focused on retraining teachers to meet shortages in some subjects (and deal with surplus in others). The scheme developed into a more structured approach to improving subject knowledge, and was administered locally, with central (competitive) funding schemes through the 80s and 90s as presented in Chapter 5. Recently this approach has undergone a major change with the Early Career Framework and Core Content Framework (see annex 1.1), which puts an emphasis on a seamless transition from ITE/ITT to induction, and finally CPD. This would be what the French talk of as formation initiale, formation continuee, formation continue, which is central to the most recent IGEN-IGAENR report on CPD (IGEN-IGAENR 2018). This conceptualisation is not new, however, with traces identifiable (similar language) in the early 1980s. As such, there are two ongoing processes, one centred on the discourse of why CPD is important that is sequential and mimetic, and one rooted in how to do CPD which is coercive and mimetic. However, the coercive mechanism is weak due to a lack of compliance incentives from an educative-state to a teacher education provision level.

²²² In the original French : « Il est par ailleurs essentiel de concevoir la formation de l'étudiant en IUFM non de façon isolée, mais comme une étape - certes fondamentale - d'un processus continu de formation. Des éléments de cette formation peuvent être antérieurs à l'entrée en IUFM (modules de préprofessionnalisation, par exemple). Cette formation peut être complétée, dès la sortie de l'établissement, notamment en fonction des besoins de formation identifiés pendant la scolarité à l'IUFM. »

As far as this analysis can tell, there have been few external “shocks” that have fundamentally shifted policy trajectories in an institutional sense in both cases since the economic crisis in 1973-75 in England as discussed in Chapter 5, whilst no “external” shock can be observed in France. Meanwhile, it can be argued that the only large, education internal, shock to the system observable in France is the 1989-92 IUFM reform that came in relation to “new maths” and shifting legitimacies between progressive and traditional views (the need to learn how to teach “new math” is a progressive trait). However, it is complex to talk of new maths as a shock. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the French performance in mathematics remained outstanding in the 1970s and 80s, winning fields medals both in 1978 and 1982, while the reforms in America had been largely revoked by 1980 as a failed experiment (Phillips 2015). Instead, a more plausible explanation is one centred on a powerful cognitive blueprint which gave the illusion of new maths as “what works” coupled with normative beliefs in progressive education, with performance questions a part of the discourse. This is also an indicator of a performance emphasis in an environment increasingly shaped by the idea of the knowledge society as an ideal. The long trajectory from the enlightenment and the foundation of the Republic as a meritocracy is as such an important factor in this emphasis on “new maths”, especially if we keep in mind that mathematics has been the quintessential subject in France alongside philosophy since at least the days of Descartes. Therefore, had the subject in question been “new art” rather than mathematics the impact would likely have been much less pronounced.

In England, the two main shocks resulting in pivot points in teacher education came from the imposition of the state in 1984 with CATE and the QTS, and the change to the school-led system in 2010. These two moments are the crux pivot points, or critical junctures, in the two cases. France has had some minor shocks that can be seen as pivot points in 2005-7 (universitisation and masterisation), in 2012 (the ESPE) and 2019 (the INSPE) – however, these are all much smaller than the change wrought in 1989 and were incredibly gradual in their transformation of the field as discussed in previous chapters. In England there have in addition to the two above-mentioned main pivot points in 1984 and 2010, also been minor shifts in 1989 (further entrenchment of regulations), in 1994 (creation of the TTA), 1997/8 with the comprehensive standards, 2002 with the roll-back, and 2019 with the new emphasis on induction and early career CPD with the Core Content Framework leading to some innovation. However, the way “shocks” is characterised in the literature, means it is hard to fully justify this mechanism as playing a role in these minor instances of pivot. Instead, they can be better understood through normative and mimetic mechanisms as discussed above.

Policy change is an ongoing process where the past can be reclaimed in the sense of past dominant logics now in the background reclaiming dominance over policy. This is evident once we divide policy between contexts, where what is absent in text is very much present in influence. What

happens then, is that the field is prepared through the context of influence before the policy trajectory is pivoted and the under-current becomes the main current.

Central to the contexts of influence and text production in the politico-administrative field is the work of sequence, normative, mimetic and innovation mechanisms – not coercion which is only central to the context of practice. What is central to influence and text production are the existing control levers, and the like/dislike actors have of these as they engage in policymaking, in this instance then, control levers are better understood through a mechanism of sequence (the control levers are of use / hindrance) than one of coercion. To exemplify, the existence of coercion through accreditation, certification, and inspection in England means that future policy is structured around these tools, however, that structuring takes the form of sequence not of coercion as OFSTED does not coerce the DfE to make a certain policy, but their existence and perceived performance creates incentives to utilize them. OFSTED only coerces teacher educators. NAO and Parliament are the only entities that can coerce the DfE, however, they rarely do so as discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

9.2 National myths and cognitive blueprints influencing policymaking

This section first presents the national myths of England and France in the state-policymaking environment. It then discusses the central ideas and ideations of a cultural-cognitive and normative nature in the education environment. It does so in both cases through emphasising the broader views and debates that are most central to the two environments. Throughout the section, different mechanisms are invoked to help explain how phenomena in the institutionalized environment impacts the organizational field as seen in previous chapters. However, a main emphasis here is put on the cultural-cognitive dimension, which is argued by Scott (2013) to be the most central aspect of institutionalized environments and organizational fields because it is where sense is made in a socially constructed reality.

9.2.1 National myths granting and denying legitimacy in the state-policymaking environment

As presented and discussed in Chapter 5, England and France are founded on contrasting national myths in the state-policymaking environment, with implications for teacher education policy and policymaking. We saw there that, in relation to policymaking in education, France is highly characterised by the Ferry laws of 1881/2 and of the myth of la République born out of the ashes of the Ancien Régime during the First Revolution. According to an interview (F15) this runs so deep that the laïque values of the Republic are now *sacral* in education:

“[Laïcité is a religion, me, I am very annoyed by this question of laïcité because we have sacralised it]”

S/he also related the catholic heritage and characteristics of France to the much-mentioned hierarchical nature of the French state.

"[Today the difficulty is rooted in how the republican values are mostly implemented through universalization and globalization, in any case they are discussed in this way, related to how our system is extremely instructed from the top, the same way religion is governed, as Catholics govern, not Protestants]"

These statements, somewhat of a caricature, are relatable to the picture of the French educative state painted by actors in France. A national myth rooted in a sacral Republic with a governing mind-set *inherited* from a top-down church and absolutist monarchy (be it the Ancien Régime or Second Empire that immediately preceded the Third Republic whose values still are central today in the Fifth Republic). This is a national imaginary that is not so much concerned with "true" history as it is with the legitimacy of current practices due to a perceived sequence of events and French uniqueness due to the (imagined) history that has shaped the Republic. The teacher and his education are as such largely guided from the top-down, with loyalty to the meritocratic hierarchy at the heart of the *cognitive conceptualisation of the teacher* within both the policymaking and education environments. This hierarchical view that runs from the teacher to the state is also central for teacher educators and teacher education, which is often done by teachers who perform mentor duties or lecture in INSPEs. The result is an expectation that the state handles education and is ultimately in charge of teacher education, which grants a form of inherent normative legitimacy to policymakers rooted in a rationalized myth – they are supposed to be in charge. Therefore, critique must just as much be aimed at the French republican and meritocratic system or the failures of the French state to ensure meritocracy, as on the intervention of MEN in matters of education. Here then, a mimetic mechanism triggers and is reinforced by both a normative mechanism and a sequence mechanism, increasing the resonance of the meritocratic state as a concept and cementing the legitimacy of the French state to intervene in all facets of teacher education through a central hierarchy, which has been the case since the 19th century. The accounts of Muzzey (1911), for example, on the complexities of French republicanism and a strong centralized form of "meritocracy", written in 1911, may as well have been written today. This national imaginary changes somewhat in the eyes of universities (the research environment), who have a different relationship with hierarchies and are more versed, or indoctrinated, in the shortcomings of the French hierarchical system as argued by French sociologists such as Bourdieu, or philosophers such as Foucault.

England on the other hand has a different historic national mythos both in terms of state governing and of the teacher and his place within the nation. Not only protestant, the English system is also rooted in a form of "liberty" that is perhaps well expressed in the opposition to all forms of state intervention, often only because it is state intervention. This liberty can be seen in relation to

the legal mythos of common law, which implies that anything that is not forbidden is allowed. Moreover, teacher education was historically governed day-to-day from the meso-level through local education authority responsibilities in ITE/ITT and CPD with limited oversight from the central state, but also in universities' rights and duties regarding the certification of teacher education prior to the QTS in 1984. This liberal approach has since clashed with NPM ideals in England, resulting in high tensions and a new system of governing, that is centred on a subversion of norms. To comprehend the national mythos in England today then, we must both look at the "histories" (see Chapter 2 on the plurality of histories in a singular case) of England but also of the imposing NPM logics of governance, small state, and steering at a distance and how relatively easily such logics have become adopted. As seen in chapters 6 and 7, the low internal competences and responsibilities of the central state in matters of education in England has allowed for an entry of NPM ideals (measurement and "evidence") in policymaking, as seen in Chapter 8, due to a historic reliance on outsiders. NPM then allowed the central state to take on a modicum of control, which since the 1973-75 economic crisis was increasingly seen as a necessity as a "knowledge economy" blueprint took hold as discussed in Chapter 5. Meanwhile, a third blueprint ensured mimesis towards a school-led model with an accompanying re-configuration of "voice" as the conception of the teacher went from scholar to craftsperson whilst the normative authority on good education went from academia to the high performing school leader. On the one hand, the dominance of progressive academia was at different instances challenged by disgruntled educationalists (e.g., Black papers in the 1970s, the Carter Review in 2015) as cognitive blueprints are brought to bear enhancing the normative position of one actor at the expense of another. On the other hand, the independence of education from the state in terms of teacher education was challenged as teachers became seen as the key to education reform (Furlong 2001), while education, as stated above, seen as integral to the state with the implication that the state had a normative duty and right to intervene in teacher education justified through cognitive blueprints. This blueprint was expressed in Callaghan's 1976 Ruskin speech, but also in the 1983 white paper "Teaching Quality" (DES 1983) and all subsequent policy documents on teacher education in England. The blueprints then helped transform normative legitimacy and helped legitimise coercive power that further conformed teacher education. Thus, it appears here that the English state-policymaking environment, in a cognitive sense, is dominated by two cognitive blueprints (NPM and knowledge economy) that fit within the national imaginary and historic trajectory of teacher education. As such, England has a much lower degree of direct state oversight and detailed intervention in teacher education than France does, instead being characterised by arms-length "certification, accreditation, and inspection" instruments rather than governing by decree and demand loyalty to a hierarchy.

The French central government's control is, despite the focus on central control and hierarchy, looser at some levels than its homologue in England, and requires more steps in a behemoth of a state (in comparison to England) that mobilises multiple actors to bestow normative legitimacy to policy and disseminate cognitive blueprints. The state is however aided by the enshrined national myth of the educative state and its responsibilities (rights and obligations) in public education, including teacher education, that goes back much longer than the comparatively short historic trajectory in England. The system in France ensures a close relation between structure and policy. Through the structuration of the organizational field, compliance to policy and the proper way of producing policy is ensured through a centralized hierarchy involving multiple steps (practitioner -> representative of practitioners -> rectorat -> DGESCO -> government) and a secondary channel (practitioner <-> regional inspectorate <-> IGEN <-> government) of information flow. This contrasts with England where a direct link can be established between practitioners and government through inspections (practitioner -> inspectorate -> government). One advantage of the French system is the dual-flow capacity of the second link as concerns and views of practitioners are systematically collected and transmitted upwards through IGEN-IGAENR reports or internal dialogue with regional inspectors.

The two cases are also structured by different legal-administrative logics, through the distinction between a common law and a civil law system as discussed in Chapter 5. The distinction between common law and codified law does help us understand the different governing structures of the two educative states, and the relation between politicians, civil servants, and practitioners. In France, this governing structure is structured through a dense legal framework and code of education and of the civil service, while in England the governing structure is looser and more open to argumentation and persuasion to build legitimacy.²²³ What stands out, particularly after the end of the "circulars" in favour of instruction documents after 1998, is the lack of systemic referencing to the existing (legal) framework in England that is very much present in France. Meanwhile, the English regulatory system, in text form, may seem more dynamic and volatile than the French code of education that is a more "sacred" text within the national myth. Thus, the ideational basis of the two legal-administrative cultures differs, with implications for perceptions and rationalisations within the organizational fields particularly as it pertains to the relation between the teacher education and politico-administrative fields, and the rationalised function of the civil service²²⁴, to which the section now turns.

²²³ To clarify, England does have a sound legal foundation and acts of Parliament to provide a legal basis for government actions. However, compared to France this structure is loose and open for more interpretation by different actors. It also relies on different forms of legitimacy.

²²⁴ See also annex 3.2 for a comparison of the obligations of the civil service in England and in France

Central to any state-administration, regardless of governing structure, is the civil service. On a linguistic and cultural note, the English word civil servant implies the person is a servant of the people or the citizens of Britain. This denotes a subservience to the people, to democratic principles of elected officials, and of doing what the people, as represented by elected officials (Parliament, Government), desire. Such a view squares with the fundamental logics of a common law system and the democratic principles of England that have evolved from the 17th century onwards, rooted not in a meritocratic technocracy but in a free people in a liberal system where the freedoms of the few (nobles) have over time been spread to the many as universal suffrage has come into place. As such, education has not been a central component of the state in England as it has been in the claimed meritocratic French Republic. Education has been for the individual, for industry, and for the nation, but not for the state. Technical competences have instead been seen as sought by elites who historically saw it as their duty to govern but also to serve the people. As equality and social justice have grown as concepts, particularly following the Second World War, this has expanded from elites to the populace as a whole, but still with an emphasis on service.

By contrast, the French “fonctionnaire [functionary]” that is a person working for the “function publique [public function]”, is a servant of the state, who in the French mythos also holds great knowledge demonstrated through is meritocratic performance in the concours, enabling him/her to lay claim to “expert-as-evidence” under a Jacobin logic of quasi-technocracy. If we move further into the cultural mythos of the French state, we should note that it is considered by political scientists in France as conceptually separate from the people, placed above it as its own entity overseeing the public and their interests, and not an integral part of society. Arguably, this relates to strong connotations of the state as something more than the people, of “le citoyen/la citoyenne [the citizen]” being different from “le peuple [the people]”. This was an important conceptual distinction in the First, Second, and early Third French Republic for example as the claimed meritocratic elites were citizens and the rabble designated as mere people who they had an obligation to govern. Within the citoyen/people paradigm, primary education that was for the lower-middle classes to learn a trade; meanwhile secondary education was for the upper-middle class to prepare for university and learn a learned profession or obtain a place in the officialdom of France as fonctionnaires (see Muzzey 1911). Thus, where English civil servants can be said, *in an abstract symbolic sense*, to be part of the people who work in their service, the French fonctionnaire is a steward of the people, a shepherd – who knows what he is doing. This has not changed in France because meritocracy was an ingrained part of the function publique from the First Revolution onwards. No meritocratic elite to shepherd the people, no French Republic. This meritocratic emphasis (as opposed to democratic) has also tied the state to education at the hip, as the shepherd must have a claim to merit his position to lead.

In the metaphor of the civil servant as a shepherd, one may here think of the President of the Republic of France as the stars guiding the shepherd's way and showing the destination, as the shepherd uses his knowledge and skill to arrive at that destination. This also implies that the fonctionnaire must know better than the people he shepherds to be ensured through education and the certificates education bestows (the mentioned patents of nobility) and be vigilant with an eye on the horizon. Therefore, he is always planning and preparing, while competences are internal to his function as an expert on his subject (subject mastery). This is well illustrated through the names of offices within MEN for example, such as DEPP or the office of pedagogical innovation, or in the role and function of the IGEN as seen in chapters 7 and 8.

One expression of this is arguably how civil servants in France are relatively high in number compared to England. Meanwhile, French civil servants, and especially IGEN-IGAENR have individual freedoms to explore and acquire knowledge in order to shepherd the educational community into the future. To provide some examples, one IGEN interviewed noted how he had on his own initiative visited Scandinavian countries (Finland and Sweden) to see how they educated teachers there. Another is actively working, on his own initiative, with the Council of Europe in Austria to improve his knowledge of German language education to provide better CPD and advice on German education. These are provisions not present within the working framework of the English civil servant who are much more reduced to be at the beck and call of ministers. Importantly, the IGEN-IGAENR are at the top of the hierarchy, in so far as only the head of their service can order the individuals around, whilst MEN or the Prime Minister may only request the head of IGEN-IGAENR finds a person to carry out assignments such as reviews of the ESPE reforms, CPD, or the conducting (pilotage) of the national "formation" plan.

Meanwhile, in the French hierarchy of education, the teacher is in the lowest position, thus everyone above needs to at least pretend to be more knowledgeable in order to justify their merited higher position. This hierarchy was also reported in interviews to be well respected within the subject discipline a senior person is located within. For example, German teachers will listen to an IGEN who is an expert on German teaching, but not to an IGEN who is a maths teacher. Culturally within the civil service (teacher and up to IGEN) there is a hierarchy of subjects with mathematics or philosophy (depending on who one asks) occupying the top spot, and sports the bottom rung of the ladder. This is reported to create complications for teacher education reform and remains a point of tension centred on the concours (should it contain subject or pedagogy) and the normative right of different civil servants to express an opinion. It was reported that IGENs of a higher subject (all of this is a normative/cultural and not regulative ranking) will often ignore or dismiss the opinions of IGENs lower on the rung out of hand. Thus, the French notion of hierarchy also means freedoms, through a culture and professional ethos of knowledge accumulation and a need for the top to know more than

the bottom, as well as limitations on those lower in the hierarchical chain. Here then we again see how the hierarchy observed at an educative-state level cascades downwards, whilst the national mythos of France structure views on how policy both should and ought to be made in a joining of the cultural-cognitive and normative environment with a legitimacy rooted in sequence.

Furthermore, England has a policy of separating between civil servants and “political” functions ensuring a de-coupling between the two hierarchies even though the civil service is subservient to the political cadre, however, the boundaries here are murky as seen in Chapter 6. By contrast, France has a tradition of openly mixing these roles as the Prime Minister is the head of the civil service, politicians are public functionaries, and civil servants are seen as politicians in some form. Hence, we may argue the logic of legitimacy in France is that politicians and civil servants all operate within the state apparatus that is guided by the co-existence of elected officials and experts whose legitimacy is rooted in meritocracy. Thus, by contrast to the appearance of strict separation between functions in England that is murky in reality, the French arrangements enable civil servants to serve as policy advisors as that is their job, both to advise the government and enact their will.

The implication of these different logics of legitimacy presented in this section is that England and France express different *foundational myths* in the cultural-cognitive dimension, *different rules* in the regulative dimension, but also have similar practical outcomes in some respects as new ideas meet old ideations and ideology meets pragmatism. The main difference lays in normative contestation from the outside (the French system is enshrined in law, the English is not), and the *clarity of organization*, which may be important for facilitating dialogue both between the civil service and outsiders, and within the service itself.

9.2.2 The language of education

This sub-section compares the language of education in the two cases, this is done in a “timeless” fashion as it shows the broader (macro) general differences in meaning of education and teacher education held over time and does not concern itself with minor linguistic changes that has happened within each case for reasons of brevity. The aim of this sub-section is to further illustrate how the “teacher” is conceptualized in the French and English education environments and infer how this impacts teacher education policymaking. The next sub-section looks deeper at contestation of these “front-and-centre” conceptualizations.

Both England and France have always had teachers who teach (un enseignant qui enseigne), a linguistic and cultural link between the job and the practice and a transversal concept of education that is taken for granted and not often contested (at least not “at the front lines” of education debates). For example, a textbook definition of the teacher in France is: " Le terme « enseignant »

désigne la personne qui enseigne aux élèves” – [The term “teacher” designates the person who teaches the pupils].

However, there are important connotational distinctions. In England, education is a word with systemic connotations, relating to school (institutionalized) based learning, different from both training (practical and informal learning from a direct "master" - more common in vocational education and training or sports) and "learning" in the form of informal (life-long) exploratory acquisition of knowledge devoid of a greater purpose than learning for the sake of learning. As noted in Chapter 5, teachers in England are either “educated” or “trained” depending on one’s point of view on education and teachers. Meanwhile, in France teachers are "formed" through the concept of "formation", this is the shaping and preparation of someone for a job (a *metier*), in the case of teachers it is the formation to a profession (as opposed to a "craft" – which depending on one’s connotations can mean “artisan” or "ouvrier"), here the word is distinct from "education" as used in England. Hence, in England the teacher is educated in a broad, but purposeful, sense of the world or trained in a narrow sense to conduct a professional practice, whilst in France he is formed for a specific professional purpose but with an emphasis on autonomy and a scientific core in so far as the teacher is a “scholar”. Here we should note that the teacher “is a scholar” is somewhat different from the English notion of a teacher as a “scholar who just happens to be a teacher” (Furlong 2001) – the former is a concept of “teacher” and “scholar” as synonyms, arguably illustrative of how in France the teacher is a master of his subject (a teacher is inherently a scholar by definition), whilst the latter puts a higher emphasis on scholar than on teacher (a teacher is not inherently a scholar).

The education/formation distinction can also be seen in relation to the wider cultural traditions of higher education in France and England, where in the former people are historically more often educated (or formed) for a specific profession through schools (e.g., the normal school of teacher education), as opposed to the more liberal education in English universities where you are educated with a set of competences not necessarily for a particular *metier*.

In France, the emphasis on practical knowledge, or "interning", has always been a central component of teacher education, but with different connotations and a closer link to individual professional “reflection” on practices (what in England is often equated with academia). An illustration of this is how when the IUFMs were created in 1989/91 the first year was devoted to preparing the concours, and the second to interning with teachers as "professeurs stagiaires" who wrote a "professional" master thesis based on their experiences as interns in schools. Moreover, any discussion of the structure of teacher education centred on the time devoted to “la formation professionnelle” [professional education] to prepare the teacher for administering the classroom and properly transmitting his knowledge (obtained during the first three years of his education, the subject department based "licence" (bachelor) studies) to the pupils – traditional traits (see above)

that are, however, framed differently from comparable debates in England. The distinctions in France are more strongly rooted in “kinds” of knowledge, the knowledge of the profession versus academic knowledge, than in a distinction between reflection and practice as is the case in England. The connotations in the two contexts differ significantly. Thus, when someone in France talk of an increased place of the university, it is not comparable to the views of BERA for example when they launched a project to analyse the future place of the university in teacher education (see BERA-RSA 2014).

From these linguistic conceptualisations of the teacher, teaching, and education we begin to see the contours of the cultural aspects that guide teacher education and its policy, especially in relation to discourse, where England and France share many subconsciouses and taken-for-granted commonalities not evident in the diverse structuration of teacher education and differences in frontal policy discourse relating to how teacher education ought to be done. Meanwhile their base conceptions of education at all levels have different connotations and taken-for-granted (tacit) purposes, that further structure policymaking in teacher education and ensure that two different social realities are constructed. As such, when in the next section the distinction between progressive and traditional views in education are discussed, one must keep in mind that even though at a surface level the two concepts are similar in the two cases, the details differ. This is an important caveat for any comparative analysis across linguistic contexts.

9.2.3 Central debates in (teacher) education

In England, as we saw in Chapter 5, debates since at least the Black Papers in the 1960s and 70s have been centred on progressive versus traditional views on education. In teacher education, prior to 1984 one can argue the progressive side was dominant through the emphasis on the teacher as a scholar. Meanwhile, with the shifts following CATE and the QTS being in a more traditional direction under the conservative government. A swing came at one level under New Labour, mostly in 2002, with a move in education as a whole towards an emphasis on the whole child. To some, after the 2002 reforms the teacher was being conceived as more of a social worker than an educator, roll-back of this approach such as renaming the Department for Children Schools and Families (DCSF) (established in 2007) to the current name of Department for Education (DfE) came with the Conservative election victory in 2010. The importance of the change can be seen in how one interviewee (E12) noted in a negative tone that England had no department for *education* between 2007 and 2010, because the DCSF was about families and children and not Education. However, the progressive change was not wholesome nor did it penetrate deep into the classroom because a drive for educational excellence and a renewed emphasis on the knowledge economy, the foundations of

which were laid by Blair in 1996 in a speech at Ruskin in memory of Callaghan's famous/infamous 1976 speech on the same issue, necessitated an emphasis on tests, rewards, and discipline not on learning as can be seen in policy documents between 1997 and 2010 (see annexes 1.1 and 1.6). As such, two blueprints, one rooted in progressive whole child emphasis and one rooted in traditional testing and rote learning shaped teacher education policy into a form of hybrid approach, perhaps not surprising given New Labour's focus on a "third way".

Today in England, as we can see from the current (published in 2011) teacher competences (see annex 3.1) the emphasis is on a teacher setting high expectations, testing pupils, and promote good outcomes, while showing good knowledge of the subject and the curriculum and ensuring good discipline – themes that have been dominant since 1983 with the white paper "Teaching Quality". All traits of a traditional view on education, that is coercively forced upon providers through inspection, but with a normative anchoring (legitimacy) in traditional views on education. Here I would disagree with Biesta (2009) who laments a lack of purpose in favour of measurement in education England, in so far as the measurement focus in England is, to me, not devoid of purpose - but purpose is not what is explicitly discussed. The purpose is predominantly traditional education fused with accountability and value for money, ensured through select measurement.

Additionally, another trend within the progressive versus traditional views on education is the ongoing debate between the place of theory and the place of practical experience in ITE/ITT, often expressed as "education" versus "training" as noted in the introduction. This separation between "education" and "training" is a sub-part of the broader progressive (education) versus traditional (training) debate in education. One could argue that if there is a pendulum swing in education in England (see chapters 5 and 6), using an institutionalized environment lens, the swing is arguably *not* between school and academia, but rather between progressive and traditional views (e.g. the heart of the Black Papers), and between theory and practice views, with school and academia as concretised proxies (fields) for this debate whose core is rooted in something more abstract, namely the wider education environment. This also reflects a lack of unity on what the teacher is, prevalent in the education environment in England for centuries. The mosaic field is rendered possible, in part, due to these fragmented views. This also begs the question, is teacher education in England one institutionalized environment or two where one centres on universities and ITE and the other SCITTs and ITT? One argument in favour of the latter is the difficulty for parts of the field to understand other parts as discussed in previous chapters (e.g., "craft"). This does, however, remain an open question.

In France, these debates were central in the 1960s-80s under the guise of "la éducation nouvelle". It was seen in parts as an Anglo-American phenomenon. In that guise, the deeper roots going back to the works of Montessori, Dewey, and even Rousseau (see Chapter 5) and their

presence and impact on especially primary education were seemingly overlooked to some extent. Importantly, the movement was closely related with what became “new math’s” or *mathematique nouvelle* that in part contributed to the establishment of the MAFPEN as discussed in previous chapters. However, questions of progressive versus traditional education in France also linkable to the increasing emphasis on educational theory in all facets of teacher education, as the former dominance of subject knowledge is giving way to the notions of pedagogy, practical knowledge, and theory of learning. As a caveat then to the case of France, the notions of “progressive” and “traditional” education do hold different connotations in England than in France. I have used the terms across both cases here, rooted in the definition given in Chapter 5 of progressive education being an approach centred on the child (not the teacher) and on how to enable the child to learn rather than the traditional approach of focusing on transfer of knowledge through strict discipline, tests, and the teacher’s mastery of the subject. In France, the distinction is often of a lesser nature, where it is reduced to subject knowledge versus educational theory rather than the larger categories of progressive and traditional education. However, I maintain that, given the definition used here, the French debates are equitable with English progressive versus traditional debates in substance, only the form differs.

Ozouf & Ozouf (1992) note that former primary teachers who wrote back describing why they refused to participate in a survey they were conducting in 1961 on general political beliefs and the combat for/against secularism of teachers who were active before 1914, often accused them (or the use of surveys) of being political, or invasive in questions of religion or politics, something the former teachers resented, and thought ought not to be done. A lack of pedagogical value in asking about such things was also remarked upon, illustrating perhaps how some believed educational research should focus on pedagogical value only and not the sociological aspects of teaching. To be clear, the *école normale* where primary teachers were educated prior to the IUFM reform were more focused on pedagogy and practical teaching than what is known as *science de l’éducation* (the more academic theory of learning). Meanwhile, secondary teachers were for the first time required to have a kind of educational theory” in their ITE/ITT with the 1989 IUFM reform, in a culture where the teacher was seen as a person who transferred academic knowledge in all contexts (see Brisard 2002).

Meanwhile, due to the reform primary teachers were for the first time, entering ITE/ITT after first obtaining a bachelor’s degree in a subject, arguably strengthening their subject link and more importantly their link to the university world. The duality between primary and secondary teachers is also here of importance, as educational theory has been central for primary teachers for a long time, whilst for secondary teachers it first entered the fray (in a limited way) with the MAFPEN, before further emphasis came with the IUFM and a spill-over effect from primary to secondary teacher education. The changes are however not limited to secondary teachers becoming “more like primary

teachers”, but also reflect a holistic change to teaching as primary teachers have simultaneously evolved from the “maître” to the “professeur d’école”. In other words, primary teaching provided a blueprint enabling mimesis from primary to secondary, meanwhile the same process has also happened in the opposite direction from secondary teaching to primary teaching, as the two separate professions have been forced to co-exist within the IUFM structure. Through this process, an emphasis has been put on how to teach, but also on how to manage the classroom – two concepts that often go hand in hand in French discourse.

