

INTRODUCTION TO COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Sara Miller McCune founded SAGE Publishing in 1965 to support the dissemination of usable knowledge and educate a global community. SAGE publishes more than 1000 journals and over 800 new books each year, spanning a wide range of subject areas. Our growing selection of library products includes archives, data, case studies and video. SAGE remains majority owned by our founder and after her lifetime will become owned by a charitable trust that secures the company's continued independence.

Los Angeles | London | New Delhi | Singapore | Washington DC | Melbourne

SECOND EDITION

INTRODUCTION TO COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

JENNIFER MARSHALL



 SAGE

Los Angeles | London | New Delhi
Singapore | Washington DC | Melbourne



Los Angeles | London | New Delhi
Singapore | Washington DC | Melbourne

SAGE Publications Ltd
1 Oliver's Yard
55 City Road
London EC1Y 1SP

SAGE Publications Inc.
2455 Teller Road
Thousand Oaks, California 91320

SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd
B 1/1 1 Mohan Cooperative Industrial Area
Mathura Road
New Delhi 110 044

SAGE Publications Asia-Pacific Pte Ltd
3 Church Street
#100-04 Samsung Hub
Singapore 049483

Editor: James Clark
Editorial assistant: Diana Alves
Production editor: Tanya Szwarnowska
Copyeditor: Peter Williams
Proofreader: Sharon Cawood
Indexer: Cathy Heath
Marketing manager: Dilhara Attygalle
Cover design: Naomi Robinson
Typeset by: C&M Digital (P) Ltd, Chennai, India
Printed in the UK

© Jennifer Marshall 2019

First edition published 2014, reprinted 2015 once, 2016 once & 2017 twice

Apart from any fair dealing for the purposes of research or private study, or criticism or review, as permitted under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, this publication may be reproduced, stored or transmitted in any form, or by any means, only with the prior permission in writing of the publishers, or in the case of reprographic reproduction, in accordance with the terms of licences issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside those terms should be sent to the publishers.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018952999

British Library Cataloguing in Publication data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-5264-4513-1
ISBN 978-1-5264-4514-8 (pbk)

At SAGE we take sustainability seriously. Most of our products are printed in the UK using responsibly sourced papers and boards. When we print overseas we ensure sustainable papers are used as measured by the PREPS grading system. We undertake an annual audit to monitor our sustainability.

CONTENTS

<i>About the author</i>	vi
<i>New to this edition</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
Part I Comparative Education	1
1 An introduction to comparative education	3
2 How are comparisons made?	25
3 Culture and education	43
4 Economic, political, social and historical contexts for comparison	60
5 Education and the developing world	80
6 Gender and education	101
Part II International Education	119
7 Understanding international education	121
8 Globalisation and education	139
9 Global citizenship education	158
10 Multicultural education	175
11 International schools	195
12 Internationalisation of higher education	212
<i>Index</i>	232

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jennifer Marshall is a senior lecturer at the University of Derby and has worked in a variety of educational contexts for over twenty years. She has taught in secondary schools in the USA and Japan as well as teaching English as a foreign language to children and adults in Poland. She worked for a number of years as an English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) teacher, lecturer and Cambridge examiner in the UK. Working with international students over the years has led to research interests in higher education internationalisation policy and how institutions can meet the needs of international students. Jennifer currently teaches post-graduate modules in Comparative Education, Research Methods and TESOL as well as leading the MA in Education at the University.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

It has absolutely delighted me that the first edition of this book has been so successful that it has warranted an updated and revised second edition. My intention with the first edition was to provide access to pertinent literature on the complex field of comparative and international education. Feedback from students and colleagues alike has suggested that they really valued the fact that the book was written in a straightforward and understandable way.

For the second edition, I wanted to keep its user-friendly approach so revised the text mainly by updating the literature and statistics. The new edition also has key concept boxes which emphasise the main ideas of each chapter. Finally, new case studies have been added throughout. These are meant to engage the reader in discussion and debate on contemporary issues within the field. Examples range from the education of the Rohingya in Myanmar to Singapore maths. No matter your specialism within the field, this book covers a wide range of topics; I sincerely hope you enjoy it.

Jennifer Marshall

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my wonderful family: Andy, Ellie, Shelby and mom Jane for their continued love and encouragement in my academic pursuits. I need to offer a special thanks to my colleague Neil Radford who has given me the time and space to engage in scholarly activity. Without his support, this would not have been possible. Lastly, to James Clark, commissioning editor at Sage, who has always believed in this project.

SAGE and the author would also like to thank the following reviewers whose comments helped to shape the first and second editions of this book:

Philip Bamber, Liverpool Hope University

David Boorman, Edge Hill University

Kate Duffy, University of Sunderland

John Howlett, Keele University

Paul Miller, Brunel University

Lynne Parmenter, Manchester Metropolitan University

Robin Shields, Bath Spa University

David Stephens, University of Brighton

David Thompson, University of Wolverhampton

PART 1

**COMPARATIVE
EDUCATION**



CHAPTER 1

AN INTRODUCTION TO COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

This chapter explores:

- what comparative education is;
- how the field has developed over the years;
- the purpose of comparative education;
- who compares;
- the challenges of undertaking comparative research.



ACTIVITY 1.1 DEFINING TERMS

Before beginning this chapter, write down a definition of comparative education. At the end of the chapter, reflect on your definition. Is comparative education what you thought? How might this be similar to and different from international education?

Comparative education is often used interchangeably with international education. While these two fields certainly overlap, it can be argued that they are two distinct areas of study. There has been a long history of debate pertaining to the identity of comparative and international education, often called ‘twin’ fields (Bray, 2010), but what exactly is comparative education and how is it different from international education? This chapter aims to explain the nature and purpose of comparative education.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

In order to define what the field is today, an understanding of the history shaping it is important. Many contemporary academics argue over the importance of understanding the historical development of comparative education in order to appreciate just how far the field has come from its earliest roots. Not only is there disagreement as to the definition of the twin fields, but disparity also exists in identifying their historical roots. How far back does comparative education go? When did it emerge as a distinct field of study?

Noah and Eckstein (1969) claim that the historical development of comparative education can be identified through five distinct stages, each with its own aims. The first stage is often referred to as ‘travellers’ tales’, stories that were brought back from foreign travel and were generally descriptive in nature. When this first stage begins is less clear but for Noah and Eckstein it pre-dates the nineteenth century. Some writers go back as far as ancient times, citing examples from the Greeks and Romans and in particular how they admired the ‘discipline of Spartan education’ (Crossley and Watson, 2003, p. 12).

