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Editorial: The Many Faces and Functions of Comparative Education Research in Asia

Mark Mason & Kokila Katyal

Comparative Education is a wide field – some would say so wide and inclusive of so many issues in the study of education that the field's identity and boundaries are difficult to discern independently of the field of educational studies. Globally, the field has many faces and many aspects to it, and this is no less the case in Asia. But while, from an ontological perspective a definition of the field may be problematic, methodologically speaking there is little such problem: comparative education offers a very powerful methodology and very rigorous methods for the study of education, and as such has many functions as a research strategy: again, no less so in Asia. This issue of the *Comparative Education Bulletin* both goes to the heart of this ontological question and displays some of its many methodological uses in Asia and more widely afield.

Maria Manzon's introductory piece "on the nature of academic fields and of comparative education" sets out the theoretical groundwork that is prior to and necessary for an assessment of whether comparative education is actually a field with a distinct identity and discernible boundaries. She considers the literature on the nature of academic disciplines and fields, and some socio-historical explanations of disciplinary change. She asks what elements are necessarily constitutive of academic disciplines. For her groundwork she looks in the domains of philosophy of education, sociology of education, social theory, and higher education studies. After exploring some of the different perspectives on the essential nature of disciplines and fields, she explores the social processes associated with the classification of academic knowledge – with what shapes the contours of knowledge as institutionalised in disciplines and fields, schools and faculties, curricula and teaching programmes. Here she draws on the sociology of knowledge, the sociology of education, and social theories of educational change. She employs Bourdieu's theory of the intellectual field to understand the role of agency and structure in influencing disciplinary change, and draws on Foucault's work on discourse formation to interpret the partly contingent nature of disciplinary histories. She concludes that both Bourdieuian and Foucauldian theories, together with the epistemological and sociological notions of academic fields, are important to understanding the nature and intellectual history of comparative education.

Mark Mason's *Ethical Responsibility in Comparative Education Research*

raises important questions for comparative education researchers about their moral responsibilities as researchers and practitioners. He starts by pointing out that in an increasingly globalized world whose urban environments are hence more multicultural in nature, what is right or good or true is frequently disputed from different cultural perspectives. This raises difficult questions about the ethics of comparative education research: what is the comparative education researcher to conclude, for example, in a cross-cultural study of rural schooling practices when she finds that in one jurisdiction there are policies in place to improve the retention of girls in the system, and that in another the prevailing cultural beliefs frown on the schooling of girls? She cannot avoid the normative issues if her study is to be more than just descriptive, and the question arises as to how she might conclude, if indeed she does, that the policies in the former case would do much to enhance the life chances of girls in the latter. In this article he develops core ethical principles, which he calls the *ethics of integrity*, in comparative education research which could be both foundational to the practice of research, and applicable universally to all researchers. To get there he considers a dominant contemporary perspective on ethics, postmodern ethics, finding in it aspects of intuitionist ethics, and building out of the minimal assumptions associated with these moral perspectives core ethical principles not only for a code of ethics in comparative education research, but for any professional code of ethics.

In her study of "third-culture kids" (TCKs) – those who have spent a significant part of their formative years outside their parents' culture – Miriam Hasofer asks whether Third Culture Theory suffers from the Fallacy of Subjective Personal Validation. Her study is a good example of one of the many uses of comparative education research methodology, and will be of interest to many expatriate parents working in Hong Kong and elsewhere in Asia (and indeed globally), whose children are growing up in a 'second culture', and are, according to the theory, developing a 'third culture' in terms of which they construct their identities. She compares and contrasts the experiences of a group of non-TCKs with those of a group of TCKs, identifying points of divergence and convergence in their experiences. Bearing in mind the exploratory nature of her study, these points of common junction are not presented as conclusive evidence for judging the credibility of the Third Culture phenomenon. Rather, they provide a framework within which to construct a more detailed study to test the validity of the suppositions and empirical claims of Third Culture Theory.

One of the fields most strongly associated with the research methods of comparative education is that of international educational development. This involves research in developing countries and regions, often associated with the United Nations' Millenium Development

Goals (MDGs) and UNESCO's Education For All (EFA) initiatives. China's recent enhancement of its relationships with African states, in what is portrayed as a "South-South" cooperation and development endeavour, has led to renewed research interest in China-Africa relations. In his paper, Bjorn Nordtveit examines the recent debates on China's development aid to Africa, using education as a case study, from different perspectives: first, that direct aid from China to Africa might be seen as building local capacity; second, that China's development path could be used as a reference by some African countries which would seek to imitate or learn from China; and third, that China's development aid to Africa could be understood as a means to gain access to resources (most particularly to oil) and to markets. Nordtveit looks at the modalities of China's intervention in Africa, considering whether China has proposed a counter model to the Western-inspired development vision for Africa – the "Washington Consensus" – and to the "Santiago Consensus". He considers whether there really is a distinctive Chinese model for development, the so-called "Beijing Consensus".

Wu Siu-Wai and Lai Pak-Sang pick up on the thread of globalization that has run through most of these papers and present "comparative perspectives of student teachers in Hong Kong and Zhuhai on globalization and education". Their qualitative study examines how future teachers in Hong Kong and Zhuhai perceive the consequences of globalization in their respective local contexts. Through informal and non-structured interviews, they set out the commonalities and differences in the perspectives of student teachers in the two sites on the effects of globalization on individual learning, on education, on the local society and on the national culture of student teachers.

Anson Chau Chun Kwok follows with his examination of "the development and challenges of school-based management (SBM) in Hong Kong". The development of SBM reflects a worldwide trend in the reform of school governance. However, it faced strong resistance when introduced in Hong Kong. Chau's paper investigates the development of SBM in Hong Kong within the framework of Hong Kong's unique governance structure of aided schools. Chau also highlights why SBM is a controversial reform measure and assesses its future challenges to the school governance structure in Hong Kong. While perhaps not explicitly comparative, his paper both contextualizes the introduction of SBM in Hong Kong within the global literature and policy shifts in this domain, and invites comparison with the introduction of SBM in other educational jurisdictions. He suggests that SBM reform stems from the value placed in democratic participation and in accountability, but concludes that its effects on the politics within and outside the school should not be underestimated.

Andrey Uroda invokes comparative research methodology to ask what makes universities in China and Russia engage in partnerships across the border. His case studies are drawn from higher education institutions in Harbin in China and Vladivostok in Russia. The institutions studied, he reports, met the challenges of establishing cross-border dual Bachelors degree programs for Chinese students completing their course of study in the two countries. He argues that it is the market which drives universities to pursue such innovations, suggesting that such border-crossing initiatives change commonly held perceptions of what international higher education is all about.

Mitsuko Maeda considers a perennially difficult question in comparative education research methodology, and particularly when deployed in ethnographic research, of the duality of positions indicated by "the researcher as insider and outsider". She draws on her experience of embodying simultaneously two identities – that of field worker in the site being studied, and that of researcher conducting the investigation – to highlight the advantages and problems that face a researcher in such a position. Advantages she mentions include easier access to data, and potentially more sophisticated levels of interpretation of the data, given her in-depth knowledge of and familiarity with the local culture. A contrasting disadvantage she highlights lies in the possibility that researchers as insiders might not easily perceive familiar arrangements and practices from objective viewpoints, while outside researchers might have an advantage owing to their lack of familiarity with the context that cautions them against taking anything for granted.

Ip Kin-yuen concludes this issue of the *Comparative Education Bulletin* with an interview with Mark Bray, former President of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong, former Editor of the *Bulletin*, and former Dean and Professor of Comparative Education in the Faculty of Education at The University of Hong Kong, who recently took up a position as Director of UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) in Paris, France. In this interview, Mark Bray considers his early years working and gaining experience around the world before settling in Hong Kong, his accepting an academic position at the University of Hong Kong that reflected his interests in comparative education and in international educational development, the IIEP and the role it plays in helping United Nations member countries work towards UNESCO's goals in Education For All, and the relationship between Hong Kong and UNESCO.

