Defining teachers' professional knowledge: the interaction of global and national influences

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Abstract
This paper draws on a cross-national study[1] of definitions of teachers' professional knowledge. The paper seeks to link what has been revealed about international influences and trends to the broader literature on the processes of globalisation and internationalisation. The concepts of 'glocalization' and 'vernacular globalisation' are critically reviewed in the light of the emergent findings. Six emergent themes are identified that form a typology through which teacher education systems may be categorised. These themes enable us to clarify both global trends and local distinctiveness within the systems under review.

Определение профессиональных знаний учителя: взаимодействие глобальных и национальных влияний

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Аннотация
Статья посвящена межнациональному исследованию определений профессиональных знаний учителей. Авторы ставят цель связать выявленные международные влияния и тенденции в обозначенной области с более широким спектром литературы о процессах глобализации и интернационализации. Концепции «глокализации» и «народной глобализации» пересматриваются критически в свете возникающих результатов. В статье определены шесть новых тем, которые формируют типологию, посредством которой системы педагогического образования могут быть классифицированы. Эти темы позволяют прояснить как глобальные тенденции, так и локальную специфику в рассматриваемых системах.

Introduction

In exploring the knowledge base of teacher education in twelve different settings around the world (Tatto and Menter, forthcoming), it is not surprising that we have revealed considerable diversity at the same time as identifying a number of apparently global trends. What have we learned from the cases and from our review of these cases

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[1] This paper is adapted from a chapter to be included in the forthcoming book *Knowledge, Policy and Practice in Teacher Education: a Cross-National Study*, edited by Maria Teresa Tatto and Ian Menter, to be published by Bloomsbury Press. The book draws on work undertaken for an International Research Network of the World Educational Research Association, called *Learning to Teach: building global research capacity for evidence-based decision making*. Twelve country cases are included in the book and I wish to thank all of our collaborators for their contributions (see Table 1 below).

about the shaping influences on teacher education around the world? Should we be surprised by the enormous diversity we see around the world or should we rather be surprised by the degree of commonality?

In this paper I seek to explore not only what the similarities and differences are but to identify some of the processes through which teacher education policy and practice develops in various settings. In order to do this I draw not only on the twelve cases, but also on previous relevant work that has been comparative in nature and that has explored such processes as 'policy borrowing' or 'vernacular globalisation'.

We start by defining what is meant by globalisation and then seek to ascertain how processes of globalisation have influenced education systems in nation states around the world. In the third section of the chapter we focus in more closely on teacher education, which in some senses may be seen as a 'sub-system' of a nation's education system. Here, drawing on our review of the twelve cases, we identify six overarching themes that emerge as significant in defining both what is common and what is distinctive in teacher education systems.

Our conclusion is that while globalisation may be a helpful concept in pointing us to the increased significance of international trends in teacher education, nevertheless, there is such variation in the ways in which these trends are influencing particular systems, that an overemphasis on the concept may obscure the significance of distinctive national features.

1. Globalisation and its impacts in education

Globalisation is a difficult term to define tightly. In many ways this reflects the complexity of understanding human activity on a very large scale. During the late 20th century the emphasis in globalisation debates tended to be on the economic sphere, when it was increasingly recognised how interdependent different parts of the world were in terms of trade, commerce and industry. However it might well be pointed out that global trade has a very long history dating back to the 16th and 17th centuries and led to the pattern of unequal distribution of resources that became very clear during the independence struggles in many parts of the world in the 1960s and 1970s. This of course reminds us of the political dimensions of globalisation, that much about the wealth and health of a nation state depends on its political history and on the power that lies there.

This in turn highlights the multifaceted nature of global interdependence. Power may be deployed through economic, military, political and cultural means – and these are all inter-related. So the very imbalanced contemporary destruction of resources that we see today across the world, the continuing unequal relationships between 'advanced/developed' and 'non-advanced/underdeveloped' nations remind us of overarching questions of social justice and injustice on a global scale (Gray, 1998; Stiglitz, 2015). Furthermore we need to acknowledge the power of language itself to create and then sustain some of these imbalances as has been so well demonstrated in some of the post-colonial critical social theory that has been developed by people such as Franz Fanon (1967) and Edward Said (2003) and, working within education, by Paolo Freire (1972).