Furthermore, changes in teacher education related to contestations over the place of pedagogy, subject knowledge, and types of education science as discussed in Chapter 7, has led to different senior figures interpreting changes in different ways. Antoine Prost, a historian, academic, and government adviser on education laments the “end of the maître” (Prost 2014), whilst retired academic and former IUFM director Phillippe Meireu, who lays claim to “expert-as-evidence” called for teachers to resist the inroads of neuroscience and others into the profession “[*who desired to dictate pedagogy as if the classroom was a laboratory*]” and let the teacher transmit his knowledge in peace in a 2019 open letter.²²⁵

Arguably, and dependent on one’s conceptualizations, there has been a shift away from a traditional approach towards a progressive one in France for secondary teachers, however, primary teachers it can be argued, have gone in the other direction with an increased emphasis on subject knowledge. At the same time, France has moved incrementally from a model of pure knowledge transfer towards one where the importance of how one teaches is recognised and has been increasingly so since the 1980s, as all teachers (compared to prior to 1989) now must engage with educational theory, ensuring a form of mimetic preference to the progressive model. The main contestation in this regard, has been since the inception of the IUFM centred on the place of the concours, if it should be before the start of ITE/ITT or after it as it is at present (2021 onwards), or in the middle as was the case until 2021. The reason for this is that the first year of the MEEF became largely devoted to “teaching to the concours”, while the concours itself is largely focused on subject knowledge and not educational theory – the model was thus a form of compromise between knowledge of the subject (first year) and knowledge on how to teach (second year). Those who desire flexibilization of the profession saw the double status of the concours as entry to ITE/ITT and the profession as a major problem. It is believed that it becomes impossible to over recruit one year to overcome later shortages and mobility in and out of the profession becomes restricted due to the

²²⁵ <http://www.cafepedagogique.net/LEXPRESSO/Pages/2019/10/14102019Article637066346444940434.aspx> (accessed 03.09.2020)

nature of the concours and teacher as a civil servant.²²⁶ This will change with the 2021-22 academic year as the concours is moved from after the first year of the MEEF to after the second year. Hence, it will be an examination for entry into the profession only. How the change of place for the concours impacts ITE/ITT content remains to be seen. To others, the concours guarantees the quality of the teaching workforce, ensures meritocracy (a view that teachers merit to be teachers due to passing the concours, not their ITE/ITT), and is a necessity given the protected status of teachers as civil servants under a Jacobin logic. A strong emphasis on the importance of the concours is also seemingly related to a weaker emphasis on educational theory in ITE/ITT.

Moreover, research on contract-teachers in France indicate that even though these uncertified teaching employees are not civil servants and have not done the concours, they are still managed under a civil servant logic and not one of flexibilization (Bertron et al. under review). As such, the Jacobin Republican ideology in France is cognitively driven (mimetic) more than it is regulatively dictated, and we see the strong work of path dependent sequence at play as isomorphic forces converge on the old teacher-as-civil-servant mentality of the French Republic.

Meanwhile, although the teachers' standards in France (see annex table 3.1) are still focused on subject mastery (point 3) and assessment (point 7), they also contain points on diversity (point 6), how to teach (point 4), and cooperation with parents (point 9). This is then indicative of a balance between progressive and traditional views on the teacher, that is two mimetic processes cancelling each other out at times and ensuring a form of policy bricolage (see Campbell 2004), a reflection of a stalemate within the organizational field as a consensus has been reached in a form of institutional equilibrium at present. This equilibrium is maintained through contestation between (as opposed to within) environments as the state-policy-making, education, and research environments encounter each other following the IUFM reforms as seen in Chapter 7 where it was noted how different organizational fields with different practices (and views on hierarchy) met for tri-party negotiations over teacher education content. However, the equilibrium is not fully static, nor an inherent feature, it is a point in space-time where the articulation of mechanisms has formed the *appearance* of tranquillity. Meanwhile, underneath the surface tensions simmer as actors re-position themselves and adjust to the current characteristics of a field. As such, what the teacher *is* seems clear in France, he is a hybrid who holds subject knowledge (mastery) and transmits knowledge through a range of pedagogical tools chosen by the teacher and rooted in his "formation". The teacher is also, in ideal and mythic form, an agent of the Republic who respects all individuals equally, emphasises merit,

²²⁶ The concours is complex in that its purpose is to rank all takers in a region such as if for example 500 people sit a concours and compete for 350 places, the 350 top performers pass and the remaining 150 fail regardless of their score. However, should only 300 meet minimum requirements only those 300 pass and the remaining 200 fail, creating a recruitment shortage. Meanwhile, once past the concours a teacher is guaranteed employment by the state.

and conveys the values of France. However, there is limited agreement, or at times even clarity, on how one achieves the forming of such a teacher. Thus, where England struggle with different views on what a teacher *is* or ought to be, in France the main contestation is more centred on how to achieve an ideal teacher.

In comparative terms, as far as the research undertaken here can tell education in England is, and has been, more progressive than education in France. This seems to hold both for primary and secondary education, and rests on the historic emphasis on pastoral care and methodologies of learning that go beyond knowledge transfer, strict discipline, and an emphasis on tests and grades. However, England is approaching France in regard to all three concepts, particularly that of tests and grades. In addition, as education in England has always been fragmented, these broad strokes are not representative for individual schools, this differs in France where the ideology of teaching and learning is more homogenous. One hypothesis why France is centred on traditional education is that the meritocratic system there is focused on superiority within a hierarchy and the importance of demonstrated knowledge (traditional exam and test focus) that can then be transmitted downwards (external knowledge transfer). This can be seen in how historically a teacher had to be educated at one level higher than the one he taught at as discussed in Chapter 5. Meanwhile, the emphasis on equality of opportunity in England may push for some more progressive approaches than what is required within the French meritocratic myth. There is also a higher focus on inclusive education in the English discourse than in France, which may be linked to how education is viewed in the two countries.

At a surface level in England and France, academia can be argued to have a more progressive approach to education as seen in the debates analysed here (e.g., the Great Debate in Education in England, or the recurring educational theory versus subject knowledge in France), whilst traditionalists are more located within the (high performing) school sector and the current governments in both cases. However, progressives in education can be found in schools and the DfE, and traditionalists are found in academia. Moreover, progressive and traditional views are themselves broad, and the words easily become a catch all for opposing sides in a discourse within a national context of two-party opposition. It is important to bear in mind that “progressive” and “traditionalist” is a continuum when we talk in terms of normative beliefs, not a dichotomy. The reduction into a false dichotomy between a progressive (or university) and traditional (or school) approach to teacher education, as is the case in England and to an extent also in France (although framed differently), seems to come about once we go from an environment level down to a field level and only observe how different actors position themselves for or against other actors in a field characterised by “only” two-sides (e.g. for or against a reform or a policy). At the same time,

contestations over how to educate teachers continue, with calls both for more educational theory and less subject knowledge as well as the opposite for both primary and secondary teachers.

9.2.4 The status of the teaching profession

As we have seen, the place of the teacher has shifted dramatically in England between the 1980s and today. As noted above not only has the teacher become a craftsperson, the expert voice in education has gone from academia to the higher performing teacher to the high performing school leader. What this has done in normative terms is shift legitimacy from academia towards the standards of the high performer as dictated by the political echelon of the DfE and measured by OFSTED in a form of NPM derived governing by numbers central to all aspects of education in England (Ozga 2009). Moreover, the normative legitimacy shift has ensured that a managerial profession (or at the very least the managerial class of the teaching profession) is becoming the central authority on teacher education and not the classroom teacher nor academic educationalists. This phenomenon is present across education, that is argued to be increasingly managerial in outlook, particularly in terms of performance-managerialism (see e.g., Ball 2003, Ball 2008). This performance-managerialism is central in the competitive system in England, where central emphasis is put on head-teachers and MAT directors to ensure the performance of their organizations. Within such a system, the voice of teachers becomes reduced to the voice of the senior management, and professional autonomy disappears. These changes are well reflected within the discourse of SCITTs in teacher education, where as we saw with the ARK case study there is a consistent push for more internal control over both ITE/ITT and CPD to create teachers that fit with the model ascribed by the managerial class of ARK. Here then, we can draw a line from evolutions in education in England and shifting voices in policymaking, to the evolution of teacher education and classroom autonomy (discourse -> text -> practice). Within this managerial approach, economic relationships are argued to replace political relationships as the place of the parent or student is reduced in education (Biesta 2004, Klees et al. 2020). To this, the analysis here may add that there is an increasingly reduced place for educationalists voice in education discourse, be they academia or school based, under a logic not of good education but value for money. Hence, there is little doubt that the teaching profession is weakening in England both in terms of an academic knowledge emphasis and a practical knowledge emphasis in favour of a performance-management emphasis.

In France by contrast, teachers enjoy both high professional autonomy and access to the policymaking process compared to their English homologues. As such, the shift in teacher education that came with the IUFM and the new emphasis on the universalist teacher has not inherently changed the normative position of the teacher in France. However, access to policymaking is based

on one's position within a hierarchy. The hierarchy is divided by certificate (primary teacher -> secondary teacher -> agrégé -> school-based teacher educator -> inspector) and by subject. The changes to secondary teacher ITE/ITT are argued by "subject purists", that is those in favour of subject mastery absent of pedagogy as it was prior to the IUFM reform, to dilute the value of the teachers' education. In addition, where in England, the emphasis is on "high performing" school leaders to speak for teachers, in France it is predominantly on union leaders, the senior MEN technocrats (e.g., BIP), and education inspectors in matters of teacher education. This creates a tiered system of voice, where teachers need to go through hierarchical steps to have their concerns heard. In some sense, the French system resembles the English in terms of outcome with select few voices and strong hierarchy centred on elites. However, France does not have England's emphasis on association with a high performing school (data) in order to be heard, but on legitimacy through "expert-as-evidence" rooted in the professional status (hierarchical position) of the speaker. Hence, there is less presence of NPM ideals such as governing by numbers and value for money driven performance-management.

Meanwhile, the DfE consistently struggle to meet recruitment targets, especially in the natural sciences, in spite of increasing raw numbers of recruits. This conundrum is rooted in how England has a very high rate of attrition, leading to what has been named in the national discourse as a "retention crisis". According to DfE figures,²²⁷ 15.5% of 2019 ITE/ITT graduates had left the profession entirely by 2020 which is part of a gradual trend of decreases in first year retention since 2011.²²⁸ In addition, the 5-year attrition rate in 2020 was 32%, also a slight increase. Therefore, even though the raw number of students in ITE/ITT have been increasing year by year, there is a recruitment shortage due to the retention issues. This then perhaps indicates not so much a dramatic loss of attractiveness of ITE/ITT, but rather issues related to how teachers are treated and trained. Due to this retention crisis, the DfE in 2019 published a comprehensive recruitment and retention strategy, mentioned in chapters 6 and 8, aimed at remedying these issues through extending the induction period to two years, and implementing a core content framework of early career CPD. Here then we see a shock to the existing practices that may lead to increased contestation in the future.

In France by contrast, according to a 2020 DEPP publication in the journal *Éducation & Formations* (Feuillet and Prouteau 2020) the definitive attrition rate between 2017 and 2018 was only 1.1% for reasons other than retirement (the number rose to 2.3% retirement included). A further 0.5% stayed within national education but moved on to non-teaching roles such as administration or inspection, 0.7% were on temporary leave from teaching either due to detachment

²²⁷ Source: <https://explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/find-statistics/school-workforce-in-england> (accessed 08.07.2021)

²²⁸ NB: the publicly available DfE database does not contain data from prior to 2010.

or disponibilité²²⁹, and 0.9% were in long term “vacation” either due to maternity or long-term illness – for a total (temporary + definitive) attrition rate all included between 2017 and 2018 of 4.3%. In association with this, it should be noted that 6% of stagiaires (those who pass the concours and go on to the MEEF internship) also leave before completion of their internships and full entry into the profession. These numbers are considered, on average, to be representative of teacher attrition rates in France in recent years. However, shortages do exist at a school by school level, especially in low-status schools where contract teachers without ITE/ITT are used to cover shortages (Bertron et al. under review, Delhomme 2019), and the trend is worsening.²³⁰ In addition, the distinction between contract teachers (contractuals) and certified teachers who have passed the concours causes dualization of employment (Amossé et al. 2016, Palier and Thelen 2010) and a fragmenting of the concept of “a teacher” between the certified teacher as a professional and the contract-teacher as a non professional but still someone who teaches. However, as noted in Chapter 5, to school leaders I spoke with, contract teachers were in general seen as potentially just as good (at times possibly better) as certified teachers, they were after all trained on the job. Additionally, the school leaders stated they tried to ensure contract teachers eventually passed the internal concours and became certified. However, this institutional support appears to be more present for teachers who hold year-long contracts in the same school or are returning on second contracts (Bertron et al. under review), perhaps indicating that support comes with time to undergo training on the job in a school community. The distinction between certified and contract teachers in terms of perceived competencies is also highly present in public discourse where stakeholders such as union representatives, parents, academics, and politicians highlight the differences between the two in terms of teaching qualifications and work conditions.

The dualization developments have become known in the French discourse as an issue of “management” of the teaching workforce due to a shortage of certified teachers who have passed the concours and a reliance on contract teachers to meet shortages. In addition, the discourse in France centre around a perceived loss of status of the teaching profession as seen by a large drop in the number of students who present themselves for the concours (and therefore they believe quality of those who pass), and failures to meet recruitment targets rooted in low concours performance.

²²⁹ Disponibilité is a concept within the French national education system that puts a teacher’s duties, seniority advancement, and pension rights, on hold for a set duration for the teacher to do research, attend education, return to private enterprise (e.g., for vocational education teachers), raise a child under the age of 8, moving to be with ones partner, take up elected office, or reasons of long-term illness. It is granted upon approval of an application from the teacher and does not constitute a resignation from one’s post as a civil servant. Source: <https://www.education.gouv.fr/vie-professionnelle-et-situation-personnelle-disponibilite-4490> (accessed 09.07.2021)

²³⁰ Preliminary findings in the TeachersCareers project indicate that presidential turnover is central to changes in the contract teacher ratio.

The failure to meet recruitment targets is also differentiated across regions and subjects. Some regions/subjects exceed targets and must turn down qualified people based on the logic of the concours, whilst others fail to recruit to quota²³¹. The issue is then in France not one of recruitment to ITE/ITT in total, but of recruitment of sufficiently talented individuals as measured by concours performance on centrally (region for primary teachers, national for secondary) determined standards in some regions and subjects. In other words, it is a question of quality versus quantity. In England quality assurances are in the hands of ITE/ITT providers and centre on things such as grades and interviews prior to acceptance into an ITE/ITT program meaning there are quality assurances there as well reducing the number of recruits. However, as the issue in England are predominantly not raw number of trainees but retention related, the dynamics between the two cases are different as England struggles with retention (post ITE/ITT issue), France struggles with quality and quantity issues before entry to the profession. The recruitment issues are in France seen as the outcome of the weakening profession, and fears of a perceived lowering of quality at the intake level.

As this sub-section shows, across both cases we note a weakening voice and status of the profession. More so in England than in France, but nonetheless there are commonalities. This commonality implies non-local factors at play. One hypothetical cause for the shifts in status of the profession may be related to the global increase in jobs that require a university degree and hence an increasing plurality of professions. This is implicitly recognised in France, where masterisation, a form of increased academic recognition, has become a central topic to reverse the decline of the profession. In England on the other hand this is not the case, as the main emphasis is put on work conditions and professional autonomy, pay, and bursaries for trainees to attract students to ITE/ITT in spite of the major retention issues. Meanwhile, any potential effect from the mosaic nature of ITE/ITT on retention are ignored. Both solutions to the perceived problems are in line with the national logics of the two countries, where France emphasises meritocracy and collective increases in certification requirements to enhance status, England emphasises individual conditions and pay/bursaries and do not recognise any potential need to harmonise ITE/ITT as has become central to the ongoing reforms in France.

Irregardless of actual policy, the discourse in both England and France largely resolves around the perceived drop in status for the profession, and whether or not that can be linked to changes in teacher education. How teacher education is done (school versus academia) then becomes a central discursive topic both related to the attractiveness of the education and the resiliency the initial education/training instills in new teachers. This is then again linkable back to the

²³¹ See <https://www.devenirenseignant.gouv.fr/cid104735/donnees-statistiques.html> (accessed 20.07.2021) for numbers going back to 2008.

division between traditional and progressive normative views on education. As such, it appears as if the status of the profession and questions of recruitment and retention are easily slotted into age old ideological debates.

9.3 Governing teacher education

This section draws together the two environments presented above with a focus on how they interact and co-exist in matters of policymaking, and thus enable further inference on how the legitimacies constructed in institutionalized environments and their interactions influence the organizational fields we saw presented in chapters 6 and 7 at the cross-section that is teacher education policy. A main emphasis here is on the regulative and normative dimensions, that become closely entwined as notions of professional “standards” are addressed.

As discussed in Chapter 6, central to government control mechanisms (coercion) over teacher education in England were at first CATE criteria for accreditation of individual courses that could award the QTS, however, later this evolved into more systematic use of inspections as the institutions themselves (as opposed to individual courses) were accredited. As we shall see in this sub-section, the regulative transformations there have been centred on “standards”, that have transformed the normative conceptualization of the teacher in England (see also Helgetun and Dumay (2021) for a more targeted analysis of this phenomenon). These standards are indicators of what a teacher-trainee needs to know in order to be certified and show the relation between ITE/ITT and certification in England.

Centrally, the documents analysed show the first standards (then called regulations) came in 1984, followed by increasing efforts to standardise the teacher in 1989 (DES 1989). The language of “standards” (as opposed to regulations – the two are synonymous) first became central in circular 10/97 (DfEE 1997) that set a collection of core standards for the entire teaching profession, then circular 4/98 (DfEE 1998) added specific standards and requirements for literacy, maths, and science teachers. These were, if anything, “standards on steroids”. For example, Circular 4/98 was 140 pages in length compared to 47 for circular 10/97, by contrast most circulars/instructive documents on teacher education analysed were between 10 and 20 pages long.²³² The language of the 1998 circular centred on standards of knowledge **all** trainees must meet (all was highlighted throughout the document). However, due to high resistance from teacher educators there was a slight roll back in 2002 and return to more “simple” standards (33 in number presented – see annex 3.1, the document also contained requirements for ITE/ITT providers). The 2002 standards were more numerous than the 1989 regulations but less rigid than the 1998 curriculum. One civil servant (E12) when

²³² Circular 18/89 that introduced the 1989 Teachers’ regulations was 16 pages long for example.

interviewed in 2018, remarked that the 1998 circular introducing the national curriculum in ITE/ITT was a key example of how not to write standards due to their absolute rejection by practitioners for lack of legitimacy as formulated – here sequence plays a role in what is imagined as possible today. Such an approach has not been repeated since and indicates what is believed to be limits of coercive legitimacy within the teacher education environment in England, some standards are fine, but a full curriculum is pushing it too far. A stated “simplification” of the standards happened with the new coalition government in 2011 following discontent with the existing standards and a change in ideology associated with the entry of the “new right”. The new standards were only 10 in number, and fit on one page (DfE 2011), but the core emphasis and content largely remain the same once the standards were unpacked in the accompanying instructive document. A broader application of the standards happened in 2019, with the “Core Content Framework for Initial Teacher Training providers” (DfE 2019), which links standards to the post ITE/ITT induction period and early CPD. Thus, for the DfE, the core to ensuring quality has been prescribed standards, initially legitimized through the presence of teachers in their formation during the early years of CATE, and later through taken for granted practice of government responsibility over teacher education. Hence, the changes in 1997 with new Labour winning the election and in 2010 when the Conservative party regained power is more of a political rather than substantial nature, as the *core beliefs* of the entering government did not substantially differ from the exiting one and standards were perceived as powerful coercive tools, having proved their worth as governing instruments in the *eyes of policymakers*²³³ since their introduction in 1984.

Moreover, today in addition to the standards, the DfE publishes “supporting advice” for providers, such as the mentioned “Core Content Framework” (DfE 2019), which together with the OFSTED inspection handbook forms what is de facto instructions on content and framing of all teacher education to “meet the standards”. These instructions are then enforced through inspections, not courts of law or any other sanctioning device for breach of a legal framework, and centre on the accreditation of the right to recommend graduates be awarded the QTS. Meanwhile, the standards are more than control levers, they are policy-as-text that carry normative and mimetic implications as well.

Ideas in policymaking today revolves around this system of certification and accreditation, with the tools being the same today as in the 1980s as measurement and standards are taken for granted in the policymaking environment as “what works”. As stated by the DfE in 2016:

“Outcomes not methods ... The elected government should set out the outcomes – what needs to be achieved for the public money invested in education.” (DfE 2016) p9)

²³³ I.e., in the state-policymaking institutionalized environment

Thus, certification and accreditation linked to measurement and standards have become a *rationalised myth* within policymaking as both what ought to, and should, be done in teacher education governing – it is believed it should and ought to be steered at a distance. This myth then relates (is a sub-part of) the current aspect of the cult of evidence in England discussed in the previous chapter. Meanwhile, there has been a shifting field as we saw in Chapter 6 as the DfE has taken direct control over the policymaking process, reducing the space for the education environment over time (e.g., internalization of the TDA). This is where the regulative dimension begins to interact with and over time transform legitimacy in the normative dimension as teaching to the standards become a key component to teacher education – the same way teacher educators in France report teaching to the concours. The normative component to the standards is reinforced as high performing school leaders (those who meet the standards and score exceptionally on inspections) are gaining an increasing voice in teacher education as seen in Chapter 6.

The measurement of outcome focus has, however, been met with resistance as what is measured is brought into question and the values (rooted in e.g., NPM and neo-liberalism) of the policymaking environment clashes with the values of education. This “clash of ideas” can be exemplified by this remark by a central actor, a former teacher involved in both ITE/ITT and CPD:

“I wish we would measure what we value and not value what we measure. And it happens all the time, it’s that people are so focused on outcomes which can sometimes be completely out of your control.” (E4).

The resistance is not universal however, as different actors with a background in education have embraced the focus on measurement as seen in previous chapters. Furthermore, the resistance to measurement is apparently much higher in the education environment than in the policymaking environment, and seemingly higher amongst those who hold what can be characterised as a progressive view on education.²³⁴

Thus, in the regulative dimension, the education environment in England has gone from one with low legitimacy for regulative intervention, to one that highly incentivises the field to conform to prescribed standards, that over time become a form of normative standard in the lack of other professional norms. This was enabled through certification and accreditation efforts coupled with inspections to trigger a strong coercive mechanism with compliance ensured through fear of consequences (loss of the right to educate certified teachers) that over time has had normative consequences. However, the field remains a mosaic in systemic terms, and is fully dependent on the triad of certification, accreditation, and inspection. The DfE’s emphasis on standards can be

²³⁴ This was only measured at a meso-level. How individuals within organizations, beneath the organizational leadership, see these things is impossible to determine with the methodology employed here.

understood in relation to England's steering at a distance philosophy of government prescribed "rules" for a market to unfold within (see Ball 2008, Ozga 2009 on steering at a distance in education in England).

By contrast, in France teacher competences are explicitly stated to not constitute a criterion for accreditation. Instead of serving as a strong regulative tool, they are a form of normative expression of how the state, the meritocratic state that considers itself obliged to control education through a Jacobin logic, sees the teacher. As such, it seems as if the French standards are an expression of what the teacher as an agent of the Republic is, and this is a normative statement more so than a coercive one.

The French competences are also centred on a general French level ("one" school in France). By contrast the English standards first notes the importance of each school's individual profile and values ("many" schools in England). This is in line with the discourse Robin Alexander (2001) found in primary education in France and England, where the elites in France (erroneously according to him) talk of one unitary French Primary school with many sub-locations across France, whilst in England there is much talk of heterogeneity but to Alexander the school system was by the late 1990s more centralized and uniform than that of France due to a comprehensive state curriculum and OFSTED inspections ensuring compliance. Interestingly, the French competences also contained an annex of 10 axes presented in a later circulaire to encompass CPD. This was not present in England at the time, but is emerging with the Early Career and Core Content Frameworks published in 2019 (8 years after the standards presented above) that relate to the standards and attempt to connect ITE/ITT with CPD. In any regard, this shows (especially in France) how the competences/standards become a form of "meta" road-map for teacher education, as it denotes a form of purpose, vague as it may be, regarding the purpose and function of the teacher.

Instead of steering at a distance, in France as argued above, the hierarchy coupled with a strong legitimacy for the educative state to intervene in education is what guides the governing ideology of the state. However, this ideology is limited by the idea of the teacher as a master of the classroom (a secret garden of the class), limiting the state to instruct what should be taught under a logic of harmonisation (one school system) but not how as pedagogy is the purview of the teacher. The autonomy of the profession, and the right of the teacher to teach as he saw best is not only a normative view, but is also enshrined in governmental instructive texts, such as circulaire n° 97-123 du 23/05/1997 which stated:

"[the teacher possesses autonomy in his pedagogical choices]" (MEN 1997, p :1)

However, constraints were put in place within the same paragraph of the circulaire, such as a need to respect French Republican values of equality and meritocracy, as well as *hierarchy*.

The individualized characteristics of education in France, embodied in the teacher as master of his craft, was highlighted in an interesting statement on the “characteristics” of the teaching profession in France by a union representative interviewed, which was argued to differ from the characteristics of other professions.

“[the teaching profession is an atypical metier because it has a work schedule that cannot be calculated in the same way as other jobs, because precisely of this notion of pedagogical liberty and expertise that each individual must be allowed to express in how he operationalises programs and orientations [curriculum] decided at the level of government]” (E19)

Therefore, steering at a distance is ideologically difficult in education in France due to strong national myths that counter a NPM blueprint (cancel out the mimetic mechanism), both because inspectors would never have the same power as in England, and the state is obliged to have a close proximity to the school. Importantly in a comparative sense, France has never had an attack on the “secret garden of the curriculum” in the form of a cognitive blueprint as was the case in England. Teachers’ competences in France are as such guidelines for teachers on how to ideally behave and teach rather than standards to be assessed, however, they restate the importance of the meritocratic structure and character of France, and the role of the hierarchy with normative overtones. This is however hard to teach in teacher education. Hence, professional norms of the teaching profession (teacher as transmitter of knowledge) can develop alongside the state prescribed norms on the teacher as an agent of the Republic (teacher as a state representative and insurer of secularism and meritocracy).

What France however does have, is the concours and the maquette de formation, both of which determine to an extent the content of ITE/ITT. However, this is not subject to inspection, instead the performance of trainees at the concours becomes the measuring stick. Meanwhile, the content of this education is not determined through inspection handbooks but the mentioned tri-party negotiations between the state, INSPEs and universities. As such, we see again how the state-meritocratic logic of France, and areas of responsibilities (one cannot cross hierarchies at the wrong place) structure policymaking. As such, teacher education is controlled through the hierarchy, the content of the concours, and the maquette de formation. However, policy is not delivered as diktat but contains elements of negotiation and consensus, as teacher educators are also masters of their craft and classrooms/lecture halls. That is, teacher education in France is more normatively governed than coercively.

Thus, France is, and has been, characterised by a strong belief in governing through hierarchy, and policymaking in teacher education, as the regulative dimension as a whole, is as such largely influenced by this ingrained and taken for granted cognition and the normative (voice)

legitimacy of a range of actors that the state cannot or do not desire to subvert the same way the DfE has subverted the voice of academia in England.

9.4 Explanatory chains

This section draws on the information presented above, and in previous chapters, to infer how mechanisms have interacted and unfolded over time. These processes have then helped to shape the current organizational fields of teacher education and politico-administration as it pertains to teacher education policy in England and France.

The mechanisms and explanatory chains presented in this section are heuristic devices to help us make sense (hermeneutics) of what is and why it is. The explanatory chains presented below are each an interpretation of a social reality, as the research inferred the likely work of contingent mechanisms as discussed in Chapter 2. The explanations centre on events (mechanisms triggered) and their inferred effects across time to enable understanding. That is, the explanatory chains aim to infer adequate knowledge to understand institutional change in a context, not sufficient knowledge to determine all future institutional change. Moreover, context always matters and as such mechanical explanations are always dependent on a degree of *ceteris paribus* (Mayntz 2004).

The section now turns to a synthetic presentation of the explanatory chains, beginning with England. In England, as visualised in table 9.4.1, through the research lens employed here we observe in a broad sense a move from a paradigm where teacher education was left largely to providers and local authorities with limited central oversight, to the current environment characterised by steering at a distance and the central politico-administrative cadre prescribe what a teacher is, as providers and teachers themselves observe from the side-lines. We observe first the co-existence of three phenomena driven by mimetic processes of change. The first is the overall shift from Keynesian demand management (direct state intervention at local or national level coupled with economic stimulus and high public spending) to Neo-liberal reforms during the 1970s and 80s (Healey 1992). In education this shift translates into an emphasis on the “knowledge economy” and attempted implementation of quasi-privatization in education to boost performance through competition that required clear product standards. The second is the ongoing tensions and rift between academia and practitioners that had been ongoing in teacher education since 1898 as discussed in Chapter 5, where the importance of practical experience has gained traction at the expense of research-based knowledge as teaching has become seen as a craft. The third is a perceived need for oversight over education that can be linked to both NPM ideals of steering at a distance (measurement focus) and the knowledge economy drive. These mimetic processes were arguably kick-started by the 1973-75 economic shock, which created an opening for these mechanisms to be triggered. Over time, the

mimetic processes, translated into a coercive effect with the establishment of the accreditation, certification, and inspection control levers in 1984, from which a sequence mechanism, has enabled further resonance with the mimetic processes and triggered a normative transformation of voice in teacher education as the place of the academic has steadily decreased since 1984, the ideal of the high performing teacher has increased, while as of late (post 2010) the dominant professional voice has become the high performing school leader.

Table 9.4.1 Explanatory chains England: Temporal view

Explanatory chain process step A (1976-83) →	Explanatory chain process step B (1983-2010) →	Explanatory chain process step C (2010-present) →	Outcome (also process step D for future developments) →
Shift towards government oversight of education and the “knowledge economy” Tensions and rift between academia and practitioners (politicised, fragmented views on education) A perceived need for increased oversight in education (end the secret garden of the curriculum)	A consistent cognitive blueprint: NPM – value for money and outcome focus under politico-administrative supervision Normative legitimacy of NPM in part due to teachers staffing CATE. Compliance with norms – initial stability for practitioners Undermining of academic normative legitimacy through academic – practical split in certification	Control through accreditation, inspection, and transparency – standards and OFSTED A furthering of the academic – practitioner split – rise of alternative provision further limiting the role of academics Rewriting of norms resulting in new performance-based approaches	Politico-administratively prescribed standards denoting the “good” teacher. Fragmented provision of teacher education, but systemic unity at the top with a clear hierarchy through accreditation of providers, certification of teachers, and inspections by the central state. End of teacher involvement in accrediting teacher education providers and formulating teacher standards. “Evidence” as central to policy legitimacy
Mechanisms unfolding: Mimetic and “shock” on the wider environments related to education and public policymaking	Mimetic, sequential, and coercive effect on the normative aspects of the teacher education field. Imposition of the politico-administrative field onto the teacher education field leading to reconfiguration.	Emergence of new norms, normative change supported by mimetic and coercive processes that resonate through sequence for those who benefit.	Alignment, reduced contestation between them, but also firm borders between insiders and outsiders

Eventually, normative legitimacy has come in line with the dominant blueprint for insiders to policymaking (after 2010, before 2016) where a firm border between insiders and outsiders has created a form of echo-chamber and reduced contestation over policy in the state-policymaking environment and parts of the education environment. These borders are reinforced through the selective use of “evidence” to legitimize policy and ignore debates on the purpose of education, or on the contestable nature of “what works”. This increasing “evidence” use, which has become a sine qua non of policymaking, is rooted in the NPM logic and increased need for oversight that began in the 1970s and has helped push discourse on the importance of traditional views in education and government oversight through inspections and standards to incentivise high performance in education (e.g., the Carter Review).