According to Phillips (2000), there was a large group of British travellers who fell into Noah and Eckstein’s first stage. They visited countries such as Germany out of ‘cultural and general curiosity’ and they wrote with ‘varying degrees of sophistication’ (Phillips, 2000, p. 49). At this time, these tales did not systematically compare or analyse educational practice so have been dismissed by many scholars. However, others (see Rust et al., 2009) have asserted that while these tales may have been descriptive they had much value and have been harshly judged by those who have a narrow view as to what counts as scholarly activity.



ACTIVITY 1.2 TRAVELLERS’ TALES

Have you ever travelled to another country and come back with an education-related story to share? Or do you have friends who are from another country? Have they told you about education in their own country? Why would or wouldn’t this be classified as research?

The second stage described by Noah and Eckstein (1969) begins in the nineteenth century. This phase coincides with the rise of national education systems in Europe. During the 1800s countries such as France, Germany and Great Britain were establishing national systems of schooling which eventually became free and universal by the end of the century. Many policy-makers had great interest in the organisation and practice of education in other countries in order to help them devise their own. Noah and Eckstein (1969) argue that the work conducted in this stage was still very similar to the travellers’ tales in previous years. Many of

the writings during this time were ‘encyclopedic descriptions of foreign school systems’ (Noah and Eckstein, 1969, p. 5) and subjective in nature. The purpose of these foreign visits was to learn in order to help improve conditions in their home countries (Phillips, 2000).

The third stage occurred around the middle of the nineteenth century and is still characterised by the accumulation of information in an encyclopaedic manner. However, Noah and Eckstein (1969) suggest that this exchange of scholars, students and publications was in the interest of promoting international understanding rather than in the interest of advancing one’s own educational interests.

The fourth stage begins around the end of the nineteenth century. In this stage, a social science approach was beginning to develop as ‘studies of foreign schooling became to a considerable extent studies of national character and the institutions that help form it’ (Noah and Eckstein, 1969, p. 6). The recognition of the role of education in shaping society became important in this stage, as did the idea of cause and effect and that national character determines education.

The fifth stage occurs after the First World War and coincides with the rise in statistical techniques in the social sciences. The adoption of quantitative methods after the Second World War and the empirical orientation of the social sciences began to reshape comparative education (Noah and Eckstein, 1969).



ACTIVITY 1.3 HISTORIC STAGES

Think about how comparative education has developed using Noah and Eckstein’s five stages. Can you find any similarities between them and your own academic development? What criticisms can you think of regarding these five stages? Do you think the field developed in a linear fashion?

Similarly, in his classic book *Comparative Method in Education*, Bereday (1964) writes of phases in the history of comparative education. However, for Bereday the first phase begins in the nineteenth century and lasts for about a hundred years. Like many other scholars (e.g. Green, 2003; Acosta and Centeno, 2011; Phillips and Schweisfurth, 2014), Bereday believes that the Frenchman Marc-Antoine Jullien, or Jullien de Paris as he is also known, was ‘the first scientifically minded comparative educator’ (Bereday, 1964, p. 7). Jullien’s aim was to improve French education by identifying the best schools in Europe and examining how they were organised, the teaching methods they used and what successful improvements they had implemented. Many writers in the field have called him the ‘father’ of comparative education as he was the first to use the term ‘comparative education’ (Crossley and Watson, 2003) and to use formal models of analysis (Gautherin, 1993). In his book *Esquisse et vues préliminaires d’un ouvrage sur l’éducation*

comparée or *Sketch and Preliminary Views on Comparative Education* (published in 1817), unlike his predecessors, Jullien provided a systematic approach to collecting information on education in Europe by using simple questionnaires (Green, 2003). According to Gautherin (1993), by using the comparative method successfully employed in anatomy, Jullien was trying to advance the science of education. Although his work was largely neglected throughout his lifetime, the first course on the science of education was officially introduced at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1883 (Masemann, 2006).

Bereday called this first phase in comparative education the period of ‘borrowing’ because the purpose of comparing was about taking the best practices from one country and transplanting them to another (Bereday, 1964).



ACTIVITY 1.4 EDUCATIONAL BORROWING

What practices do you think early writers in the field reported on? Do you think borrowing these practices and transplanting them in your own country is effective? Why, or why not?

For Bereday (1964), the second phase, called the period of ‘prediction’, occurred during the first half of the twentieth century and was led by the British educationalist Sir Michael Sadler. Like Jullien de Paris, Sadler was also interested in improving the English education system so looked to other systems, namely those in France, the USA and Germany, in order to draw comparisons. In his quest for reform, he was mindful of the wider social consequences that educational change may present (Mallinson, 1981). Scholars at this time paid attention to the relationship between education and society and the social causes underlying pedagogical practice. There was now a shift from cataloguing descriptive data to examining the social and cultural factors influencing education. In his classic text *Studies in Comparative Education* (1933, p. xi), Kandel writes: ‘The problems and purposes of education have in general become somewhat similar in most countries; the solutions are influenced by differences of tradition and culture peculiar to each.’ As a result, educators became much more careful when transferring ideas and practice from one country to another. Bereday (1964) called this phase in comparative education ‘the period of prediction’ as there was a shift from not just borrowing but also predicting the likely success of that borrowing based on other countries’ experiences.

At the time of writing his book, comparative education had only just embarked on the third phase, which Bereday called the period of ‘analysis’. This was an appeal for a more systematic approach to research to help ensure the success of borrowing educational policy and practice

from elsewhere. Early scholars such as Kandel (1933) even called for the development of better methods in the field. There was no universal agreement as to what kind of methods and systematisation comparativists should follow. This disagreement was evident in much of the scholarly writing in the field after the Second World War.

However, critics such as Epstein (2008, p. 374) argue that the widespread view that comparative education ‘evolved mainly in Darwinian-style stages of development’ is misunderstood. Others believe that separating out the history of the field into phases is over-simplistic and that they ‘are not necessarily linear or consistent across time, cultures or individuals’ (Crossley and Watson, 2003, p. 21). Brickman (2010) and Epstein (2017) ask us to challenge the role of Marc-Antoine Jullien as the ‘father’ of comparative education, and assert that there were, perhaps, others before and after him who used analytical approaches in their comparative studies. Despite criticism, it is widely acknowledged that both Bereday’s and Noah and Eckstein’s books have contributed greatly to the field (Bray et al., 2007).