This is the ninth issue of the *Comparative Education Bulletin*, and probably one of the strongest to date. If it has accomplished its mission of showcasing the many faces and functions of comparative education research in Asia, then the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong can be proud of its contribution to scholarship in the field.

The Necessary and the Contingent: On the Nature of Academic Fields and of Comparative Education

Maria Manzon

There has been much scholarly debate on whether comparative education is a discipline, a field, a method, or simply a different perspective in education. Some of its critical practitioners have pointed out the field's lack of a substantive institutional and epistemological core (e.g. Kazamias & Schwartz, 1977; Cowen, 1990). A survey of the comparative education literature reveals that there is no universally consistent definition of comparative education, but that there are instead comparative educations. But, if comparative education is not a field, then why does it have infrastructures (professional societies, journals, conferences, university courses) that make it visible as a field? And why is there an uneven development and visibility of comparative education in different places?

These questions are too complex to discuss in this article and are examined more fully elsewhere. As a first step to address the above debate adequately, I explore here the literature on the nature of academic disciplines and fields, and the socio-historical explanations of disciplinary change.[1] What are the necessary constitutive elements of academic disciplines? What are their contingent features? And what are the factors – structural, agency – oriented, and discursive – influencing disciplinary change?

The literature on academic disciplines and fields can be found in several domains: philosophy of education, sociology of education, social theory, and higher education. In the first place, I review the literature on the nature of academic disciplines and fields, categorising it into two main groups based on epistemological stance: first, the theories with a realist, essentialist, and objectivist stance on knowledge, in contrast to the second group which adopts a social constructionist, anti-essentialist, and subjectivist perspective.

After exploring different perspectives on the essential nature of disciplines and fields, I explore the issues of change and diversity in the classification of knowledge into disciplines and fields. This issue deals with the social process and context of academic knowledge, that is, with what shapes the contours and contents of knowledge as institutionalised in disciplines and fields, schools and faculties,

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1 I take as a point of departure the concluding comments of Bray (2004, p.81) where he points out the way to address this debate, concretely of the need to examine the nature of disciplines and of the factors that bring about their development.

curricula, programmes. I draw from the literature on sociology of knowledge, sociology of education and social theories that have dealt with educational change. The debates in the literature could conceptually be grouped into theories that emphasise structure at one end of the spectrum, and human agency at the other end, with middle ground theories focusing on both structure and agency, and their mutual relationship with knowledge. It is worth noting that the discourse-oriented theory of Foucault cannot be subsumed entirely under either structure or agency as it spans the spectrum of both structure and agency with its underlying notion of power.

In this review of the theoretical debates on the nature of academic disciplines and disciplinary change, I have encountered two main puzzles: first, how to reconcile two seemingly unrelated bodies of literature on disciplines and fields: the realist, objectivist conceptual definitions of fields, and the phenomenological, subjectivist, contentious, and critical perspectives on fields of knowledge as fields of power; and second, how to link and integrate theories of social change with the 'shaping' of knowledge by structure and/or agency, and/or discourse. I conclude the article with an attempt to integrate these diverse perspectives into a meaningful theoretical framework for analyzing whether comparative education is a substantively distinct field from education or not.

Social Theory and Disciplinary Knowledge: Historical and Intellectual Contexts

I discuss the nature of academic disciplines, first from a realist perspective, followed by a phenomenological or social constructionist perspective. A realist perspective views disciplinary knowledge as reflecting a discernible and stable reality, or real-world differences in subject matter. By contrast, a phenomenological perspective takes knowledge as essentially socially constructed. Before proceeding with their divergent explanations of the nature of disciplinary knowledge, I devote some discussion to the historical and intellectual contexts of these varying perspectives. I take the 1970s as a historical dividing line in this discussion, since this decade particularly witnessed a revolutionary shift in the dominant epistemology and world view.

Prior to the 1970s, the dominant epistemology was realist, materialist, and positivist in orientation. But the publication in 1979 of Jean-François Lyotard's seminal work, *The Postmodern Condition*, marked a new epistemological challenge. The postmodernist turn in the 1970s introduced social constructivist, anti-essentialist and counter-ontological theories. In parallel with these epistemological shifts (and perhaps informed by them), there were also transformations in the dominant worldviews prevalent in the social sciences. Prior to

the 1970s, the dominant paradigms in the social sciences were three: functionalist theory, the Marxian-inspired conflict theories, and the interactionist theories. The debate in these social theories oscillates between structural determinacy and individual agency. Functionalist theory explains social phenomena in terms of their contribution to the operations of a larger social phenomenon, institution, or society. Metaphorically, it typically compares society to a biological organism or system made up of many interdependent and co-operative parts. Functionalism was at its zenith in the 1960s and 1970s until it was challenged by the conflict theorists. The Marxist conflict theories emphasise the role of structure, primarily economic structure, as the overall explanatory framework for society. This means that educational institutions and knowledge are sites either for the maintenance of existing power relations or of resistance to them (reproduction versus resistance theories). Weberian-inspired interpretive theory offers an alternative explanation to mechanistic and deterministic models found in certain forms of Marxian and functionalist theories. It highlights the role of human agency and focuses on the observation and theoretical interpretation of the subjective 'states of mind' of human actors. Middle ground theories that give primacy neither to structure nor to agency are identified as the broadly structurationist approaches[2] (e.g. Giddens, Bhaskar, Bourdieu, Archer, Bernstein). The structurationist theorists generally argue that the process of social change is achieved via the operation of both structure *and* agency ("Structuration School" in *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*).

A strong agency-oriented position stresses the capacity of individual agents to construct and reconstruct their worlds. This epistemological position denotes a shift from the previous dominantly materialist realist stance to a constructivist stance. This is particularly pronounced in a third type of social theory: interactionism and social constructionism[3], which focus on meso- and micro-level analysis of individual behaviour, placing emphasis on the face-to-face interactions of individuals in school contexts and on the nature of the construction of meanings. Of particular relevance to the issue of the nature of knowledge is the work of Berger and Luckmann (1966), *The Social Construction of Reality*, which offered the first comprehensive theoretical work on the process of social construction. Social constructionism encompasses a range of perspectives that view the social world as not having essential, given

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2 Theories of structuration are interested in overcoming four dualisms which have plagued social theory: static/dynamic, synchronicity/diachronicity, action/structure, and subject/object. These dualisms can be dissolved by the idea of structuration – that is, the interplay of structure and actor in action conceived as societal praxis. Actors are seen as *practical conscious* human beings equipped with *bounded* rationality, producing *actions* in a *given opportunity structure*, thus reproducing *structural* context. ("Social change", *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*, p.555).
3 The equivalent term in social epistemology is constructivism.

properties prior to the social practices that constitute it.

Social constructionism has its poststructuralist and postmodernist variants. A common thread between the 'pre' and the 'post' versions of social constructionism is their radical anti-essentialism. The main difference between the two positions – early constructionism and post-structuralist constructionism – lies in a shift of emphasis from the embedding of language and meaning in everyday activity, to the effects of language and discourse per se. With the 'linguistic turn' in the 1970s, the focus of the debate shifted from structure and agency to discourse, with a consequent decentring and dissolution of the subject in the 'determining' power of discursive processes and structures ("Agency" in *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*). Berger and Luckmann argue in the early form of social constructionism that the social world external to individual actors is created through intersubjectively constituted meanings and everyday practical activities, which as they become habitual, become 'objectivated' as our taken-for-granted reality: they are real because we define them as such and can through habit and history become institutionalized. Berger and Luckmann do not deny that there is an objective reality, but argue that that reality is realized through human activity and that we continuously produce this reality through recognizing and acting upon this realization. This same social reality also produces our subjectivity in a dialectic manner. By contrast, poststructuralist forms of social constructionism replace the "objective world" anterior to discourse with the regular formation of objects that emerge only in discourse (Foucault, 1972, p.47). Foucault focuses on specific social practices that provide the conditions for the simultaneous emergence of new forms of knowledge and new modes of power, new fields of power-knowledge. Instead of an objective world and social structures external to but constituted through human activity (early social constructionism), the poststructuralist shift emphasises that discourses are external to and constituted through individual subjectivity and agency. This 'linguistic turn' after the mid-1970s saw the dominant discourse to be about discourse. The postmodernist critique upholds a radical scepticism towards a foundational notion of truth and its referential basis in external reality. Critical realists (e.g. Bhaskar, Archer) view social constructionism with scepticism, and particularly oppose its postmodern proposition that all social reality is a product of language and discourse.