Some scholars have been so caught up by the notion of globalisation that they have suggested that what we are seeing is a global convergence, with the world moving together (a 'new world order'), to the extent that we may even see 'the end of history' (Fukyama, 2012). As we move further into the 21st century such a view now seems highly fanciful given the continuing violent conflicts in many parts of the world and the 'trade wars' that remain. Nor do we appear to be seeing the demise of the great organising concepts of global interaction – crudely capitalism and communism – as both continue to shape and influence politics and economics.

The continuing significance of the nation state is certainly evident in education systems, as we shall discuss shortly. However these units of 'the nation' should not be seen as stable or static. Even within a relatively small political unit like the 'United Kingdom', we see continuing internal tensions and conflict between constituent parts (Nairn, 1981). Furthermore at the time of writing we see the tortuous process underway of the UK attempting to withdraw from the European Union. This 'common market' had been established in the wake of the second world war and had produced enormous increases in exchange and trade across Europe and had strengthened the continent's positioning on a global level and yet, on the vote of just over 50% of those who voted, these 50 years of 'progress' are being rejected. Elsewhere in the world we have seen the 'breakup' of the Soviet Union but the creation of a new Federal Russia, comprising the great bulk of what was the USSR. And we have seen the economy of China growing very rapidly and becoming highly influential across the world.

So, although globalisation is clearly an important dimension of world affairs and is helping to shape human activity in the 21st century, it is far from being a linear unidimensional process and the term globalisation may be seen rather as a 'cipher' for some of the processes that are happening economically, politically and culturally. In other words we should not accept the idea of globalisation unproblematically or uncritically. What is distinctive about the recent past is the speed of communication. Electronic technologies have facilitated a rapid acceleration in the rate of dealing globally and relatively cheap air travel has facilitated an increase in the face to face business that can be done, as well as making cultural interaction much easier than it was (Castells, 2010).

Education – especially what we might call 'public education' is a particularly interesting 'case' to look at within the discussion on the relative significance of nations and globalisation. National schooling systems developed in every nation state during the twentieth century. Following the work of Raymond Williams on English education (Williams, 1961/2011), we can suggest that there were three main motivations for this 'parallel development', although the balance between the three played out very differently in different places and over different time periods. There was widespread recognition that in order to develop economically, nations needed to educate young people in basic skills such as literacy and numeracy so that they could contribute in the workplace (what Williams called 'the industrial trainers'). There was also a recognition that there might be an entitlement to education that would enable citizens to play their part in the democratic process (what Williams called 'the public educators'). And thirdly, there was a recognition that cultural transmission was important, that each nation had its own traditions, including literature and the arts and these need to be developed from one generation to the next (what Williams called 'the old humanists').

Furthermore, education systems were a key part of the mechanism for developing a national identity, which in a sense cuts across all three of Williams' categories and is where the idea of education as part of an 'Ideological State Apparatus' comes from, as developed by Louis Althusser (1972). In less explicitly Marxist terms, Andy Green (1990) has demonstrated through an historical analysis of education in the USA, France and England, how important schooling has been in the development of the nation state. More recently he has also looked at the impact of globalisation on these processes (Green, 1997). He suggests that the emphasis in the west has increasingly been on skills formation, with education for citizenship becoming less prominent, while in many other countries – including many developing countries – education continues to have a very significant role in national socialisation.

If Green is correct in his view that western nations have become increasingly preoccupied with the economic purposes of education and therefore have promoted the

skills agenda, then it is no surprise that educational attainment in such countries has become so competitive. The technology of testing and the ease with which league tables can be compiled and communicated has led to the creation of international assessment systems that have had an extraordinary impact on politicians in many nations. We know from many studies now (eg OECD, 2011; Barber and Mourshed, 2007) how sensitive politicians are about the position of their countries in league tables emerging from exercises such as PISA, TIMMS and PiRLS. Sahlberg (2010) has famously captured the zeitgeist of this movement by coining the phrase of "The GERM" – the Global Educational Reform Movement – to symbolise the epidemiological manner in which obsessions with standards, accountability and outcomes have spread around the world.