The process in France, seen below in table 9.4.2, is rooted in a transformation of ITE/ITT to a standardized model centred on university links for both primary and secondary teachers, and legitimized largely by the historic position of the French state as a legitimate educative state with associated normative and coercive rights. Prior to 1989, France had a structurally split profession, where primary teachers’ professional identity and ITE/ITT focused on pedagogy, whilst secondary teachers focused almost exclusively on subject mastery, in a very fragmented system of provision in a

state that saw itself as unitary in matters of education. The catalyst was arguably the internal shock related to “new maths” as well as the unfolding of contestation over the place of the subject versus educational theory that had been ongoing in France since the 19th century (Prost 2014), as well as an increasingly recognised need for more structure and university involvement in CPD a key component of the IUFM reform. From the beginning, the restructuring joined the mimetic, normative and coercive dimensions, through the legal framework of the educative state, the normative legitimacy of the state to intervene in teacher education, and a mimetic blueprint rooted in the importance of harmonizing the profession and ensuring primary teachers mastered the subject and secondary teachers mastered how to teach. A sequence mechanism helped create resonance for this through allusions of what the French Republic has been since the First Revolution. Further change came with the universitarisation and masterisation tendencies that were rooted in part in the Bologna declaration and the French elites’ obsession with Europe as seen in previous chapters, and in part due to traditionalists believing the IUFM did not ensure sufficient academic knowledge and subject mastery for secondary teachers. Finally, due to the fragmented nature of provision prior to 1989 and large discrepancies in universities and local capacities in the different academies at that time, much heterogeneity still exists as the 1989 and 2012 reform remains to be done as sequential IGEN reports highlighted, leading into the 2019 INSPE reforms. Furthermore, the creation of the IUFM caused a reconfiguration of the teacher education field in France as well, as it removed the old ITE/ITT providers for primary teachers and provided a competitor for “concours only” based preparatory classes in universities or lycées. A second, minor, reconfiguration was wrought in 2012 with the MEEF and later requirements that all teachers had to attend the MEEF – only the concours plus master was no longer sufficient. As in England, the reconfiguration over time enabled new norms and cognitive blueprints to circular and cause normative and mimetic processes of isomorphism.

Meanwhile, for the period analysed the work begun in 1989 has enjoyed much support, but also a large amount of contestation – not on the need for the reforms, but how to carry them out. This contestation took the form of “evidence”, or “expert-as-evidence”, as normative arguments were reduced to argumentation over “what works” and “what teachers’ need to know” in the form of IGEN reports, union surveys, statements by CDIUFM or researchers in education that dominated the context of influence as seen above and in earlier chapters.

Table 9.4.2 Explanatory chains France: Temporal view

Explanatory chain process step A (1880s – 1989) →	Explanatory chain process step B (1989 – 2005) →	Explanatory chain process step C (2005-present) →	Outcome (also process step D for future developments) →
Central state-structure of decision making, but fragmented provision and split profession	Regionalization of profession through the IUFM – closer ties between the central state and providers as a result due to the hierarchical nature of the system (Not steering at a distance) coupled with a perceived need to ensure ITE/ITT and not just subject knowledge for secondary teachers. A need to systematise CPD and engage academia in it. Start of universitisation.	Universitisation coupled with masterisation. Transformation of primary teachers to a “university” based profession, and of secondary teachers to be “pedagogues”. IGEN to help “guide” the reform process from 2012 onwards.	From regional to national harmonization as ITE/ITT becomes increasingly standardized across the territory of France, with a national curriculum and continued MEN control as standardiser. Tensions between academia, the state, and teachers increases. Still a need for systematic CPD with involvement from academia.
Mechanisms unfolding: A belief in the unitary educative state (rationalized myth), how to deal with “new maths” (shock and blueprint) in both the politico-administrative and teacher education fields and corresponding environments	Coercive mechanism (legal framework) restructuring the teacher education field. Normative legitimacy of the state supporting coercive (legal) measures. “Expert as evidence” Cognitive blueprints push the need for these changes (mimetic support) in both the politico-administrative and teacher education fields. National logic (blueprint): Jacobin state Reconfiguration of ITE/ITT through establishment of IUFM	Cognitive blueprints of “what works” trigger a mimetic process. Some normative transformation as the blueprint interacts with the normative dimension. Pushback by old ideas rooted in the place of the subject in Teacher Education and the historic divide between primary and secondary teachers National logic (blueprint): Jacobin state	Normative and Coercive mechanisms interacting to legitimize a unitary France. Countered by the autonomy of academia and teachers Increasing contestation due to changing field constellation that brings opposing environments into close proximity. National logic (blueprint): Jacobin state

The contestation is also arguably rooted in the high number of legitimate voices in teacher education in France and the complex nature of “expert-as-evidence” that underpins efforts to guide the reform process particularly since 2012, as well as the lack of coercive control levers beneath the level of the recteur. However, throughout this period, the most central guiding principle has remained the national logic of Jacobinism, of meritocracy and the states’ rights and responsibilities in education, meaning any attempts to privatize become inconceivable, whilst de-centralization would always be within the central-state hierarchy and not follow measures of devolution to the regions comparable to devolution in the United Kingdom (e.g. Alsace, Brittany, Corsica all have strong local cultural traits rooted in a complex history,²³⁵ and at times have had sizeable independence movements). Even a system comparable to the English MATs is likely unconceivable in France where the school is seen as a sub-unit of MEN under a logic of knowledge transfer and citizen forming, not local community building.

Each “step” in the tables above can be considered a critical juncture where pivots were possible. As such, the continued work of the mechanisms is indicative of the power relations within the organizational fields and status of legitimacies within the institutionalized environments within

²³⁵ To further compare the relations between the “historic regions” in England and France, Scotland has been a part of the United Kingdom for much longer than Alsace or Corsica have been a part of France. Furthermore, while 81 000 people speak Scots Gaelic, 900 000 people speak Alsatian. Even so, Scotland has a devolved Parliament, whilst in France the centrally appointed Prefect of Strasbourg has more power than the elected Mayor of Strasbourg.

this period of time. That is not to say no contestation took place between these critical junctures, but rather to indicate at what instances contestation appears to have come to ahead. For example, contestation over the place of academia and the place of schools in England was rife long before 1984 as seen in Chapter, but it came to a head in the early 1980s and resulted in a first outcome from policy-as-text in 1983 with the white paper “Teaching Quality”, and a follow up outcome with Circular 3/84 that established CATE and the QTS. The establishment of these organizations triggered a coercive mechanism which enabled new normative and mimetic mechanisms, rooted in the discourse presented in “Teaching Quality” to play a role across teacher education. A second similar chain of events happened in 2010 with the renewed focus on schools through the concept of the school-led system. Meanwhile, in France, the longer processes of sequence and normative rights and duties of the state in education enabled through different events in a different context, the transformation of teacher education there towards a more unified system centred on the IUFM, with an increased role for academia and educationalists in all aspects of teacher education. These processes did not happen concurrently in the two cases, nor do they evolve in similar directions nor for similar reasons. However, they do have a similar mechanical feature at their base – the workings of coercion, norms, mimesis, sequence, and shock. In addition, the added process of “imposition” leading to externally imposed reconfiguration of the teacher education field can be inferred in both cases but more strongly so in England.

As can be seen from the dates provided in the tables above, the critical junctures relate closely to key events of text production and publication. In any regard, the years in the table are a rough indication. Because the mechanisms pertain to the institutionalized environment, that is policy-as-discourse and not policy-as-text, they should not be seen as inherently tied to the publication of documents such as circular 3/84 or the “Loi d’orientation sur l’éducation (N° 89-486 du 10 juillet 1989)” for example. The transformations in each step are as such the outcome of a sort of an average internal time for that rough period. Internal time here means the changes within an institutionalized environment, which does not correspond directly to time as measured on calendars or watches. However, the work of the mechanisms is most visible in policy-as-text, whose outcome, but not process, is denotable with exact dates (e.g., the outcome of policy-as-text related to the IUFM has the 10th of July 1989 as one exact date – however the IUFM reform process has many dates as discussed, from these many dates we can talk of an internal time of the IUFM in relation to policy-

as-discourse that has no objective externally fixed dates).²³⁶ Thus, we see that such analysis will inherently have issues of instrumentality. These issues of instrumentality are an illustration of how research of this kind is contingent on the availability of information at the time of analysis, and the theorization used to enable and explain observation.

Across the two cases, we also see through this thesis how mechanisms as heuristic devices are contingent on the context (time, space, activity) we attempt to understand. They appear to be triggered under set conditions that can be thought of as a convergence of variables were the conditions are just right. Moreover, once triggered, the mechanisms, in the explanatory model employed here, can trigger new mechanisms (e.g., mimesis from a NPM blueprint legitimised a coercive mechanism centred on OFSTED), reinforce processes (e.g., normative and mimetic processes reinforcing each other in France with the IUFM reforms) and disable past mechanisms (e.g., the legitimacy of academia in England, historically enabled through normative and sequence mechanisms was undermined through mimetic and coercive processes centred on the school-led system). Hence, we see how the work of mechanisms is complex and context dependent.

What we also see is that legitimacy remains the key commodity of contestation, as the enabling and disabling of mechanisms and their associated isomorphic processes depends on the ability to legitimize an actor within an aspect/dimension. In England, amongst other factors, strong state oversight over ITE/ITT became legitimized in policy-as-discourse in the 1980s, this in turn legitimized state intervention in ITE/ITT and enabled reconfigurations of the field in favour of schools by the 2010s. In France, the need for university involvement in ITE/ITT (beyond the subject) became legitimized by the late 1980s and enabled a gradual transformation of the teaching professions in France so that by the 2010s the emphasis was on a hybrid model based on an academic master coupled with internships. The process of change can in both cases be denoted as: social reality (context) -> legitimacy -> mechanism -> new social reality that is constantly in flux as context changes. As such, the mechanisms are contingent on the context. However, these denoted processes are in each case likely one of many that has led to the currently observable outcomes. All explanatory chains are as such INUS or SUIN relations and not fully necessary and sufficient general explanations in their own right (see Collier 2011). They are however adequate to say something about the process of change.

²³⁶ To ensure the distinction between external and internal time is clear: time as measured by the movement of the Sun is external to the IUFM the same way the internal life of the IUFM reform process is external to the rotation of the Sun. One could argue, the social construct that is our measured time can affect the IUFM reform process through attributing deadlines and so on, however, this is not a true representation of an arrow of time. Instead, the effect of socially constructed time remain coercive, normative, and/or mimetic on an organizational field.

What the changes as observed here seem adequate to say is that there is a form of irreversibility present in both cases due to sequence. The new social reality is rooted in the old, but the transformation is directional as the old context cannot be perfectly recreated. Therefore, as we also see through the comparative lens, transformations cannot inherently be turned back and repeated, such as the effects of CATE or the IUFM. In other words, in some instances there is an arrow of time due to irreversibility (Prigogine 1984) as we have seen in this thesis. There is a heritage from CATE and the IUFM that is felt today long after these organizations have been re-transformed into new organizations, and in the case of CATE and its successors the TTA and TDA disappeared as individual organizations all together through absorption by the DfE. History is as such a mechanism in the sense that if conditions are right it plays a role, but it does not inherently do so as not all events are subject to an external and linear arrow of time (e.g., discussions over the IUFM reform do not necessarily happen in a linear fashion across all actors, and whether or not union leaders discussed the reform before ITE/ITT provider leaders did is not of relevance unless they knew of each-others meetings and the latter were influenced by the discourse of the former – time is tricky in this regard as it is subject to there being a relation between events). These peculiarities of time are relative to the randomness inherent in the impossibility of locating the subject (see Knafo 2019 on the subject-object conundrum in academia), the impossibility of denoting external time (observation) to internal temporal processes without theorization. Furthermore, because social processes are perpetual and go on ad infinitum from the dawn of humanity, any analysis employs artificial theoretical constructs of initial conditions and outcomes. As such, the mechanisms are observer relative as heuristic constructs contingent on the analytical framework, available data, and researcher alike, not unlike the measurement issues of quantum mechanics. This irreversibility that is relatable to observer contingency further undermines a purely mechanical (automation) world view and show the contingent and contextual nature of change in social reality. This chapter has shown the dual contingency of mechanisms; they are contingent ontologically on the observer and epistemologically on the context they apply to.

9.5 Discussion and concluding remarks of the chapter

To conclude, we saw in this chapter that the politico-administrative organizational field relating to teacher education in France can be said to be characterised by extremely strong path dependence as a sequence mechanism trigger mimesis in the state-policymaking institutionalized environment and help re-produces legitimacy as these two mechanisms interact. This process is coupled with a strong place for the state in the normative dimension and a hierarchy based regulative dimension, where the hierarchy is the source of coercion and receives its legitimacy

through ideations (mimetic) rooted in meritocracy (national myth) that also produces the normative legitimacy of the state. This contrasts with the corresponding English organizational field that is more characterised by innovation in the state-policymaking institutionalized environment causing a path break in 1984, coupled with cognitive blueprints reconfiguring the normative dimension through mimesis cancelling out the normative mechanism. This explains, in part, why normative power is more important in France than in England, as normative legitimacy takes time to construct and overturn (Coburn 2004) – whilst coercive power depends on the will and capacity to coerce (Scott 2013). As such, we may also say that the institutionalized environment in France acts as a constraint on actors more than an enabler of contestation of current practices, rendering it static in comparison to the more dynamic case of England.

Much contestation in the two cases revolves around what is considered ineffectual, what is considered a decent trade-off, and what are the purposes of education and the teacher, and therefore the central skills for a teacher to learn in the short amount of time they have to be trained. The differences between the two, however strong, seem rooted in different ideologies of how best to form teachers rather than *strictly fiscal* concerns for example. Underneath such currents are broad discussions across education on the purpose of education and the purpose of the teacher, in England expressed as progressive versus traditional approaches to teaching, and in France as pedagogical versus subject emphasis. However, similarities can be found in both contexts, as progressive versus traditional views are “global” concerns that touch all facets of education. Importantly, the debates as observed in this study, characterisable as progressive versus traditional views on education, revolve around the purpose of the teacher and the school in an “ought” sense just as much as in regard to “best practice”. Therefore, the notion of progressive versus traditional education straddles the intersection between the normative and cultural-cognitive dimension. Normatively the debate is central to the former as it relates to the teaching professions (plural - as noted in Chapter 5 there are more than one teaching profession in France) and the bordered communities they create as well as the *purpose of education*. Importantly, questions of purpose are in the realm of moral oughts and mores, and not of “what works” (Biesta 2009). In the cultural-cognitive dimension, the debates constitute cognitive blueprints (as ideal types) that are selectively drawn upon to support views on how education ought to be done in a fashion of “evidencification” more than robust evidence use as discussed above.

In relation to the education environment, Estelle Brisard (2002) made an important comparative observation which reflects the findings presented in this chapter. She noted that teachers at a macro level in France are mainly seen as transmitters of knowledge regardless of circumstance, whilst in England individual classroom considerations remains important. These observations were shared by Alexander (2001) in his study of primary teachers and schools. Brisard

took this to mean that it was natural how France went towards the universities in their reforms, and England towards the school. I would argue these simple but elegant explanations still hold today. However, to elaborate and (re)introduce complexity, it also appears that the field positions of different actors play a role. In England, there has been a divide between progressive and traditional views on education, with the latter located more in schools and government, and the former more so in academia. These delimitations differ in France, where traditionalist views on education (the subject) are highly present in universities, particularly in departments other than those related to sciences of education. Meanwhile, the traditional view is somewhat removed from classroom teaching (subject not method), whilst the teacher in France remains centred on the classroom itself and not so much his own professional learning (Osborn 2007), creating uneasy relations between educationalists in academia, non-educationalists in academia, and teachers who focus predominantly on *their* classroom and the academic achievement of their students. Progressiveness in France seems to only extend to theories of learning, not the “whole child” as it does in England. As Brisard herself noted, when trainees were asked (micro level) in England and France, the French trainees were less content with their recent reforms than their homologues in England precisely because the French students felt too removed from the school, observations shared by Foster (1999) as well who noted that beyond the rigidity of the QTS at the time ITE/ITT students in England were generally content.

Change to the policy trajectories in both cases can overall be characterised as evolutionary change with pivot moments, rather than strictly evolutionary, revolutionary, or punctuated equilibrium. These pivots constitute places where trajectories can be nudged, and undercurrents become the main stream taking on the semblance of revolutionary change. This is similar to the concept of critical junctures as presented in Chapter 3 but has some different connotations. A critical juncture can be seen as a short period of revolutionary activity of much change as openings arise, a pivot point by contrast can be seen as a turn that takes longer to evolve and is rooted not in any state of equilibria nor in a period of “revolution” but rather of minor nudges that constantly push one logic ahead of another or is cancelled out by counter nudges, in constant contestation and activity. Furthermore, pivot points do not imply a cancelling of old mechanisms for perpetuity, in the way critical junctures harken to a change that cannot be undone, but rather that what was the main cognitive blueprint or normative frame is pushed into the back, to which we can again see a re-pivot later on. Meanwhile, the old dominant trends (e.g., Catholicism in France) continue to influence the new approaches (the sacrality of *laïcité*). This can be seen for example in the subversion over time of norms in England rooted in a progressive versus traditionalist narrative that eventually joined with views on who should conduct ITE/ITT and a call for accountability as NPM ideology manifested in public policy to transform policy. However, progressives are still present within education, as are university-based educationalists and calls for reduction in accountability. The same can be said about

contestation in France over the place of the school, university, practical, theory, subject, and decentralization versus harmonization of ITE/ITT. In recent history, the only pivotal point was the creation of the IUFM which is the only clear break in the trajectory since the establishment of the normal school in 1879, which again was the first pivotal moment in ITE/ITT since 1808 (for primary teachers). The creation of the IUFM did not end any divide between primary and secondary teachers (see e.g., Farges 2017), nor did it ensure secondary teachers were forced to attend ITE/ITT in perpetuity. As we saw in Chapters 7 and 9, the IUFM reform is still ongoing as goals laid out in 1989 are still strived for with a similar approach that is incrementally inching forward.

The analysis also showed how France is characterised by strong norms rooted in the concepts of the educative state and meritocracy (Jacobinism) that structure teacher education, as it also does in other aspects of education according to Normand (2020). Meanwhile, England has a fragmented normative dimension delimited along ideological lines between the responsibility and right of the educative state versus the responsibility and right of academia, and of the responsibility and right of the teaching profession, similar to the types of knowledge (academic vs practitioner) discussed as an issue in England by Beck (2009) (see also Chapter 3). However, what it means to be a teacher is, expressed, remarkably similarly between the two cases, and across time, with some minor changes that may result in major contestation. Moreover, England has a comparatively “unified” teaching profession, in regulative terms (one certificate, the QTS), whereas France has one split between primary and secondary teachers as noted by Farges (2017).²³⁷ The split in France does appear to create complications both for the state (management) and the profession (lack of unity of voice) that is not present the same way in England. Central to French governing of teacher education and policymaking in the public sphere, then, is the legally enshrined system of central state governing and a powerful executive branch that is characterised by a strong civil service and clear hierarchies that interact within MEN who are directly responsible for ITE/ITT and CPD. This contrasts with the more mosaic field and field development characterised by steering at a distance control levers in England. This is indicative of power as a relation (Foucault 1978), not only between actors but also between aspects/dimensions or more accurately in this line of thought between types of power as actors who hold limited regulative power may nonetheless hold important normative power.

²³⁷ Many possible delimitations exist in the teaching profession in England, such as where someone is educated (SCITT or University), where they work, what level they work at and so on. However, compared to the French sociological cleavages, they are comparatively unified. One important exception exists however, as there is an important cleavage also of a regulative nature between teachers and “teachers in further education”.

Chapter 10. Drawing the analysis together: Discussion, and concluding remarks

“The temptation to make sense of social developments by assembling and clustering events and phenomena in one story or narration implies the acceptance of neglecting cultural differences” (Tröhler 2014a, p.35)

This chapter first engages with existing academic literature to discuss and conclude on the three research questions of this dissertation and highlight the new empirical insights garnered through this thesis. This is done both in order to draw on the insights of comparable research and denote the added value of my research for the fields of research on institutional change, policymaking in education, and teacher education in England and France. Then the relation between England and France is briefly discussed, as this is an important consideration through the thesis to avoid methodological nationalism. These considerations transcended the research questions as can be seen in the repeated engagement with “global” trends and concepts throughout the thesis. The next section discusses the limitations of the research as presented before the added value of the research to our understanding of institutional change is deliberated. The chapter then denotes what insights the research bestows on how we can comprehend teacher education and how teacher education policy influences the conceptualizations of the teacher and ends by presenting a synthesis of the findings.

10.1 How do teacher education and politico-administrative organizational fields shape teacher education policy?

The findings of this thesis on England firstly seem to justify the warning of Childs & Menter (2013), that the control levers established with CATE and the QTS in 1984 could have caused fundamental change in teacher education and transform the relation between academia and ITE/ITT. The research here added to these views by showing how access for teachers, academics, and other educationalists have shifted over the years as the successor to CATE, the TDA became internalized within the DfE between 2010 and 2012, resulting in an altering of voices within the field while government became a central gatekeeper to influencing the policy agenda. Furthermore, we saw how the process of teacher education policymaking is comprised of a shifting mosaic of politico-administrative quangos, teacher education providers, and state-local-private arrangements interacting in an often ad-hoc manner with data-streams as the glue holding the mosaic together.

These are characteristics of a “systemless” system as the English education system as a whole can be described as according to Martin Lawn (2013) and Ken Jones (2016).

We may also talk of a mosaic teacher education organizational field, where provision is heterogeneous. This mosaic nature of the organizational field lends itself to limited institutionalization of shared beliefs in some aspects, and weak profession driven norms that open up for contestation by stakeholders inside and outside of education over what ITE/ITT both is and should be. In other words, there is a lack of stability and dynamic change becomes possible. This is perhaps a complex issue within institutional analysis as a weakening of the field may imply a form of “de-institutionalization” of practices. Here, I argue this can in part be understood through the imposition of one field on another, which leads to this kind of fracturing of beliefs (they multiply), and in part to a short history of one stable system as the particularities of teacher education have undergone much change over the past few hundred years (see also Dent 1977, Murray and Mutton 2016). One outcome of this is a plurality of views on teacher education (e.g. large range practical – theoretical and traditional – progressive spectrums), and imagined solutions to teacher education problems as teacher education providers obtain multiple identities (heterogeneous universities, partnership SCITTs, non-partnered SCITTs, large-SCITTs, small SCITTs, lead-schools and so on), that is not seen in France where more dogmatic and static views dominate (harmonization of singular teacher education across the territory, shorter range spectrums of progressive-traditional and practical-theoretical ideations).

By contrast to England, France first had direct state oversight over all forms of education (including teacher education) in 1808 with the Imperial University system, a form of proto-ministry of national education. Further state-dominance over education was cemented with the Ferry laws in 1881/2, whilst the *écoles normales* came to dominate primary teacher education and the universities or elite *lycée* secondary teacher education until the first major structural reforms in over 100 years came in 1989 with the IUFM, which ended the “*écoles normales* [Normal Schools]” (see also Prost 2014). The IUFM was a response to a perceived lack of systemic CPD, and a desire to harmonize primary and secondary education, that in part reflected international trends in education such as “new maths” and a fear of lagging behind other nations in education performance. The IUFM also began a process of universitisation where teacher education (initial and continued) became increasingly tied to universities over time (Prost 2014, Farges 2017). With the creation of the IUFM, we saw two organizational fields, the politico-administrative and teacher education, both dominated by a central state system with a history of controlling education, internal negotiations with high professional expertise present similar to the characteristics of the French education system as a whole as observed also by for example Alexander (2001) and Normand (2013, 2020) when looking at school education. This is a state system where shortfalls in reaching lofty goals of meritocracy are

covered rather than addressing systemic issues such as inequality or teacher-shortages (e.g., the case of contract teachers), thereby protecting the rationalised myth and state-logic-narrative in line with the cultural reproduction thesis of Bourdieu (1984), central to comprehending entrenched institutionalized actors (Scott 2013). There has been a new trend of harmonization under way since 1989, both between the two teaching professions (primary/secondary) but also across the territories – a slow moving reform that is expressed primarily in teacher education. Compared to England, France is a more static system with limited change over time, with the major exception of the IUFM reforms. What has come since then has largely been a gradual adjustment to the vision presented in 1989 of ever-closer cooperation between universities and teacher education, an increased systematic focus on CPD rooted in research, and push for the harmonization of the teaching profession. The changes are led by the central state, under the guiding hand of IGEN, particularly following 2012 and the change from the IUFM to the ESPE.

Furthermore, in terms of challenges and contestation, the concourse is considered by many policymakers to be a problem to "flexible" governance in line with NPM inspirations (Normand 2013, 2020). This is exasperated by the problem of too many voices as multiple actors attempt to be heard (and have an institutionalized right to be heard) as observed here. Thus, it appears teacher education in France is indeed a reflection of its state-centric wider education environment as argued by Guglielmi (1998) and Brisard (2002). However, it is not only state-centric, it is state-centric with outreach to a diversity of stakeholders that is not present in England.

The events in France, centred on universitisation and masterisation, are comparable to research that show academic drift as universities and research based knowledge are becoming more and more central in the educational lives of professionals (Kaiserfeld 2013, Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell 2018). However, developments in teacher education England run counter to these trends as the place of the university in teacher education is diminishing both in ITE/ITT and CPD. This is somewhat paradoxical given the emphasis in England on the upgrading of polytechs into universities and based on the insights garnered here likely reflect the historically low status of education as an academic discipline in England, as is discussed in great detail by Furlong (2013).

Regarding what is similar in the two cases in relation to the notion of fields, both England and France contain a divided "academia" in terms of the relations, and situation of teacher education providers, vis-a-vis the higher education sector. This overlap further complicates normative notions (voice) of who may speak for school and teacher education, what is an educationalist, and what is academia's position on teacher education. It also undermines the ability for teacher education providers to claim their full normative power to cause isomorphism towards academically determined standards. The reason for the inability to construct "one academic message" seem at least partially rooted in how teacher educators are at times counterworked by their own vice-

chancellors/university presidents or by competing university departments, indicating a low emphasis on “teacher” as an important academically trained profession – *if we conceptualize “professional teacher” as someone who knows how to transmit knowledge and not only one who contains knowledge*. As such, teacher education departments in England or INSPEs in France find themselves lacking broader institutional support from the university as a whole. This is in line with observations by Marques & Powell (2020) who saw schools of education in the UK (not only England) as *“subunits within the complex organizational structures of universities, that must compete both for inter-organizational and intra-organizational legitimacy” (p.832)*. Beyond questions of inter-organizational competition, the fragmentation of academia, also relates in part to what Beck (2009) discussed as the different types of knowledge teachers’ are required to possess that is linked to debates on whether academia or performing practitioners (who in France often work in academia as employees of the INSPE) are best equipped to teach to them. Interestingly, these similarities persist in spite of highly diverse models of, and policies on, teacher education provision in the two cases.

How organizational fields centred on practices such as teacher education and politico-administration interact depend on the conditions at the time of their creation. The French fields were joined in the early 19th century at the dawn of structured education and the modern state in France tensions are contained. By contrast, in England the fields were at some distance prior to the 1980s, with their proximity since a source of conflict and confusion. As we have seen, these initial conditions continue to impact practices across time, and influence all facets of policy.

10.2 How do policymakers and stakeholders use “evidence of what works” in relation to teacher education policymaking?

The research found that “evidence” has become a fully incorporated rationalized myth, particularly in England, and shares the general observations of both Verger, Steiner-Khamsi, and Lubienski (2017) and Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell (2018) on the centrality of “evidence” of what is claimed “works” in the rhetoric policymakers employ to justify their political approaches. The evidence myth in England seems to have developed from the earlier myth of measurement during the New Labour years, and to have come to fruition during the early Gove years (as far as teacher education is concerned). The indicators of this myth are the importance of measured value for money and a scientification of public discourse where “evidence” takes the place of moral or philosophical thought. What the increasing emphasis on measured outcomes and “evidence” of “what works” has seemingly done in England, is help undermine established norms rooted in pedagogical processes and traditional forms of ITE/ITT provision (e.g., universities), and further

central oversight over teacher education even as the number and types of providers is multiplying (e.g. SCITTs) (see also Helgetun and Dumay 2021).

By contrast, in France, the duty of the state towards education as observed by different researchers (e.g., Young 1898, Muzzey 1911, Foster 1999, Alexander 2001, Brisard 2002, Sacilotto-Vasylenko and Fave-Bonnet 2011, Normand 2020), acts as a cultural block to reforms rooted in “what works” indicating how socio-history and sequence constraints how new blueprints can transform practices. Meanwhile, the research here adds to these insights on the one hand by denoting how resistance, beyond cultural blocks, also entails the structuration of fields (the infrastructure) and the overlap between teacher education and public-administration that ensures a larges in political debates where many historically entrenched voices are perceived as legitimate in influencing what direction teacher education is to take, which may collectively drown out “new” claims of “what works”. On the other hand, the research indicates that the status of “experts-as-evidence” helps to ensure the legitimacy of some actors in education debates, but also entrenches old beliefs that may need revision in light of new observations, as rationales for discarding what does not fit the narrative prevail as the image of a functioning meritocratic Republic continue to be pushed by senior state-officials. Meanwhile, the work of Pierre Bourdieu (e.g. Bourdieu 1984, Bourdieu and Christin 1990, Bourdieu 1993) repeatedly shows how social structures are reproduced in France, in a society characterisable by classism (socio-cultural separation between identifiable “classes” – rooted in education attainment and cultural capital) and societal reproduction.²³⁸ This indicates that France is better characterised as a meritocracy centred on certification and promoting those with the highest potential than as a society centred on equality of opportunity. In addition, the French meritocratic approach in itself is in tension with the values of liberal democracy as the logic of technocratic Jacobinism, with the state as a shepherd, is emphasised over political debates and political deliberation outside of the halls of expertise. This combined plurality of entrenched voices and conservatism in France, then, act both as a block on new cognitive blueprints, and a promoter of old blueprints that denote “what works in education” centred on traditional views and the guiding work of education-elites such as the IGEN.

The observations in the two cases have some continuity with an observed scientification or even medicalization of (western) society following World War Two as argued by Tröhler (2014b).

²³⁸ The “classes” of France are arguably more cultural than economic (but the two are linked) and are seen by Bourdieu, who draws on Marx, as consisting of the working class (*ouvrier*), lower middle class (*petite bourgeoisie*) middle-middle class (*moyenne bourgeoisie*), high middle-class (*haute bourgeoisie*) and nobility/elite – the latter class to Bourdieu relates closely to the *haute bourgeoisie* in France and is closely associated with the state and graduates from the elite institutions of France such as the *École Normale d’Administration*. To Bourdieu, the education system of France was designed to reproduce the classes, and the classes depend as much on cultural capital as economic capital.