Bearing in mind the historical and intellectual contexts of the realist and social constructivist perspectives underlying the problem of disciplinary knowledge and change, I explore in the next section the nature of academic disciplines and fields, first from a realist perspective, then from a phenomenological or constructivist perspective, in order to elucidate on what is necessary or essential to

academic disciplines and fields.

On the Nature of Academic Disciplines and Fields
Scholars who address the concept of academic disciplines and fields based on a realist epistemology include Hirst (1974a; 1974b), Heckhausen (1972), Mucklow (1980), and Becher & Trowler (2001). Hirst in his *Forms of knowledge re-visited* (1974a, p.97) distinguishes among three meanings of the term 'discipline': first, as a tightly knit *conceptual and propositional structure* that would seem to apply more readily to a form of knowledge, or a sub-section of a form of knowledge (e.g. 'physics' is a sub-section of 'physical sciences', or 'Christian theology' within 'religion'); second, as including *skills and methods, attitudes and values*, related to an understanding and concern for this area of knowledge; and third, as relating to its *use for university and school units* of teaching and research. Hirst notes that the diversity of teaching objectives, all of which can be labelled according to some classification based on distinctions in the forms of knowledge, makes the task of saying whether any area of study is or is not a discipline almost always controversial. He then suggests that 'discipline' is more aptly applied to a research unit: "an area of research and university teaching which professionals recognize as focusing on a large enough body of *logically inter-related truths*, theories and problems to justify its consideration in relative isolation from other matters. Hirst finally claims that the only relevant dimensions to grouping the disciplines are *truth-criteria, concepts and conceptual structure*.

Mucklow (1980) responds to Hirst with a counter-claim that there are two additional epistemological grounds for disciplinary grouping: argumentation and explanation. He particularly highlights that a discipline is in part a *process*, something its long-time practitioners (and others) engage in, and not just the knowledge products of that process. Mucklow thus introduces the social dimension of institutionalizing a discipline, enriching Hirst's focus on intellectual substance in disciplinary classifications.

An earlier work by Heckhausen (1972) offers an expanded conceptual framework for classifying disciplines based on epistemological grounds (although he limits its application to the empirical disciplines). He echoes Hirst and Mucklow in pointing out that disciplinary divisions do not necessarily coincide with the organization of departmental structures in universities (also Evans, 1995; Becher & Trowler, 2001). Heckhausen defines 'disciplinarity' as the *specialized* scientific exploration of a given *homogeneous subject matter* producing new knowledge, and identifies seven essential distinguishing criteria of any given discipline:

1) The 'material field', which comprises the set of *objects* in an understanding at the common sense level.
2) The 'subject matter', which is the *point of view* from which a discipline looks upon the material field or object.
3) The 'level of *theoretical integration*' of a discipline – the crucial criterion – which refers to how the discipline tries to reconstruct the 'reality' of its subject matter in theoretical terms in order to understand, explain, predict phenomena and events involving the subject matter.
4) The '*methods*' of a discipline, which have two purposes: to get the observables of its subject matter; or to transform observables into data which are more specific to the problem under investigation (by means of interpretive rules). A discipline is said to have established its autonomy if it has developed methods of its own.
5) The '*analytical tools*' of a discipline, which rest on strategies of logic, (mathematical) reasoning and model construction.
6) The '*applications* of a discipline in fields of practice'. The more applied disciplines are eclectic rather than purist in their epistemological concepts of themselves as sciences. The obligation to find applications always has a strong impact on how the organization, research and curricula of these disciplines are structured within universities.
7) The '*historical contingencies of a discipline*'. Every discipline is a product of historical developments and at any time is in a transitional state. The historical contingencies which speed up or slow down a discipline's development are due to the *inner logic* of the respective subject matter as well as the *extra-disciplinary and changing forces* (e.g. public reputation, socio-cultural values, political ideologies and economic conditions). The *extra-disciplinary* forces not only control material resources, they determine the climate for growth. Last but not least, external contingencies add up to the *Zeitgeist* of the scientists themselves, influencing their research interests and theoretical preoccupations. This last criterion refers to the changing nature and contingent features of a discipline, and the factors which bring about change. This aspect of change and contingency in the intellectual field is further developed in poststructuralist theory (e.g. Foucault) as well as by other social theorists, which I discuss in a later section.

Becher & Trowler (2001) offer a holistic approach to the nature of an academic discipline by noting that both disciplinary epistemology and phenomenology are important. They define disciplinary epistemology

as the 'actual' form and focus of knowledge within a discipline, and the phenomenology of that knowledge [as] the ideas and understandings that practitioners have about their discipline (and others). Becher & Trowler argue that disciplinary phenomenology (or academic culture) and disciplinary epistemology are inseparably intertwined and mutually infused. They conceive of an academic discipline as the result of a mutually dependent interplay of the *structural force of the epistemological character* of disciplines that conditions culture, and the *capacity of individuals and groups as agents* of autonomous action, *including interpretive* acts (2001, p.23). These authors offer a taxonomical framework of academic knowledge into four major disciplinary groupings: 'hard-pure' pure sciences, 'soft-pure' humanities and pure social sciences, 'hard-applied' technologies, and 'soft-applied' applied social science. Each disciplinary grouping displays distinctive epistemological and sociological features. I summarize this dyad of epistemological and sociological features in Table 1, juxtaposing them with the disciplinary features earlier identified by Hirst, Mucklow and Heckhausen, so as to compare common elements and to identify the necessary and the contingent features of disciplinary knowledge.

The matrix in Table 1 shows overlaps in the conceptualization of the nature of academic disciplines. The common epistemological features that structure knowledge into a given discipline are six: (a) common object, point of view, truth-criteria, conceptual structure and theoretical integration, methods and skills, and products of knowledge. Common sociological features which group knowledge into one discipline are institutional framework (e.g. departments, research units, etc.), though most authors concur that sociological/institutional divisions do not always dovetail with the epistemological criteria, and that the sociological lags behind the epistemological. The authors also converge in pointing out the social dimension of the disciplines as being a historically contingent process where forces transcending the discipline interact with its inner logic and with its human agents. Thus, the constitutive nature of academic disciplines embraces an epistemological dimension and a socio-historical dimension. The first is concerned with intellectual substance and truth claims, and the latter with the incarnation of that intellectual substance into social and political institutions. The intellectual or epistemological dimension tends to display permanent, universal and necessary characteristics, while the sociological component of disciplines – given its human and cultural component – tends to exhibit changing, particular and contingent characteristics. I explore further the issue of the socio-historical contingencies of the disciplines in the next section, but before doing so, I discuss the concept of the academic field, distinguishing it from the academic discipline.