What is the early history of comparative education in other parts of the world? Comparative education was developing in the countries of Europe, North America and Asia between the latter parts of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries (Masemann, 2006). However, the historical development of comparative education in mainland China, for example, can arguably date back further than the ‘travellers’ tales’ of Western Europe. Due to its long history of civilisation, cases of ‘borrowing’ and ‘lending’ can be traced back to the Han Dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) and the Tang Dynasty (618–906 AD) where the influence of Indian Buddhism on Chinese education was evident (Bray and Qin, 2001).

In the Middle East between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, scholars travelled extensively in the Arab region and their accounts represent the first comparative education documents in the region (Benhamida, 1990, in Halls, 1990). As in the West, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, the establishment of public schooling required a more systemic way of studying foreign education. It was not until the 1940s and 1950s that comparative education, led by the prominent Syrian Sati al-Husari (1882–1968), began to develop into the field as we understand it today (Benhamida, 1990, in Halls, 1990).

In Latin America during the nineteenth century, there are examples of ‘travellers’ tales’ from those such as José María Luis Mora from Mexico, Andrés Bello from Venezuela, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento from Argentina and José Pedro Varela from Uruguay, who looked at education practices that they could borrow from Europe and the USA (Acosta and Centeno, 2011). For example, Sarmiento, an intellectual and social activist in Argentina, travelled to France, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy, Spain and England to learn new ideas in his quest to bring education to the masses and improve the social conditions of women and children in particular (Bravo, 1994).

In the twentieth century, the Second World War had a tremendous influence on the field of comparative and international education (international education will be discussed in Chapter 7). Many international organisations which undertake comparative research in education, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the World Bank, were created to help rebuild a world shattered by war (Crossley and Watson, 2003).

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION SOCIETIES AND JOURNALS

Over the years, other organisations have played a key role in shaping comparative education. The first Comparative Education Society (renamed in 1969 as the Comparative and International Education Society, or CIES) was formed in the USA in 1956. Other societies soon followed in Europe and elsewhere. The main purpose of the CIES is to foster cross-cultural understanding, scholarship, academic achievement and societal development through the international study of educational ideas, systems and practices. The Society's members include more than 2,500 academics, practitioners and students from around the world (CIES, 2018). The society consists not only of educators but also of historians, sociologists, economists, psychologists and anthropologists. This multidisciplinary approach reflects the field at large, adding to the variety and richness of the research and activities that the society undertakes.

In 1970, the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) was established to bring together these newly created comparative education societies (Masemann, Bray and Manzon, 2008) and currently meets every three years to discuss international issues in education. It is a non-government organisation (NGO) and works together with UNESCO. It was created to advance the field of comparative education and also promote research involving scholars in various countries. The newly published journal of the WCCES is titled *Global Comparative Education* and receives submissions in six UN languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish (WCCES, 2018).

Now, there are over 40 member societies from Africa, the Americas, Asia and the Middle East, Europe and Oceania. The size and membership of these societies varies, as does the year in which they were formed: some have been established since the 1970s (e.g. the Dutch Speaking Society for Comparative Studies in Education or, in Dutch, *Nederlandstalig Genootschap voor Vergelijkende Studie van Opvoeding en Onderwijs*, (NGVO)), others later, such as the Gulf Comparative Education Society which was formed in 2008. The main goals of each of these societies are similar to and in line with the WCCES, which is primarily to promote research and scholarly exchange in the field of comparative education. In order to do that, many of these societies produce academic journals and host conferences to share research and ideas.

Table 1.1 Comparative education societies 1950s–60s

Comparative and international societies (1950–70)	Date founded
Comparative and International Education Society (formerly Comparative Education Society) (CIES)	1956
Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE)	1961
Japan Comparative Education Society (JCES)	1965
Comparative and International Education Society of Canada	1967
Korean Comparative Education Society (KCES)	1968



ACTIVITY 1.5 COMPARATIVE EDUCATION SOCIETIES

Have a look at the following comparative education society websites and their respective journals:

- The Spanish comparative education society (SEEC) available at: www.sc.edu.es/sfwseec/index_en.htm
- The Oceania Comparative and International Education Society (previously ANZCIES) available at: <https://ocies.org>
- The Comparative and International Education Society of Canada (CIESC) available at: <http://ciescanada.ca>

What are the stated objectives of these societies? What topics are published in their journals? To what extent do you feel they meet these objectives?

Since their inception in the late 1950s, these societies have contributed greatly to the advancement of the field through their research and promotion of it, and in the 1960s comparative education embarked on a whole new era of scholarly activity. By this time, there were a number of prominent comparativists such as Nicolas Hans, Issac Kandel and Edmund King in the USA, Europe and elsewhere.

As well as societies, a number of comparative education journals were established in the twentieth century, many being the official journals of the societies with which they were affiliated. The first comparative education journal was produced in Germany in 1931 under three titles (German, English and French): *Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft*, *International Education Review* and *Revue Internationale de Pédagogie*. The journal was interrupted briefly several times but started again permanently in 1955 with the English name changed to the *International Review of Education* (Bray, 2003a). In 1957, the Comparative Education Society (now the CIES) launched its official journal entitled *Comparative Education Review*. The journal ‘investigates education throughout the world and the social, economic,

and political forces that shape it ... [its aim is] to advance knowledge and teaching in comparative education studies' (CIES, 2018).

METHODOLOGICAL DEBATES



KEY CONCEPT: METHODOLOGY

Methodology refers to the general strategy or approach taken to how research is conducted. It describes the philosophy and principles that underpin research as well as the methods or tools used. Methodology also includes the steps undertaken to answer the research question and the justification for doing so. In other words, it is like an umbrella under which all other activities happen. For example, if you wanted to research the study habits of first-year undergraduates, you might want to take a quantitative approach (methodology) and survey students using a questionnaire (method).

In the 1960s and 1970s, the field was embroiled in debates about methodology. In other words, disagreement arose as to how research in the field should be carried out. These debates reflected what was happening in the wider social sciences where positivism had dominated academia since the nineteenth century. From a positivist perspective, the laws of science typically used to study and understand the physical world are applied to the social world. If we can find the laws of cause and effect that govern society, we might be able to predict and control it. Many such as Noah and Eckstein (1969) in their seminal text, *Toward a Science of Comparative Education*, argued that researchers in the field should adopt a positivist or scientific approach using quantitative methods. In fact, they applauded their predecessors, such as Sadler, Kandel and Hans, for their qualitative attempts to explain the relationship between society and education. However, they felt that in order for comparative education to fulfil its potential for education planning, it had to offer a means of reliable prediction and without a quantitative base they felt that this could not be suitably achieved (Noah and Eckstein, 1969).