According to him, the experiences in World War Two led to an emphasis on technocratic “experts” rather than practising professionals in education (such as teachers and administrators), that gradually evolved into a “medical” paradigm where *“an articular organistic understanding of the social reality is taken for granted and research is conducted under the mostly undiscussed premises of this particular understanding”* (Tröhler 2014b. p. 1). The advent of a medical paradigm has, according to him, reduced the ability to discuss the meaning of education in the form of political deliberation, has reduced the access of research that is not prescribed to the fixed organic understanding, and has led to an emphasis on statistical data and fixed indicators such as PISA and the OECD Indicators of Education Systems program that is presented as evidence-based knowledge that is not to be questioned.

The findings in this thesis note an *evidencification of education* in England under what I have conceptualized as an “evidence era”. This view contrasts to literature that focuses on neo-liberalism and the origin of the measurement focus in education as being, in England, with Thatcher in the late 1980s (e.g. Alexander 2001, Ozga 2009, Childs and Menter 2013, Mangan 2014). Although it is true the focus on measurement came with Thatcher in the 1980s if we focus only on when it came into front-line politics in England, it fails to capture the longer historic trajectories of mathematization of society (Arendt 2018[1958]), and therefore fails to provide the same level of insight as the longer lines drawn by Tröhler does. Through a longer gaze, as employed in this thesis, we can see that shifts towards an emphasis on “evidence” and data, largely connected to accountability, predates the Thatcher reforms. Therefore, NPM is simply the latest facet of this trend where purpose and value is increasingly neglected in favour of “what works” as seen through quantifiable data, without debates on what education is to work for. That is, quantifiable data in the form of measurement is a sub-set of a larger “evidence” myth as seen in this thesis. This becomes clearer if we move beyond localised contexts such as Thatcher and aim at capturing the longer lines of evidencification and denote how these trends can be linked to technocratic work, particular forms of research, and how this relates to NPMs emphasis on “steering at a distance” through data streams as argued by Ball (2008). These data streams are then not only means of steering education, they are also means of sense-making and are rooted in a faith-like belief in predominantly statistical “evidence” as the truth of “what works”, where uncertainty is removed and debates are limited through claims of “evidence shows”. In other words, NPM is not a tool, it is a paradigm that can be linked to previous paradigmatic ideas rooted in technocratic governance and the use of statistical data to oversee society.

The need for a longer gaze to understand the modalities of the current “evidence era” becomes even clearer when we compare England to France, where notions of “evidence” have been central to public administration since the First Revolution and is arguably illustrative of how the related phenomena of the evidence era (such as rationalization, mathematization, medicalization,

and scientification) in education originate with the Age of Enlightenment. It also appears as if the changes observed in general terms by Tröhler (2014b) on a medicalization of society following World War Two is more regularly used to describe England than France, this is in part because France was already a quasi-technocracy in matters of education and as such already had their own norms and beliefs on how “experts” were to guide policy through evidence of what works. In addition, even though the expert is the focus in France, the expert (e.g., IGEN) is for historical reasons often a former practitioner. Importantly, this quasi-technocracy is a political project dressed as a technocratic approach to policymaking, where experts do not necessarily emphasises measuring deep held values rather than valuing what is measurable. In addition, the French technocracy is entwined with French bureaucracy, meritocracy, and a codified civil law tradition, where it is unlikely one can exist without the others. As such, we see a synergy between these concepts that are all central to the Jacobin logic that dominates French Republican values and beliefs.

France then, is a country where technocratic elites through their legitimacy as experts have agency in shaping and determining standards but are beholden to the meritocratic myths that legitimise them and elite discourse on education. Importantly here, the elite discourse is becoming increasingly global and detached from the local as developments in for example Scandinavia are easily picked up on in Paris in our globalising world of communication technology and (cheap) travel. By contrast, England is a country where the elites are not experts of their craft and do not choose the standards. Instead, they import standards from outside (e.g., from the OECD) and govern-by-numbers towards these imposed standards that are often detached from educational realities. One could say teacher education in England was in a form of quasi-technocratic state between 1984-2012 due to CATE/TTA/TDA, but as shown in Chapter 6 the technocrats (educationalists) have since been phased out in favour of civil-servant mobility across sectors. This was also less technocratic than what we see in France because CATE was a quango at arms length and senior DfE management were/are rarely education experts, whilst similar functions were/are internal in MEN and the senior officials there are nearly all technocrats with a background in education. For example, in England SPADs and senior civil-servants are often not technocrats as can be seen from their career trajectories, whilst in France the cabinet directors, DGESCO, and other senior officials regularly have some form of a relevant specialist background²³⁹ and often remain in the civil service when there is a change in power as discussed in chapters 6 and 7. I find this interesting once we get to the concept of

²³⁹ The expertise focus in France goes beyond education. For example, officials who work on finance, data analysis, or human relations nearly always have a corresponding background. Educationalists handle education, economists financial affairs, and administrators administrative affairs with limited turnover. This logic is similliar to that of e.g., techers and their concours where each concurs corresponds to a subject and a teacher is only qualified to teach the corresponding subject. In other words, France focuses on specialists not generalists.

data: in England at all levels algorithms and data are seemingly poorly understood (nearly all actors frequently use statements such as “the data says we have to do this...” or “evidence shows...”), in France they are well understood at a senior level (admissions of the kind “all data is political when used, we choose the algorithms and therefore what we do” are frequent).

Meanwhile, what has changed in a similar way in both cases is how the technocratic process may operate both in terms of data collection and dissemination, which is likely linked to changes in technology such as the advent of information and communication technology, data processing power, and shortened travel time. This again results in faster transmission of knowledge and claims of “what works” in education across space. Thereby enabling the current global policy field in education and accelerates how national actors engage with “global” ideas such as NPM, the Bologna process, or the Singaporean model of teacher education.

10.3 How do education and policymaking institutionalized environments structure teacher education policymaking?

As cognitive blueprints are rationalised within institutionalized environments, they are a central cause of reproduction or change in practices within organizational fields (Scott 2013) but are also sensitive to local contexts (Crossley and Watson 2003, Crossley 2010) and rationalized (national) myths. For example, whether or not we may allude to some form of logic denoting that France began “universitisation” in 1989 both to upgrade teacher education by introducing more research and to introduce ITE/ITT as compulsory for secondary teachers, rather than beginning in 2007 due to a European wide movement, is of less importance than what the institutionalized belief in the environment is. The same goes for the notion of “masterisation”, which in some countries has meant extending ITE/ITT to 5 years (e.g., Norway) and in France has meant the introduction of the professional master’s thesis as this is the mark of a master in France, not the duration of study. Here the same “global” cognitive-blueprint is *translated* differently in context as it is imperfectly copied and implemented from disseminated ideal type to practice, corresponding to research done by for instance Maroy and colleagues (2016) and Zapp and colleagues (2018) on the national peculiarities of different contexts in relation to policies in education.

The research presented here illustrates that how things are perceived and understood by actors in teacher education policymaking is rooted in overarching national imaginaries and connotations that have become institutionalized. For example, in England we may present logical arguments as to why ITE/ITT in the post-graduate route is currently 3 years long if compared to conceptualisations in other countries (e.g., France), or vice-versa one could argue the French MEEF is only one year in length if English conceptualisations are employed on France. The English post-

graduate route is currently one year in training with supervised placement and learning in the school (but not responsible for a class) that is comparable to an extent to the first year of the French MEEF (with slightly higher emphasis on school placement in England). This is in England followed by two years of induction where the newly qualified teacher is in charge of a class but with close aid from mentors and the need to have his NQT years validated at the end in order to continue teaching. The induction period is (superficially) similar to the French second year of the MEEF, where the teacher-intern is a paid employee in charge of a class, with a mentor aiding them and the need to have their internship validated. However, the main discourse in England is that post-graduate ITE/ITT is one year long, while induction is not ITE/ITT. Furthermore, why does no one in public debates think of induction as part of ITE/ITT in England or question the “Europe” narrative in France, or consider making an “academy teacher” degree as an alternative to the QTS? A short answer is that the perception in both cases is “it wouldn’t work”,²⁴⁰ until current rationalisations surrounding the QTS and ITE/ITT are undermined and changed. These rationalisations are central to cognitive blueprints as they help convey meaning. This also relates to how contingent truth *is*, and how the perception of different observers or minute distinctions in what truth one is looking for has large effects on observed outcomes. How actors rationalize is important for what is perceived as possible and as what one should do. In other words, how well a cognitive blueprint may resonate is rooted in socially constructed realities. This is the power of institutionalization in environments and is where cognitive blueprints become central to both maintaining a rationalised belief and changing it should legitimate alternatives be found and begin to rationalise as an alternative paradigm. This echoes findings elsewhere such as on educational research in Germany (Zapp and Powell 2016) and changes to higher education and research in Norway (Helgetun, Powell, and Zapp 2018, Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell 2018). These are examples of how rationalisation and conceptualisation construct ingrained beliefs in “what is” and therefore also “what works” and “what may work” that are rooted in socio-historically constructed contexts echoing the sentiments of Brisard (2002) mentioned in the introduction of this thesis.

Additionally, as we have seen with CATE in England and the IUFM in France, new organizations do not inherently conform to the existing organizational field and institutionalized environment as proposed by DiMaggio & Powell (1983) but may bring in new forms of legitimacy and modes of contestation within the field consistent with observations by Furlong (2001; 2013) and Childs & Menter (2013). The shifts are of a deep structural nature that came not from singular events but complex interactions and contestations over long periods of time. This rests on how discourse by

²⁴⁰ A methodological note, these and similar questions were asked informally to interviewees and others involved in teacher education in England and France as I attempted to understand the contexts of the two countries.

a regulatively-powerful actor in an organizational field is not sufficient to transform adjacent organizational fields unless it resonates with the institutionalized environment and obtains a form of legitimacy for control levers. What can be of more concern than the discourse of regulatively-powerful actors, and here we see how DiMaggio & Powell's general assessment on new organizations conforming to the field may be flawed, is the entry in a field of new powerful actors or actor constellations (CATE coupled with HMI and the QTS) with access to control levers as a mode of compliance (accreditation, certification, and inspection), and the potential imposition of one field on another through such new actors. It is precisely the imposition of the politico-administrative organizational field on the teacher education organizational field in England, as opposed to structural overlap, which augments contestation. Thus, the research in this thesis shows us that conformity is not a given, but that a change in practices may eventually become fully institutionalized if transformatory mechanisms are triggered, and they are not cancelled out by other mechanisms.

In terms of how we can characterise change, although the long policy trajectories in both England and France take on some evolutionary characteristics as predicted by Campbell (2002; 2004), we also note that there are pivotal moments where conditions allow underlying currents to rise to the surface in conjunction with existing structuration, nudging the trajectory in a slightly new direction. This would perhaps indicate a form of pivoting evolution, where short bursts of revolutionary tendencies restructure the evolutionary trajectory. Once this is crossed with findings in the previous chapters, we may note the larger revolutionary effects such moments may have on the organizational field, particularly the 1984 creation of the QTS and CATE which set a new evolutionary path which still (re)structures the field today as discussed above. These revolutionary to evolutionary and back again tendencies can particularly be seen as a new "pivot" in 2011 centred on SCITTs are creating new actors and new dynamics, here the revolutionary impact of the "rise of the SCITTs" interacts with the evolutionary change from the front-line revolution in 1984. The 1984 reform itself was rooted in longer evolutionary trends (contestations) that can be observed in the foreground in 1976 (Callaghan at Ruskin) in the 1960s (Black Papers) (see Chitty 1991, Ball 2008), and even the much older debates leading up to the Education Act of 1902 on the role of the state in the then emerging organization of ITE/ITT (see Dent 1977, Maclure 1986). Hence, whether change is revolutionary or evolutionary depends on our lens of observation, but to fully comprehend the object (here the trajectory) we must look at it as being both at once. This lends credence to observations on critical junctures where there exists an opening for change, and that once seized, changes instituted at this moment close future paths and structure future events as argued by Streeck and Thelen (2005). However, we also observed that change was ongoing between these moments, rooted in contestation but also in failure to meet expectations for the dominant force who instigated and controlled a critical juncture. Hence, we need to at the very least talk of evolutionary

change *alongside* critical junctures or pivot moments – there is never equilibrium *across* an entire field at any given point, only in some aspects of it.

Meanwhile, the words “evolutionary”, “revolutionary”, and to a lesser extent “trajectory” (if used tout-court) are troublesome in explaining policy change over time. The words “evolutionary” and “revolutionary” harken to a Hegelian world view (also shared by Karl Marx) of social progress from something towards something better where we follow absolute arrows of time. What we see is not so much progress in this Hegelian sense as it is change due to internal and contextually dependent contestation without a long-term master plan or promise of utopia. We are, likely, not moving towards an utopian state as in the discourse of Marx and Engels (2018 [1848]), but instead towards what Foucault characterises as a “different state” neither better nor worse in an absolute sense, just *different*.²⁴¹ This kind of change then is not an evolution, it has internal movement and is linked to what came before, but it is not an absolute linear uni-direction driven by external time. Instead, the change is characterized by complex institutional processes that have their own internal time where only outcomes of policy-as-text have dates. Moreover, the change is not complete and paradigm shifting, instead it is paradigm merging as new policies are rooted in past policies but with new meanings attached to them. Finally, the changes do not eradicate old beliefs (e.g. the way Newton over time eradicated the old Greek world view (Kuhn 2012)) and as such likely illustrate the complexity of social reality that does not have any absolute truth to guide any evolutionary change. Therefore, I propose a more apt characterization of institutional change is arguably that of pivot points along a contingent temporal line making it appear erratic. In other words, it is uneven, irregular, and therefore unpredictable. The pivot points can be understood in relation to Raymond Williams’ (1977) observation of society as being in a state of flux, where dominant, residual, and emerging cultural traits exist simultaneously. Drawing on Scott (2013), one may argue these traits are then in tension and lead to contestation over thought and behaviour, causing institutionalization and change of beliefs, rules, and norms, as legitimacies shift. At the foci of such contestation and struggle for legitimacy we find the pivot points where some actors manage to overturn the dominant script by purposefully or accidentally triggering sufficient mechanisms to rationalise alternative views and de-rationalise existing policy. This erraticness, inherent in the co-existence of dominant, residual, and emerging traits and beliefs that exist in a state of flux, is also why the word “trajectory” is somewhat troublesome, as a trajectory would constitute motion that may be uneven (dependent on the force behind it) but moving in a set direction, the erraticness observed here is too non-linear to be a trajectory in every sense of the word. As such, policy cannot be understood along a linear trajectory,

²⁴¹ For deeper insight into this, see the 1971 televised debate between Foucault and Noam Chomsky on “Human nature.” The debate is available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3wfNI2L0Gf8> (accessed 18.02.2021).

but must be understood as at best an erratic trajectory where many outcomes, including a return to a semblance of what was in some instances, always remain possible as they remain rooted in a combination of dominant, residual, and emerging cultural traits. In other words, change in institutional processes such as policy and policymaking are unstable and complex.

10.4 How England and France engage with European trends in teacher education

As both England and France were at the time of analysis parts of the European Union locating them within a supranational political framework (Cini 2007), this section briefly discusses the relation of England and France to European trends, particularly the Bologna process, in order to contextualize the findings in this thesis and highlight the important European dimension of the policymaking process. The emphasis in this section reflects the findings in this thesis in relation to how England and France engage with Europe. The section first discusses the findings in relation to some leading theories from comparative education and European integration studies, and then link these to the neo-institutionalist framework used in this thesis.

As also observed by John Sayer in 2006, the document analysis shows English policymaking has not taken much recent European trends into account in regard to teacher education. As seen in Chapter 8 for instance, references are to Hong Kong and Singapore more so than European countries (with the exception of Finland), but not Scotland or Ireland. This appears to be rooted in both attempts at sense-making and legitimization of policy through referencing high performers in PISA (see also Chung 2016) and constitute traits of policy borrowing as conceptualised by Gita Steiner-Khamsi (2010). However, this arguably only works as an explanation for these events in England. Because, by contrast to England, as seen in interviews and the *dépêche* analysis as presented in previous chapters, France has engaged with Bologna not only to mirror trends elsewhere and build a European model, but also to help legitimise desired national reforms. As such, once the comparative element is introduced and we see two different modes of engaging with what goes on outside of state borders, derivative theories from Putnam's (1988) two-level games (e.g., liberal intergovernmentalism, see Moravcsik 1993, 1997) help explain these relations better than models rooted in supranationality or international policy-borrowing. 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 signalling 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. The need for these European integration theories is rooted in how they make *different modes* of engagement with Europe easier to explain by re-constructing spatial context as constituting the national-national level of interaction (e.g., England or France internal) and the national-international (England or France's relation with the EU or each other) as separate, but closely linked, processes.

To link this line of thought to the neo-institutionalist framework used here, we can say that the national imaginary vis-a-vis Europe plays an important role in the cultural-cognitive dimension and shapes 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 (e.g., education and state-policymaking environments). 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 imagined community extend into Europe (France is Europe), whilst in England it ends with the Channel Islands, and for some also at Hadrian's Wall and Offa's Dyke.²⁴² The English focus on PISA can here then be understood as a phenomenon completely disassociated from any notion of imagined community, and is instead an expression of the country's internal focus on "evidence of what works" and international competitiveness (competition between states), which became tempered by the importance of value for money. Meanwhile, to the French, the European project is a French project where homogeneity in education enabling an education centred (French republican) meritocracy are key values. Therefore, to them Bologna and an emphasis on what other European countries do becomes of interest. These are interesting hypotheses that require further study.

10.5 Limitations of the analytical approach and methodology

This section discusses the limitations of the research methodology and conceptual framework utilized. It begins by reflecting on the analytical framework devised by Scott (2013) and my modifications, before moving on to discuss central conceptual choices, how they play out on what we may know, and how the knowledge constructed here can be used and built on by other

²⁴² Hadrian's Wall located just south of the English border with Scotland and Offa's Dyke located approximately at the border between England and Wales, along with the sea, *roughly* correspond to the historic boundaries of the extinct Kingdom of England prior to the Act of Union taking effect in 1707. These are not exact borders, the same way where the idea of England begins and ends does not have exact borders we can draw on a map with a ruler.

researchers. Lastly the section ponders the limitations of the method of data collection and analysis used.

Further research is required to establish the validity of operationalising aspects such as historic trajectory, shocked trajectory, and re-composition alongside the three classical dimensions. In this research, with its emphasis on long historic lines and analysing fields where new powerful actors had reshaped both the field and environment, joining sociological institutionalism with historical institutionalism in this way was of heuristic value. However, education and policymaking can both be considered as complex environments in England and France, and the use of six aspects/dimensions as done here may not be generalizable to less complex environments. This assertion rests on how education is a vast institutionalized environment that covers a multitude of organizational fields such as the education of toddlers to the continued professional development of teachers or civil servants, greatly increasing its complexity. Moreover, it is an environment steeped in a multitude of existing, residual, and emerging modes of behaviours and beliefs (e.g., the progressive – traditional continuum), where dominant models tend to circulate across contexts of time, space, and activity but are constantly interlinked to such a way it remains a cohesive environment nonetheless. Policymaking shares many of the same features of complexity as education, and while it only directly covers the organizational field of politico-administration, it has a well-known cross-field effect that increases the complexity of the environment and therefore the number of angels required to fully illuminate it.

The research also begs the question of whether W. R. Scott's emphasis on the link between culture and cognition, in what he calls the cultural-cognitive dimension as used in this thesis, could be further developed. Scott's main arguments are rooted in how culture structures thought and thought structures culture. However, the analysis and conceptualizations employed indicate that the characteristics of institutionalised environments, as they ossify and obtain a *Geist*²⁴³ through sequence related to socio-history, are of such a nature that "culture" not only structures and governs cognition (what we think) but also norms (what we value) (see also Alexander 2001 on culture in relation to education and governing structures). This is important as any notion of education and policy relates both to ideations of what is possible and value-driven purpose, implying a direct link between what we think and what we value – a link that is "culture". Moreover, cognition and norms again structure views on coercive control levers. As such, culture should be taken out of the cultural-cognitive dimension and transposed to be a characteristic that crosses all three dimensions. In this configuration, culture would be more closely associated with Martin's (2003) notion of *field effect functions* than *mechanisms* of institutional change. To Martin, drawing on field theory from the

²⁴³ A soul or spirit. See Weber (2003 [1958]).

natural sciences, field functions differ from mechanisms as explanatory concepts because mechanisms focus on localized explanations, whilst field functions can only be understood in terms of global patterns. Drawing on this interesting conceptualization, a question is then whether or not two heuristic models are required, one centred on mechanisms for understanding the institutionalized environment and its relation to organizational fields, and another centred on field theory function to understand the diffuse and near omnipresent concept of “culture”. In such a dual framework, cognition tied to a mimetic mechanism can be understood locally (to explain translations), meanwhile the effects of culture can be understood by analysing global patterns.

The analytical framework used in this research also focused predominantly on institutionalized environments, whilst the concept of organizational field was used largely as a container of actors in politico-administration and teacher education. That is, it employed concepts of organizational field and institutionalization that is firmly rooted in the work of DiMaggio and Powell (1983), Scott and colleagues (2000), and Scott (2013). This was done in line with conceptualizations of the field as a mid-level construct encapsulating organizations that interact frequently over the same practice (Zietsma et al. 2016). This enabled an approach focused on causal mechanisms but reduced the ability to think systematically in terms of field function effects (Martin 2003) discussed just above, cross-field effects (Lingard and Rawolle 2004) discussed in the next section, or distinctions in terms of types of field such as exchange and issue fields and their sub-types (Zietsma et al. 2016). The emphasis on DiMaggio and Powell’s conceptualization of an organizational field, without drawing overly on the work of others beyond W. R. Scott, was to avoid combining too many things in an already complex analytical framework, and to reduce unnecessary complexity in understanding the research objects given how “watered down” the concept of the field is in institutional theory as a whole (Zietsma et al. 2016). The only way to employ a deeper understanding of field theories as well as one of organizational fields and institutionalized environments without muddying the concepts, would arguably be through employing two analytical frameworks as distinct heuristic devices. This may be a good way of understanding the complexities of research objects such as policymaking, however, it also comes with a major trade-off both in terms of time requirements and intellectual requirements (e.g., risk of bias in favour of one model). I would argue that the approach taken here was able to encapsulate the added benefits of other conceptualizations of the field mentioned above to an adequate degree.

To denote some conceptual concerns, unfortunately the apparent contradictions and limitations in much existing literature on NPM (its many conceptualizations and tendency to become a catch all) as discussed in the section above was not fully realised until the end of the research here, but this should enable a fruitful avenue for future research. Furthermore, the entry point of “evidence” as a more recent phenomenon linkable to NPM on the one hand, and “expert-as-

evidence” on the other may have benefited from a different entry point focused as well on the *heritage* of the Age of Enlightenment and the complex nature of basing decisions on evidence rather than faith as has been done to some extent by Moutsious (2018) and Tröhler (2020). This would also have enabled a deeper look into the myths we have kept from the enlightenment such as truth as rooted in the absolute and the religious notion of progress towards the promised land that is the heart of Cartesian and Hegelian derivatives such as Marxism (see Sartre 1946 for a philosophical discussion on this) and scientism (see e.g., Arendt 2018 [1958]) on the ideas of the enlightenment in relation to mathematization and scientism). This was left out for pragmatic rather than epistemological reasons. Future research may find this an interesting theoretical entry point to further understand “evidencification” of policymaking, the epistemological problems of it, what alternative approaches there are, and how we can better inform policymakers and policy.

Methodologically the research was constrained by the data collected and lenses of analysis employed. In France, further information on the creation of the MAFPEN and the IUFM was desired, however, interviews with key people proved impossible to obtain. Meanwhile, more interviews relevant to CPD and the INSPE reform in France, and the relation between England and Europe were sought but had to be abandoned due to the Covid-19 pandemic. These shortfalls were unfortunate, more interviews are always better, however adequate data for the analysis was collected nonetheless. In addition, the micro-level of teacher educators was not comprehensively addressed for pragmatic reasons. Therefore, this research has a larger focus on the contexts of influence and text production than on practice. Future research should aim to rectify this blind-spot in our understanding of the organizational fields and institutionalized environments related to teacher education policymaking, for example through curriculum analysis, large-scale interviewing²⁴⁴, and/or surveys of teacher educators. Such an approach could also further highlight the views on teacher education and national myths through a different lens than those employed here.

Related to this, as discussed throughout the thesis, the differences in language, connotations, and meaning between the two cases meant that “meta” concepts had to be used to enable comparison. This may have led to slightly distorted presentations of the cases as similar terms and concepts were applied across them, such as progressive education (that differs from the French term *éducation nouvelle* in some respects) or “educative state” that is a French term that was adapted for use on England as well losing its original French meaning. Even the word “teacher” and “teacher education” takes on slightly different connotations across time and space, which increases the risk of

²⁴⁴ To be precise, with large-scale, I here mean upwards of 50 interviews as opposed to the traditional N=20. This is arguably a requirement in England due to the heterogeneity of the mosaic field of teacher education provision, where the researcher would have to cover a range of different teacher education providers just to cover ITE/ITT. Meanwhile, CPD is a whole other complex network of providers.

projecting the present onto the past and one spatial context onto another. Furthermore, as the thesis was written in English it is possible the English language (and connotations) became dominant at a conceptual level. I have tried to counteract this by using slightly proprietary conceptualizations rather than uncritically transposing an English concept onto France or a French concept onto England. Another method used to avoid distortions of this kind was the inclusion of multiple examples to help convey meaning.

10.6 Added value of the analytical approach to our understanding of institutional change

The research combined a general approach to understanding institutional change in the form of Neo-Institutionalism, with a range of mid-range accounts centred on teacher education and teacher education policymaking in England and France as seen above and incorporated a diachronic approach to understanding changes in institutionalized environments and organizational fields. The approach enabled an opening of the “black box of context” that may manifest in this kind of studies, and the analysis of how we may characterise institutional change over time moving beyond seeing it as evolutionary (long-term effects) or revolutionary (short-term effects). This led to the construction of the concept of “pivot points” as discussed above.

Meanwhile, through drawing on different schools of thought the thesis expanded on the neo-institutionalist conceptualizations of policy and power, to construct a more comprehensive and robust analytical framework for the analysis of policymaking, thereby overcoming the shortfalls in how Scott (2013) conceptualizes policy in a loose fashion by locating it within the regulative dimension only. The analytical approach, in part due to the conceptualization of policy, enabled a heuristic separation between policymakers and teacher educators whilst maintaining an emphasis on their interaction in making teacher education policy. The approach also enabled an analysis of teacher’s “voice” that is lacking in the existing literature and adds to the work of Scott by adding details to his general account of how professions matter in the normative dimension.

The systematic separation between organizational fields and institutionalized environments allowed for a separate understanding between field configurations and relations over time, and the work of causal mechanisms. This is something that is lacking in the work of for example Scott who often employs either field (Scott 2013) or environment (Scott, Ruef et al. 2000), or DiMaggio and Powell (1983) who focus on mechanisms and fields without recurs to the environment – thereby taking deeper institutionalized processes for granted and explained away through the concept of isomorphism. The epistemic gain of this separation involves the ability to recognise and distinguish between policy-as-text as taking part at an organizational field level, that is dependent upon policy-as-discourse that is contested and legitimized at an institutional environment level. Through this

distinction, processes are made heuristically “objective” and explainable through abstract explanatory chains.

An alternative to talking of imposition would be to employ for example Lingard and Rawolle’s (2004) concept of cross-field effects, that they employed to study the effect between journalism and politics. This approach would have had the advantage of existing literature. However, the study of Lingard and Rawolle is also concerned with loosely connected fields, that differ from the overlapping nature of politico-administration and teacher education as observed in both England and France today. As such, one insight that can be gained is the need to consider how fields inter-relate. That is, cross-field effects (likely present in England prior to 1984) and imposition effects (present in England after 1984) are likely dependent on local field configurations in how well they can explain the characteristics of a research object.

The comprehensive framework, employing multiple dimensions and their associated mechanisms, also avoids the pit fall of seeing institutions simply as broadly defined sets of rules, norms, policy frameworks and procedures in which actors develop their economic activity and their political strategies as done for example by Campbell (2004). Instead, the framework emphasises how institutional environments encapsulate organizations and actors and structure their behaviour through distinct rules, norms, and procedures that can and should be presented in explicit explanatory chains that remove the *deus ex machina* characteristics of much institutional analysis. The details of the framework, complex as it is, enabled us to move beyond talking of ideas that policymakers “weaponize” in the form of e.g. cognitive frames that promote “what works” (see Verger, Steiner-Khamsi, and Lubienski 2017), by seeing “what works” not only as political tools, but as part of cognitive blueprints that actors use for sense making and as components of rationalized myths that structure ideational processes. In conjunction with this, the integration of the concepts of institutionalized environments (Scott et al. 2000) with policy-as-discourse (Ball 1993), enabled an inference of the centrality of knowledge production and dissemination to the legitimization of practices in both the politico-administrative and teacher education fields. This novel way of joining discourse analysis with institutional analysis expanded the conception of knowledge and gave new insights into why claims to “what works” are so central today in what I have dubbed an “evidence era”.

In addition, the research has also expanded upon Neo-institutionalist analysis by transforming historical institutionalism into the language of sociological institutionalism and the construction of three new aspects to supplement the three dimensions conceptualized by Scott (2013), regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive, that are based on the work of DiMaggio and Powell (1983). In doing so the analytical framework took Hall and Taylor (1996) at their word and investigated how sociological institutionalism differs from historical institutionalism, but how the two

schools of thought could learn from each other. This differs somewhat from past approaches to unifying historical and sociological institutionalism (e.g., Zapp, Marques, and Powell 2018) as it merges the two approaches in the same systematic analytical framework through creating three additional aspects/dimensions to complement the work of Scott (2013). Such an analysis enabled insights into how organizational fields evolve over time along trajectories characterised by pivot points. Here the research engaged with notions of path dependence such as critical junctures (Streeck and Thelen 2005), evolutionary and revolutionary change (Campbell 2004), and “shocks” (Zapp and Powell 2017). Additionally, the use of periodization across the contexts of debates, text, and practice rooted in the work of Bowe and Ball (1992) and Furlong (2001) added new layers of comprehension to the analysis of institutionalized trajectories in relation to education policy.