Table 1. Epistemological and Sociological Features of Academic Disciplines

EPISTEMOLOGICAL FEATURES OF A DISCIPLINE			
Becher and Trowler (2001)	*Hirst (1974a)*	*Mucklow (1980)*	*Heckhausen (1972)*
Objects of enquiry			Material field/objects
Relationship between researcher and knowledge	Attitudes and values		Subject matter/ point of view
Extent of truth claims and criteria for making them	Logically interrelated truths	Truth-criteria; explanation	Theoretical integration
Enquiry procedures	Skills and methods		Methods
	Concepts, conceptual and propositional structure	Concepts and conceptual structure; argumentation	Analytical tools
Results of research			Applications – applied disciplines are eclectic. Applications influence the institutionalization of disciplines in universities.
Nature of knowledge growth			
SOCIOLOGICAL FEATURES OF A DISCIPLINE			
Structural framework – organizational structure in higher education. Disciplines take institutional shape in departments.[4]	University and school teaching units of disciplines are controversial.		Disciplinary knowledge does not always coincide with departmental organization
Intellectual validity – unchallenged academic credibility			
International currency – freestanding international community (professional journals and societies)			
Tribal identity and tradition which exclude the uninitiated audience (e.g. use of paradigms, disciplinary myths, tribal heroes, and impermeable boundaries)[5]		Process, not product	Historical contingencies – inner logic and extra-disciplinary forces

The Concept of an Academic Field

Hirst (1974b [original 1965], pp.45-46) defines a 'field' as those organizations of knowledge which are:

> formed by building together round specific *objects*, or *phenomena*, or *practical pursuits*, knowledge that is characteristically *rooted in*

4 It seems that Hirst uses the term 'subject matter' differently from the sense which Heckhausen gave to it as "the point of view from which a discipline looks upon the material field or object". In this context, Hirst seems to refer instead to the "material field or object".

5 Criticizing Becher & Trowler, Mason (2006) notes that the tribal metaphor implies a relativist epistemology that denies the availability of external standards of truth by which a 'tribe' can be judged. This position shares common ground with Foucault's arguments on the historical contingencies that elevate a discourse to a dominant position. Siegel (2004) critiques such a relativist stance.

more than one discipline. … These organizations are not concerned, as the disciplines are, to validate any one logically distinct form of expression. They are not concerned with developing a particular structuring of experience. They are *held together simply by subject matter[6], drawing on all forms of knowledge* that can contribute to them. [emphasis added]

Thus, the unifying epistemological element of an academic field is its material object or phenomena of study, or its practical pursuit. The approaches which a field uses to study that object are multiple and are drawn from more than one discipline. Jantsch (1972) thus distinguishes among the terms multidisciplinarity, pluridisciplinarity, crossdisciplinarity, interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity. Of relevance to Hirst's definition of a field is the concept of interdisciplinarity, which refers to the cooperation within a group of related disciplines that pursue a common higher purpose. This higher purpose could be synoptic or instrumental (Lynton, 1985, cited in Klein, 1990, p.41). A synoptic justification for interdisciplinarity rests on arguments for unity and synthesis in knowledge, on modern synthetic theories and integrative concepts, and on the work of individual synthesizers, while an instrumental justification arises from the need to solve problems that may be either social or intellectual in origin, but usually practical. Bailis (1986, cited in Klein, 1990, p.53) cautions that instrumental interdisciplinarity divorced from philosophical contemplation (synoptic quest for unity of knowledge) constitutes a threat to a true interdisciplinarity that brings with it a broader understanding of the world. These concepts of the field and interdisciplinarity are particularly useful in examining the nature of comparative education, which is often designated by scholars as an interdisciplinary field of study.

In terms of their structural or sociological features, academic fields and 'interdisciplines' are as difficult to delineate as are their epistemological boundaries. According to Klein (1990), a field's presence and importance are largely determined by its relative visibility, which may take at least two forms: (1) the 'overt' form of interdisciplinary institutions (e.g. having a single umbrella organization or having interdisciplinary graduate programs, or interdisciplinary think tanks); (2) the commonly less overt forums for interdisciplinary dialogue (e.g. study groups, symposia, conferences, publications, and institutes similar or akin to an "invisible college" [Crane, 1972]), which refers to a communication network of productive scientists linking separate

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6 It seems that Hirst uses the term 'subject matter' differently from the sense which Heckhausen gave to it as "the point of view from which a discipline looks upon the material field or object". In this context, Hirst seems to refer instead to the "material field or object".

groups of collaborators within a research area.

Equipped with these provisional definitions of disciplines and fields founded on a realist epistemology, I now explore the constructivist perspectives on the nature of academic knowledge. As discussed above, the social constructionism introduced by Berger and Luckmann (1966) has greatly influenced sociological theories since the 1970s. The constructivist stance views the social world as not having essential, given properties, but only those that become 'objectivated' through social practice. In the realm of disciplinary knowledge, social constructivist assumptions underlie the position of Young (1971), who challenges the 'objectivist' view of knowledge as 'truth' external to its social production. A poststructuralist turn in constructivist theories shifts the emphasis to discourse, where the 'objective world' emerges only in discourse, and where discourses are external to and constituted through individual subjectivity. In the realm of disciplinary knowledge, this means scepticism about the foundations and hierarchies of knowledge leading to, or threatening to lead to, a collapse of disciplinary boundaries.[7] Institutions, including disciplinary knowledge, rather than being understood as reified, are taken as socially constructed practices, and in a Foucauldian sense, as a discursive community. Foucault's genealogical discourse of fields of study provides an alternative to established practices of intellectual history. He unearths the artificiality and arbitrariness of dividing lines in tracing the ensemble of historical contingencies that make up the ancestry of a currently accepted theory.

Notions about the nature of academic disciplines and fields thus vary depending on the epistemological lens in use. As discussed above, constructivists' (and poststructuralists') concepts about disciplinary nature and constitution differ radically from those of the realists'. Whereas the latter perceive the universal and necessary epistemological elements of a discipline together with its particular and contingent sociological features, the former largely underscore the contingencies and particularities of knowledge. Where the realists distinguish among the object of knowledge, the knowing subject, and the concept (and the word), the constructivists tend to blur the boundaries of object-subject-concept-word, giving primacy to the subject and, in the case of the poststructuralists, to the word. Poststructuralism views the objective foundations and hierarchies of knowledge with scepticism, and thus tends to blur and erode disciplinary boundaries – perhaps in favour of interdisciplinarity – thereby introducing a sensibility towards perceiving institutions of knowledge as institutions of power. Both perspectives – realist and constructivist – and the theoretical literature

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7 This fits in with the emergent discourse on interdisciplinarity. The modern/post-modern discourse on interdisciplinarity could very well be a reaction to modernity's positivism and scientificism, which contributed to a fragmentation of knowledge.

which derive from them, enrich our understanding and analysis of the nature of disciplines and fields. I now link this literature with some socio-historical theories of the dynamics of change in the academic disciplines.

Socio-historical Explanations of Disciplinary Change

Klein (1990) sees the nature of disciplinary change as a result of either differentiation or integration. Through differentiation or *fission*, existing disciplines split into subdivisions that may become disciplines[8]; and through integration or *fusion*, various disciplines may collaborate with each other, as with the 'interdisciplines'. There is no single pattern of disciplinary interactions, since disciplines are responsive to so many historical, sociological and epistemological variables. In this article, I focus on the factors that foster interdisciplinarity because of their relevance to understanding the emergence and development of comparative education as an interdisciplinary field.