Much of the work carried out during the 'borrowing' phase of comparative education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was criticised by post-war educationalists (Crossley and Watson, 2003). The criticism stemmed from the fact that previous research had been mostly historical, descriptive and explanatory. Many thought this 'approach lacked scientific rigour because it failed to draw causative links between schools and society' (Crossley and Watson, 2003, p. 26). Therefore, through the scientific approach, researchers such as Bereday (1964) and Noah and Eckstein (1969) were trying to see if it were possible to identify laws governing the relationship between education and society (Crossley and Watson, 2003). Indeed, Bereday (1964) writes: 'As in

all social sciences, this final stage of the discipline is concerned with the formulation of “laws” or “typologies” that permit an international understanding and a definition of the complex interrelation between the schools and the people they serve’ (Bereday, 1964, p. 25).



ACTIVITY 1.6 SCIENTIFIC LAWS AND COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

How can you apply the scientific approach to the study of education systems and the societies that they are a part of? What are the benefits and limitations of this approach?

However, as stated previously, not everyone in the field agreed with the ‘scientific’ approach being proposed. In fact, Edmund King, Professor of Comparative Education in King’s College, University of London, and editor of the journal *Comparative Education* from 1978 to 1992, was one such critic. King (1965) believed that comparative education is really about the study of human behaviour and is therefore complex:

Let us take a single example from several dangerous fantasies in our field. We are sometimes invited to simplify our research work and make it more ‘scientific’ by inventing some formula or ‘theoretical construct’ of a near-mathematical type that will enable us to ‘identify’, to ‘classify’, and to ‘predict’. Some misguided people seem to resemble unmathematical schoolboys, hoping to find a routine formula for the magic solution of equations, or for working out percentages and dividends. Perhaps it works in mathematics. It will not work with behaviour.

(King, 1965, p. 151)

King (1965) also criticised the approach to problems as proposed by Bereday (1964). Bereday believed that this was an essential part of the research process. For Bereday, solutions to educational problems can be found by examining how others in the world have solved similar issues. In fact, Kandel (1933) listed a number of problems which he felt were universal among nations. Some of the problems posed by Kandel over eighty years ago (see below) are relevant today, even in the ever-changing educational landscape. However, looking at them critically, were these problems really universal and are they still so today? Furthermore, King (1965) argued that without careful attention to sociological, psychological or economic perspectives, this approach could be seen as amateurish and even ‘dangerous’.

Kandel’s selected ‘problems of education’ (1933, p. xviii) were as follows:

- What is the place of private education and of private schools?
- What is the scope of post-elementary or secondary education?
- What should be the curriculum in each type of school?
- How are teachers prepared and what is their status?
- How can standards be maintained? What should be the place of examinations?
- Who shall formulate curricula and courses of study?
- What is the meaning of equality of educational opportunity?

Bray et al. (2007) point out that debates concerning methodology were not happening equally around the world and the work emanating from English-speaking countries came to dominate the literature. By the 1980s, attempts to exert one single method over another had subsided and the debate over methodology waned (Altbach and Kelly, 1986, cited in Bray et al., 2007). New concerns emerged in the field with the arrival of the concept of globalisation in the late 1980s. Current debates have centred on the relationship between globalisation and education and the challenges this poses for comparative education (see Dale, 2005). This relationship will be explored in Chapter 8.

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION: A DISCIPLINE?



KEY CONCEPT: AN ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE

A discipline is a branch of learning or knowledge. Traditional disciplines such as history, economics, sociology and psychology have their own departments and offer degrees in the subject at colleges and universities. They have an accepted and established way of doing research and producing knowledge, often published in their own academic journals. Examples of disciplines are History, Politics, Sociology, Mathematics and Psychology.

Over the years, many have been concerned with whether comparative education is a discipline, a field of study, an approach or a method – a way of collecting data. Can comparative education really be considered a discipline? There is no single method in comparative education nor is there any agreement as to which method is best. In fact, Bereday wrote that ‘comparative education relies on the methods of a host of other fields, from philosophy to psychology, from literature to statistics’ (Bereday, 1964, p. x).

Some might ask, ‘does it really matter?’ while others see that it really does. Manzon (2011) believes that this lack of clarity concerning the

nature and identity of comparative education is problematic. She writes: 'How can a field of study survive, develop and perpetuate itself if its scholarly community are unclear, much less unanimous, about their field's identity, aims and contents?' (Manzon, 2011, p. 2). Much of the literature in the field focuses on this exact debate.

Can students acquire degrees in comparative education like they can in other disciplines, such as history or sociology? Comparative education was first taught as a course or module by James E. Russell at Teachers College, Columbia University, USA, in 1899 (Bereday, 1963). The title of the course was Comparative Study of Educational Systems. According to a university announcement, the course was 'designed to present a comprehensive view of a typical foreign school system and to aid students in making intelligent comparisons of the practical workings of this system with other systems at home and abroad' (Bereday, 1963, p. 189). Furthermore, during the academic year 1899–1900, special attention was given to the national education of Germany as compared with characteristic features of the systems of France, England and America.

Elsewhere, the first comparative education courses were taught by Isaac Kandel at Manchester University, England, in 1905, by Peter Sandiford in Canada at the University of Toronto in 1913 and in the 1920s at other universities in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Uganda (Manzon, 2011). Furthermore, Manzon reports that in the 1930s, comparative education subjects were also taught in the Far East: at Tokyo University in Japan; in China at Beijing Normal University and at the University of Hong Kong. In the 1940s, similar trends were also seen in Brazil, Cuba and Australia, and by the end of the Second World War, comparative education had become an established academic subfield of education departments in universities around the world (Manzon, 2011).

From its inaugural course at Teachers College at Columbia University, comparative education has had strong links to teacher training (Planel, 2008), with many programmes around the world including it as an optional or elective component of their degrees. However, recent reports suggest that comparative education in initial teacher training has declined over the years in Western countries (O'Sullivan et al., 2008; Planel, 2008). In the UK, at undergraduate level, comparative education can be found in general education programmes such as the BA (Hons) Education Studies and may come under a variety of titles such as comparative pedagogy, educational systems abroad, education in Europe, and so forth. Very often, elements of comparative education may be found in other courses on global citizenship and philosophy of education or in modules with titles incorporating the terms global or international. Most full degrees in Comparative Education are offered at Master's level rather than undergraduate level and the number of institutions offering this worldwide is small in comparison to other Master's degrees such as those in Business Administration.