However, in their study of such globalising processes in education systems, Rizvi and Lingard (2010) point out how we are not dealing simply with imitation of one country or state by another. Indeed politicians are always keen to claim some kind of national distinctiveness in their policies as well as drawing on the lessons to be learned from those countries with the most successful outcomes. They use the phrase 'vernacular globalisation' to describe the ways in which international policy trends become mediated by national politics and cultures as they are instantiated in particular settings. The work of Jones and Alexiadou (2001) is also important here for they explore the ways in which 'travelling policies' meet 'embedded contexts' when they are adopted in a new setting, this turning them into something quite distinctive. Such processes of adaptation are perhaps to be welcomed, as we know from the comparative study of education that what may work well in one context may have little or no purchase in another context. If there is indeed a need for 'context sensitivity' in research (Crossley and Watson, 2003), then politicians might do well to give careful consideration to the transferability of educational policies and practices elsewhere before assuming that they will bring about positive change in their own context.

One further development in the internationalisation of education in nations arises from what has been called 'network governance' (Ball and Junemann, 2012). In many nations we have seen increasing porosity between the public and private sectors. Education has been a key element of social provision that has been subjected increasingly to the forces of the free market and become a site where private companies can operate and make profits and provide dividends for shareholders. Ball (2012) has shown how such processes commonly have a transnational flavour as multinational corporations lie behind many of the initiatives. One example which is very pertinent to the field of teacher education is the way in which the corporately backed "Teach for All' movement has been launched now in more than thirty countries around the world. Started in the USA – 'Teach for America', then remodelled for England as 'Teach First', the international consultancy group McKinsey lies behind this initiative, which has an apparently altruistic ambition of improving the quality of teachers and teaching, especially in situations of educational disadvantage but yet which brings the private sector very much into the foreground of provision.

2. Vernacular globalisation in teacher education

Reviewing the twelve cases that have been offered in this cross-national study (see Table 1), there are many examples of the kinds of global influences described in the previous section of this chapter, but we can also see how they have been influenced by the history and culture of the particular nation. In earlier work comparing Russia and England, Menter, Valeeyva and Kamlimullin (2017) showed how it is easily possible to detect similar trajectories in aspects of teacher education policy, in spite of very different political events occurring. So, we may wonder whether it is indeed possible to evaluate

the relative influence of national histories and global trends. It is certainly possible to identify a number of common themes and trajectories that emerge from the cases and we now offer a summary of these and indicate where they are manifested. It is our contention that the ways in which each of these themes is addressed in a particular setting has a very strong relationship with the central question in our enquiry, how is the professional knowledge of teachers defined?

Table 1. The twelve cases

National setting	Research undertaken by
Australia	Diane Mayer
Czech Republic	Jarmila Novotná
England	Katharine Burn, Ian Menter and Trevor Mutton
Finland	Janne Säntti and Jaakko Kauko
Hong Kong	Yuefen Zhang
Israel	Schmidt and Zuzovsky
Italy	Monica Mincu
Japan	Gerald LeTendre and Sakiko Ikoma
South Korea	James Pippin and Eunjung Jin
Mexico	Maria Teresa Tatto
Russia	Roza Valeeva and Aydar Kalimullin
United States	Maria Teresa Tatto and Christopher Clark

The six themes identified through our review of the twelve cases are:

1. The professionalisation/universitisation trajectory versus the deprofessionalisation/de-universitisation trajectory.

2. The positioning of research in relation to policy and practice: the practice, policy and research communities.

3. Partnership and roles in teacher education.

4. Power and control in teacher education: The political structures – nation/federal; state/regional; local.

5. The impact of performativity and accountability and the rise of Standards.

6. Technology and communication – the impact of digitisation.

3.1 The professionalisation/universitisation trajectory: versus the deprofessionalisation/de-universitisation trajectory

In every one of our twelve cases we have seen some forms of institutional reorganisation taking place. In many cases this has involved transforming separate teacher education institutions into constituent parts of universities. Sometimes this has involved every institution in the country (eg Israel), in other countries only a selection of the institutions (eg Russia). In Mexico, which has seen the most recent developments of this nature, we have seen teacher education moving from 'normal schools' into higher education over the past few years. These moves have generally reflected both an 'academicisation' and a 'professionalisation' of teacher education, responses to the policy problem of teaching and teacher education. The former process has tended to mean that there has been greater attention given to education sciences or education studies in the programme followed by the beginning teacher and the latter has been manifested by an increasing length of study and sometimes by raising the academic credentials to at least degree level and sometimes to Master's level (as in Finland).