As such, this thesis has articulated four central theoretical insights that all contribute to the existing literature on policymaking in education and its effects on education. It has analysed how distinct organizational fields related to the same activity (policymaking in teacher education) function and change over time, it has provided contingent explanations as to why policy and policymaking practices change through the use of six mechanisms and their associated aspects/dimensions, it has contributed to how we can understand such change along institutionalized and path dependent policy trajectories, and it has illustrated how the concept of knowledge is central to policymaking through its dominant place within the “evidence era”. The research also showed how these four approaches to analysis are integrated and benefit from conjoined use as deeper insights are gained by combining field/environment analysis with the analysis of long historic trajectories, the work of mechanisms, and the place of knowledge.

10.7 Insights on how policy influences teacher education and the road ahead

As noted in the introduction, there is a link between societal values and education discourse, teacher education policy, and teacher education practices. Perhaps the best existing example of where this is made concrete is the work of Furlong (2001) where he conceptualizes three facets of Bowe and Ball’s (1992) context of practice as presented in Chapter 5. In this research, I added to these insights by building on the work of Furlong to increase our knowledge of teacher education in England and its link to policy up to 2020. Meanwhile, I also applied the same framework to comprehending the link between policy, teacher education, and conceptualization of the teacher in France in a way that has not been done before. In this section I conclude on this link in both cases in light of the findings presented in this thesis and the discussion above.

Instead of taking a traditional look at teacher education as either practical or theoretical (the pendulum swing), the research here attempted to comprehend how these shifts relate to deeper societal transformations of the role of education in society and transform the conceptualization of

both the teacher and teacher education. The research found that in England, an increasing focus on NPM and accountability, coupled with a turn to the practical has shifted the teacher towards a new form of hybrid located between the university and the school as a *self-improving professional craftsperson*. At the same time, the teaching profession in England has the potential of splintering, with deep set distinctions not only manifesting between university educated teachers and SCITT trained teachers, but also in terms of what type of university, and what type of SCITT (e.g., partnered or not) the teacher has attended. This bears resemblance to France, where the teacher has historically been divided in socio-cultural and economic terms between not only primary and secondary teachers, but also in terms of “normal” secondary teacher or “agrégée” that can be traced back to different modes of teacher education (Farges 2017). Meanwhile, the weakening norms of education at a policy level may also cascade downwards and further the ongoing splintering of teacher education in England until no two providers are the same. The risk in this rests in the necessity to educate teachers for the entirety of the country. Related to this, a new phenomenon is also potentially emerging in England, where they may end up with a form of “ARK teacher” or “Harris teacher”, where the teacher has their entire career (from the start of ITE/ITT onwards) within a MAT chain of schools with their own models of teaching not regulatively linked to the QTS, and potential over time with their own set of professional norms (see also Mathou, Sarazin, and Dumay 2020 who analyse this issue from a school and teacher level). The likelihood of this phenomenon taking root would likely increase should ARK obtain university status. Furthermore, an emphasis on teaching to the current standards, as these prescribed standards become the only glue holding the teaching profession together, may reduce the ability of teachers to face the range of different difficulties they are likely to encounter throughout their career. For example, an ARK teacher may know the prescribed standards, and may teach well at an ARK school where he was trained but become completely lost in a Harris school or if faced with new teaching standards. However, this problem also closely related to the short duration of ITE/ITT in England, where a teacher spends a total of four years learning subject mastery and educational theory either through a four-year integrated model (that is slowly being phased out) or a 3+1 model. Moreover, the potential problems of universality or expertise in the face of changing conditions are augmented by the lack of systematized high-quality CPD. In addition, the profession is weakening in voice and status at present for multiple reasons and was undergoing both a worsening recruitment and retention crisis prior to the covid-19 pandemic that reversed these trends (Worth and McLean 2020). This reversal, rooted in economic uncertainty and an increased emphasis on the importance of teachers wrought by the pandemic, may be a reflection of the low historic status of teaching in England – but also of an underlaying safety and necessity-of-profession rooted in societal duties to educate. In any regard, recruitment to teacher education is not only linked to teacher education itself, but to wider socio-economic trends. As such,

teacher education and teacher education policymaking in England are rife with potential problems on the horizon, while the solutions to future complications are likely not rooted in teacher education alone.

In France, teacher education policy has as noted by Prost (2014) helped transform the education of primary teachers to a large extent, so they no longer fully resemble the “*maître*” of old, whilst the secondary teacher has gone from very limited education in pedagogy and educational theory to a large focus on this skill, at the expense of some subject mastery. Central to these transformations is the ongoing universitisation process that I argue, in contrast to some others such as Sacilotto-Vasylenko and Fave-Bonnet (2011) and Farges (2017), began in 1989 with the law on teacher education reform that established the basis for the IUFM. The research here indicated that the IUFM reform is still ongoing, as the lofty goals of the reform are hard to meet in a heavily institutionalized field of teacher education where the primary and secondary teacher were educated in fundamentally different ways prior to 1989. The reform trajectories of both primary and secondary teachers have been on converging paths. Through successive steps teacher education provision has been reformed as the primary teacher is now a university graduate, whilst secondary teachers are increasingly well versed in theories of learning. In conceptual terms, we may on the one hand talk of the teacher in France as moving towards becoming a form of universalist who is skilled both in subject mastery and the transfer of knowledge and is formed in both the school and the university. On the other hand, there is a reinforcement of the old image of the teacher as an agent of the secular and meritocratic Republic of France. Nevertheless, the reforms have caused tensions as secondary teachers feel they become too much like primary teachers and vice-versa. These tensions are shaped by a culture dominated by traditional beliefs in education that constantly contend with less accepted progressive views that re-emerge over time, as well as the socio-cultural distinction between types of teachers that is relatable to distinct conceptualizations of the teacher and his education. Moreover, the distinctions between teachers is also related to different certifications rooted in distinct concours. In this regard, concours as a concept is considered by many policymakers to be a problem to desired “flexible” governance in line with NPM inspirations (Normand 2013; 2020). Additionally, the many concours that leads to different types of teachers is considered to be another hindrance to flexibilization of the teaching workforce and the teachers’ education. Possibly related to these governing issues, as ongoing TeachersCareers analysis show, there is unequal staffing (certified – uncertified/contractual teacher ratio) across schools in France. This, coupled with incredibly poor PISA performance on equality, show the system is not working as intended; there is a de-coupling between the national myth of meritocracy and empirical reality, that fuels contestation. As such, the main challenges at present in France appear to be the achievement of functioning CPD, harmonisation of teacher education, resolving staffing issues related to the rigid

concours and certification based system, and squaring the difference between the teacher as educator and the teacher as agent of the republic. These are monumental tasks complicated by tensions between desires for NPM inspired flexibility and desires to maintain the existing Jacobin system.

It appears that neither what is done today in teacher education in England, what was done prior to 1984, nor what is done in France, is of any better or worse nature. The approaches are simply different with different advantages and disadvantages and connects to different logics, myths, and ideas of what education ought to do and what is considered possible in education.

10.8 Synthesis and concluding remarks

In the introduction, the premise of this thesis was set, with an aim of figuring out how teacher education policy was and is made, as well as how policy shapes teacher education, in England and France through a comprehensive framework centred on organizational fields and institutionalized environments. The research focused on analysing through contrasting comparison how teacher education is viewed differently across the contexts of space, time, and activity. The approach taken was to analyse space in terms of developments in France compared to in England, time as a trajectory centred on the transformation of teacher education and the conceptualization of the teacher, and activity as the distinction between a teacher education and politico-administrative organizational field and their corresponding institutionalized environments.

The research found that teacher education policy is located, in both spatial cases, at the intersection of the teacher education and politico-administrative organizational fields, with input from other fields such as research, school-education, and higher education. This also meant that two institutionalized environments, education and state-policy-making, dominate teacher education policy-making today, but with influences from the “research” environment as well. As such, in both England and France the central state today is the dominant actor in teacher education, and all other actors must relate to it and its structuring force to some extent. Influence in such a state centred governing system is best achieved through legitimising cognitive blueprints denoting “what works” that may overturn state opinion of “best practice” leading to changes in rationalisation processes. This is however a recent phenomenon in England, where much change has happened between 1984 and today as teacher education has gone from the hands of higher education towards government and schools. In France, from a governing perspective, the major changes are not in terms of the role of the state, but an increasing role of the university in teacher education.

Moreover, through this analysis, two explanatory chains were constructed and centred on six contingent macro-level mechanisms of change and their aspects/dimensions to analyse change over

time. Through these explanatory chains, and the insights rooted from the organizational field analysis, it became possible to explain how in England the re-composition wrought by the imposition of the politico-administrative field on the teacher education field (creation of CATE and the QTS in 1984) de-stabilized existing norms and practices and triggered a chain of events that pushed the conceptualization of the teacher and his education from one centred on "teacher as scholar" to "self-improving craftsman". In France, by contrast, the tight connection between the politico-administrative and teacher education fields have made change more indigenous to the teacher education field and centred on incremental changes following from contestation over the place of pedagogy versus the place of subject knowledge, as well as a historic divide between primary and secondary teachers' norms. As such, the explanatory chain in France is centred on coercive nudges by government and senior educationalists located within the state, which began with the creation of the IUFM in 1989. The ongoing transformation is constrained by norms and strong existing practices as the teacher has gradually moved from a split focus on the primary teacher as a pedagogue and the secondary teacher as a subject master towards a unified concept of the universalist teacher. However, this transformation remains to be completed in normative terms as the teaching professions in France remain divided.

As I have shown in this thesis, the result of these contrasting trajectories and the different compositions of their organizational fields over time, is a much higher degree of academia-based teacher educator access to influencing teacher education policymaking in France than in England. This, I argue, is in England rooted in a gradual imposition of the politico-administrative field and institutionalized environment of the state on the teacher education field and environment in England. It is due to cognitive blueprints centred on accountability through standards and measurement in (teacher) education that began in structural terms in 1984, and in discursive form in the 1960s. As a result of this, "evidence", predominantly in the form of quantifiable data, has become the central tool of both policy-as-discourse and policy-as-text, while the dominant normative voice in teacher education has shifted from academia to high performing school leaders. In France, the Jacobin logic of the Republic lend itself to ensure access to be heard to all deemed as "elite experts" in matters of education, but under a state structured system where power rests within the state-hierarchy and the technocrats in MEN.

The main theoretical insights granted by analysing these changes in England are that the transformative power of overlapping fields rest in the imposition of new norms, coercive tools, and cognitive-blueprints that may occur from one field to the other and the osmosis of ideas and ideations as the joining of fields bring different institutionalized environments into direct contact with each other. The outcome of the French trajectory, that is centred on the values of the Republic and Jacobinism, is a relatively (compared to England) static system, with some incremental changes

that is mainly characterised by a singular event of drastic transformation, namely the creation of the IUFM in 1989. All subsequent policies have been predominantly aimed at implementing the vision of the IUFM. The changes brought new complications to the relation between teacher education and the university. However, the teacher education field is also lacking in a dominant voice as multiple actors all enjoy a right to be heard. Meanwhile, the state approach to policymaking in France remains centred on technocratic “experts-as-evidence” where a state-sanctioned authority to speak on education remain the primary sources of “what works”, many of which are teachers or former teachers.²⁴⁵ The central theoretical insight here is how long-held beliefs can ossify and become structuring myths that are taken for granted by all major actors, rendering an environment static in its scope of possible ideations, but sufficient contestation centred on perceived shortfalls and clear solutions may create conditions for change that has transformative implications for multiple organizational fields. Meanwhile, we have seen that the context of activity, across time and space, is structured by the configurations of organizational fields, and the legitimacy of different actors in institutionalized environments, while it in turn helps to re-produce and re-structure fields and environments. Therefore, it is important to compare not only time and space, but also different activities such as policymaking. Through focusing on this activity in relation to time and space, and across fields, we can begin to comprehend better the role of teacher educators, the role of civil servants, and the role of interest organizations such as unions or professional organizations for teachers and note how their discourse on policymaking processes and education differ significantly.

To conclude, in both cases, the research found contestation over “best practice”, rooted in claims of knowledge such as “evidence of what works”, as central to the legitimization of policy and reform trajectories over time. Thus, on the one hand there is contextual specificity across space, time, and activity. However, on the other hand central to struggles over the legitimacy of practice is in all contexts dominated by discourse, that is the link between power and knowledge, here expressed as cognitive blueprints of “what works”. Central to such discourse in teacher education appears to be the opposition between progressive and traditional educational views and different views on the role of academia, the role of schools, the role of professional organizations and unions, and the role of the state in complex organizational fields. Both of these discourses appear to relate to the precarious and hard to define nature of the teacher as a professional. As such, teacher education relates to the discourse of the wider education environment in terms of “what is education”, but also

²⁴⁵ Many intellectual discussions can be had on when someone stops being a professional teacher. Here it implies someone who no longer works as a practicing teacher. However, such a “former” teacher who may have gone on to education administration is still arguably a qualified teacher in his own right – as such, it is a complex conceptual issue to denote when a former teacher is no longer a teaching professional for example.

contains discourses that are unique to it in terms of who should educate teachers that may often bear little connection to education.

Annex

Annex 1: Case study A - England

Annex 1.1: Public government documents analysed

Name	Relevance	Author (signatory)	Year	Type	Political party in power
Teaching Quality	White paper - Proposed CATE and professional certification of teachers	DES	1983	Targeted discursive document ²⁴⁶	Conservative
Circular 3/83 The in-service teacher training grants scheme	First in a year "series" of CPD policy, focused on retraining teachers to become English or Maths teachers and improving the teachers' skills	DES	1983	Targeted instructive document ²⁴⁷	Conservative
Circular 3/84 Initial teacher training: approval of courses	Established CATE and professional certification of teachers	DES	1984	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 4/84 The in service teacher training grants scheme	Second in the CPD series – includes retraining to science and the improvement of science teachers' skills	DES	1984	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 3/85 The in service teacher training grants scheme	Third in the CPD series	DES	1985	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 1/86 The in service teacher training grants scheme	Fourth in the CPD series	DES	1986	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 6/86 Local education authority training grant scheme	Fifth in the CPD series – changed name to local education authority training grant scheme - shift towards more general CPD	DES	1986	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 9/87 Local education authority training grant scheme	Sixth in the CPD series	DES	1987	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 5/88 Local education authority training grant scheme	Seventh in the CPD series	DES	1988	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 18/89 The education (teachers) regulations 1989	Standardisation of ITT routes leading to QTS	DES	1989	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 20/89 Local education authority training grant scheme	Eight in the CPD series	DES	1989	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 24/89 Initial teacher training : approval of courses	ITT course accreditation criteria	DES	1989	Targeted instructive document	Conservative

²⁴⁶ Targeted discursive documents lay between the broad and targeted instructive documents as they discuss policy, justify it, and sets out some instructions on a narrow field within education, here with direct focus upon teacher education. Some of these come in the form of consultation plus response, here they are analysed as one due to the interconnected nature of the documents.

²⁴⁷ Targeted instructive documents give instructions (sets policy) on a narrow range of topics, directly relevant to teacher education

Education and training for the 21st century	Education plan	DES	1991	Broad document ²⁴⁸	Conservative
Administrative Memorandum 2/92 Induction of newly qualified teachers	Revokes formal induction, instructions for NQTs	DfE	1992	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 9/92 Initial teacher training (secondary phase)	introduced new criteria and procedures for ITT (secondary only)	DfE	1992	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 10/92 Grants for education support and training	Ninth in the CPD series – new name “grants for education support and training”	DfE	1992	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 10/93 Grants for education support and training	Tenth in the CPD series	DfE	1993	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 14/93 The initial training of primary school teachers: new criteria for courses	introduced new criteria and procedures for ITT (primary only)	DfE	1993	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 18/94 Grants for education support and training	Eleventh in the CPD series	DfE	1994	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 8/95 Grants for education support and training	Twelfth in the CPD series	DfE	1995	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 7/96 Use of supply teachers	Supply teachers regulation – QTS	DfEE	1996	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Circular 13/96 Grants for education support and training	Thirteenth in the CPD series	DfEE	1996	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Excellence in schools	First labour white paper on education – teacher education said to be central for the whole document by its author	DfEE	1997	Broad document	Labour
Circular 10/97 Teaching : high status, high standards	Requirements for ITT courses	DfEE	1997	Targeted instructive document	Labour
Circular 4/98 Teaching : high status, high standards	Requirements for ITT courses	DfEE	1998	Targeted instructive document	Labour
The Education (Induction Arrangements for School Teachers) (England) Regulations	(re) introduction of a formal induction year for newly qualified teachers	DfEE	1999	Targeted instructive document	Labour
Qualifying to teach: Professional Standards for Qualified Teacher Status and Requirements for Initial Teacher Training	New standards – introduced « teach first » - shift from national curriculum and attempts to control “methods” to only focusing on “outcomes”	DfES	2002	Targeted instructive document	Labour
Every child matters	new focus upon family and children – inter professional working	DfES	2003	Broad document	Labour
The Professional Standards for Qualified Teachers Status and	a revised version of the Teacher Standards	TDA	2008	Targeted instructive document	Labour

²⁴⁸ Broad documents discuss and present policy across the whole of education, if included here they have a direct impact upon teacher education policy. They differ from the targeted papers due to their focus not being primarily on teacher education.

Requirements for Initial Teacher Training					
The importance of teaching	White paper – presents the school-led system	DfE	2010	Broad document	Conservative-LibDem Coalition ²⁴⁹
Training our next generation of outstanding teachers strategy and consultation report	Strategy on ITT – SCITTs becoming more central – emphasis upon world leading system and comparison to other countries	DfE	2011	Targeted discursive document	Conservative-LibDem Coalition
Teacher's standards	Reduced the teachers standards from 33 to 8	DfE	2011	Targeted instructive document	Conservative-LibDem Coalition
A guide to School Direct	A guide to school direct schemes	DfE	2013	Targeted instructive document	Conservative-LibDem Coalition
Gov response to the Carter review	Governments response to the Carter review recommendations	DfE	2015	Targeted discursive document	Conservative-LibDem Coalition
Education Excellence Everywhere	White paper, led to a re-evaluation of the QTS and induction through consultation	DfE	2016	Broad document	Conservative
Initial teacher training criteria and supporting advice Information for accredited initial teacher training providers	Instructions for ITT providers – how ITT is to be done	DfE	2017	Targeted instructive document	Conservative
Strengthening Qualified Teacher Status and improving career progression for teachers Government consultation	Proposed changes to the QTS and the introduction of two certificates, one after ITT and one after completion of induction	DfE	2018	Targeted discursive document	Conservative with DUP support ²⁵⁰
Strengthening Qualified Teacher Status and improving career progression for teachers Government consultation response	Kept the QTS as is, extended induction from 1 to 2 years in length	DfE	2018	Targeted discursive document	Conservative with DUP support
Teacher recruitment and retention strategy	New strategy for teacher recruitment and retention, CPD and ITT central elements of the strategy	DfE	2019	Targeted discursive document	Conservative with DUP support
Early Career framework	New structure for induction, attempts to link ITT, induction, and early CPD	DfE	2019	Targeted instructive document	Conservative with DUP support
Core content framework	Follows up on the early career framework, more targeted at initial teacher education. Normative pressure regarding methods in ITT and teaching.	DfE	2019	Targeted instructive document	Conservative with DUP support

²⁴⁹ According to one of our interviews (A14) the LibDems had a direct impact on the Carter review (2015) as can be seen in the government response, where the coalition partners cannot agree on something of little significance. This was apparently a political demonstration rather than a disagreement over substance.

²⁵⁰ The DUP supply agreement seems irrelevant in relation to education.

Annex 1.2: Reports and reviews

Name	Purpose and relevance	Main Author	Year published
The Robbins report	To review the pattern of full-time higher education in Great Britain and in the light of national needs and resources	Professor Lord Robbins, London School of Economics professor	1961
The James Report	Who should do ITT, role of local authorities and universities in ITT	The Lord James of Rusholme, Vice-Chancellor of the University of York	1972
The Carter Review	ITT fact finding, inform new ITT policy	Sir Andrew Carter, school leader	2015

Annex 1.3: Speeches

Name	Purpose	Orator	Year	Note (relevance)
Callaghan's Ruskin Speech	End the secret garden of the curriculum	James Callaghan, Prime Minister for Labour	1976	First time a sitting Prime Minister spoke on Education (see e.g. Furlong 2001)
Blair's Ruskin speech	Presented his vision for Britain should he win the upcoming election: Education, education, education – introduction of political knowledge economy	Tony Blair, leader of the opposition, Labour	1996	A hallmark speech before the upcoming 1997 election, presented the "knowledge economy" and a firm focus on education. The PM was to be held personally responsible for education.

Annex 1.4: BERA presidential addresses

All inaugural presidential addresses in BERA between 1974 and 2018

Year	Author	Name	Notes
1974	John Nisbet	Educational research: The state of the art	Speech at the inaugural meeting of BERA on the 5 th of April 1974 – a focus on growth, trends, and structure in educational research
1975	Edgar Stones	The colour of conceptual learning	Focused on psychology and education, children's learning and the school. Differences in ability and differing pedagogical approaches in this regard.
1976	Jack Wrigley	Pitfalls in educational research	Methodology of educational research, nature of educational research, risks in educational research.
1977	Brian Simon	Educational research: which way?	Classifying educational research, open-ended focus. What is education, what should educational research aim at. Perceived dominance of psychometrics. Educational research and policy also a central theme.
1978	Jim Eggleston	The characteristics of educational research: mapping the domain	Methodology of educational research. Follows the debate from last year's address.
1979	Lawrence Stenhouse	The study of samples and the study of cases	Purpose of educational research as applied, but one that must work for both researchers and practitioners. Bridging this "divide" important
1980	Bruce Choppin	Is education getting better?	Is education getting better? Little evidence either way. Favours examination and oversight under a single national body, thinks BERA should play a role here.
1981	E. C. Wragg	From research into action	Influence and role of educational research in education.
1982	Peter Chambers	Democratisation and pragmatism in educational research	Linking research and experience is important. Repeated attacks on teacher education and educational research.
1983	Sara Delamont	A woman's place in education: myths, monsters and misapprehensions	Education and gender. First female president
1984	David Hamilton	Bread and circuses: some challenges to educational research in the 1980s	Role of BERA following new landscapes after SSRC closure. Education of teachers and other degrees in education. Looks to the future
1985	Brian Wilcox	Research communities, the white paper chase and a new research ecumenism	A focus on the education research community and government policy on education

1986	Bryan Dockrell	The assessment of children's affective characteristics	The moral nature of education and child impressions in school.
1987	Patricia Broadfoot	Educational research: two cultures and three estates	Brings up hostile environment for educationalists under the Conservatives since their election in 79.
1988	Jack Whitehead	How do we improve research-based professionalism in education? A question which includes action research, educational theory and the politics of educational knowledge	BERA as a forum for testing new ideas. BERA also a forum for protecting academic freedoms and conduct educational inquiries.
1989	John Elliott	Educational research in crisis: performance indicators and the decline in excellence.	Critique of government, lack of funds in educational research. Impact of policy on "excellence in research".
1990	Sally Brown	Effective contributions from research to educational conversations: style and strategy	Views from the "other side" draws on her own experiences as a former Scottish civil-servant and quango work, and a return to academia.
1991	Michael Bassey	Creating education through research	Educational research and how to "construct" education for the future
1992	Caroline Gipps	The profession of educational research	Educational research and policymaking - both in a crisis. Need to assert academic autonomy.
1993	Wynne Harlen	Developing public understanding of education – a role for educational researchers	Follows from Gipps. Educationalists must understand the policy process. Educationalist – policymaker relations
1994	Jean Rudduck	Enlarging the democratic promise of education...	Historical look, work of national commission on Education (1993) – politics and education
1995	Roger Murphy	Like a bridge over troubled water: realising the potential of educational research	Role and purpose of BERA - its future, and educational research
1996	Donald McIntyre	The profession of educational research	Identity of researchers and BERA – relatable to purpose
1997	Margaret Brown	Educational researchers in universities: the condition of the workforce	Implications in the Dearing report, experience and qualifications of staff – from junior researcher to professor. Education compared to other disciplines in the University.
1998	Pamela Lomax	Working together for educative community through research	Disagreements in education, folk devils, the media and "problems" in education. Primarily: The problems with "unconstrained" disagreement in educational research
1999	Peter Mortimer	Does educational research matter?	Educational research, purpose and value. Set in the context of national and international economic developments. Impact of research on policy
2001	Anne Edwards	Responsible Research: ways of being a researcher	Educational research an engaged social science. Importance of "close to the field" research. How Educational Research can inform policy.
2003	John Furlong	BERA at 30. Have we come of age?	Increasing demand for research based evidence. Accusations of poor quality and lack of impact. Plurality of approaches to educational research.
2005	Geoff Whitty	Education(al) research and education policy making: is conflict inevitable?	The role of educational research in policymaking. Policymaker and researcher relations.
2007	Pamela Munn	Building research capacity collaboratively: can we take ownership of our future?	Education and public policy. Knowledge creation. Quality and usefulness of educational research.
2010	John Gardner	Educational research: what (a) to do about impact!	Utility and value of social sciences research (education).
2013	Ian Menter	Educational research – What's to be done?	Contributions educational research may make to policy development in education.
2015	Gemma Moss	Knowledge, education and research: Making common cause across communities of practice	Knowledge, education, and research – how these concepts can mean different things for policymakers and practitioners.
2017	Gary McCulloch	Educational research: Which way now?	Early years of BERA and its foundation. Unresolved issues, way forward.

Annex 1.5: List of interviewees

E1: Senior academic, Russell Group University

E2: Academic, Russell Group University

E3: ITE/ITT interest group organization representative, former TTA, external government advisor

E4: ITE/ITT interest group organization representative, former head of teacher education in a SCITT, external government advisor

E5: Local councilman and analyst

E6: Senior academic, post-92 university, external government advisor

E7: Senior Civil servant, DfE

E8: State employee working on education

E9: Interest organization employee

E10: researcher in education

E11: head of a MAT and SCITT, works with the teaching schools alliance

E12: Senior civil servant, DfE – former TDA

E13: Senior civil servant, DfE – former TDA

E14: Head of a MAT and SCITT, external government adviser

E15: researcher in education

E16: Researcher, government adviser

E17: Senior academic, Russell Group University, involved in British teacher education policy

E18: Responsible for ITE/ITT and CPD at a major MAT, former Teach First employee

E19: Civil servant, DfE

E20: Union policy adviser

Annex 1.6: Policy Trajectory England– central documents

Year	Data source	Links	Carriers summarised	Compliance summarised
1983	Teaching quality	Is referred to in Circular 3/84	Regulative: presented QTS and what became CATE - HMI to inspect schools to ensure QTS requirements are followed - however, document is discursive, link to Circular 3/84 control levers Normative: Importance of teacher's recognised. Cultural-cognitive: Importance of accountability in education. Role of government to ensure quality.	Regulative: N/A here – see circular 3/84 Normative: Government lacks legitimacy, teachers have it. It is important to have high demands of teachers (moral arguments) Cultural-cognitive: shared need for public services (such as education) to be accountable – some efforts to justify it.
1984	Circular 3/84	Refers to "Teaching quality (DES 1983)"	Regulative: Creation of two control levers, required accreditation of ITT courses through CATE in order to grant QTS. Certification, QTS required in order to teach. Clear accountability from provider to CATE to DES. Secretary of State for Education is the one who awards the QTS. Legally sanctioned by law. Normative: academia moral authority on academic degrees, CATE as staffed by teachers moral authority on professional degrees. Academics need relevant classroom experience to even train teachers (ROSE) Cultural-cognitive: need for accountability, need to ensure quality, the importance of schools in teacher education. Cost concerns (This dimension is weak in this document, but strong through the direct link to "teaching quality")	Regulative: Enforcement through HMI inspections and requirement of accreditation, clear consequences. Application procedures and "interviews" to ensure compliance Normative: Teacher's know the classroom better than academics – practical argument. "High performing" teachers the recognised voice of the profession. Cultural-cognitive: Similar to developments elsewhere in public policy – perceived need for central oversight and cost management. Also important to ensure quality in Education - link to teaching quality important here. Central efforts to justify why the QTS is needed (fragmented profession, quality, costs etc.)
1989	Circular 18/89	Supplements 3/84 and later 24/89	Regulative: DfE control over standards, emphasis on certification, accreditation, and accountability line/hierarchy. Higher education sole providers of QTS. "probationary" teachers – induction, a new form of control Normative: Universities seen as a legitimate actor, cannot be ignored. Continued emphasis on teachers knowledge and expertise (professional competences) – left undefined by government, but central through the probationary period	Regulative: loss of accreditation remains a real possibility, increased emphasis on inspections. Normative: still strong position for teachers and academics, cannot be ignored Cultural-cognitive: clear and comprehensive frame rooted in issues of quality assurance, to be handled through standards,

			Cultural-cognitive: push of academic – practitioner split, emphasis on the classroom and the role of schools regarding professional competences. Need for accountability, need to ensure quality, the importance of schools in teacher education	accreditation, and the role of schools in training teachers. Emphasis on teacher's as knowing "what works"
1989	Circular 24/89	Replaces Circular 3/84	Regulative: Reconstitutes CATE – same control levers (accreditation, certification (QTS), inspection), Sec of State in charge (appoints) Normative: School teacher's are the voice of education. Sec of State "expects" in relation to how the DES interprets education. The purpose of education a state-prerogative. Cultural-cognitive: push of academic – practitioner split, emphasis on the classroom and the role of schools regarding professional competences. Need for accountability, need to ensure quality, the importance of schools in teacher education. Some increased emphasis on "evidence"	Regulative: Role of inspections restated – fear of consequences. Sec of State as final authority. Normative: Sec of State claims some moral authority and expertise – contestation Still recognised role for teachers through CATE. And role of schools (partnerships) in ITT Cultural-cognitive: continuation of existing lines, increasing understanding. Not yet fully taken for granted. References to Government and HMI "evidence". Emphasis on teacher's as knowing "what works"
1992	AM (administrative memorandum) 2/92	Replaces part of circular 18/89	Regulative: end of "evaluation" at the end of induction Normative: induction maintained, role of teacher's and schools in teacher education reinforced Cultural-cognitive: induction as an "aid" rather than evaluation device, still within an academic-practitioner split due to the emphasis on a necessity to continue training after the end of the academic course	Regulative: reduced "toolset" Normative: continued evolution of teacher's as a self-referring profession (importance of practical knowledge) Cultural-cognitive: does not break with any developments observed in other documents, but adds little as well.
1992	Circular 9/92	Replaces circular 24/89 for secondary teachers	NB: secondary teachers only Regulative: restatement of control levers, accreditation, role of CATE, and HMI. But accreditation now granted to a whole institution (e.g. university) rather than on a "by course" basis. Normative: increased focus on schools' role in ITT, at the expense of academia Cultural-cognitive: continuation of previous trends	Regulative: clear standards, inspections, Sec of State in Charge. But applies to whole institutions, different form of evaluation, but base compliance remains the same. Normative: Role of state more prominent, teacher's still the core "voice". Academia still has a role Cultural-cognitive: further institutionalization of accountability, academic-practitioner divide, role of inspections. Emphasis on teacher's as knowing "what works"
1993	Circular 14/93	Replaces circular 24/89 for primary teachers. Of importance across 9/92 and 14/93: split requirements, but same QTS	NB: primary teachers only Regulative: restatement of control levers, accreditation, role of CATE, and HMI. But accreditation now granted to a whole institution (e.g. university) rather than on a "by course" basis. Normative: increased focus on schools' role in ITT, at the expense of academia Cultural-cognitive: Importance of accountability to ensure quality pushed, academic-practitioner divide present	Regulative: clear standards, inspections, Sec of State in Charge Normative: Role of state more prominent, teacher's still the core "voice". Academia still has a role Cultural-cognitive: further institutionalization of accountability, academic-practitioner divide, role of inspections.