Most scholars would probably now agree that comparative education is a subfield of Education Studies. Even Bereday (1964, p. ix) writes:

‘Comparative education is a young subfield in the very old discipline of pedagogy.’ The field explores such a wide range of issues, and Phillips and Schweisfurth (2014) have argued that it is the use of the comparative method that unites comparativists. It is used by many disciplines (for example, Comparative Politics), so cannot be viewed as a discipline in itself.

Colclough (2010) contends that it is largely because of the vast range of topics within the field that comparative education is not constrained by disciplinary boundaries. Nor is it likely or desirable to be so. In fact, Crossley and Watson (2003) believe that a major advantage of the field is its multidisciplinary approach and the variety of theoretical frameworks used in research.

What topics are covered in comparative education? Looking through various comparative education journals, one can easily see a variety of content. However, some topics have been popular for decades (Bray, 2003b). These include ‘issues of power and control, education for national development, importation of educational ideas, and reform of education’ (Bray, 2003b, p. 5). Theoretical themes have also dominated the literature: postmodernism, feminism, post-colonialism and, more recently, globalisation. It is precisely this variety which makes comparative education a hugely exciting field and therefore attractive to a great number of students and scholars alike.

HOW CAN WE DEFINE WHAT COMPARATIVE EDUCATION IS?

Halls (1990) believed that comparative education has always been difficult to define which has thus hindered its progress. Furthermore, Epstein (1992) supports this view that comparative education and international education are terms that are often intertwined. The literature maintains this confusion by not providing clear distinctions between the two. Some of this confusion is bound to rest in the fact that many, if not most, comparative studies transcend national boundaries and are international or global in scope. If this is the case, how can we understand what it is? In an attempt to do this, we will look at several definitions. Manzon (2011) offers one of the most comprehensive definitions of the field.

Manzon (2011, p. 215) defines comparative education as follows:

An interdisciplinary subfield of education studies that systematically examines the similarities and differences between educational systems in two or more national or cultural contexts, and their interactions with intra- and extra-educational environments. Its specific object is educational systems examined from a cross-cultural (or cross-national, cross-regional) perspective through the systematic use of comparative method, for the advancement of theoretical understanding and theory building.

Epstein (1992, p. 409) defined comparative education as ‘a field of study that applies social scientific theories and methods to international issues of

education'. He also believed that although related to international education, comparative education was distinct from it. International education as a separate field will be discussed in Chapter 7, but for the purpose of understanding this distinction, it needs to be defined here as well. Hayden (2006), a distinguished scholar in the field of international education, asserts that there is no simple definition of international education either. Epstein (1992, p. 409) refers to international education as 'organised efforts to bring together students, teachers, and scholars from different nations to interact and learn about and from each other'. For the purpose of this book, Halls' (1990) definition below will be used. He, in fact, created a typology (system or classification) of comparative education that has been accepted by some academics (see Phillips and Schweisfurth, 2014) in helping to make sense of such a vast field. In this model (see Figure 1.1), Halls acknowledges that it is flawed as the categories are not mutually exclusive and overlap.

What is more, there is no universal agreement among comparative educationalists as to the usage of these terms. For example, many scholars would argue whether international education is a subfield of comparative education. Nevertheless, Halls defined 'comparative pedagogy as the study of teaching and the classroom process in different countries'; 'Intra-educational and intra-cultural analysis investigates education by its various levels, and also systematically researches the historical, social, cultural, political, religious, economic and philosophical forces that partly determine and are partly determined by the character of the education systems, and compares the resultant outcomes in two or more systems, areas or even globally'; 'Education abroad is the study of aspects of an

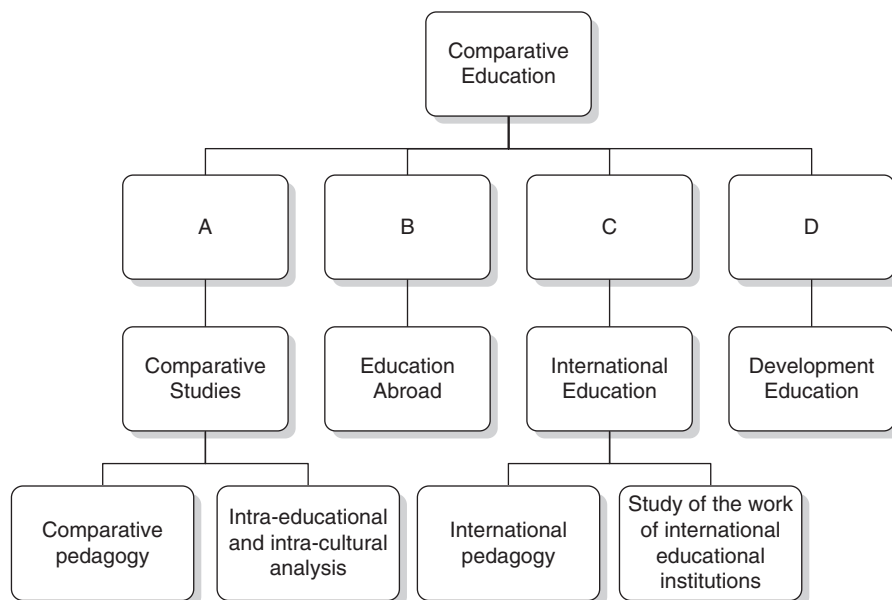


Figure 1.1 Halls' typology of comparative education

Source: Halls (1990, p. 23).

educational system or systems other than one's own; this includes area studies' (Halls 1990, p. 24).

Halls subdivides international education into 'international pedagogy' and the 'study of the work of international educational institutions'. 'International pedagogy is the study of teaching multinational, multicultural and multiracial groups, for example in international schools, transnational schools (such as those of the European community), or the education of linguistic or ethnic minorities.' 'It is also the study of such subjects as education for international understanding, peace education, international population and ecological studies.' Within this area, Halls also includes the resolution of intra-national differences regarding the teaching of controversial subject-matter, efforts to 'objectivise' textbooks, the harmonisation of curricula and the establishment of international teaching norms. 'Study of the work of international education institutions is concerned with policy matters, such as the establishment of international acceptability of qualifications, the promotion of educational exchanges and the initiation of cultural agreements'; 'Development education is the production of information and plans to assist policymakers, particularly in "new nations", the development of appropriate educational methods and techniques, and the training of personnel to implement programmes' (Halls, 1990, p. 24).