But in a small number of countries we have seen evidence of a reversal of this trend, at least in part, what might be seen as a countervailing tendency. This is most apparent in England, where an apprenticeship model of teacher 'training' has been promoted and universities have experienced some sense of marginalisation in these matters. In Australia too we have seen the emergence of Teach for Australia, an employment based route and in the US, programs such as 'urban residencies' have followed a similar pattern (as well as Teach for America).

3.2 The positioning of research in relation to policy and practice:
the practice, policy and research communities

The extent to which research underpins policy and practice in teacher education varies greatly in our twelve cases. All of our contributors have been able to identify a range of research that has been carried out within their contexts but the influence of that research appears to be extremely variable. Moreover, it would seem to be a reasonable generalisation to make that teacher education is significantly under researched as a whole. In one or two settings, we can see a large amount of research activity (notably the US, see Cochran-Smith and Zeichner, 2005; Cochran-Smith, Feiman-Nemser, McIntyre and Demers, 2008) and in some there is a clear emphasis on questions of the effectiveness of teacher education (eg Hong Kong), but it is still remarkably difficult to identify sustained programmes of teacher education research that are large-scale and/or longitudinal. It may be that the amount of turbulence in policy and practice in many countries makes the creation of such a programme an insuperable challenge, but given the considerable public expenditure involved and the political sensitivity of the topic of 'teacher quality', this remains astonishing.

Settings where there is a generally positive relationship between research, policy and practice communities include Finland, Korea and Russia. In these countries we have seen evidence of a much more respectful set of relationships than for example in England or Italy or in Japan where there is a disjunction between academic and practitioner research. There are other countries where there appears to be growing awareness of the need for research to underpin developments, as for example in Australia and Israel.

Nevertheless it is important to acknowledge, as many of our contributors do, that a considerable range of localised research activity does take place and there can be little doubt that such work does have a significant positive effect on practice, if less on policy. Such research 'in' teacher education will remain important and indeed is closely linked to the notion of teaching itself as an enquiry-based profession (see BERA-RSA, 2014). Research 'on' or 'about' teacher education (Menter, 2017) is equally important, but generally far less evident.

3.3 Partnership and roles in teacher education

The respective contributions of specialist institutions, whether they be freestanding 'colleges of education' or departments/schools within universities, on the one hand, and schools, on the other, has been an enduring theme in teacher education since its inception. As we noted above, institutional arrangements have themselves varied over time and context but the particular relationships between higher education and schools have also been subject to much change. As the processes of universitisation developed in most countries during the twentieth century, so the input to teacher education programmes of those based there has generally increased. Thus we saw the emergence of a cadre of higher education based 'teacher educators' developing. The educational and professional backgrounds of these people varied. In Italy for example, the emphasis in recruiting these staff was on their academic background, with an expectation that they would have

a strong profile in a discipline such as sociology or psychology. However in some other settings, such as Australia or England, priority tended to be given to the professional experience of people appointed. In other words, was there evidence that they have been successful school teachers?

Nevertheless, as we have seen in the USA, Australia and England at least, the dual expectations on such staff that they would be both professionally skilled and experienced and capable of fulfilling an 'all-round' academic role in higher education has created considerable pressures. Many staff working in faculties of education have found it very challenging to develop successful research profiles at the same time as committing themselves fully to teaching on their teacher education programmes (Menter, Hulme and Sangster, 2012).

As these pressures on university based staff have increased, the growing emphasis on the contribution made to teacher education by those based in schools has also had a significant impact. What some have called 'the practical turn' in teacher education (Lawn and Furlong, 2011; Mattson, Eilertson and Rorritson, 2011) has led to increased attention being paid to the nature of the contribution made by teachers. There has been a massive expansion of the mentoring role of school teachers in teacher education (Hagger, Burn and McIntyre, 1993). In programmes in Finland and England for example, training in the development of mentoring skills has been a key element of provision for at least twenty or thirty years now. Of course some of the school-led or school-based schemes offered in England or the US rely almost entirely on such mentoring by school staff.

The nature of partnership between higher education and schools is therefore not only about the sharing of resources or indeed of contracts between the two, but has become a key pedagogical element of the programmes (Mutton, 2016). This has been clearly demonstrated in a number of research studies including Tatto, Burn, Menter, Mutton and Thompson, 2016; Mutton, Burn, Hagger and Thirlwall, 2018).