1996	Circular 7/96	None	NB: Supply teachers only Regulative: supply teachers should have QTS – inspectors will check Normative: need for quality, and government as quality assurer through QTS institutionalized Cultural-cognitive: push of accountability through inspections (NPM)	Regulative: fear of inspections Normative: QTS pushed as “stamp of quality” – moral implications, teachers should have the QTS no matter what. Cultural-cognitive: accountability through inspections and prescribed standards. (limited attempts to justify)
1997	Excellence in schools	Referred to in circular 10/97	Regulative: none on teachers, continuation Normative: importance of teacher education – the white paper emphasised teacher training as the core of all their initiatives in education Cultural-cognitive: knowledge economy, need for standards and accountability of teachers and their training	Regulative: N/A Normative: teacher education, and by implication its quality, a key part of education (normative/moral argument) – it is right to have high demands of teacher training Cultural-cognitive: presentation of “knowledge economy” – need of accountability and why it is important restated – clear frame
1997	Circular 10/97	Replaces circulars 9/92 and 14/93 – links to “excellence in schools” for legitimacy	Regulative: increased emphasis on standards, control levers remain accreditation, certification, and inspection. Normative: professional aspects of teaching considered central, this is handled through schools. Emphasis on schools as “custodians” of the professional aspects of teaching. Professional aspects central to ITT (PGCE). Partnerships between universities and schools important Cultural-cognitive: accountability central, importance of education and the teacher for the country’s economy (knowledge economy), importance of schools in ITT.	Regulative: fear of inspections, clear hierarchy, clear standards Normative: Mainly a legitimizer of approaches, it is important to have high demands of teachers (moral arguments). Academic side not mentioned – academia “not important”? Cultural-cognitive: Accountability and standards clearly defined, also attempted legitimized through emphasis on schools and teachers expertise.
1998	Circular 4/98	Restates circular 10/97 and expands on it Last “circular”	Should be seen as an extension of 10/97 – 140 pages long of standards, standards, standards	N/A – see above
1999	The Education (Induction Arrangements for School Teachers) (England) Regulations		Regulative: (re)introduces induction as mandatory, NQTs are required to pass their induction year – appeal body = Secretary of State for Education Normative: increased emphasis on school-based teachers as the professional educators of teacher’s Cultural-cognitive: academic-practitioner split, ITT as one part in academia (initial) and one part in schools (induction).	Regulative: fear of failure, clear hierarchy with sec of state as final instance of appeal. Normative: importance of practical experience Cultural-cognitive: teacher education seen as comprised of both an academic and professional component, clear understanding as to why this is so – emphasis on teacher’s as knowing “what works”
2002	Qualifying to teach: Professional Standards for Qualified Teacher Status	Replaces circulars 4/98 and 10/97	Regulative: end of national curriculum, “return” to standards – in essence the control levers remain accreditation, certification, inspection – clear hierarchy still with Sec of State in charge even though it is a TDA publication (Sec of State still signed it)	Regulative: inspections and standards Normative: ITT providers are legitimate as “experts” on ITT – a right to define methods is theirs.

	and Requirements for Initial Teacher Training		Normative: recognition of individual needs and that ITT providers know what they are on about. Cultural-cognitive: references the current system as “what works” due to perceived increases in standards and attainment.	But outcomes is for the state to determine, as custodians of the nation. Cultural-cognitive: standards work – All should aspire to them.
2008	Professional standards for Qualified Teacher Status	Reformulates and directly relates to Qualifying to teach.	Regulative: sets out the standards trainee teachers must meet to be awarded the QTS – accreditation, certification. Sec of State in charge. Link to induction – ITT providers required to inform NQTs about induction. Increased reporting demands, to demonstrate providers meet requirements. clear hierarchy still with Sec of State in charge even though it is a TDA publication (Sec of State still signed it) Normative: Emphasis on the Initial-induction link, as well as the place of schools in ITT. Added some new “certificates” in a ladder, but the QTS is still at the heart of the profession Cultural-cognitive: changes justified in part due to “internal” evaluations and reviews – all behind a veil. Emphasis on “evidence” in addition to inspection results. Value for money traits more prominent than before	Regulative: Emphasis on inspections and criteria that must be met. Fear primary coercive compliance mechanism. Normative: authority still given largely to school based practitioners, particularly through emphasis on induction. QTS is argued to be at the heart of the profession, so any “good” teacher should meet the teacher standards, always. Cultural-cognitive: an emphasis on “evidence” of what works.
2010	The Importance of Teaching		Regulative: limited, some focus on OFSTED in relation to education in general Normative: Incredible emphasis on education being left to the professionals, this includes ITT – a stated aim is to increase school-led provision Cultural-cognitive: large emphasis on evidence of “what works” – mostly centred on profession led ITT, CPD, and reduction of direct government intervention in favour of a “distant” approach ensuring quality. Framed under “learning on the job”, so continued academic-practitioner divide, but with more direct language	Regulative: N/A Normative: Teaching is a craft, teacher’s and high performing school leaders know best. First true articulation on “high performing schools” (circular 3/84 focused on high performing teachers) as a central “voice” in ITT. Cultural-cognitive: emphasis on “evidence” and references to what works, particularly what works elsewhere (Finnish model) - first attempt to use “academic” style references to legitimize approach
2011	Training our next generation of outstanding teachers	Relates to “The importance of teaching”	Regulative: Accreditation (QTS), standards to be met, inspections Normative: high focus on “elite” and high performing teachers, schools, and school leaders as the “experts” on education and by extension ITT and CPD Cultural-cognitive: high focus on teachers, limited references to academia. Pushes the importance of quality (accountability to ensure this), but a first recognition of recruitment (quantity) issues. Main focus on PGCE, limited focus on B.Ed	Regulative: focus on inspection and performance compared to standards. Also recruitment becoming a factor Normative: high performing, and “elite” are key words for the right to “speak” on education and ITT/CPD – all as measured by government criteria. Cultural-cognitive: focus on schools and school led ITT as “what works” – accountability seems taken for granted, almost an afterthought that is and will be present.
2016	Educational Excellence Everywhere	References the Carter Review and the Gov. Response to the review.	Regulative: limited, some focus on OFSTED in relation to education in general – questions replacing the QTS with a different form of certification – but core function would still have remained. Focus on outcomes, not methods.	Regulative: Government in charge, failure to comply leads to loss of accreditation and right to train teachers. Normative: Current system is working and is supported by the

			Normative: ITT is improving, doing well, but can do better – legitimizes current system. Cultural-cognitive: Continuation of “the importance of teaching” – focus on schools, the use of evidence, emphasis on ensuring quality. Emphasis on high performance and elite performers. Extreme focus on “outcomes”	high performing school, developments supported by Andrew Carter, the highest performing school leader. Cultural-cognitive: the government’s policies is largely “what works” – Outcomes is what matters in education.
	ITT criteria and supporting advice		Regulative: instructions for OFSTED and ITT providers – OFSTED are to ensure the advice is “mostly” followed Normative: an emphasis on these standards as the right approach to ITT – especially regarding reading (systematic synthetic phonics) – also restatement of teaching as an all graduate profession. Universities have a place, BUT before ITT (subject knowledge) Cultural-cognitive: academic-practitioner divide, place of university is in partnerships and as subject knowledge experts. NB: Normative and cultural-cognitive becoming blurred – old norms undermined	Regulative: fear of inspections, clear criteria and standards. Normative: Universities used as “subject knowledge” experts rather than “education” experts – a push of government and their “advisers” as true experts on ITT Cultural-cognitive: a joining of “what works” as a taken for granted presentation of teachers and school leaders as “profession” experts (teaching is a craft) – further legitimized normatively by a redefinition of the role of academia.
2019	Teacher recruitment and retention strategy	Linked to the Early Career Framework	Regulative: accountability not to be reduced, OFSTED inspects, Government denotes standards Normative: focus on CPD and life-long learning as central aspects of the teaching profession. Recognises some “leading” voices in education Cultural-cognitive: accountability cannot be touched (taken for granted), a need to engage with CPD more.	Regulative: fear of inspections, government standards and possible sanctions remain in place Normative: CPD can help to develop the profession, attract new professionals, and keep teachers in schools – do CPD a normative prescription. Academia recognised to an extent through Sam Twiselton – who was also on the Carter review Cultural-cognitive: accountability taken for granted as a necessity.

Annex 1.7 State web-sites analysed for wider context England

Purpose	URL
What is Government	https://www.gov.uk/government/how-government-works
Parliament	https://www.parliament.uk/about/
Department for Education	https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/department-for-education

Annex 2: Case study B - France

Annex 2.1 Public government documents analysed

Name	Relevance	Author (Signatory)	Year	Type	Political part in Power
Rapport et projet de décret sur l'organisation générale de l'instruction publique : présentés à l'Assemblée nationale, les 20 et 21 avril 1792	Ideological foundations of the “educative state” in France. The state has a responsibility to educate its citizens so they can read and participate in the political workings of the Republic.	Comité d'instruction publique	1792	Broad discursive document	The Girondins

Decret portant organisation de l'Université 17 Mars 1808	Article 1: Public education, in the whole of the Empire, is exclusively confined to the University. Article 31: Lycee degree required to teach at college level - also matieres d'etude (for primary) had to have a bachelier from faculty of letters - reading and writing focus of elementary education. Article 38 - loyalty to the state and to the statut of the teaching corps (corps enseignant) Art 47 - consequences for failing to uphold the standards of the university and teaching corps Across multiple: the university (and thus teachers) is a public administrative function, members are public administrators.	The Emperor (Napoléon) and the Secretary of State (H-B Maret)	1808	Targeted instructive document	N/A
Décret n°85-88 du 22 janvier 1985 relatif aux conditions de nomination aux fonctions d'instituteur ou de professeur des écoles maître formateur. Version consolidée au 19 novembre 2019	Defines who can be teacher educators of the type "maitre formateur" (primary degree, non academic lecturer/teacher educator). Later modified by - Décret 91-38 1991-01-14 art. 1, art. 2 JORF 15 janvier 1991 - DÉCRET n°2015-885 du 20 juillet 2015 - art. 7	Prime Minister	1985/2019	Targeted instructive document	P.S (1985) REM (2019)
Loi d'orientation sur l'éducation (N° 89-486 du 10 juillet 1989)	Created the IUFM	National Assembly, Senat, President	1989	Law	P.S
Contenu et validation des formations organisées par les instituts universitaires de formation des maîtres. Arrêté du 2 juillet 1991	Content of ITT in IUFM - validation of ITT	MEN	1991	Targeted instructive document	P.S
Circulaire n° 91-202 du 2 juillet 1991	Implements the Arrete of 1st of July 1991 - organization of IUFM and ITT	DESUP 4B (MEN sub-unit)	1991	Targeted instructive document	P.S
Circulaire n° 97-123 du 23/05/1997 adressée aux recteurs d'académie, aux directeurs des IUFM. Publiée au BOEN n° 22 du 29 mai 1997	Presents Teacher Competences, and their purpose in structuring ITT and CPD as a "framework"	MEN	1997	Targeted instructive document	Rally for the Republic
La formation initiale et continue des maîtres	Review of ITT and CPD for primary and secondary teachers in the IUFM 10 years after their creation	IGEN-IGAER	2003	Report	Rally for the Republic
Arrêté du 19 décembre 2006 portant cahier des charges	Denotes purpose of ITT and competences to be learnt by students in IUFMs	MEN-MENSR	2006	Targeted instructive document (decision)	Les Republicaines

de la formation des maîtres en institut universitaire de formation des maîtres					
Décret n°2007-1470 du 15 octobre 2007 relatif à la formation professionnelle tout au long de la vie des fonctionnaires de l'Etat. - Version consolidée au 25 juillet 2011	Denotes the importance of life-long learning in all public functions (including teachers)	Prime Minister	2007	Targeted instructive document/targeted discursive document	Les Republicains
Décret n° 2008-775 du 30 juillet 2008 relatif aux obligations de service et aux missions des personnels enseignants du premier degré - Version consolidée au 19 novembre 2019	Denotes who can work as maître formateur and conseiller pédagogique and their teaching obligations. Also denotes CPD obligations for primary teachers. Modified in 2015	Prime Minister	2008/2015	Targeted instructive document	Les Republicains (2008) P.S (2015)
arrêté du 12-5-2010	Presents required teacher competences Annuls arrêté du 19 decembre 2006	MEN	2010	Legal text (ministerial decision) - targeted instructive document	Les Republicains
circulaire n° 2010-102 du 13-7-2010	Deals with organization of ITT internships Revokes Circulaire no 2009-109 du 20 aout 2009	MEN sub group DGESCO	2010	Targeted instructive document	Les Republicains
circulaire n° 2010-103 du 13-7-2010	Presents the mission of teacher educators in schools - second degree Ends circulaire no 92-136 du 31 mars 1992	MEN sub-unit DGESCO	2010	Targeted instructive document	Les Republicains
circulaire n° 2010-104 du 13-7-2010	Presents the mission of teacher educators in schools - first degree Ends note de service no 95-268 du 5 decembre 1995	MEN sub-unit DGESCO	2010	Targeted instructive document	Les Republicains
Circulaire n° 2010-105 du 13-7-2010	Updates competence requirements in line with arrete du 12 mai 2010 - implements the arrete	MEN - MESR sub units DGRH and DGESCO	2010	Targeted instructive document	Les Republicains
Évaluation de la politique de formation continue des enseignants des premier et second degrés (sur la période 1998-2009)	Evaluates CPD between 1998 and 2009	IGEN-IGAENR	2010	Report	Les Republicains
Mise en oeuvre de la réforme de la formation des enseignants	Evaluate new forms of internship organisation	IGEN-IGAENR	2010	Report	Les Republicains
circulaire n° 2011-04	Deals with CPD - sets out 10 axes to structure CPD in relation to the 10 competences of teachers in Arrete du 12 mai 2010	MEN sub groups DGESCO and DGRH	2011	Targeted instructive document	Les Republicains
circulaire n° 2011-157	ITE/ITT now to be a Master level education - with "memoire". Links to arrete du 12 mai 2010 that presented the 10 teacher competences	MEN - sub unit DGESCO, MES sub unit DGESIP	2011	Targeted instructive document	Les Republicains
Arrêté du 1er juillet 2013 relatif au référentiel des compétences professionnelles	List of required competences for teachers in public education	MEN	2013	Legal text (ministerial decision) - targeted instructive document	P.S

des métiers du professorat et de l'éducation	annuls "L'arrêté du 12 mai 2010 portant définition des compétences à acquérir par les professeurs, documentalistes et conseillers principaux d'éducation pour l'exercice de leur métier"				
Circulaire de la DGRH n° 2013-079 du 23 mai 2013 adressée aux recteurs.	fix modalities of who may present themselves for the special 2014 concours in light of ITE/ITT reforms	DGRH	2013	Targeted instructive document	P.S
LOI n° 2013-595 du 8 juillet 2013 d'orientation et de programmation pour la refondation de l'école de la République	Law introducing the ESPE. Also, new council for ITT concours content.	National Assembly, Senat, President	2013	Law	P.S
Décret no 2013-768 du 23 août 2013 relatif au recrutement et à la formation initiale de certains personnels enseignants, d'éducation et d'orientation relevant du ministre de l'éducation nationale	Denotes recruitment procedure and titularisation procedure (certificaiton) to become teachers. Emphasis on masters, concours, and internship (the trinity required for titularisation)	Prime minister	2013	Targeted instructive document	P.S
Arrêté du 27 août 2013 fixant le cadre national des formations dispensées au sein des masters « métiers de l'enseignement, de l'éducation et de la formation »	Set the national framework for the MEEF	MEN - MENSr	2013	Targeted instructive document (legal - arrêté)	P.S
Arrêté du 18 juin 2014 fixant les modalités de formation initiale de certains personnels enseignants et d'éducation de l'enseignement public stagiaires	denotes ITT modalities for particular people in public education who fall outside of the norms (do not need a master, or already have a master)	MEN	2014	Legal text (ministerial decision) - targeted instructive document	P.S
Décret n° 2014-940 du 20 août 2014 relatif aux obligations de service et aux missions des personnels enseignants exerçant dans un établissement public d'enseignement du second degré - Version consolidée au 23 juillet 2019	Specifies qualified formateur de formateurs participation in ITT and CPD	Prime Minister	2014/15	Targeted instructive document	P.S
Arrêté du 22 août 2014 fixant les modalités de stage, d'évaluation et de titularisation de certains personnels enseignants et d'éducation de l'enseignement du second degré stagiaires	Fixes the modalities of internships, evaluation and titularisation of some teaching personnel (second degree)	MEN	2014	Legal text (ministerial decision) - targeted instructive document	P.S
Arrêté du 22 août 2014 fixant les modalités de stage, d'évaluation et de titularisation des professeurs agrégés de l'enseignement du second degré stagiaires	Fixes the modalities of internships, evaluation, and titularisation of Agrégés interns of the second degree	MEN	2014	Legal text (ministerial decision) - targeted instructive document	P.S
La mise en place des écoles supérieures du professorat et de l'éducation	First review of the newly created ESPE - focus on governance structure,	IGEN-IGAENR	2014	Report	P.S

	contractuals, ITT content, ESPE-school links (internships and CPD)				
Arrêté du 22 décembre 2014 fixant les modalités d'accomplissement et d'évaluation du stage des maîtres contractuels et agréés à titre provisoire des établissements d'enseignement privés sous contrat	Fixes mentoring and internship evaluation for private school under contract teachers	MEN	2014	Legal text (ministerial decision) - targeted instructive document	P.S
circulaire n° 2015-109	Presents the certification procedure of teacher educators in the first degree	MEN - sub groups SG and DGESCO	2015	Targeted instructive document	P.S
circulaire n° 2015-110	Deals with the certification of teacher educators in the second degree	Menesr - SG - DGESCO	2015	Targeted instructive document	P.S
circulaire n° 2015-114	Denotes role of pedagogical advisers in relation to ITT, CPD, and policy implementation	Men sub units DGESCO and DGRH	2015	Targeted instructive document	P.S
circulaire n° 2015-139	Updates competence requirements and mission for conseillers principaux d'éducation (CPEs) - replaces circulaire no 82-482 du 28 octobre 1982	MEN -sub unit DGRH	2015	Targeted instructive document	P.S
Décret no 2015-883 du 20 juillet 2015 relatif à la fonction de maître formateur et de conseiller pédagogique dans le premier degré et portant modification du décret no 2008-775 du 30 juillet 2008 relatif aux obligations de service des personnels enseignants du premier degré	Role of maitre formateur in ITE/ITT and CPD - reduction in teaching duties for these purposes	Prime Minister	2015	Targeted instructive document	P.S
Décret no 2015-885 du 20 juillet 2015 relatif aux conditions de nomination des personnels enseignants du second degré et des conseillers principaux d'éducation aux fonctions de formateur académique	Defines who can be teacher educators of the type "formateur academique" (second degree, non-academic lecturer/teacher educator)	Prime Minister	2015	Targeted instructive document (law)	P.S
arrêté du 20-7-2015	Layout the organization and requirements for the examination of teacher educators (primary)	MENESR-DGESCO MAF	2015	Legal text (ministerial decision) - targeted instructive document	P.S
arrêté du 20-7-2015	Layout the organization and requirements for the examination of teacher educators (secondary)	MENESR-DGESCO MAF	2015	Legal text (ministerial decision) - targeted instructive document	P.S
Arrêté du 28 juillet 2015 fixant les modalités de détermination des allègements de service attribués aux maîtres formateurs	Determines rector's rights and obligations in primary ITT	MEN	2015	Legal text (ministerial decision) - targeted instructive document	P.S

Arrêté du 28 juillet 2015 fixant les modalités de détermination ...	Determines rectors rights and obligations in secondary ITT	MEN	2015	Legal text (ministerial decision) - targeted instructive document	P.S
Le suivi de la mise en place des écoles supérieures du professorat et de l'éducation au cours de l'année 2014-2015	Report on ESPE - guide for future policymaking. Focused on guiding of ESPEs (pilotage), place of research, professionalization of teacher education (formation), the concours	IGEN - IGAENR	2015	Report	P.S
Décret no 2016-1804 du 22 décembre 2016 relatif à la direction générale de l'administration et de la fonction publique et à la politique de ressources humaines dans la fonction publique	Role of the state in the administration of teachers and teacher educators as civil servants	Prime Minister	2016	Targeted instructive document	P.S
circulaire n° 2016-115 du 19-8-2016	Prescribed CPD by distance - focus on ICT Replaces circulaire no 2013-123	MEN - sub-unit DGESCO	2016	Targeted instructive document	P.S
circulaire n° 2016-148	Role of teacher educators (re)defined	MEN - sub units DGRH and DGESCO	2016	Targeted instructive document	P.S
Rapport No 2016-062: La mise en place des écoles supérieures du professorat et de l'éducation au cours de l'année 2015-2016	Review of/report on the ESPE project, focused on budget use and economic model, HR policy and use of personnel, evolution of the institutional position of the ESPE, ESPEs role in CPD, professionalization, evaluations of experiments regarding "alternance" (internships).	IGEN – IGAENR	2016	Report	P.S
La formation continue des enseignants du second degré	Review of CPD for secondary teachers, proposal of "new" mode of thinking in CPD.	IGEN – IGAENR	2018	Report	REM
Le pilotage du plan national de formation	Review of the PNF, addresses CPD for teacher educators.	IGEN - IGAENR	2018	Report	REM
Arrêté du 28 mai 2019 modifiant l'arrêté du 27 août 2013	Modifies the MEEF	MEN	2019	Legal text (ministerial decision) - targeted instructive document	REM
Arrêté du 28 mai 2019	Modifies l'arrêté du 18 juin 2014 on ITT modalities and internships	MEN	2019	Legal text (ministerial decision) - targeted instructive document	REM
LOI n° 2019-791 du 26 juillet 2019 pour une école de la confiance	Renames ESPE to INSPE. CPD made obligatory. Development of "initial CPD" - an early career framework	National Assembly, Sénat, President	2019	Law	REM

Annex 2.2 List of interviewees: France

F1: Academic, former recteur, former director of an IUFRM, former Gov. adviser

F2: Head teacher
 F3: Head teacher
 F4: Head teacher
 F5: Academie human resources
 F6: Academic – expert on unions
 F7: Union representative
 F8: Former MEN adviser (directeur de cabinet), cour des comptes
 F9: IGEN, worked on teacher education
 F10: DGESCO employee working on teacher education and policy planning
 F11: Enseignant-chercheur, a career that spans the IUFM, ESPE, and INSPE – involved in implementing reforms.
 F12: IGEN, worked on teacher education
 F13: Senior DCESCO employee working on teacher education, former recteur
 F14: Academic, ESPE/INSPE director, head of ESPE/INSPE leader conference
 F15: IGEN, worked on teacher education
 F16: IGEN, worked on teacher education, Council of Europe expert on education (Europarådet)
 F17: Senior MEN employee, European relations
 F18: MEN employee, European relations
 F19: Union leader
 F20: Academie human resources

Annex 2.3: IGEN reports

Name	Relevance	Author	Year	Type	Political party in power
Le pilotage du plan national de formation	Review of the PNF, addresses CPD for teacher educators.	IGEN - IGAENR	2018	Report	R.E.M
La formation continue des enseignants du second degré	Review of CPD for secondary teachers, proposal of "new" mode of thinking in CPD.	IGEN / IGAENR	2018	Report	R.E.M
Rapport No 2016-062: La mise en place des écoles supérieures du professorat et de l'éducation au cours de l'année 2015-2016	Review of/report on the ESPE project, focused on budget use and economic model, HR policy and use of personnel, evolution of the institutional position of the ESPE, ESPEs role in CPD, professionalization, evaluations of experiments regarding "alternance" (internships).	IGEN - IGAENR	2016	Targeted review	P.S
Le suivi de la mise en place des écoles supérieures du professorat et de	Report on ESPE - guide for future policymaking. Focused on guiding of ESPEs (pilotage), place of	IGEN - IGAENR	2015	Report/review	P.S

l'éducation au cours de l'année 2014-2015	research, professionalization of teacher education (formation), the concours				
La mise en place des écoles supérieures du professorat et de l'éducation	First review of the newly created ESPE - focus on governance structure, contractuels, ITT content, ESPE-school links (internships and CPD)	IGEN - IGAENR	2014	Report/review	P.S
Mise en oeuvre de la réforme de la formation des enseignants	Evaluate new forms of internship organisation	IGEN- IGAENR	2010	Report	Les Republicains
Évaluation de la politique de formation continue des enseignants des premier et second degrés (sur la période 1998-2009)	Evaluates CPD between 1998 and 2009	IGEN- IGAENR	2010	Report	Les republicains
La formation initiale et continue des maîtres	review of ITT and CPD for primary and secondary teachers in the IUFM 10 years after their creation	IGEN- IGAER	2003	Review	UMP

Annex 2.4 Policy Trajectory France – central documents

Year	Data source	Links of relevance to other documents	Carriers summarised	Compliance summarised
1985	Décret n°85-88 du 22 janvier 1985 relatif aux conditions de nomination aux fonctions d'instituteur ou de professeur des écoles maître formateur. Version consolidée au 19 novembre 2019	- le décret n° 48-1825 du 29 novembre 1948 modifié relatif aux écoles annexes et aux écoles et classes d'application - le décret n° 61-1012 du 7 septembre 1961 définissant le statut particulier des instituteurs en ce qui concerne les conditions d'avancement d'échelon et de changement de fonctions, modifié par les décrets n° 64-568 du 16 juin 1964, n° 74-144 du 15 février 1974 et n° 76-598 du 22 juin 1976 - le décret n° 72-590 du 4 juillet 1972 relatif aux commissions administratives paritaires des instituteurs - le décret n° 83-52 du 26 janvier 1983 portant dispositions	Regulative: 1) Power of the Prime minister to decree who can be a teacher educator. certification Normative: 1) Importance of professional experience (5 years as a teacher) to educate teachers as teacher-educator Cultural-cognitive: 1) importance of teacher educators who are former teachers, and that their status is guaranteed by certificate	Regulative: legal power of decrees. Normative: 1) overlaps with cultural-cognitive carrier 1 Cultural-cognitive: 1) overlaps with normative carrier 1) - (cultural trait)

		statutaires pour les instituteurs chargés de certaines fonctions ; • l'avis du comité technique paritaire en date du 28 février 1984 • le rapport du ministre de l'économie, des finances et du budget, du ministre de l'éducation nationale et du secrétaire d'Etat auprès du Premier ministre, chargé de la fonction publique et des simplifications administratives, • Sont abrogées les dispositions des articles 5, 5 bis, 6 et 6 bis du décret n° 48-1825 du 29 novembre 1948 modifié ainsi que celles du décret n° 62-791 du 10 juillet 1962 modifié. The decree was modified by these decrees after its original issuing in 1985: • Modifié par Décret 91-38 1991-01-14 art. 1, art. 2 JORF 15 janvier 1991 • Modifié par DÉCRET n°2015-885 du 20 juillet 2015 - art. 7		
1989	LOI D'ORIENTATION SUR L'EDUCATION (N° 89-486 DU 10 JUILLET 1989	• Ends la loi du 9 août 1879 relative à l'établissement des écoles normales primaires - once IUFM is established • Ends les articles 2, 3 et 47 de la loi du 19 juillet 1889 sur les dépenses ordinaires de l'instruction primaire publique et les traitements du personnel de ce service, modifiée par la loi du 25 juillet 1893, et l'ordonnance n° 45-2630 du 2 novembre 1945 portant autorisation d'établissements publics d'enseignement - once IUFM is established	Regulative: 1) provides legal basis for later decrees to hash out details - MEN put in charge Normative: 1) MEN responsible for teachers - this includes ITT and CPD Cultural-cognitive: 1) important to integrate ITE/ITT and CPD 2) integrate ITE/ITT under one framework - one institute, that is of higher education and linked to universities (universitisation)	Regulative: 1) legal workings of the French republic, clear hierarchy and areas of responsibility Normative: 1) normative dimension of French educative state Cultural-cognitive: 1 and 2) pushed as a cognitive blueprint under construction
1991	Contenu et validation des formations organisées par les instituts universitaires de formation des maîtres. Arrêté du 2 juillet 1991	• LOI D'ORIENTATION SUR L'EDUCATION (N° 89-486 DU 10 JUILLET 1989	Regulative: 1) Authorises and provisions circulaire from MEN on the content of ITT - to be carried out by the director of the IUFM - he is responsible for enacting policy 2) director of IUFM is responsible for accrediting students as having completed ITT Normative: 1) IUFMs as teacher educators are the ones who accredit new entries to the profession - state professional co-existence with IUFM heads as off the profession but state appointed. Cultural-cognitive: N/A	Regulative: 1) clear hierarchy established, areas of responsibility provisioned. 2) IUFM directors responsible, but they answer to the state. Normative: 1) relates to regulative 2. Cultural-cognitive: N/A