Among the epistemological factors, Klein (1990) posits a comprehensive reason for interdisciplinarity in the evolution of knowledge, where new research areas that have emerged fit poorly within the conventional structure of their disciplines. She also cites the influence of synthetic theories (e.g. Marxism, structuralism and general systems theory) and of linguistic models in viewing social reality as discursively constructed and historically contextualized. These theories and paradigms have replaced the positivist models borrowed from the natural sciences and paved the way for a shift from knowledge fragmentation towards knowledge reintegration and interdisciplinarity. There are also historical and practical factors that catalysed interdisciplinarity in the mid-20th century. Geopolitical factors such as the demands of a post-World War II world (especially in some countries like the United States) for applied research promoted the growth of interdisciplinary work in the sciences in the form of mission-oriented projects funded by governments. Klein notes the prominent influence of these projects on interdisciplinarity: "There was, first of all, considerable financial incentive for universities, in the form of government and foundation grants. There was also the "*inexorable logic that the real problems of society do not come in discipline-shaped blocks*" (1990, p.35) [emphasis added]. An OECD-commissioned

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8 Ruscio (1985) offers some reasons for the specialization in science and in the academic profession: "There are epistemological reasons: the sheer volume of knowledge and its rapid expansion compel a scientist to carve out his own niche of expertise. There are also sociological reasons: Academics achieve status within the profession by advancing knowledge, a dynamic that requires precise contributions. Institutions of higher education themselves compete for status, reinforcing the individual's motivation" (cited in Becher & Trowler, p.66). Becher & Trowler add that the second feature (the sociological) is a consequence of the first: there is little relative constancy and stability in the disciplines themselves: all is in a state of constant flux.

report on *Interdisciplinarity* (CERI, 1972) identifies both endogenous and exogenous reasons[9] for the emergence of the interdisciplines, where exogenous interdisciplinarity is catalysed by real world problems and endogenous interdisciplinarity by the production of new knowledge in order to realize the unity of science. I map these various catalysts and reasons for disciplinary change in Figure 1, grouping the epistemological reasons at one end of the y-axis and the multi-level sociological reasons (institutional, socio-political) at the other end. Both epistemological and sociological factors mutually influence each other and are thus connected with two-sided arrows. On the x-axis I plot on a continuum the two directions of disciplinary change: knowledge fragmentation and knowledge integration. Thus we can imagine the dynamics of disciplinary change since the 1970s as moving along the x-axis of interdisciplinarity partly as a result of the dialectic of the sociological and the epistemological forces prevalent at that time.

Figure 1. A Preliminary Mapping of Disciplinary Change

Sociological

- **Geo-political demands**
- **National priorities**
- **Social demand (training, employment)**
- **Institutional / university politics**
- **Individual academics' interests**
- **Students' demands**

Knowledge Fragmentation   Knowledge Integration

- **Knowledge content, growth**
- **Influence of philosophical, sociological theories**

Epistemological

The interaction between epistemological and sociological factors in influencing disciplinary change can be examined at a deeper level with the aid of those theoretical frameworks which attempt to explain why different types of knowledge emerge, and what reasons, apart from the epistemological, account for the delineation of knowledge boundaries. These theories offer relevant explanatory frameworks for understanding the reasons for social change in general, and for change and diversity in the institutionalization of knowledge, in particular. They give a tentative analysis of the complex and dynamic processes by which social factors – structure, agency and discourse –
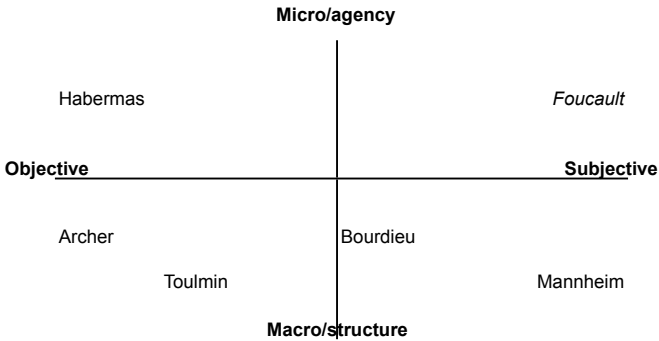
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9 Exogenous and endogenous are used in reference to the university, i.e., exogenous/ endogenous to the university sphere of influence and control.

interact with knowledge and its sociological structures. I thus explore these theories in the said order: structure-related, agency-oriented (and their middle-ground structuration theories), and discourse-led theories. A common thread among the theories examined here is their critical stance: they challenge the functionalist view of schools as well-intended and largely altruistic, benevolent institutions that contribute to a harmonious society. Rather, critical theorists view social institutions and the knowledge they create as sites of political struggle and stratification. Divergent epistemologies – realist versus subjectivist – underlie the theories discussed here. I map the six theorists selected here for discussion on Figure 2 along two axes: the epistemological and the structure/agency dimension. I explore them in pairs, starting from the macro-structure oriented theories up to the micro-agency and discourse-oriented theories.

Among the social theories that focus on the structural shaping of knowledge, there is Mannheim's (1997 [original 1936]) relationist or perspectivist theory of knowledge. He argues that all theories and cultural phenomena need to be understood in their social and historical context, and that ideas and beliefs are rooted in larger thought systems (dominant worldview or *Weltanschauungen*). From Mannheim onwards, the sociology of knowledge has attacked the 'objectivist' idea of knowledge as 'truth' external to or independent of the social processes of knowledge formation ("Mannheim" in Encyclopedia of Social Theory).

Exhibiting some similarities to Mannheim in his emphasis on structure and context is Toulmin's (1972) theory of 'intellectual ecology'. Toulmin's main thesis is his idea of rationality as being "concerned far more directly with matters of function and adaptation – with the substantive needs and demands of the problem-situations that men's collective concepts and methods of thought are designed to handle – than it is with formal considerations" (p.vii). He adopts patterns of analysis of scientific thought that are more historical, more empirical and more pragmatic. He offers a political theory of the scientific professions, situating the analysis on three levels (1972, pp.267-268): (1) the '*common good*' represented by the historical development of the collective discipline; (2) the *professional institutions* of the enterprise; and (3) all the *individual scientists* who struggle to combine the ideal demands of their chosen discipline and the practical realities of their professional situation. His explanatory framework offers a clear historical account of how intellectual, institutional, and individual factors interact; and how, in the course of pursuing their own legitimate interests, individual scientists and scientific institutions can at the same time promote the 'common good' of their collective disciplines (p.268).

Figure 2. Categorization of theories on social forces and knowledge change


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                          Micro/agency
                              |
                              |
         Habermas             |            Foucault
                              |
  Objective ──────────────────┼────────────────── Subjective
                              |
                              |
         Archer          Bourdieu
                              |
              Toulmin         |            Mannheim
                          Macro/structure
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Note: On this matrix, I have put "Foucault" in italics to allude to his discursive-orientation.

In the middle ground are structuration theories which argue that social change (and mutatis mutandis, disciplinary change) is achieved through the operation of both structure *and* agency. I discuss the theories of Bourdieu and Archer respectively. Bourdieu's theory of the intellectual field attempts to reconcile the problems of agency and structure. He conceives the intellectual field as like a magnetic field, made up of a system of power lines with constituting agents which by their existence, opposition or combination determine the field's specific structure at a given moment in time (Bourdieu, 1966). These agents have positional properties which are determined by the total amount and the configurations of four types of capital – economic, social, cultural, and symbolic; and they operate through 'habitus', where 'habitus' refers to a set of dispositions that enable agents to modify constraints embodied in the social structure ("Social Change" in *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*). Thus, Bourdieu proposes a 'soft' determinism which recognizes that humans have some freedom to make social choices *within* the parameters of opportunity which they inherit, and to effect gradual social change by the inter-generational modification of structures.

Archer (1984) offers another middle-ground theory as Bourdieu, which aims to explain how macro-structure and micro-agency factors interact in producing social (and disciplinary) change. Archer argues that the historical processes creating educational systems 'structurally condition' the interaction processes; and while such interactions can 'structurally elaborate' macro-level structural conditioning, it is still essential to visualize micro-level encounters among, for example, teachers, students and administrators as highly circumscribed by the

larger system of education having evolved as a result of political and economic forces.