However, it must be acknowledged that such partnership arrangements and the development of mentoring practices by school-based staff, are far less visible in a number of settings, such as the Czech Republic, Italy and Japan.

*3.4 Power and control in teacher education: The political structures –
nation/federal; state/regional; local.*

As teacher education has become a 'policy problem' in so many settings (Cochran-Smith, 2016) it is not a surprise that not only have the providers been restructured and reorganised, but the involvement of government agencies has also become a matter of considerable flux. The first point to note here however is that in different settings, there are different governmental levels with responsibility for teacher education. Ranging from Hong Kong, which is a Semi Autonomous Region of the Republic of China, but where the major responsibility for teacher education lies with the SAR, we can observe the importance of states within a federal system, for example in Russia but also in the US and Australia. It is notable that in both of the latter countries the federal government has made recent attempts to intervene in teacher education, arguably more successfully in Australia than in the US. There are many other countries where a single unified government is the main policy body for teacher education. These would include Israel, Korea, Japan, Finland, the Czech Republic and Italy. England is again something of an oddity, in that the nationally elected government is at the United Kingdom level, but responsibility for education, including teacher education, lies at the level of the four separate jurisdictions, England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales and so policy and practice are quite different in the four constituent parts of the UK (Teacher Education Group, 2016).

So the level of government with responsibility varies and is sometimes shared between different levels, but this does not directly connect with the degree of involvement in controlling policy and practice in teacher education. There are in other words varying levels of power and control exercised in different settings by central or regional government. In many countries now the required outcomes of teacher education programmes are defined as a series of standards (see 3.5 below) and these are sometimes determined by government agencies (as in England) and sometimes by professional bodies (as in Finland) or by accreditation boards that represent a collaboration of government and professional bodies (as in the US).

The significance of these variations is that the particular arrangements may be seen to represent the extent to which professionals – teachers and teacher educators – are trusted by the wider society, represented by politicians, to make decisions and to take control of their own work. So the level of professional agency may be seen as being in proportion to the level of trust given to the teachers and teacher educators. In some settings there may be a professional body that has been established, which plays a major role in these matters, as for example in Australia, with their Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL). In England, the General Teaching Council which had been established in 2001 was closed down by the government in 2010 but is now in the process of being replaced (after a fashion) by a Chartered College of Teaching.

The arrangements for the governance of teacher education connect closely with some of the previous themes discussed, including the role and use of research and the arrangements for partnerships and indeed the institutional provision of teacher education. In particular these arrangements may be seen to have a determining influence on the key question of who defines teachers' professional knowledge, the theme we shall return to later.

3.5 The impact of performativity and accountability and the rise of Standards

One of the key elements of Sahlberg's concept of the 'GERM' is the spread around education systems of accountability measures (Sahlberg, 2010). These take many forms in schools, including heavy reliance on assessments of pupil performance, but they also reach into most teacher education systems, in some way or other. Korea provides one example of the most developed accountability systems for teachers and teacher education. Most frequently, in teacher education, such approaches are very visibly manifested through the adoption or imposition of a series of published standards that define what it is a teacher should know and be able to do. Teaching standards have indeed spread around the world like an epidemic and so, although the details of what is regarded as important in each setting may vary to some extent, the idea that the quality of teaching should be judged against an observable set of behaviours and knowledge has become commonplace. The suggestion that there are elements of teaching that are in some senses ineffable or beyond measurement has become seen by many as a romantic or idealist notion. Technical rationalism has become the common unifying tenet of what it is to be a teacher around the world. That is not to say that there is no scope for creativity and imagination in the performance of teaching, but it is to confirm that there are now 'baselines' almost everywhere that determine what is entailed in qualifying as a teacher.

The common features of most sets of standards include lists of knowledge, skills and dispositions. These now tend to form the basis not only of the judgements about teachers' performances but play a major part in shaping the content of teacher education programmes. Thus the standards become in essence the definition of the professional knowledge required in any particular setting. Again, thinking back to section 3.4 above, we may see how the more open ended the standards are then the more agency we may see

as being available to the teacher educators in shaping and determining their programme. However, conversely, we may also see how the more tightly standards are defined, the less flexibility there may be in determining the nature of the learning experiences made available for beginning teachers.