ACTIVITY 1.7 CATEGORISING THE FIELD

Using Halls' (1990) typology, look through various journals such as *Compare*, *Comparative Education Review* and *Comparative Education Research*. Scan the titles of the articles and abstracts. Can you classify the type of article according to Halls' model? Do studies fit neatly into the categories?

As stated at the beginning of the chapter, comparative and international are often used interchangeably with education, which has led to much discussion surrounding their use (see Epstein, 1992; Bray, 2010; Little, 2010). Bray (2010, p. 722) proposes that the field of comparative education would be strengthened by a definition which describes 'what is and is not within the bounds of comparative education, international education, and comparative and international education'. Indeed, for the student new to comparative and international education this would be useful in helping to build a conceptual framework of the field and also to help make sense of the vast amount of literature. Little (2010) concurs with Bray that the meanings of terms such as 'education', 'comparative', 'international' and 'development', for example, are used and combined differently by various scholars. Again, there is no agreement on their usage and for the student this can be confusing. However, as no suitable alternatives exist, the terms as described by Halls will underpin this book and provide the basis for both its structure and format.

**ACTIVITY 1.8 DEFINING COMPARATIVE EDUCATION**

Find other definitions in either books or journal articles or on the internet. Compare and contrast these to the definitions previously discussed. Can you then synthesise (combine) them to produce one that demonstrates your own understanding of what comparative education is? Be prepared to justify it.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION AND WHO COMPARES?

Comparative studies in education are undertaken for a variety of reasons and by a variety of people and organisations. Some of the reasons are listed below. However, the list is not exhaustive and there is overlap, as well as one reason possibly being the result of another:

- to learn about our own education system and that of others;
- to enhance our knowledge of education in general;
- to improve educational institutions, their content, processes and methods;
- to understand the relationship between education and society;
- to promote international understanding;
- to find possible solutions to educational issues.

**ACTIVITY 1.9 PURPOSE OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION**

Using the same articles from Activity 1.7, can you identify the nature and purpose of the comparative studies being published? Who is conducting the study? Why?

The first and foremost purpose of comparative education is in the name – to compare education in one or more countries. Traditionally, this has involved examining national education systems as the focus of study. It is now widely accepted that comparative education can include intra-national comparisons or, in other words, comparing within countries, perhaps different states, provinces or regions. Bereday (1964) believed that comparative education was simply about understanding the similarities and differences among educational systems. Looking at the reasons behind these enables us to learn not only about others but ourselves as well. Nevertheless, Bereday believed that the foremost justification for comparative education was intellectual: ‘Knowledge for its own sake is the sole ground upon which comparative education needs to make a stand in order to merit inclusion among other academic fields’ (Bereday,

1964, p. 5). Having said this, he was also a firm believer in the practical application of comparative education and its contribution to teaching and the social sciences in general.

There are a number of reasons why you as a student may wish to study comparative education. Perhaps you intend to teach abroad and therefore can benefit from the insights gleaned from exploring other educational systems. Comparisons enable us to view education from alternative perspectives, potentially leading to a greater understanding of the world, the people who live in it and the issues they may face. This can also help prepare you for teaching in a multicultural context either at home or abroad. Planel (2008, p. 386) argues that comparative education and, in particular, comparative pedagogy ‘could give teachers a better understanding of how pupils’ learning is affected by cultural understandings’. In an age of global migration, schools have become increasingly multicultural, so an understanding and appreciation of this diversity is crucial in the twenty-first-century classroom. Lastly, the subject itself is ‘eye-opening’ and interesting, particularly if you have grown up in a monocultural environment.



ACTIVITY 1.10 BENEFITS OF AND CHALLENGES TO STUDYING COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Can you think of any other benefits that students might gain from studying comparative education? Are there any limitations? Why, or why not?

What are the challenges to making comparisons? How can you overcome these?

Much of the literature in the field has been written by academics for other academics and policy-makers rather than for a student audience: ‘Academics undertake comparisons in order to improve understanding both of the forces which shape education systems and processes in different settings, and of the impact of education systems and processes on social and other development’ (Bray, 2007, p. 16). There is also intrinsic value in knowing about education outside our own borders. For centuries, scholars have been internationally mobile in their academic pursuits (see Kim, 2009). Many have travelled abroad out of sheer intellectual curiosity, such as those in the early ‘travellers’ tales’.

As previously stated, many international organisations undertake comparative studies in education (which is further discussed in Chapter 2). The main ones include UNESCO, the World Bank and the OECD. The aim of many of these organisations is to reduce educational inequalities by expanding access for all and improving the overall quality of education for the betterment of both individuals and society. These organisations often undertake education research and produce factual data through the use of quantitative methods. Statistics and other

information are published on their websites, making data readily available for comparisons between two or more countries.

Policy-makers and education planners are interested in comparative education for a number of reasons: 'Governments are paying increasing attention to international comparisons as they search for effective policies that enhance individuals' social and economic prospects, provide incentives for greater efficiency in schooling, and help to mobilise resources to meet rising demands' (OECD, 2007, p. 3). Market forces and the marketisation of education have demanded more cost-effective and efficient ways of delivering education provision. Governments are also under pressure to improve the quality of education provision, particularly in response to international league tables such as PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) and TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study) (to be discussed in Chapter 2). In their quest for improvement, policy-makers may attempt to 'borrow' educational models or learn important lessons from elsewhere (see Case Study 1 at the end of the chapter). Bereday (1964) believed that a major goal of comparative education was firstly to learn from the achievements and mistakes of others and secondly to view educational issues from a global rather than an ethnocentric perspective.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, Bereday (1964, p. 5) also believed that 'knowing about other nations is now not only a matter of curiosity but of necessity'. This statement is as valid today as it was over forty years ago. Rapid advances in technology, communication, travel and so forth have led to the increased interconnectedness of the world. This interconnectedness has resulted in the 'globalisation' of nearly all aspects of society. While Bereday was perhaps referring to peace in the wake of two world wars, it can be argued that knowing about other nations has now become necessary as a result of globalisation (the relationship between globalisation and education will be further explored in Chapter 8). In fact, many scholars believe that comparative and international research in education is being 'revitalised' as a result of globalisation (Crossley and Watson, 2003).