Lastly, on the discourse-related theories, I comment on the work of Foucault and introduce Habermasian theory as a counter-argument. Foucault ushered in a radical way of thinking about intellectual history and fields of study from a postmodern and poststructuralist perspective. His postmodernist stance reflects an incredulity towards Enlightenment meta-narratives, and emphasizes instead the plurality of reason and of difference. Furthermore, his poststructuralist perspective emphasizes a critical intellectual history, challenging the scientism of the human sciences and foundationalist discourses. In this context, the legitimation of knowledge becomes an issue. Who decides what is 'true' or 'scientific'? Foucault argues that discourse is an all-embracing constitutive and shaping force that is external to and constitutive of knowledge and academic fields, that discourse is power-laden, and that it regulates, legitimates and delimits knowledge. To illustrate its application, Game & Metcalfe (1996), for example, discussing the discipline of sociology, argue that it does not exist as an objective fact, but that its boundaries are constituted through the discursive practices of sociologists. Foucault's early work, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), was about the history of concepts viewed from a critical perspective. It examines the ways in which discourses and disciplines changed over time, how it was that particular statements and discourses and not others arose in particular contexts, and the relations between particular discourses, such as "their coexistence, their succession, their mutual functioning, their reciprocal determination and their independent or correlative transformation" (Foucault, 1972, p.29). His later 'genea-logical' works, e.g. *Discipline and Punish* (1977), in turn analyze the relations of power that imbue and inscribe discourses and discursive formations, and trace the ensemble of historical contingencies that make up the ancestry of one or other currently accepted theory in the human sciences ("Foucault" in *Encyclopedia Britannica online*). Foucault's genealogies study the histories of institutions and practices, not in terms of a grand narrative of inevitable progress but from a congeries of contingent 'petty causes' (Gutting, 1994, p.14).

As can be observed, Foucault tends towards the subjectivist and relativist epistemological stance. Habermas' debate with Foucault on this issue offers a counter-argument in favour of a transcendental reason. His theory of the '*knowledge-constitutive* interests' (Habermas, 1978) argues that the 'cognitive interests' or 'knowledge-constitutive interests' – the technical, practical, and emancipatory – shape and determine what counts as the objects and types of knowledge in the three types of sciences (empirical, historical, and critical social sciences). These 'cognitive interests' are in turn anthropologically founded in the

three basic dimensions of human social existence: work, interaction and power. Although Habermasian theory is problematic in its justification of the epistemological status of interesse (Evers and Lakomski, 1991), it is a noteworthy attempt to recover the (quasi) transcendental status of universal reason above the historical contingencies which Foucault claims as discursively constituting human knowledge.

Towards an Understanding of the Nature of Comparative Education

I commenced this article with a question whether comparative education is an academic field or not. Some comparativist scholars speak of 'comparative educations' to allude to the diverse particular features exhibited by this 'field'. Does comparative education have a set of necessary and universal elements that constitute it as an academic field? If so, how are these to be explained alongside the field's historically contingent features?

In this article, I have explored the epistemological and sociological notions of the nature of academic disciplines and fields. I have also discussed relevant socio-historical theories which elucidate the nature of disciplinary change from the prism of structural, agency-oriented and discursive forces of change. I consider Bourdieu's theory of the intellectual field as a substantially adequate framework in understanding the role of agency and structure in influencing disciplinary change. I further note that Foucault's work on discourse formation sheds a new light on the interpretation of the partly contingent nature of disciplinary histories. Both Bourdieuian and Foucauldian theories, together with the epistemological and sociological notions of academic fields, are relevant in the task of re-thinking the nature and intellectual history of comparative education. That is the next task that I undertake, and this article has laid the theoretical foundations for that undertaking.

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Ethical Responsibility in Comparative Education Research

Mark Mason

In an increasingly globalized world whose urban environments are hence more multicultural in nature, what is right or good or true is frequently disputed from different cultural perspectives. This is as true in education as it is in other fields, and raises difficult questions about the ethics of research and, more specifically for our purposes here, about the ethics of comparative education research. What is the comparative education researcher to conclude, for example, in a cross-cultural study of rural schooling practices when she finds that in one jurisdiction there are policies in place to improve the retention of girls in the system, and that in another the prevailing cultural beliefs frown on the schooling of girls? She cannot avoid the normative issues if her study is to be more than just descriptive, and the question arises as to how she might conclude, if indeed she does, that the policies in the former case would do much to enhance the life chances of girls in the latter.

My aim in this article is the development of core ethical principles in comparative education research which could be both foundational to the practice of research, and applicable universally to all researchers. To get there I consider a dominant contemporary perspective on ethics, known as postmodern ethics, finding in it aspects of what are known as intuitionist ethics, and building out of the minimal assumptions associated with these moral perspectives core ethical principles not only for a code of ethics in comparative education research, but for any professional code of ethics.

Many perceive the apparent challenges associated with contemporary moral comportment as a consequence of moral and cultural relativism. Relativism is the view that our values and beliefs are relative to our cultural background, and that there are consequently no universally accepted notions of good and bad, or right and wrong. The concept of cultural relativism may have had noble origins in the attempts of Western anthropologists to view other cultures as different rather than inferior and therefore unable to be judged in terms of Western values, but its strong interpretation and pervasive influence today have led, some suggest, to the undermining of the possibility of a universal ethics.

A dominant strand of postmodernism, that field of thought that is concerned in part with cultural and other aspects of globalization, is about scepticism towards the possibility of a universal ethics. Some postmodernist thinkers certainly do adopt a relativist perspective. But

the most cogent theorists of a postmodern ethics will actually have nothing to do with relativism. Zygmunt Bauman (1993), for example, points out that ethical relativism is all about competition among different ethical frameworks, and his understanding of postmodern ethics denies any possibility of an ethical framework. For him, as soon as we entertain the possibility of an ethical code to guide our actions, we remove the possibility of moral action. Moral behaviour has to be utterly spontaneous, untainted by reasoning or calculation in terms of the principles of some ethical code, since this would remove moral responsibility from us as individuals and place it within the ethical paradigm to which we are obedient. All we have to guide us, claims Bauman, is our conscience. "If in doubt," he says, "trust your conscience" (1993, p.250).

Bauman's understanding of postmodern ethics, which is one of the most important in the field, bears some interesting similarities to a theory of ethics known as intuitionism. Intuitionist moral philosophers suggest that the source of our moral beliefs is intuitive: at the most basic level, we cannot explain why we think something is good – we just know at a gut level that it is. Our intuitions tell us so. A respected moral philosopher, G.E. Moore (1903), came to this conclusion after a life of studying ethics. A short step from here is the perspective that the only moral resource we have is our moral intuitions, or, as Bauman would have it, our conscience.

These might seem good grounds for ethical responsibility in comparative education research, that researchers should be guided by their individual consciences and moral intuitions. But there are two problems here. The first is with what critics refer to as a subjectivist turn in moral philosophy. They question whether all ethics are entirely subjective, merely the result of individual conscience and intuitions, and seek to defend a more public and rational view of ethics that strives towards some degree of reasonableness. How is it possible, they ask, to offer a rational justification of an ethics that is founded in conscience and intuitions? And how would one judge between competing subjectivist moral claims without some ethical background, some "horizon of significance", as Charles Taylor (1991, p.37) calls it, in terms of which our moral decisions have significance and meaning?

The second problem with an ethics based in conscience and intuition follows directly from the first, and has to do with the need for a publicly defensible ethical framework in educational research, in terms of which researchers may be held accountable. Since research is a public activity, in the sense that researchers are responsible as professionals to those participating in their research, to their colleagues, and to the wider community, such a framework is important. But it is difficult to see how a subjectivist ethics based in individual researchers'

intuitions would be able to provide it. Would it be acceptable for a researcher to justify a particular course of action because her intuitions told her so?

A response to these problems seems to point in the direction of an ethical code for comparative education researchers. But would this really be the ideal, for researchers to act ethically only because of their sense of obedience to a code of conduct? This sounds more like authoritarianism than professional responsibility. And although a conscience-driven moral responsibility may point uncomfortably towards a degree of subjectivism unacceptable in a public enterprise such as research, wouldn't it be nice to know that researchers were creatures of conscience?

Perhaps our aim then is the development of core ethical principles in comparative education research, which could be both foundational to the practice of research, and applicable universally to all researchers. If the idea of ethics motivated in conscience is attractive but not sufficient, we should try to derive core ethics for researchers without losing the idea of conscience. At the same time, we should avoid imposing principles in a top-down fashion, because that would remove the possibility of professional autonomy, it would have more than a whiff of authoritarianism about it, and it would be difficult to justify the universality of the principles. Core ethical principles in educational research need, therefore, to be derived 'upwards' from the most basic of assumptions.