Indeed, more generally, the standards may seen as a statement of the values of the people who have determined them. So, for example, while it is common for all standards to have a statement about preparing teachers to support learners in overcoming disadvantage, the ways in which this is defined may vary. The emphasis may be on 'learning disabilities', on inequalities associated with ethnicity or gender or indeed may be on social disadvantage. Similarly, the positioning of educational research in lists of standards may well indicate the extent to which teachers are encouraged to engage with the available evidence (for example about teaching and learning) or to engage in their own enquiry in the classroom.

3.6 Technology and communication – the impact of digitisation

The final theme is one that is perhaps more speculative than the previous five. It is widely acknowledged that we now live in a networked society (Castells, 2010) in which information technology, including social media, plays a very significant role. The extent to which these technological developments have as yet had an impact on teacher education is questionable. Clearly there are some global developments that are far less likely to have happened without the availability of rapid forms of communication. Two examples of this that are very pertinent to this volume would be the global spread of standards, just discussed in the previous section and the development of the 'Teach for All' brand, now operating in more than 35 countries (see: Teachforall.org). More generally, the rapid spread of performativity and accountability measures has been highly dependent on electronic communication. From the administration of assessment procedures through to the consultation between ministers of education and their staff, the GERM has clearly been facilitated by the use of IT.

But in terms of learning to teach, it seems that while student teachers are being encouraged to make use of IT in their classrooms and in preparing to teach their lessons, the adoption of electronic forms of learning for the students themselves has not been developing rapidly. We may note some reference to the use of video technology and microteaching (for example in Australia) but the standard use of e-learning as a means of communication for learning to teach is not visible. While higher education internationally has seen a phenomenal growth of MOOCs (massive open online courses) and there have been some attempts at 'distance learning' in teacher education, for example in Scotland (see teachinscotland.scot) and in sub-Saharan Africa (Moon, 2013), we have as yet seen little evidence of the use of these technologies in the cases discussed in this study.

4. Knowledge traditions and definitions of teaching: summary and conclusion

Overall then, these six themes have emerged and enable us to describe and differentiate between teacher education in the nations studied. At the core of our enquiry has been an interest in how professional knowledge is defined. We have seen, through our sociohistorical approach that definitions of professional knowledge are far from fixed, they change periodically and sometimes quite quickly. But in all cases they reflect the particular history of the country concerned and draw on a combination of cultural traditions, research and sociopolitical relations.

In this sense our findings are similar to the recent investigation by Whitty and Furlong (2017), which included just three of the same countries as the present study – Australia, England and the US – but also considered France, Germany, Latvia and China. Furlong

and Whitty (2017) suggest that there are three main knowledge traditions which can be identified: academic, practical and integrated (ie those which combine the academic and the practical). This typology can certainly apply to the twelve cases in our study as well (as can be seen in the full volume: Tatto and Menter, forthcoming).

In this paper we have sought to examine how the institutional arrangements and the political 'settlements' in each jurisdiction influence the ways in which teacher education is structured and practiced. We can certainly detect the influence of globalisation but the work shows how much such a blanket term obscures about the nuanced ways in which particular systems develop. So while it is certainly true that all systems feature elements of accountability and demonstrate the adoption of standards, the specific approaches taken to these and other features of the respective systems do vary considerably. Furthermore, it is important to stress that most of what we have reviewed in this paper has examined systems as a whole, at what might be called the macro level. Drawing on our recent Anglo-US comparative study (Tatto, Burn, Menter, Mutton and Thompson, 2018), it is very important to point out that the reality of experience for beginning teachers, school teachers and higher education based teacher educators may be shaped at least as much by institutional factors – the meso level – and indeed by individual and personal factors – the micro level.

As we look to the future, it will be crucial that we continue to engage in cross-national and comparative study of teacher education. In this age of The GERM, it is more important than ever that critical independent research is at the heart of our activity as scholars in the field. The six themes identified in this particular investigation appear to be timely criteria for evaluating contemporary practices and policies but they are very likely to evolve over the years ahead and their relative significance may also change. While the forces of globalisation are likely to continue to shape the development of teacher education in most countries of the world, the need to identify how teacher education can contribute to the betterment of humanity and the sustenance of peace and democracy in national, regional and local contexts is likely to become increasingly challenging.

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