WHAT ARE THE CHALLENGES OF STUDYING COMPARATIVE EDUCATION?



KEY CONCEPT: ETHNOCENTRISM

Ethnocentrism is the belief that one's own culture, values, people, language, customs, religion and so forth are superior to others. Generally speaking, your way of doing things is 'right' and 'better' than someone else's. For example, you refuse to eat with your hands on a trip to Asia because you think it is unhygienic and wrong. Taking this view is generally seen as negative and possibly arrogant which could lead to prejudice.

The challenges of methodology aside, perhaps, potentially one of the greatest barriers for comparativists is that we all hold values and beliefs about the nature and purpose of education which are inextricably linked to our own experiences. As Bereday previously pointed out, there is a danger of adopting an ‘ethnocentric’ approach when making comparisons. Schultz and Lavenda (2011) define ethnocentrism as ‘The opinion that one’s own way of life is natural or correct and, indeed, the only true way of being fully human.’ When making comparisons, we have to be aware that we do not impose our own values and beliefs on others, particularly if we think our own way of doing something is ‘best’. This can lead to bias and even prejudice if we are not careful.

Another challenge stems from the data used in comparative education (discussed in Chapter 2) and the need to critically appraise not only how it was arrived at, but the source of it as well. We need to check our sources carefully to make sure they are reliable, accurate and that there is no hidden agenda. For example, newspapers may exaggerate international league table results and report on them inaccurately so there is a ‘story’ to sell. Sometimes statistics are presented by governments in such a way that they are seen in the best possible light (Clarkson, 2009). This may be particularly true around election time when governments try to demonstrate that improvements to education have been made.

And, more importantly, are we comparing the same things? When we talk about courses, for instance, do we mean modules or programmes? Is the first grade in the USA the same thing as year 1 in the UK? In other words, are we comparing like for like? We also need to carefully consider the ‘thing’ we are analysing – education. Education does not mean the same thing to everyone. As Grant (2000, p. 310) points out, ‘[i]t may have quite different aims, operate under different conditions, and be assessed by different criteria’. Are comparisons fair if we are not looking at the same thing?

As previously mentioned, ‘borrowing’ educational best practice from other countries is common in comparative education. Many examples of borrowing can be found in the UK and elsewhere. In the UK, one such example was the abolition of the tripartite system of education, where children were segregated by ability into grammar, secondary modern or technical schools in the 1960s, which was replaced with a comprehensive system of schooling based on the American high school model (Clarkson, 2009). However, the transference of ideas from one context to another is a highly complex affair (Phillips and Schweisfurth, 2014). Education planners cannot simply transpose one set of ideas onto another without taking into consideration the social, cultural, historical and even economic factors involved. Historically, there are many examples worldwide (both successful and unsuccessful) where comparative studies in education have played a significant role in influencing policy (see Case Study 1 at the end of the chapter).

CONCLUSION

Comparative education has successfully emerged in the twenty-first century as a multidisciplinary field of study with a strong scholarly base. There have been a number of individuals and organisations throughout history (too many to name in such a short chapter) who have contributed greatly to its establishment and academic advancement. The interest in, and indeed the importance of, comparative education can be seen in the worldwide growth of societies, organisations, academic journals, specialist courses and even postgraduate degrees in the subject.

There are many students, academics, policy-makers and practitioners engaged with comparative education for a variety of reasons worldwide. Whatever the purpose, the field has contributed, and will continue to contribute, greatly to our understanding of education – both of others and of our own.

🔍 CASE STUDY 1: EDUCATIONAL ‘BORROWING’ IN CHINA, 1949–66

Throughout the centuries and at different points in time, China, like many nations, has looked elsewhere for answers to educational dilemmas. The search for Western knowledge can be traced back to the sixteenth century and the Italian Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci (Lee and Mak, 2010). Although Ricci went to China with the aim of spreading Christianity, he also played a key role in spreading European scientific knowledge, particularly in mathematics and astronomy. In later years, China looked to the former Soviet Union for educational reforms. From 1949 to the mid-1950s, the dominant slogan in China was ‘learn from the Soviet Union’, and over 10,000 Soviet experts went to China to help set up a Soviet model of education (Pepper, 1996, p. 158). The Soviet model was incorporated at all levels from primary schooling through to higher education, and Soviet thinking continued to directly influence policy until the early 1960s (see Tsang, 2000). During this time universal primary schooling was introduced as well as efforts to reduce illiteracy rates. As a result, over 100 million Chinese between the ages of 14 and 45 became literate from 1949 to 1966 (Arnove, 1984). Furthermore, the massive expansion in schooling led to increased enrolment rates. In 1949, only about 20 per cent of young people were attending school, but by 1980 90 per cent of school-age children were enrolled (Arnove, 1984).

Changes in higher education ‘Soviet style’ were also made as the Chinese government looked to reform it. Soviet academic material was translated and used as the primary source of the curriculum. Central planning was a key component of Soviet-style management, which led to an emphasis on uniformity, standardisation and the adoption of the exact same course syllabus and teaching plans in institutions across China. By mid-1954, curriculum revision for over 170 academic specialisms was complete and their use enforced (Pepper, 1996). In the ‘Great Leap Forward’, the number of higher education institutions increased from 229 in 1957 to 1,289 in 1960, and within this same three-year period, total enrolment also increased from 441,181 to 961,623 (Yu et al., 2012). The increase in the number of students along with the mechanical copying of Soviet-style education is attributed to the decrease in the quality of higher education during this time.

(Continued)

(Continued)

KEY QUESTIONS

- Why did China look to the Soviet Union for ideas?
- Why do you think there was a push to educate the masses during this time?
- Were there any benefits to copying Soviet-style education?
- What challenges do you think the Chinese government faced?
- What role does comparative education play in helping governments to reform educational policy?
- Can you find other examples of educational 'borrowing', successful or otherwise? Why are they successful or not?



SUGGESTED READING

Bereday, G. (1964) *Comparative Method in Education*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

A classic text which has been hugely important in the methodological debates of comparative education.

Kandel, I. (1933) *Studies in Comparative Education*. London: George Harrap.

A seminal text in the field of comparative education and a must read, particularly for those studying at Master's level.