Let's start then with the simple assumption that one of the features that distinguish us as humans is our moral capacity. This is not to assume that we are born good or bad, but simply that we have moral capacity as humans. Bauman asserts that it is our moral capacity that makes us human. Our moral capacity is expressed at its most fundamental level in terms of conscience or in terms of our intuitions. Whether conscience and intuitions are entirely or partly the result of socialisation is immaterial to the argument. The key issue is that what makes us human is this moral capacity, and that this moral capacity is realized in our socialization, in our interactions with others.

Since we are, following the postmodern turn, sceptical of the shortcomings of moral regulation by comprehensive and absolutist ethical codes, we will start with conscience as our most basic expression of our moral capacity as humans, and assume, initially at least, that it is all we have to guide our actions. But if I am to trust my conscience, I must respect it as a source of moral judgement. In other words, I must respect myself as a person capable of making moral judgements. In like manner, you are obligated in the first instance to respect yourself as a person capable of making moral judgements. But if we are to trust conscience as a source of moral judgement, then we are to respect each

other as persons. This is true because it follows from what is known in logic as the truth of the contrapositive: if we have no respect for each other or ourselves as persons, then we have no grounds to trust our consciences as sources of moral judgements. Trusting conscience as a source of moral judgement is a sufficient condition for mutual respect as persons. Notice that it is not a necessary condition for mutual respect as persons: there may well be other conditions in which we can ground respect. But it is sufficient, and it is the condition from which we have chosen to start, both because it expresses the contemporary mood in postmodern ethics, and because it makes minimal assumptions. The principle that we are to respect ourselves and each other as persons is, then, the first core principle of what I have called the ethics of integrity (Mason, 2001). This is the first argument we can use in defence of a core ethical principle for moral responsibility in comparative education research.

From this principle of respect for ourselves and each other as persons, it follows that we are to take responsibility for the consequences of our moral choices. This is also true by virtue of the truth of the contrapositive: not taking responsibility for the consequences of our actions would not be respectful of others. Notice again that respect is not a necessary condition for responsibility: we may act responsibly for reasons other than respect, such as fear of the sanctions we would invoke by breaking an ethical code. But it is a sufficient condition. The principle that we are to take responsibility for the consequences of our moral choices is, then, the second core principle of the ethics of integrity. This is the second argument we can use in defence of a core ethical principle for moral responsibility in comparative education research.

What we have achieved is the derivation of two core ethical principles from the simple assumption of human moral capacity and the associated implication to trust our conscience. The ethics of integrity avoid the problems associated with the subjectivist turn in a conscience-driven intuitionist ethics, but do not lose what is attractive about comportment that is motivated by conscience. As we saw, a respect for conscience implies self- and mutual respect, and this in turn implies responsibility for the consequences of our actions. In summary, then, the ethics of integrity imply that we are to respect ourselves and each other as persons, and that we are to take responsibility for the consequences of our actions.

From the first moral principle of the ethics of integrity, the principle of respect for ourselves and each other, it is possible to derive, again by the truth of the contrapositive, the five moral principles posited as widely accepted by Thiroux (1986): the value of life principle, the principle of goodness or rightness, the principle of justice or fairness, the principle of truth-telling or honesty, and the principle of

human freedom. For example, if we did not value life, we would not be showing respect for others. Respect for each other implies therefore that we value life. Again, respect for each other is not a necessary condition for the valuing of life, but it is a sufficient condition. A similar argument can be made for each of the other four principles posited by Thiroux.

A counter-argument that can potentially challenge these conclusions has to do with the meaning of terms like justice and respect. I have used them here in a sense that is fairly abstract and universal, while the interpretation of these terms within local contexts might of course differ across cultures. My response to this counter-argument would have to be offered on a case-by-case basis. For example, if an opponent wished to defend the view that just and respectful treatment of girls in his culture required excluding them from school, such as in the case with which I introduced this article, then I would attempt to respond to his conclusion by examining systematically the truth of his premises and the validity of his arguments, looking not least for claims that might unjustifiably reflect patriarchal interests in that culture.

The ethics of integrity enable us to derive further basic moral principles that may form the foundations for moral responsibility in comparative education research. It is clear from our derivation of the ethics of integrity in the most basic of assumptions, that of our human moral capacity, that these ethics are not only foundational, but universal. We can expect of all researchers that they take moral responsibility for their practice as professionals by virtue of the foundational and universal attributes of the ethics of integrity. And since in the professional practice of research we seek standards of ethical practice that are publicly available, in terms of which researchers may be guided in their practice, and in terms of which they may be held accountable, such codes of practice may and should be derived from the ethics of integrity. The ethics of integrity are, I hope I have shown, an essential foundation not only for a code of ethics in comparative education research, but for any professional code of ethics.

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Does Third Culture Theory Suffer from the Fallacy of Subjective Personal Validation?

Miriam HASOFER

In the 1950s, John and Ruth Hill Useem conducted ethnographic research about expatriates living and working in India. They proceeded to define the home culture of these expatriates as the 'First Culture', their host culture as the 'Second Culture' and the shared lifestyle of the expatriate community, the 'Third Culture'. The Useems referred to the children growing up in the Third Culture as 'Third Culture Kids' (TCKs) (Useem et al. 1993, p.1). Pollock later adapted the definition of 'TCKs' to fit with social and communal global changes affecting 'Third Culture'. He proceeded to define a TCK as 'a person who has spent a significant part of his or her development years outside the parents' culture' (Pollock, 2003, p.19). With the advent of globalisation and the rise in numbers of expatriates and Third Culture Kids, there seems to be a greater need for people to authenticate their cultural belonging, and therefore, there is a large, ready market for those promoting such mechanisms of self-validation.

Pollock and van Reken's book, *Third Culture Kids: The Experience of Growing Up Among Worlds*, has achieved such mainstream publishing popularity that in 2003 it had gone into its third reprint. One chapter of the book is dedicated to assigning TCKs one of four generic personality types, while other chapters are devoted to the experiences, challenges and benefits facing TCKs and Adult TCKs (ATCKs). In my opinion, it is fair to say that all parts of the book were ultimately written with the aim of assisting TCKs and ATCKs to validate their past and find a sense of cultural belonging.

However, psychologists (Dickson and Kelly, 1985) tend to question potential mechanisms of self-validation with reference to the well-known 'Fallacy of Subjective Personal Validation' (Forer 1949). In the late 1940s, psychologist Bertram R. Forer found that people tend to accept general personality descriptions as uniquely applicable to themselves without realizing that the same description could be applied to just about anyone. Still today, people tend to accept claims about themselves in proportion to their desire that the claims be true, rather than in proportion to the empirical accuracy of the claims. A common explanation given to account for this 'Fallacy of Subjective Personal Validation', (also known as the 'Forer Effect' or the 'Barnum Effect[1]), is the human tendency to try and make sense out of our past

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1   Based on the famous quote 'There's a sucker born every minute', sometimes attributed to the circus showman Phineas Taylor (P.T.) Barnum.

experiences (Carroll, 1995).

The studies commonly referred to in the academic literature on the Third Culture phenomenon, all share the common thread that research subjects are exclusively TCKs and/or ATCKs. This leaves open the possibility that, although the conclusions are based upon academic research, the reliability of such research can be brought into question due to the absence of 'control groups'.

Based on the above, I believe there is a need for further critical analysis of the Third Culture phenomenon, particularly with reference to popularly held beliefs regarding the social, cultural and educational implications of Third Culture. By conducting revised studies, under properly controlled conditions, with carefully selected non-TCK control groups, researchers should be able to test the validity of widely held beliefs.