1991	Circulaire n° 91-202 du 2 juillet 1991	Contenu et validation des formations organisées par les instituts universitaires de formation des maîtres. Arrêté du 2 juillet 1991 – communicated this arrêté to providers	Regulative: 1) Required conformity in order to have ITT and institutional validation 2) hierarchy made clear with clear responsibilities, authority at academie level delegate from MEN Normative: 1) IUFMs have pedagogical autonomy and structure of ITT to be done through a form of "agreement" - recognition of actor plurality and consensus seeking 2) national character central, MEN as the decision maker 3) a split between primary and secondary teachers is detectable - not a singular profession, also disagreement on how to create one profession and if that should be attempted. Cultural-cognitive: 1) move towards national unity and harmony - centralization desired over time 2) recognition of fragmented landscape in ITT and higher education, a need to let each IUFM establish itself according to local concerns. However, the establishment of the IUFM is by all concerns a form of centralization 3) universitisation - important to integrate ITT with the university and research. Professional "memoire" - master thesis in focus. Goal was to be to make ITT a study that awarded a university recognised Master's degree. 4) unity of the profession important. 5) life-long learning seen as important - ITT as a foundation to be followed by formation continue - CPD 6) ITT as complex - must include all aspects of the teaching profession, theoretical, practical, professional. 7) concours a central aspect - time should be devoted to its preparation NB: seems very similar to subsequent texts - would indicate government "plan" is consistent at least from 1991 until 2019 - but hard to	Regulative: 1) conformity to national regulations and objectives - educative state 2) state-hierarchy structure, agents of the republic - legal framework of French public function Normative: 1) plurality of voices - expertise of teacher educators important 2) educative state Cultural-cognitive: 1) seen as important in the unitary French Republic - cognitive blueprint relating ITT to education and to La Republique 2) pragmatic approach - but still very much centred on centralization as in point 1 3) cognitive blueprint - push of the importance of "theory" and science - important to note that this has been pushed since at least 1991 NOT something new in the mid-2000s. 4) diverse student backgrounds to be integrated in the IUFM and create teachers - cognitive blueprint 5) cognitive blueprint - the importance of learning throughout ones career, ITT is only the beginning. 6) taken for granted, seems to be a form of consensus that cannot be deviated from. 7) taken for granted position of the concours in the meritocracy - failure to think of it as "testing" other parts of ITT, instead it is seen as "something unique to be specifically prepared for".
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			"penetrate"? - control levers a potential issue? Above all the IUFM is to be founded on the permanent interaction and confrontation between theory and practice. - Similar to later desires in France, and in England through "partnerships" and a form of alternating internships.	
1997	Circulaire n° 97-123 du 23/05/1997 adressée aux recteurs d'académie, aux directeurs des IUFM. Publiée au BOEN n° 22 du 29 mai 1997		Regulative: 1) educative state ensures a national unity in terms of "competences" - they are responsible for the framework of education Normative: 1) teacher is master of the classroom - he is autonomous within the "framework" of the competences and the principles of the Republic - he teaches 2) the state is to ensure equal education in line with the values of the republic	Regulative: 1) educative state - French legal framework strong relation to normative 2 and cultural cognitive 1. Normative: 1) strong professional autonomy of the teacher - links to cognitive 1) 2) overlaps with cognitive 1 - French Republican values Cultural-cognitive: 1) taken for granted as part of the educative state and employer state in education - teachers are civil servants - French republican values 2) taken for granted central component of "what it means to be a teacher" in France - cognitive blueprint that self-reinforces existing cultural traits. Grants legitimacy to normative 1
2006	Arrêté du 19 décembre 2006 portant cahier des charges de la formation des maîtres en institut universitaire de formation des maîtres	• Vu le code de l'éducation, notamment les articles L. 625-1 et L. 721-1 ; • Vu le décret no 50-583 du 25 mai 1950 modifié relatif aux maxima de service de certains personnels enseignant l'éducation physique et sportive ; • Vu le décret no 70 738 du 12 août 1970 modifié relatif au statut particulier des conseillers principaux d'éducation ; • Vu le décret no 72-580 du 4 juillet 1972 modifié relatif au statut particulier des professeurs agrégés de l'enseignement du second degré ; • Vu le décret no 72-581 du 4 juillet 1972 modifié relatif au statut particulier des professeurs certifiés ; • Vu le décret no 80-627 du 4 août 1980 modifié relatif au statut particulier des professeurs d'éducation physique et sportive ; • Vu le décret no 90-680 du 1er août 1990 modifié relatif au statut particulier des professeurs des écoles ;	Regulative: 1) coercive framework structuring somewhat ITT through "competences" and set regulations on internships - links to norms 2) further integration of IUFM and universities by legal means Normative: 1) state obligations in education and responsibility towards teachers and their education 2) importance of practical experience and the professional component only achievable through internships 3) university the subject experts, they are important in ITT (annex) Cultural-cognitive: 1) meritocracy and republican ideals underpins law (first line of annex important in this regard) 2) state "guidance" on framework	Regulative: 1) legal framework of France. 2) legal framework, but weak guidance compared to point 1 Normative: 1) educative state, voice of the state in education in normative terms - overlaps with cultural-cog 1 and 2 2) position of practitioners (teachers) in ITT 3) voice and position of university based researchers regarding "subject knowledge" Cultural-cognitive: 1) taken for granted cog blueprint - educative state - interacts with normative 1 2) taken for granted cog blueprint that links to point 1) here, and 1 and 2 in normative. 3) somewhat contested cognitive blueprint overlaps with normative point 2 4) taken for granted cog blueprint (presented as "fact" at the start of the annex) 5) universitisation, somewhat contested (defended) notion,

		• Vu le décret no 92-1189 du 6 novembre 1992 modifié relatif au statut particulier des professeurs de lycée professionnel ; • Vu le décret no 94-874 du 7 octobre 1994 modifié fixant les dispositions communes applicables aux stagiaires de l'Etat et de ses établissements publics ; • Vu l'arrêté du 2 juillet 1991 relatif au contenu des formations organisées par les instituts universitaires de formation des maîtres et à leur validation ; • Vu l'arrêté du 22 août 2005 relatif aux conditions d'accomplissement du stage et de la formation de certains personnels stagiaires de l'enseignement du second degré relevant du ministre chargé de l'éducation nationale ; • Vu l'avis du Haut Conseil de l'éducation en date du 4 décembre 2006 ; • Vu l'avis du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation en date du 14 décembre 2006 ; Vu l'avis du Conseil national de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche en date du 19 décembre 2006,	3) importance of internships and their purpose in ITT - links to subject knowledge 4) subject knowledge is central to teaching 5) importance of university in ITT - role of subject knowledge - further integration of IUFM under universities Observations: 1) path dependence shines through with references to past laws - building on existing system and attempts to accommodate accordingly. Also annex starts with referencing republican meritocratic ideals - central to all education discourse 2) unusual level of justification of policy (annex) - emphasis on subject knowledge (first year, university) and internships (second year, school based) - reduced role for the actual IUFM beyond organising and supporting internships?	of importance of the university in ITT - links to normative point 3 and coercive point 2
2007	Décret n°2007-1470 du 15 octobre 2007 relatif à la formation professionnelle tout au long de la vie des fonctionnaires de l'Etat. - Version consolidée au 25 juillet 2011	• Vu le code de l'éducation, notamment son article L. 335-6 ; • Vu le code des pensions civiles et militaires de retraite ; • Vu le code de la sécurité sociale, notamment son article L. 242-1 ; • Vu le livre IX du code du travail, notamment son titre VII ; • Vu la loi n° 83-634 du 13 juillet 1983 modifiée portant droits et obligations des fonctionnaires, ensemble la loi n° 84-16 du 11 janvier 1984 modifiée portant dispositions statutaires relatives à la fonction publique de l'Etat ; • Vu la loi n° 2005-380 du 23 avril 2005 d'orientation et de programme pour l'avenir de l'école, notamment son article 48 ; • Vu la loi n° 2007-148 du 2 février 2007 de modernisation de la fonction publique, notamment son chapitre Ier et le I de son article 45 ; • Vu le décret n° 82-450 du 28 mai 1982 modifié relatif au Conseil supérieur de la fonction publique de l'Etat ; • Vu le décret n° 82-451 du 28 mai 1982 modifié relatif aux commissions administratives	Regulative: 1) right of administration to initiate/prescribe CPD Normative: 1) importance of certificates in a meritocracy and as part of denoting the profession 2. Uniformity of the civil service as a profession Cultural-cognitive: 1) cognitive blueprint on the importance of life-long learning Life long learning closely tied to diplomas, certificates, concours etc.	Regulative: 1) hierarchy of France, loyalty to the system, legal framework. Normative: 1) meritocratic norms of France. Cultural-cognitive: 1) argumentatively supported and justified as what works and should be done Relates to norms on "meritocracy" and taken for granted cognitions on the importance of documentation of competences

		paritaires de la fonction publique de l'Etat ; • Vu le décret n° 82-452 du 28 mai 1982 modifié relatif aux comités techniques paritaires de la fonction publique de l'Etat ; • Vu le décret n° 2002-682 du 29 avril 2002 relatif aux conditions générales d'évaluation, de notation et d'avancement des fonctionnaires de l'Etat, modifié par le décret n° 2004-1193 du 9 novembre 2004 ; • Vu le décret n° 2004-374 du 29 avril 2004 relatif aux pouvoirs des préfets, à l'organisation et à l'action des services de l'Etat dans les régions et départements, modifié par le décret n° 2005-1621 du 22 décembre 2005 ; • Vu l'avis du Conseil supérieur de la fonction publique de l'Etat (commission de la formation professionnelle et de la promotion sociale) en date du 28 mars 2007 ;		
2008	Décret n° 2008-775 du 30 juillet 2008 relatif aux obligations de service et aux missions des personnels enseignants du premier degré - Version consolidée au 19 novembre 2019	Other documents referenced: • Vu le code de l'éducation, notamment ses articles L. 521-1 et L. 912-1 ; • Vu la loi n° 83-634 du 13 juillet 1983 modifiée portant droits et obligations des fonctionnaires, ensemble la loi n° 84-16 du 11 janvier 1984 modifiée portant dispositions statutaires relatives à la fonction publique de l'Etat ; • Vu le décret n° 61-1012 du 7 septembre 1961 modifié définissant le statut particulier des instituteurs en ce qui concerne les conditions d'avancement d'échelon et de changement de fonctions ; • Vu le décret n° 89-122 du 24 février 1989 modifié relatif aux directeurs d'école ; • Vu le décret n° 90-680 du 1er août 1990 modifié relatif au statut particulier des professeurs des écoles ; • Vu le décret n° 2007-1470 du 15 octobre 2007 relatif à la formation professionnelle tout au long de la vie des fonctionnaires de l'Etat ; • Vu l'avis du comité technique paritaire ministériel en date du 17 avril 2008 ;	Regulative: 1) denotes the hierarchy, clear requirements Normative: 1) hierarchy between formateur de maitre and conseiller pédagogique 2) importance of inspectorate noted Cultural-cognitive: 1) importance of school learning community - education to learning?	Regulative: 1) French governing hierarchy Normative: 1 and 2) French republican norms rooted in meritocracy, and teachers as civil servants. Cultural-cognitive: 1) rests on the regulative, no justification or explanation provided
2010	arrêté du 12-5-2010	Other documents referenced: • Education code • décret n° 70-738 du 12-8-1970 modifié	Regulative: 1) academie recteurs in charge of enforcing the teacher competences - systemic line	Regulative: 1) rule rooted in law (decrees) and the education code - as well as teachers as public servants -

		• décret n° 72-580 du 4-7-1972 modifié • décret n° 72-581 du 4-7-1972 modifié • décret n° 80-627 du 4-8-1980 modifié • décret n° 90-680 du 1-8-1990 modifié • décret n° 92-1189 du 6-11-1992 modifié • décret n° 94-874 du 7-10-1994 modifié • avis du CSE du 12-5-2010 • Revokes arrêté du 19 décembre 2006	rests with national education Normative: 1) government has a right to impose what a teacher is in the educative state 2) there are two professions, split along the "degrees" - these have different competences (Even though in reality they overlap - the framing and phrasing differentiates) 3) the teacher is the mater of his profession, must master it, and transmits his "superior" knowledge and culture Cultural-cognitive: 1) educative state - government must ensure the quality of education and the competences of the teachers. 2) teachers are agents of the republic - cognitive blueprint that denotes both behaviour and relation to the state apparatus and hierarchy 3) subject knowledge is the basis of education - transmission of knowledge 4) the teacher must have a good culture he instils in pupils - transmission of culture	systemic compliance - hierarchy based. Normative: 1) educative state, 2) and 3) historic trajectory of teacher profession Cultural-cognitive: 1, 2, 3, and 4 - taken for granted and formulistic - also clear as to what is to be done in relation to what. Pillars seem largely aligned on these points.
2010	circulaire n° 2010-102 du 13-7-2010	Other documents referenced: • Loi no 84-16 du 11 janvier 1984 • Decret no 2003-484 du 6 juin 2003 • Circulaire no 2006-065 du 5 avril 2006 Revokes Circulaire no 2009-109 du 20 aout 2009	Regulative: 1) denotes length and to an extent content of internships Normative: 1) difference between primary and secondary "mentors" - split profession 2) importance of the practical and the mentor Cultural-cognitive: 1) push for "research" profession - increased emphasis on "master's" degree	Regulative: 1) right of the educative state to intervene in ITT and education. Normative: 1) historical split, see Farges 2017 2) strong voice of the profession Cultural-cognitive: 1) cognitive blueprint also observed elsewhere, masterisation.
2010	circulaire n° 2010-103	Other documents referenced: • Arrete du 12 mai 2010 Ends circulaire no 92-136 du 31 mars 1992	Regulative: 1) certifications of aptitude 2) defined roles in a hierarchy 3) legitimacy from concours based certificates (e.g. CAFIPEMF) Normative: the teacher is the practitioner (expert - voice) Cultural-cognitive: academia must be linked to	Regulative: Normative: Cultural-cognitive:

			practice in the classroom - this is done through internships and "mentors" (cognitive-blueprint)	
2010	circulaire n° 2010-104 du 13-7-2010 Encart - Formation des enseignants Missions des maîtres formateurs et des maîtres d'accueil temporaire	Ends note de service no 95-268 du 5 decembre 1995	Regulative: 1) certifications of aptitude 2) defined roles in a hierarchy 3) legitimacy from concours based certificates (e.g. CAFIPEMF) Normative: the teacher is the practitioner (expert - voice) Cultural-cognitive: academia must be linked to practice in the classroom - this is done through internships and "mentors" (cognitive-blueprint)	Regulative: Normative: Cultural-cognitive:
2010	Circulaire n° 2010-105	- Annuls and replaces circulaire no 2007-045 du 23 fevrier 2007 - Revokes note de service no 93-146 du 9 mars 1993 - Revokes note de service no 93-280 du 20 septembre 1993 - Revokes circulaire no 99-075 du 27 mai 1999 Implements competences in arrete du 12 mai 2010	Regulative: 1) competence requirements presented clearly - must meet Normative: must be seen in relation to Arrete du 12 mai 2010 Cultural-cognitive: must be seen in relation to Arrete du 12 mai 2010	Regulative: 1) Hierarchy and French legal system (Educative state) - MEN in charge and (legally) authorised to dictate what the teaching profession is. Normative: Cultural-cognitive:
2011	circulaire n° 2011-04	Arrete du 12 mai 2010	Regulative: 1) references 10 must have competences for teachers 2) GRH responsible for CPD 3) CPD has an impact on postes de profil and the career of the teacher (and mobility) 4) evaluations of "formation" to be undertaken through the Gaia system Normative: 1) university based research important, teachers need access (voice for researchers recognised - links to a cultural-cognitive blueprint- 2) Cultural-cognitive: 1) Teacher education at the heart of student performance (why ITT is important, we see similar blueprints in England) 2) university research important for teaching - teachers need access to university research through CPD	Regulative: 1) hierarchy and legal workings of France (educative state) Normative: 1) voice granted both to researchers and teachers - cooperation central Cultural-cognitive: 1) cognitive blueprint - seen elsewhere - "scientification" of ITT/CPD but also teacher as "self-improving" and research literate.

2011	circulaire n° 2011-157	- Loi no 84-16 du 11 janvier 1984 - Decret no86-83 du 17 janvier 1986 - Arrete du 12 mai 2010 - This presents the 10 competences teachers are to have (teacher's standards)	Regulative: 1) decision-making power granted to HEIs Normative: 1) internships focused on learning from "professionals" in the schools - importance of apprenticeships (of this kind) 2) "mentors" in charge of internships - these mentors are also teachers. Cultural-cognitive: 1) ITT to be "master level"	Regulative: Normative: 1) role of the school in ITT - importance of practical experience and interaction with the "Profession" that is at the heart of teaching. 2) importance of teachers in ITT. Cultural-cognitive: 1) cognitive blueprints - interviews indicate this relates to developments in Europe as a whole.
2013	Circulaire de la DGRH n° 2013-079 du 23 mai 2013 adressée aux recteurs.	Derives power from: - décret 86-83 du 17 janvier 1986 - l'article 4 de la loi n° 84-16 du 11 janvier 1984	Regulative: 1) DGRH/MEN instructive power over who can sit the concours Normative: 1) Professional experience of contractuels recognised Cultural-cognitive: 1) Master's important, but not more so than professional experience 2) primary - secondary split as noted by work and pay	Regulative: 1) hierarchy Normative: 1) strong position of "professional experience" from schools. Cultural-cognitive: 1) a mostly taken for granted blueprint of ITT, with deference to both "alternance" and the master's degree - normative legitimacy and compliance as well. 2) taken for granted split between primary and secondary.
2013	Arrêté du 1er juillet 2013 relatif au référentiel des compétences professionnelles des métiers du professorat et de l'éducation	Derives its authority from - le code de l'éducation - le décret no 70-738 du 12 août 1970 - le décret no 72-580 du 4 juillet 1972 - le décret no 72-581 du 4 juillet 1972 - le décret no 80-627 du 4 août 1980 ; - le décret no 90-680 du 1er août 1990 - le décret no 92-1189 du 6 novembre 1992 - le décret no 94-874 du 7 octobre 1994 Uses as evidence: - l'avis du Haut Conseil de l'éducation du 11 mars 2013 ; - l'avis du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation du 6 juin 2013, annuls "L'arrêté du 12 mai 2010 portant définition des compétences à acquérir par les professeurs, documentalistes et conseillers principaux d'éducation pour l'exercice de leur métier"	Regulative: 1) MEN denotes what a teacher is. Normative: 1) The document attempts to affirm that all personnel knows the common objectives and can reflect on a common culture in a profession, the specificity of the teaching profession (metier) in its context of practice. To identify professional competences and attitudes. 2) hierarchy of competences: disciplinary knowledge - French language skills - teaching skills (classroom) - socialization and group learning - evaluation of students Cultural-cognitive: 1) republican values central and important - teacher as agent of the republic 2) disciplinary knowledge central 3) emphasis on the importance of French, but also speaking a foreign language 4) cooperation and creating "learning environments" considered central,	Regulative: 1) MEN in charge Normative: 1) denotes what the profession is, but also lends credence to the existence of a unified profession at the heart of teaching Cultural-cognitive: 1,3, and 4 - justified can be seen as contested cognitive blueprints. 2) is more or less taken for granted, subject knowledge incredibly central.

			attempts to make learning more than just transmission from teacher to pupil in the classroom NB: Superficially similar to the 12th of May 2010 arrete, in terms of content, form is different. - both this and that are hosted on the governments website today as active arretes.	
2013	Décret no 2013-768 du 23 août 2013 relatif au recrutement et à la formation initiale de certains personnels enseignants, d'éducation et d'orientation relevant du ministre de l'éducation nationale	• Vu le code de l'éducation ; • Vu le code du travail, notamment ses articles L. 5134-120 et suivants ; • Vu le code du travail applicable à Mayotte, notamment ses articles L. 322-55 et suivants ; • Vu la loi no 83-634 du 13 juillet 1983 modifiée portant droits et obligations des fonctionnaires, ensemble la loi no 84-16 du 11 janvier 1984 modifiée portant dispositions statutaires relatives à la fonction publique de l'Etat ; • Vu la loi no 86-33 du 9 janvier 1986 modifiée portant dispositions statutaires relatives à la fonction publique hospitalière ; • Vu le décret no 51-1423 du 5 décembre 1951 modifié fixant les règles suivant lesquelles doit être déterminée l'ancienneté du personnel nommé dans l'un des corps de fonctionnaires de l'enseignement relevant du ministère de l'éducation nationale ; • Vu le décret no 70-738 du 12 août 1970 modifié relatif au statut particulier des conseillers principaux d'éducation ; • Vu le décret no 72-580 du 4 juillet 1972 modifié relatif au statut particulier des professeurs agrégés de l'enseignement du second degré ; • Vu le décret no 72-581 du 4 juillet 1972 modifié relatif au statut particulier des professeurs certifiés ; • Vu le décret no 80-627 du 4 août 1980 modifié relatif au statut particulier des professeurs d'éducation physique et sportive ; • Vu le décret no 90-680 du 1er août 1990 modifié relatif au statut particulier des professeurs des écoles ; 27 août 2013 JOURNAL OFFICIEL DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE Texte 2 sur 95 • Vu le décret no 91-290 du 20 mars 1991 modifié relatif au	Regulative: 1) denotes entry to different positions, hierarchy made clear in a coercive sense Normative: 1) importance of certificates within the profession (concours) 2. Importance of internships and professional experience before being titularised, as well as guidance by experienced teachers Cultural-cognitive: 1) to be a teacher one should have guidance from professional experts - cognitive blueprint	Regulative: 1) legal framework Normative: 1) meritocratic French values 2. Professional status of the teacher Cultural-cognitive: 1) somewhat taken for granted, interacts with normative 1 and 2. Pushed to an extent as a blueprint, a form of re-stating what is for some taken for granted but not necessarily for others (teachers and educationalists take ITT for granted, disciplinary experts not necessarily so - to some a masters degree and concours should suffice - cross with interviews for justification of this observation (F8)) - very light justification presented here, mainly concerned with presenting rules - regulative

		statut particulier des directeurs de centre d'information et d'orientation et conseillers d'orientation-psychologues ; • Vu le décret no 92-1189 du 6 novembre 1992 modifié relatif au statut particulier des professeurs de lycée professionnel ; • Vu le décret no 94-874 du 7 octobre 1994 modifié fixant les dispositions communes applicables aux stagiaires de l'Etat et de ses établissements publics ; • Vu le décret no 98-304 du 17 avril 1998 modifié fixant les conditions dans lesquelles les professeurs des écoles stagiaires justifiant d'un titre ou diplôme les qualifiant pour enseigner délivré dans un Etat membre de la Communauté européenne ou dans un autre Etat partie à l'accord sur l'Espace économique européen peuvent être titularisés ; • Vu le décret no 2000-129 du 16 février 2000 fixant les conditions dans lesquelles peuvent être titularisés les professeurs de l'enseignement du second degré stagiaires et les conseillers principaux d'éducation stagiaires justifiant d'un titre ou diplôme les qualifiant pour enseigner ou pour assurer des fonctions d'éducation dans un Etat membre de la Communauté européenne ou dans un autre Etat partie à l'accord sur l'Espace économique européen ; • Vu le décret no 2009-915 du 28 juillet 2009 portant modification du décret no 72-581 du 4 juillet 1972 relatif au statut particulier des professeurs certifiés ; • Vu le décret no 2010-1006 du 26 août 2010 portant diverses dispositions statutaires applicables à certains personnels enseignants et d'éducation relevant du ministre de l'éducation nationale ; • Vu le décret no 2012-1477 du 27 décembre 2012 fixant des modalités exceptionnelles de recrutement dans certains corps enseignants et d'éducation relevant du ministre chargé de l'éducation nationale ; • Vu l'avis du comité technique ministériel de l'éducation nationale en date du 17 juin 2013 ; Vu l'avis du Conseil supérieur de la fonction publique de l'Etat en date du 17 juillet 2013 ;		
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2013	Arrêté du 27 août 2013 fixant le cadre national des formations dispensées au sein des masters « métiers de l'enseignement, de l'éducation et de la formation »	- le code de l'éducation, notamment ses articles L. 625-1 et L. 721-1 à L. 721-3 ; - le code de la recherche, notamment son article L. 344-4 ; - Vu le décret no 2009-885 du 21 juillet 2009 relatif aux modalités d'accueil des étudiants de l'enseignement supérieur en stage dans les administrations et établissements publics de l'Etat ne présentant par un caractère industriel et commercial ;	Regulative: 1) the state decides who is to grant the MEEF degree, and the overarching content and form of the MEEF Normative: 1) teaching is a profession and learning predominantly is to take place in the place of practice (the school) 2) research plays an important role in teaching as a foundational support - importance of reflection on practice. Cultural-cognitive: 1) high emphasis on internships and why they are important - cognitive blueprint 2) importance of reflection and research presented	Regulative: 1) state ownership and responsibilities of education and higher education - both MEN and MENSIR involved. Normative: 1) important voice of teachers and schools - taken for granted cognitive blueprint 2) emphasis on a place for research, relates to cognitive blueprint 2 Cultural-cognitive: 1) argumentative justification, no evidence for support, relates to norms of teaching as a profession as well. 2) cognitive blueprint presented and lightly defended relating to the importance of reflection on practice and of a research basis - interacts with normative point 2
2014	Arrêté du 18 juin 2014 fixant les modalités de formation initiale de certains personnels enseignants et d'éducation de l'enseignement public stagiaires	- derives its authority from: - le code de l'éducation, notamment ses articles L. 625-1 et L. 721-2 - le décret no 95-979 du 25 août 1995 - le décret no 2012-1477 du 27 décembre 2012 - le décret no 2013-768 du 23 août 2013	Regulative: presents a legal framework for "exceptions" to the norm Normative: power of rectors to determine evaluations affirmed Cultural-cognitive: taken for granted: everything needs to be put in a legal frame	Regulative: comprehensive legal code (code de l'éducation) Normative: Legitimation of rectors as the authority on who should be teachers in their academies Cultural-cognitive:
2014	Décret n° 2014-940 du 20 août 2014 relatif aux obligations de service et aux missions des personnels enseignants exerçant dans un établissement public d'enseignement du second degré - Version consolidée au 23 juillet 2019	multiple - see onenote list	Regulative: 1) specifies hierarchy from MEN to academy to teacher. 2) Freedom for teachers to choose if they want to be formateurs after they are certified as such Normative: importance of the profession in itt/cpd - combine teacher education with teaching. Cultural-cognitive:	Regulative: 1) hierarchy of French governing structure 2) individual liberties granted by the hierarchy Normative: Cultural-cognitive:
2014	Arrêté du 22 août 2014 fixant les modalités de stage, d'évaluation et de titularisation des professeurs des écoles stagiaires	- derives authority from - le code de l'éducation, notamment ses articles L. 625-1 et L. 721-2; - le décret no 90-680 du 1er août 1990 - le décret no 91-259 du 7 mars 1991 - le décret no 94-874 du 7 octobre 1994 - le décret no 98-304 du 17 avril 1998 - le décret no 2003-1260 du 23 décembre 2003 - le décret no 2008-775 du 30 juillet 2008	Regulative: 1) document is enshrined in a legal system and history 2) Inspectors, establishment heads, and ESPE directors evaluates if someone is qualified to be a teacher or not Normative: 1) reconstitutes the right of subject inspectors, establishment heads, and ESPE directors to comment on who should be a teacher 2) yields "voice" to the mentioned actors	Regulative: 2) Evaluation a requirement for entry to profession (certification criteria) - not absolute Normative: 1 & 2) voice construction - legitimate actors on the issue, they ought to have a say. Cultural-cognitive: 1 & 2) links to normative and regulative pillars.

		- le décret no 2012-1477 du 27 décembre 2012 - Refers to les arrêtés du 27 août 2013 et du 18 juin 2014 - that determine content of ITT	Cultural-cognitive: 1) blueprint: Internships (professional experience) is central to ITT 2) input control is important, quality should be ensured	
2014	Arrêté du 22 août 2014 fixant les modalités de stage, d'évaluation et de titularisation de certains personnels enseignants et d'éducation de l'enseignement du second degré stagiaires	- derives authority from le code de l'éducation, notamment ses articles L. 625-1 et L. 721-2; - décret no 70-738 du 12 août 1970 - décret no 72-581 du 4 juillet 1972 m - décret no 80-627 du 4 août 1980 - décret no 91-259 du 7 mars 1991 - décret no 92-1189 du 6 novembre 1992 - décret no 94-874 du 7 octobre 1994 - décret no 99-941 du 12 novembre 1999 - décret no 2000-129 du 16 février 2000 - décret no 2012-1477 du 27 décembre 2012 Refers to les arrêtés du 27 août 2013 et du 18 juin 2014 - that determine content of ITT	Regulative: 1) document is enshrined in a legal system and history 2) Inspectors, establishment heads, and ESPE directors evaluates if someone is qualified to be a teacher or not Normative: 1) reconstitutes the right of subject inspectors, establishment heads, and ESPE directors to comment on who should be a teacher 2) yields "voice" to the mentioned actors Cultural-cognitive: 1) blueprint: Internships (professional experience) is central to ITT 2) input control is important, quality should be ensured	Regulative: 2) Evaluation a requirement for entry to profession (certification criteria) - not absolute Normative: 1 & 2) voice construction - legitimate actors on the issue, they ought to have a say. Cultural-cognitive: 1 & 2) links to normative and regulative pillars.
2014	Arrêté du 22 août 2014 fixant les modalités de stage, d'évaluation et de titularisation des professeurs agrégés de l'enseignement du second degré stagiaires	Draws authority from: - Code de l'éducation, notamment ses articles L. 625-1 et L. 721-2 - décret no 72-580 du 4 juillet 1972 - décret no 91-259 du 7 mars 1991 - décret no 82-451 du 28 mai 1982 - décret no 94-874 du 7 octobre 1994 - décret no 99-941 du 12 novembre 1999 - décret no 2000-129 du 16 février 2000 Annuls (abrogé): - l'arrêté du 12 mai 2010 fixant les modalités d'évaluation et de titularisation des professeurs agrégés de l'enseignement du second degré stagiaires; l'arrêté du 23 août 2010 fixant les modalités d'évaluation et de titularisation à Mayotte, en Nouvelle- Calédonie, en Polynésie française et dans les îles Wallis-et-Futuna des professeurs agrégés de l'enseignement du second degré.	Regulative: 1) document is enshrined in a legal system and history 2) IGEN evaluates if someone is qualified to be a teacher or not Normative: 1) reconstitutes the right of the IGEN and rector as "experts" on what a teacher should learn and know and where he can learn it 2) yields "voice" to ITT educators in schools, and IGEN Cultural-cognitive: 1) blueprint: Internships (professional experience) is central to ITT 2) input control is important, quality should be ensured	Regulative: 2) inspection a requirement for entry to profession (certification criteria) - not absolute Normative: 1 & 2) voice construction - legitimate actors on the issue, they ought to have a say. Cultural-cognitive: 1 & 2) links to normative and regulative pillars.