REFERENCES

- Acosta, F. and Centeno, C. (2011) 'Re-bordering comparative education in Latin America: Between global limits and local characteristics', *International Review of Education*, 57: 477–96.
- Arrove, R. (1984) 'A comparison of the Chinese and Indian education systems', *Comparative Education Review*, 28 (3): 378–401.
- Bereday, G. (1963) 'James Russell's syllabus of the first academic course in Comparative Education', *Comparative Education Review*, 7 (2): 189–96.
- Bereday, G. (1964) *Comparative Method in Education*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Bignold, W. and Gayton, L. (eds) (2009) *Global Issues and Comparative Education*. Exeter: Learning Matters.
- Bravo, H.F. (1994) 'Domingo Faustino Sarmiento', *Prospects: The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*, 24 (3/4): 487–500.
- Bray, M. (2003a) 'Comparative education in the era of globalisation: Evolution, missions and roles', *Policy Futures in Education*, 1 (2): 209–24.
- Bray, M. (ed.) (2003b) *Comparative Education: Continuing Traditions, New Challenges, and New Paradigms*. The Hague: Kluwer Academic.

- Bray, M. (2007) 'Actors and purposes in comparative education', in M. Bray, B. Adamson and M. Mason (eds), *Comparative Education Research: Approaches and Methods*. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre.
- Bray, M. (2010) 'Comparative education and international education in the history of *Compare*: Boundaries, overlaps and ambiguities', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 40 (6): 711–25.
- Bray, M. and Qin, G. (2001) 'Comparative education in Greater China', *Comparative Education*, 37 (4): 451–73.
- Bray, M., Adamson, B. and Mason, M. (eds) (2007) *Comparative Education Research: Approaches and Methods*. Hong Kong: Springer.
- Brickman, W. (2010) 'Comparative education in the nineteenth century', *European Education*, 42 (2): 46–56.
- Clarkson, J. (2009) 'What is comparative education?', in W. Bignold and L. Gayton (eds), *Global Issues and Comparative Education*. Exeter: Learning Matters.
- Colclough, C. (2010) 'Reflective pieces: Development studies and comparative education: Where do they find common cause?', *Compare*, 40 (6): 821–6.
- Comparative & International Education Society (CIES) (2018): www.cies.us
- Crossley, M. and Watson, K. (2003) *Comparative and International Research in Education: Globalisation, Context and Difference*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Dale, R. (2005) 'Globalisation, knowledge economy and comparative education', *Comparative Education*, 41 (2): 117–49.
- Epstein, E.H. (1992) 'Editorial', *Comparative Education Review*, 36 (4): 409–16.
- Epstein, E.H. (2008) 'Setting the normative boundaries: Crucial epistemological benchmarks in comparative education', *Comparative Education*, 44 (4): 373–86.
- Epstein, E.H. (2017) 'Is Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris the "father" of comparative education?', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 47 (3): 317–331.
- Gautherin, J. (1993) 'Marc-Antoine Jullien ("Jullien de Paris")', *Prospects: The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*, 23 (3/4): 757–73.
- Grant, N. (2000) 'Tasks for comparative education in the new millennium', *Comparative Education*, 36 (3): 309–17.
- Green, A. (2003) 'Education, globalisation and the role of comparative research', *London Review of Education*, 1 (2): 84–97.
- Halls, W.D. (ed.) (1990) *Comparative Education: Contemporary Issues and Trends*. London: Jessica Kingsley/UNESCO.
- Hans, N. (1949) *Comparative Education*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Hayden, M. (2006) *Introduction to International Education*. London: Sage.
- Kandel, I. (1933) *Studies in Comparative Education*. London: George Harrap.
- Kim, T. (2009) 'Shifting patterns of transnational academic mobility: A comparative and historical approach', *Comparative Education*, 45 (3): 387–403.
- King, E. (1965) 'The purpose of comparative education', *Comparative Education*, 1 (3): 147–59.
- Lee, W.O. and Mak, G.L.C. (2010) 'From knowledge transfer to knowledge interaction: The development of comparative education in China through the lens of comparative journals', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 40 (6): 761–80.
- Little, A. (2010) 'International and comparative education: What's in a name?', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 40 (6): 845–52.

- Mallinson, V. (1981) 'In the wake of Sir Michael Sadler', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 11 (2): 175–83.
- Manzon, M. (2011) *Comparative Education: The Construction of a Field*. Hong Kong: CERC/Springer.
- Masemann, V. (2006) 'Afterword', *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 8 (2). Available online at: www.tc.edu/cice/Issues/08.02/82masemann.html
- Masemann, V., Bray, M. and Manzon, M. (eds) (2008) *Common Interests, Uncommon Goals: Histories of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies and Its Members*. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre.
- Noah, H. and Eckstein, M. (1969) *Toward a Science of Comparative Education*. New York: Macmillan.
- O'Sullivan, M., Maarman, R. and Wolhuter, C. (2008) 'Primary student teachers' perceptions of motivations for comparative education: Findings from a comparative study of an Irish and South African comparative education course', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 38 (4): 401–14.
- OECD (2007) *Education at a Glance 2007*. Paris: OECD.
- Pepper, S. (1996) *Radicalism and Education Reform in Twentieth-Century China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Phillips, D. (2000) 'Beyond travellers' tales: Some nineteenth-century British commentators on education in Germany', *Oxford Review of Education*, 26 (1): 49–62.
- Phillips, D. and Schweisfurth, M. (2014) *Comparative and International Education: An Introduction to Theory, Method and Practice* (2nd edn). London: Continuum.
- Planel, C. (2008) 'The rise and fall of comparative education in teacher training: Should it rise again as comparative pedagogy?', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 38 (4): 385–99.
- Rust, V., Johnstone, B. and Allaf, C. (2009) 'Reflections on the development of comparative education', in R. Cowen and A. Kazamias (eds), *International Handbook of Comparative Education*. London: Springer.
- Schultz, E. and Lavenda, R. (2011) *Cultural Anthropology: A Perspective on the Human Condition* (8th edn). Available online at: www.oup.com/us/companion.websites/9780199760060/book/?view=usa
- Tsang, M.C. (2000) *Education and National Development in China since 1949: Oscillating Policies and Enduring Dilemmas*. Available online at: <http://tc.columbia.edu/faculty/tsyang/Files/7.pdf>
- World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) (2018): www.wcces.com
- Yu, K., Stith, A.L., Liu, L. and Chen, H. (2012) *Tertiary Education at a Glance: China*. Boston: Sense.