2014	Arrêté du 22 décembre 2014 fixant les modalités d'accomplissement et d'évaluation du stage des maîtres contractuels et agréés à titre provisoire des établissements d'enseignement privés sous contrat	- derives authority from: le code de l'éducation, notamment ses articles L. 613-7, L. 914-1, R. 914-19-2, R.914-19-3 et R. 914-32 à R. 914-37; - décret no 94-874 du 7 octobre 1994 - décret no 98-304 du 17 avril 1998 - décret no 2000-129 du 16 février 2000 - décret no 2009-920 du 28 juillet 2009	Regulative: legal framework central, derives authority from past laws and decrees. Normative: Cultural-cognitive:	Regulative: Normative: Cultural-cognitive:
2015	Décret no 2015-883 du 20 juillet 2015 relatif à la fonction de maître formateur et de conseiller pédagogique dans le premier degré et portant modification du décret no 2008-775 du 30 juillet 2008 relatif aux obligations de service des personnels enseignants du premier degré	Other documents referenced: - Vu le code de l'éducation, notamment son article L. 912-1; - Vu la loi no 83-634 du 13 juillet 1983 modifiée portant droits et obligations des fonctionnaires, ensemble la loi no 84-16 du 11 janvier 1984 modifiée portant dispositions statutaires relatives à la fonction publique de l'Etat; - Vu le décret no 61-1012 du 7 septembre 1961 modifié définissant le statut particulier des instituteurs en ce qui concerne les conditions d'avancement d'échelon et de changement de fonctions; - Vu le décret no 90-680 du 1er août 1990 modifié relatif au statut particulier des professeurs des écoles; - Vu le décret no 2008-775 du 30 juillet 2008 modifié relatif aux obligations de service des personnels enseignants du premier degré; - Vu l'avis du comité technique ministériel en date du 16 juin 2015;	Regulative: 1) Power of the prime minister to dictate teacher functions 2) grants power to recteurs Normative: 1) hierarchical responsibilities from PM to MEN to Recteurs. Cultural-cognitive:	Regulative: 1) legal power of decrees 2) hierarchy Normative: Cultural-cognitive:
2015	Décret no 2015-885 du 20 juillet 2015 relatif aux conditions de nomination des personnels enseignants du second degré et des conseillers principaux d'éducation aux fonctions de formateur académique	décret no 85-88 du 22 janvier 1985 (modifies it). Education code (modifies it)	Regulative: 1) Power of the Prime minister to decree who can be a teacher educator. certification Normative: 1) Importance of professional experience (5 years as a teacher) to educate teachers Cultural-cognitive: 1) importance of teacher educators who are former teachers, and that their status is guaranteed by certificate	Regulative: legal power of decrees. Normative: 1) overlaps with cultural-cognitive carrier 1 Cultural-cognitive: 1) overlaps with normative carrier 1) - (cultural trait)

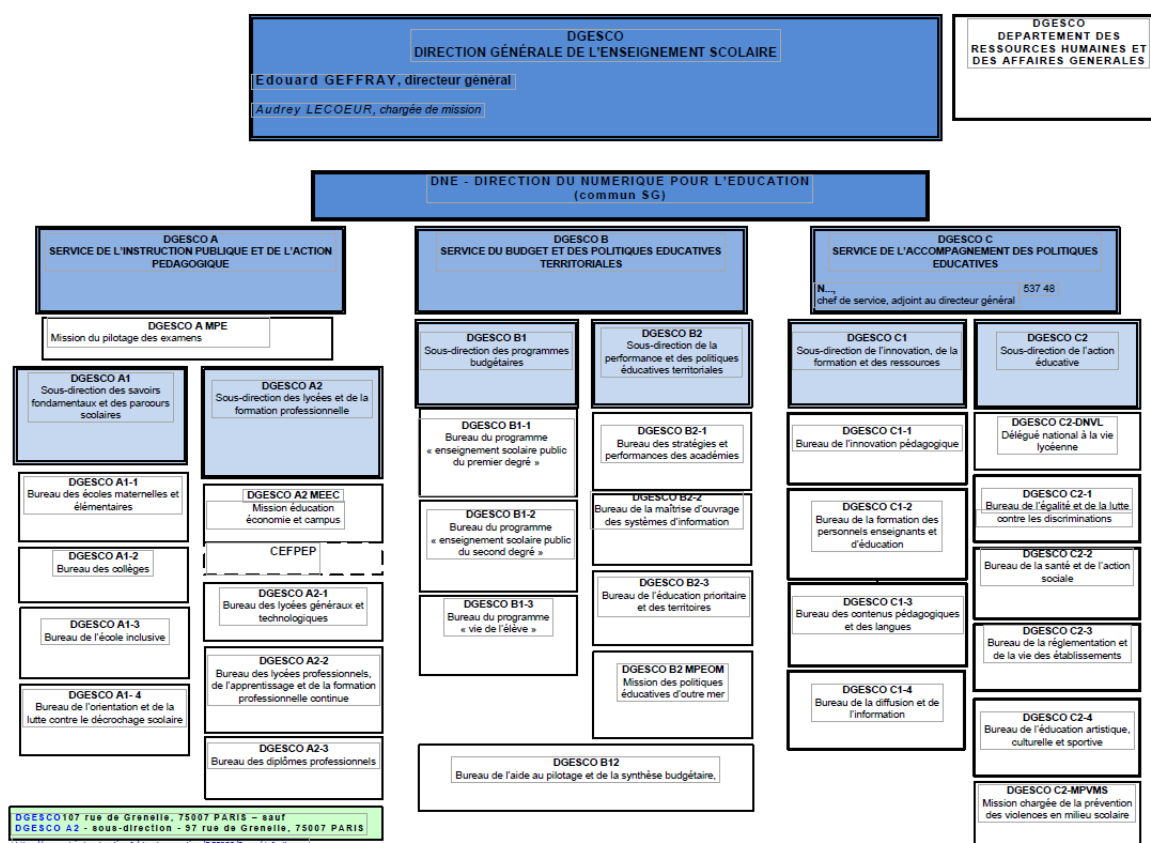
2015	circulaire n° 2015-109	Similar to circulaire n° 2015-110 - which covers second degree Derives its authority from l'arrêté du 20 juillet 2015 and Décret n° 2015-885 du 20-7-2015	Regulative: 1) certification for quality assurance Normative: 1) professional practice seen as alpha-omega (importance of teacher's classroom practices) Cultural-cognitive: 1) importance of reflection on professional practice – professional “memoire” of 20-30 pages	Regulative: 1) legal requirement of certification - meritocracy model Normative: 1) the “profession” is at the heart of teaching Cultural-cognitive: 1) cognitive blueprint relatable to “teacher as researcher” or self-improving/reflective
2015	circulaire n° 2015-110	Similar to circulaire n° 2015-109 - which covers first degree Derives its authority from l'arrêté du 20 juillet 2015 and Décret n° 2015-885 du 20-7-2015	Regulative: 1) certification for quality assurance Normative: 1) professional practice seen as alpha-omega (importance of teacher's classroom practices) Cultural-cognitive: 1) importance of reflection on professional practice – professional “memoire” of 20-30 pages	Regulative: 1) legal requirement of certification - meritocracy model Normative: 1) the “profession” is at the heart of teaching Cultural-cognitive: 1) cognitive blueprint relatable to “teacher as researcher” or self-improving/reflective
2015	circulaire n° 2015-114	Other documents referenced: • Décret no 2015-883 • Décret no 2008-775 • note de service no 96-107 (replaced and invalidated) Note de service no 93-132 (invalidated)	Regulative: 1) IEN in charge of pedagogical advisors. 2) pedagogical advisers to help implement national educative policy in support of the IEN Normative: teachers seen as the “core” of the profession, pedagogical advisers are for all intent and purposes teachers. Cultural-cognitive:	Regulative: hierarchical compliance. Many actors. Normative: Cultural-cognitive:
2015	circulaire n° 2015-139 du 10-8-2015 Fonctions, missions Missions des conseillers principaux d'éducation	Other documents referenced: • Décret no 70-738 du 12 Aout 1970 • Annuls Circulaire no 82-482 du 28 octobre 1982 • Reference de competences du 1er juillet 2013 • Article R. 511-19-1 of the code de l'éducation • Décret no 2000-815 du 25 aout 2000 • Arretes du 4 septembre 2002 • Décret no 2015-475 du 27 avril 2015 • Circulaire no 2015-058 du 29 avril 2015 Décret no 2002-1146 du 4 septembre 2002	Regulative: 1) heads of establishment in charge of CPEs 2) detailed layout of “work” in terms of hours and breaks Normative: Cultural-cognitive:	Regulative: 1) clear hierarchy, - enshrined in policy 2) centralized detail management Normative: Cultural-cognitive:
2015	arrêté du 20-7-2015	Other documents referenced: l'article D. 123-13 du code de l'éducation	Regulative: 1) fixes examination criterium to become ITT educator	Regulative: 1) MEN in charge Normative: 1) local competences in the education

			Normative: 1) examination left to local authority (recteurs) Cultural-cognitive:	system recognised - but recteur is under MENs thumb Cultural-cognitive:
2015	Arrêté du 28 juillet 2015 fixant les modalités de détermination des allègements de service attribués aux maîtres formateurs	• Draws authority from: décret no 2008-775 du 30 juillet 2008	Regulative: legal framework, rooted in decrees Normative: Cultural-cognitive:	Regulative: none mentioned, should be seen in relation to general rules of conduct of public servants (fonctionnaires) Normative: Cultural-cognitive:
2015	Arrêté du 28 juillet 2015 fixant les modalités de détermination ...	• Draws authority from: décret no 68-503 du 30 mai 1968 • décret no 70-738 du 12 août 1970 • décret no 86-492 du 14 mars 1986 • décret no 2014-940 du 20 août 2014	Regulative: legal framework, rooted in decrees Normative: Cultural-cognitive: importance of practical knowledge in ITT	Regulative: none mentioned, should be seen in relation to general rules of conduct of public servants (fonctionnaires) Normative: Cultural-cognitive: references back to the legal framework
2016	Décret no 2016-1804 du 22 décembre 2016 relatif à la direction générale de l'administration et de la fonction publique et à la politique de ressources humaines dans la fonction publique	• Vu la loi no 83-634 du 13 juillet 1983 modifiée portant droits et obligations des fonctionnaires, ensemble la loi no 84-16 du 11 janvier 1984 modifiée portant dispositions statutaires relatives à la fonction publique de l'Etat, la loi no 84-53 du 26 janvier 1984 modifiée portant dispositions statutaires relatives à la fonction publique territoriale et la loi no 86-33 du 9 janvier 1986 modifiée portant dispositions statutaires relatives à la fonction publique hospitalière; • Vu le décret no 84-588 du 10 juillet 1984 modifié relatif aux instituts régionaux d'administration; • Vu le décret no 87-389 du 15 juin 1987 modifié relatif à l'organisation des services d'administration centrale; • Vu le décret no 99-945 du 16 novembre 1999 modifié portant statut particulier du corps des administrateurs civils; • Vu le décret no 2002-49 du 10 janvier 2002 modifié relatif aux missions, à l'administration et au régime financier de l'Ecole nationale d'administration; Vu le décret no 2004-374 du 29 avril 2004 modifié relatif aux pouvoirs des préfets, à l'organisation et à l'action des services de l'Etat dans les régions et départements; • Vu le décret no 2007-1470 du 15 octobre 2007 modifié relatif à la formation professionnelle tout au long de la vie des	Regulative: 1) legalises the role of the state in human resources. Normative: Cultural-cognitive: 1) taken for granted hierarchical and centralized administration of public function	Regulative: 1) legal framework, French hierarchical system Normative: Cultural-cognitive: 1) taken for granted as part of the French republican system.

		fonctionnaires de l'Etat; Vu le décret no 2009-587 du 25 mai 2009 relatif aux missions des secrétaires généraux pour les affaires régionales; Vu le décret no 2011-184 du 15 février 2011 modifié relatif aux comités techniques dans les administrations et les établissements publics de l'Etat; • Vu le décret no 2011-1317 du 17 octobre 2011 modifié portant statut particulier du corps interministériel des attachés d'administration de l'Etat; • Vu le décret no 2012-148 du 30 janvier 2012 modifié relatif au Conseil commun de la fonction publique; • Vu le décret no 2012-225 du 16 février 2012 modifié relatif au Conseil supérieur de la fonction publique de l'Etat; • Vu le décret no 2015-144 du 9 février 2015 portant création d'un service à compétence nationale à caractère interministériel dénommé «centre interministériel de services informatiques relatifs aux ressources humaines»; 23 décembre 2016 JOURNAL OFFICIEL DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE Texte 1 sur 156 • Vu le décret no 2015-510 du 7 mai 2015 portant charte de la déconcentration; Vu l'avis du comité technique spécial de la direction générale de l'administration et de la fonction publique en date du 26 octobre 2016; Vu l'avis du Conseil supérieur de la fonction publique de l'Etat en date du 14 novembre 2016;		
2016	circulaire n° 2016-115 du 19-8-2016 Formation continue Modalités de la formation continue à distance des professeurs des écoles	Other documents referenced: • Decret no 2008-775 • Circulaire no 2013-019 • Remplace circulaire no 2013-123 Arrête du 1er juillet 2013	Regulative: 1) legal framework surrounding CPD Normative: 1) importance of "mentors" (teachers with added certification) Cultural-cognitive: 1) importance of CPD 2) CPD to be done online	Regulative: 1) legal hierarchy of France Normative: 1) teachers an important voice in CPD Cultural-cognitive: 1) cognitive blueprint linked to coercion 2) cognitive blueprint, often linked to NPM
2016	circulaire n° 2016-148	Other documents referenced: • Loi no 2013-595 du 8 juillet 2013 (created ESPE) • Decret no 2008-775 du 30 juillet 2008 (defined the function of "maitre formateurs") • Decret no 2014-940 du 20 août 2014 (defined the function of second degree formateurs) • Note de service no 2015-055 du 17 mars 2015	Regulative: 1) IEN in charge of matire formateurs, hierarchy established - hierarchical control lever 2) appointments the role of rectors - dual hierarchies Normative: 1) see cultural cognitive for link - teachers know what teachers should know. Cultural-cognitive: 1) teacher educators as	Regulative: Normative: Cultural-cognitive:

		● Circulaire no 2015-110 du 21 juillet 2015 ● Circulaire no 2015-109 du 21 juillet 2015 Ends circulars: ● No 2010-103; 104; 105 ● No 2011-157 And point 3 in circulaire no 2013-019	teachers - normative - cognitive blueprint link centred on teaching expertise and legitimacy	
2019	Arrêté du 28 mai 2019	education code (modifies it) l'arrêté du 18 juin 2014 (modifies it)	Regulative: 1) Updates old 2014 arrete to reflect changes to formation adapte and interning. Not leaving wiggle room nor confusion. Clear direction from the centre Normative: 1) internships central for ITT 2) identify CPD needs an internal affair for teachers Cultural-cognitive: 1) push for masterisation and creating a "modern" teacher who learns from experience	Regulative: 1) MEN in charge Normative: Cultural-cognitive: 1) cognitive blueprint - learnification and masterisation
2019	circulaire n° 2019-133		Regulative: 1) emphasis on traceability of teachers step by step development - accountability? 2) structural chains - hierarchy - creation of a council at the academie to oversee formation Normative: 1) MEN as an important voice for teacher's and their education due to them being civil-servants, the professional standards of civil-servants are inherently the business of the state. 2) Teachers as an important voice of the profession, professional development done in relation to schools and "mentors" - not only universities and academia, nor MEN. Cultural-cognitive: 1) Teaching as a unitary profession centred on the republic and its values in addition to education knowledge. As such they must know ministerial policy and follow it. (cognitive blueprint, educative state)	Regulative: 2) clear hierarchy, rector is responsible for the academic council, director of the INSPE for the implementation etc. - and by extension to the central government/MEN - politico-administrative (bureaucratic) hierarchy model Normative: 1) normative pressure to conform as civil servants. Dual profession of teachers as "classroom instructors" AND civil-servants (fonctionnaires) 2) authority of teachers over the professional aspect of teaching central - separate from their function as civil-servants however Cultural-cognitive: 1) link with point 1 and 2 in normative above. Purpose of education framed around this duality - the educative state

Annex 2.5 Organigram DGESCO



Annex 2.6 state web-sites analysed for wider context France

Purpose	URL
Government	https://www.gouvernement.fr/
National assembly	https://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/dyn/role-et-pouvoir-de-assemblée
Presidency and institutions of the 5 th Republic	https://www.elysee.fr/la-presidence/les-institutions-de-la-cinquieme-republique
Ministry of National Education	https://www.education.gouv.fr/

Annex 3: Comparative tables

Annex 3.1 English Teachers' Standards compared to French Teachers' Competences.

England (2011-present)	France (2010-present)
PREAMBLE Teachers make the education of their pupils their first concern, and are accountable for achieving the highest possible standards in work and conduct. Teachers act with honesty and integrity; have strong subject knowledge, keep their knowledge and skills as teachers up-to-date and are self-critical; forge positive professional relationships; and work with parents in the best interests of their pupils. Part 1: teaching A teacher must: Set high expectations which inspire, motivate and challenge pupils Promote good progress and outcomes by pupils Demonstrate good subject and curriculum knowledge Plan and teach well-structured lessons Adapt teaching to respond to the strengths and needs of all pupils Make accurate and productive use of assessment Manage behaviour effectively to ensure a good and safe learning environment	Each competence consists of 4 parts: the competence explained, the knowledge required (connaissances), capacities required (capacité) and attitudes instilled by it. The ten competences: 1) Agir en fonctionnaire de l'État et de façon éthique et responsable (act as public servants, and in an ethical and responsible way) 2) Maîtriser la langue française pour enseigner et communiquer (master the French language in order to teach and communicate)

Fulfil wider professional responsibilities Part 2: professional conduct Teachers uphold public trust in the profession and maintain high standards of ethics and behaviour, within and outside school Teachers must have proper and professional regard for the ethos, policies and practices of the school in which they teach, and maintain high standards in their own attendance and punctuality. Teachers must have an understanding of, and always act within, the statutory frameworks which set out their professional duties and responsibilities.	3) Maîtriser les disciplines et avoir une bonne culture générale (master the subjects, and have a good general culture) 4) Concevoir et mettre en œuvre son enseignement (design and implement his teaching/lesson) 5) Organiser le travail de la classe (organize the work in class) 6) Prendre en compte la diversité des élèves (takes into account the diversity of pupils) 7) Évaluer les élèves (evaluate the pupils) 8) Maîtriser les technologies de l'information et de la communication (master ICT) 9) Travailler en équipe et coopérer avec les parents et les partenaires de l'école (work in teams and cooperate with parents and school partners) 10) Se former et innover (train/educate and innovate themselves) These were supplemented by 10 "axes" of competence presented in circulaire n° 2011-042 du 22-3-2011 for CPD purposes
Source: Teacher Standards, Department for Education 2011	Source: Arrêté du 12-5-2010 – J.O du 18-7-2010, MEN – DGRH 2010, Circulaire n° 2010-105 du 13-7-2010, circulaire n° 2011-042 du 22-3-2011
England 2002-2008 Those awarded Qualified Teacher Status must understand and uphold the professional code of the General Teaching Council for England by demonstrating all of the following: S1.1 They have high expectations of all pupils; respect their social, cultural, linguistic, religious and ethnic backgrounds; and are committed to raising their educational achievement. S1.2 They treat pupils consistently, with respect and consideration, and are concerned for their development as learners S1.3 They demonstrate and promote the positive values, attitudes and behaviour that they expect from their pupils. S1.4 They can communicate sensitively and effectively with parents and carers, recognising their roles in pupils' learning, and their rights, responsibilities and interests in this. S1.5 They can contribute to, and share responsibly in, the corporate life of schools*. S1.6 They understand the contribution that support staff and other professionals make to teaching and learning. S1.7 They are able to improve their own teaching, by evaluating it, learning from the effective practice of others and from evidence. They are motivated and able to take increasing responsibility for their own professional development. S1.8 They are aware of, and work within, the statutory frameworks relating to teachers' responsibilities. S2.1 They have a secure knowledge and understanding of the subject(s)* they are trained to teach. For those qualifying to teach secondary pupils this knowledge and understanding should be at a standard equivalent to degree level. In relation to specific phases, this includes: a. For the Foundation Stage, they know and understand the aims, principles, six areas of learning and early learning goals described in the QCA/DfEE Curriculum Guidance for the Foundation Stage and, for Reception children, the frameworks, methods and expectations set out in the National Numeracy and Literacy Strategies. b. For Key Stage 1 and/or 2, they know and understand the curriculum for each of the National Curriculum core subjects, and the frameworks, methods and expectations set out in the National Literacy and Numeracy Strategies. They have sufficient understanding of a range of work across the following subjects:– history or geography – physical education – ICT – art and design or design and technology – performing arts, and – religious education to be able to teach them in the age range for which they are trained, with advice from an experienced colleague where necessary. c. For Key Stage 3, they know and understand the relevant National Curriculum Programme(s) of Study, and for those qualifying to teach one or more of the core subjects, the relevant frameworks, methods and expectations set out in the National Strategy for Key Stage 3. All those qualifying to teach a subject at Key Stage 3 know and understand the cross-curricular expectations of the National Curriculum and are familiar with the guidance set out in the National Strategy for Key Stage 3. d. For Key Stage 4 and post-16, they are aware of the pathways for progression through the 14-19 phase in school, college and work-based settings. They are familiar with the Key Skills as specified by QCA and the National Qualifications Framework, and they know the progression within and from their own subject and the range of qualifications to which their subject contributes. They understand how courses are combined in students' curricula. S2.2 They know and understand the values, aims and purposes and the general teaching requirements set out in the National Curriculum Handbook. As relevant to the age range they are trained to teach, they are familiar with the Programme of	France 1997-2010 Eight straightforward competences, that were not to be the basis for any form of evaluation. ● Situer son action dans le cadre de la mission que la loi confère au service public d'éducation (position ones actions within the frame granted by the mission conferred to the public service of education by law) ● Contribuer au fonctionnement et à l'évolution du système éducatif (contribute to the function and evolution of the education system) ● Exercer sa responsabilité dans la classe (exercise ones responsibilities in class) ● Connaître sa discipline (know ones subject) ● Savoir construire des situations d'enseignement et d'apprentissage (know how to construct situations of learning and knowing) ● Savoir conduire la classe (know how to control a class) ● Exercer sa responsabilité dans l'établissement (exercise ones responsibilities in the school establishment)

Study for citizenship and the National Curriculum Framework for personal, social and health education*. S2.3 They are aware of expectations, typical curricula and teaching arrangements in the Key Stages or phases before and after the ones they are trained to teach. S2.4 They understand how pupils' learning can be affected by their physical, intellectual, linguistic, social, cultural and emotional development. S2.5 They know how to use ICT effectively, both to teach their subject and to support their wider professional role. S2.6 They understand their responsibilities under the SEN Code of Practice, and know how to seek advice from specialists on less common types of special educational needs. S2.7 They know a range of strategies to promote good behaviour and establish a purposeful learning environment. S2.8 They have passed the Qualified Teacher Status skills tests in numeracy, literacy and ICT. S3.1.1 They set challenging teaching and learning objectives which are relevant to all pupils in their classes. They base these on their knowledge of: – the pupils – evidence of their past and current achievement – the expected standards for pupils of the relevant age range – the range and content of work relevant to pupils in that age range. S3.1.2 They use these teaching and learning objectives to plan lessons, and sequences of lessons, showing how they will assess pupils' learning. They take account of and support pupils' varying needs so that girls and boys, from all ethnic groups, can make good progress. S3.1.3 They select and prepare resources, and plan for their safe and effective organisation, taking account of pupils' interests and their language and cultural backgrounds, with the help of support staff where appropriate. S3.1.4 They take part in, and contribute to, teaching teams, as appropriate to the school. Where applicable, they plan for the deployment of additional adults who support pupils' learning. S3.1.5 As relevant to the age range they are trained to teach, they are able to plan opportunities for pupils to learn in out-of-school contexts, such as school visits, museums, theatres, field-work and employment-based settings, with the help of other staff where appropriate. S3.2.1 They make appropriate use of a range of monitoring and assessment strategies to evaluate pupils' progress towards planned learning objectives, and use this information to improve their own planning and teaching. S3.2.2 They monitor and assess as they teach, giving immediate and constructive feedback to support pupils as they learn. They involve pupils in reflecting on, evaluating and improving their own performance. S3.2.3 They are able to assess pupils' progress accurately using, as relevant, the early learning goals, National Curriculum level descriptions, criteria from national qualifications, the requirements of Awarding Bodies, National Curriculum and Foundation Stage assessment frameworks or objectives from the national strategies. They may have guidance from an experienced teacher where appropriate. S3.2.4 They identify and support more able pupils, those who are working below age-related expectations, those who are failing to achieve their potential in learning, and those who experience behavioural, emotional and social difficulties. They may have guidance from an experienced teacher where appropriate. S3.2.5 With the help of an experienced teacher, they can identify the levels of attainment of pupils learning English as an additional language. They begin to analyse the language demands and learning activities in order to provide cognitive challenge as well as language support. S3.2.6 They record pupils' progress and achievements systematically to provide evidence of the range of their work, progress and attainment over time. They use this to help pupils review their own progress and to inform planning. S3.2.7 They are able to use records as a basis for reporting on pupils' attainment and progress orally and in writing, concisely, informatively and accurately for parents, carers, other professionals and pupils. S3.3.1 They have high expectations of pupils and build successful relationships, centred on teaching and learning. They establish a purposeful learning environment where diversity is valued and where pupils	
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feel secure and confident. S3.3.2 They can teach the required or expected knowledge, understanding and skills relevant to the curriculum for pupils in the age range for which they are trained. In relation to specific phases: a. those qualifying to teach Foundation Stage children teach all six areas of learning outlined in the QCA/DfEE Curriculum Guidance for the Foundation Stage and, for Reception children, the objectives in the National Literacy and Numeracy Strategy frameworks competently and independently; b. those qualifying to teach pupils in Key Stage 1 and/or 2 teach the core subjects (English, including the National Literacy Strategy, mathematics through the National Numeracy Strategy, and science) competently and independently. They also teach, for either Key Stage 1 or Key Stage 2, a range of work across the following subjects: – history or geography – physical education – ICT – art and design or design and technology, and – performing arts independently, with advice from an experienced colleague where appropriate; c. those qualifying to teach Key Stage 3 pupils teach their specialist subject(s) competently and independently using the National Curriculum Programmes of Study for Key Stage 3 and the relevant National Frameworks and schemes of work. Those qualifying to teach the core subjects or ICT at Key Stage 3 use the relevant frameworks, methods and expectations set out in the National Strategy for Key Stage 3. All those qualifying to teach a subject at Key Stage 3 must be able to use the cross-curricular elements, such as literacy and numeracy, set out in the National Strategy for Key Stage 3, in their teaching, as appropriate to their specialist subject; d. those qualifying to teach Key Stage 4 and post-16 pupils teach their specialist subject(s) competently and independently using, as relevant to the subject and age range, the National Curriculum Programmes of Study and related schemes of work, or programmes specified for national qualifications*. They also provide opportunities for pupils to develop the Key Skills specified by QCA. S3.3.3 They teach clearly structured lessons or sequences of work which interest and motivate pupils and which: – make learning objectives clear to pupils – employ interactive teaching methods and collaborative group work – promote active and independent learning that enables pupils to think for themselves, and to plan and manage their own learning. S3.3.4 They differentiate their teaching to meet the needs of pupils, including the more able and those with special educational needs. They may have guidance from an experienced teacher where appropriate. S3.3.5 They are able to support those who are learning English as an additional language, with the help of an experienced teacher where appropriate. S3.3.6 They take account of the varying interests, experiences and achievements of boys and girls, and pupils from different cultural and ethnic groups, to help pupils make good progress. S3.3.7 They organise and manage teaching and learning time effectively. S3.3.8 They organise and manage the physical teaching space, tools, materials, texts and other resources safely and effectively with the help of support staff where appropriate. S3.3.9 They set high expectations for pupils' behaviour and establish a clear framework for classroom discipline to anticipate and manage pupils' behaviour constructively, and promote self-control and independence. S3.3.10 They use ICT effectively in their teaching. S3.3.11 They can take responsibility for teaching a class or classes over a sustained and substantial period of time. They are able to teach across the age and ability range for which they are trained. S3.3.12 They can provide homework and other out-of-class work which consolidates and extends work carried out in the class and encourages pupils to learn independently. S3.3.13 They work collaboratively with specialist teachers and other colleagues and, with the help of an experienced teacher as appropriate, manage the work of teaching assistants or other adults to enhance pupils' learning. S3.3.14 They recognise and respond effectively to equal opportunities issues as they arise in the classroom, including by challenging stereotyped views, and by challenging bullying or harassment, following relevant policies and procedures.	
Source: Qualifying to teach 2002	Source : Circulaire n° 97-123 du 23/05/1997 adressée aux recteurs d'académie, aux directeurs des IUFM. Publiée au BOEN n° 22 du 29 mai 1997

Annex 3.2 Civil service obligations in England compared to in France

England	France
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Legal provision: The Minister for the Civil Service must publish a code of conduct for the civil service (excluding the diplomatic service). Current code: As a civil servant, you are appointed on merit on the basis of fair and open competition and are expected to carry out your role with dedication and a commitment to the Civil Service and its core values: integrity, honesty, objectivity and impartiality. In this code: • 'integrity' is putting the obligations of public service above your own personal interests • 'honesty' is being truthful and open • 'objectivity' is basing your advice and decisions on rigorous analysis of the evidence • 'impartiality' is acting solely according to the merits of the case and serving equally well governments of different political persuasions	• Obligation of discretion in public communication Loi n° 83.634 du 13 juillet 1983, article 26 ... Civil servants must exercise professional discretion for all facts, information, or documents that they know of in the execution or the occasion to exercise their functions. Outside of cases expressly provisioned by the current reglementations, notably in regards to freedom of access to administrative documents, civil servants may not be unbound from this obligation of discretion except by the express decision of the authority they are dependent on. • Obligation of public information Loi n°83-634 du 13 juillet 1983, article 27. Civil servants have the obligation to satisfy public demands for information in respect of rules mentioned in article 26 loi du 13/07/83 • Obligation to carry out assigned tasks Loi n° 83-634 du 13 juillet 1983, article 28. Every civil servant, regardless of his rank in the hierarchy, is responsible for the execution of assignments assigned to him. He is not unbound from any of the responsibilities of his own subordinates. • Obligation to obey the hierarchy Loi n°83.634 du 13 juillet 1983, article 28 Civil servants must conform to instructions of their hierarchical superior, except if the given order is demonstratively illegal and of a nature that severely deteriorates public interest. Refusal to obey is equal to a professional fault. • Obligation of neutrality The principle of neutrality of public service prohibits civil servants from making their function the instrument of any propaganda. This obligation is appraised and judged on a case-by-case basis by the hierarchical superior to any offender, under the control of administrative judgement.
Sources : The civil service code; Constitutional Reform and Governance Act 2010	Source: Loi n° 84-16 du 11 janvier 1984 portant dispositions statutaires relatives à la fonction publique de l'Etat – summary can be seen here : https://www.fonction-publique.gouv.fr/droits-et-obligations

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