For this study, I set out on an exploration seeking a response to the question embedded in the preceding paragraphs, namely whether Third Culture Theory indeed suffers from the 'Fallacy of Subjective Personal Validation'. I started from the premise that the lack of control groups as part of the experimental validity in Pollock and Van Reken's *Third Culture Kids: the Experience of Growing up among World*, is potentially fatal. Throughout their book, Pollock and Van Reken bring to the fore what they propose as definitive and exclusive statements about the experiences of Third Culture Kids. Although these suppositions are grounded in detailed experimental findings, observations and in-depth interviews with TCKs and ATCKs, the complete lack of non-TCK group data, does little, if anything at all, to substantiate according to prevailing academic research standards, the uniqueness of these suppositions to Third Culture Kids. It is this void which inevitably calls for criticism of the credibility of the findings. Thus, I set out to make an indicative comparison[2] of the experiences of TCK participants, with those of non-TCK participants, one group selected from Hong Kong and the other group selected from Australia. Based on the participants' feedback, I attempted to uncover whether the observations, insights and perceptions of TCK participants were potentially shared by their peers in the mainstream non-TCK world. In doing so, I looked for indicators of likely convergence and divergence in the life experiences of the five TCK and five non-TCK participants.

If there were indeed common junctions in their experiences, this may, subject to a wider and more detailed study, lead to the conclusion that Third Culture Theory does indeed suffer from the 'Fallacy of Subjective Personal Validation'. More so, even if no such common meeting points result from the research, the validity of 'Third Culture

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2   This study contains elements of, and draws on comparative education methodology, but is not intended to be a formal comparative study.

Theory' as propounded by Pollock and Van Reken nevertheless remains open to valid doubts, not because of inaccurate findings on their part, but because of the universal need for qualitative academic research to be fair and credible with carefully guarded generalisability.

Creating a Context for the Study
Since it was coined in the 1950s, the term 'Third Culture Kids' has undergone dramatic changes and modifications, taking into consideration the spread and impact of globalisation and the fact that many expatriates no longer live in defined communities. In their writing, Pollock and Van Reken take these changes into consideration and attempt to add a new level of articulation and visibility in understanding the children of the globally nomadic community. In characterising TCKs, Pollock writes:

> The Third Culture Kid builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture are assimilated into the TCKs life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar background (2003, p.19).

They place significant emphasis on the trying developmental task TCKs have with forming a sense of cultural ownership, balance, stability and belonging (Pollock, 2003, pp.40-43), writing that TCKs frequently struggle with finding a sense of cultural balance and identity "because the cultural values and practices of the communities they find themselves in often change radically as they shift from one place to another" (Pollock, 2003, pp.43-46). They also describe the impact of and struggle with high mobility and physical transition common in the lives of TCKs, questioning how any child can survive the cultural confusion and chronic change associated with transition and explaining that TCKs may be left doubting their sense of identity and stability (Pollock, 2003, pp.43-46).

In a chapter titled 'Meeting Educational Needs', Pollock and Van Reken write about the importance of the educational process for TCKs. They begin by explaining that experiences in school dramatically shape how TCKs view their childhood and whether they look back onto it with joy or regret (pp.213-217). They then proceed to outline some of the underlying principles that can help parents make suitable educational choices for TCKs while simultaneously emphasising the role and responsibilities of educators to develop and promote appropriate programs of cultural skill building and identity exploration for TCKs (p.231).

Challenges and Benefits of the Third Culture

Pollock and Van Reken dedicate entire chapters to describing the benefits and challenges of the Third Culture experience, the types of lifestyle development patterns experienced by TCKs and their character traits (2003, pp.77-79). These include, by way of example:

Benefits	Challenges
Expanded worldview	Confused Loyalties
Cross cultural enrichment	Ignorance of the home culture
Acceptability	Lack of cultural balance
Importance of seizing the day	Delusion of choice
Appreciation of authority	Mistrust of authority
Three- dimensional view of world	Painful view of reality

They also identify four basic categories which outline the ways in which TCKs relate to the system in which they grow up – TCKs who fit the system, TCKs who don't fit the system but attempt to conform, TCks who don't completely fit the system but don't realise or don't seem to mind, and finally, TCKs who don't fit the system, who know it, and spend their life proving it (Pollock 2003, pp.160-164).

Any critical analysis of the above and the six categories of benefits and challenges, will inevitably, as an obvious starting point, question whether these character traits and descriptors should properly be ascribed entirely to the Third Culture experience and not to other broader, environmental, social, or individual factors. Indeed, if it were shown that some of these characteristics are shared by non-TCKs, then the educational measures suggested for TCKs to deal with these cultural issues should equally be made available to their non-TCK peers.

The Study

The term 'phenomenology' is used to describe a number of different research methods across disciplines. The nature and scope of this study does not permit a discussion of 'Husserlian' phenomenology or other applications. Instead, the term phenomenology is used in the narrow sense of a qualitative research method, drawing primarily on the methodology suggested by Van der Mescht (2004) and McMillan (2004).

The purpose of adopting a phenomenological approach in this study is that it lends itself to the description and interpretation of the experiences of participants, thus allowing some understanding of the 'essence' of their experiences (McMillan, 2004, pp.273-274). In this study, I unpacked TCK and non-TCK experiences of growing up, thus attempting to capture the lived world of the participants (Van der Mescht, 2004, p.5). What have been the defining educational, cultural, behavioural and social experiences in their lives? What effects do these experiences have on their future educational paths and careers? What

does 'home' mean to these participants and how do they describe, understand and experience concepts of identity, culture and belonging? Thus the research problem adopted for this phenomenology, 'Does Third Culture Theory suffer from the Fallacy of Subjective Personal Validation?' aimed to extract whether or not the educational, cultural, behavioural and social traits attributed to the phenomenon of 'Third Culture' experience, are uniquely applicable to TCKs.

The participants in this dual-site phenomenological study constituted:

- at the first site, five TCKs, aged between 13 and 16, currently living in Hong Kong, but not of Chinese ethnic descent; and
- at the second site, five non-TCKs aged between 13 and 16, currently living in Sydney, Australia,who have never lived aboard for any duration of time.

All ten participants shared similar socio-economic backgrounds and attended private high schools. They all came from families where the parents are married, and at least one parent (generally the father) was gainfully employed. All participants had at least one sibling but no more than three siblings. All participants were willing to share their thoughts about the experiences of growing up; cultural identity and belonging, and could articulate their experiences clearly, both orally and in writing (McMillan, 2004, p.272; Van der Mescht 2004, p.6). The five participants from Hong Kong were selected because they were living the TCK experience under investigation. In contrast, the five participants from Sydney, Australia were selected because they have not ever lived the TCK experience under investigation.

The data collection mainstay utilised was the use of in-depth, personal, loosely structured interviews (Van Der Mescht, 2004, p.5), all recorded for analysis. On one hand, some structure had been incorporated during the interviews, through initiation of questions. On the other hand, I have attempted, wherever possible, to demonstrate skill in listening to the participants, prompting when appropriate and encouraging participants to reflect, expand and elaborate on their remembrance of the experiences at hand (McMillan, 2004, pp.273-274; Van der Mescht, 2004, pp.5-9). The participants were also asked to complete a very brief questionnaire and to write a short reflective journal of approximately five hundred words on the experiences described and discussed during the interview sessions. This was done with the aim of assuring greater credibility.

In this phenomenology, the focus was on shared meaning and participant consciousness of experiences (McMillan, 2004, pp.273-274; Van der Mescht, 2004, pp.5-9). Common themes, concepts and

classifications that form the basis for descriptions and meanings were extracted. Next, statements that showed how the participants experienced the phenomena, were identified from the interviews. The experiences of TCKs and non-TCKs embodied in these statements were compared and contrasted and points of convergence and divergence were identified. Finally, an overall meaning of the experience was constructed and described by reference to the terminology used by Pollock and Van Reken (McMillan, 2004, pp.273-274; Van der Mescht, 2004, pp.5-9).

Upon examination of the data, five potential themes (each with sub-themes) were identified:

1. Home	Sense of Belonging and Stability
	Mobility and Transition
2. Identity	Personal Identity
	Shared Identity
3. Cultural Ownership	Relationship to Dominant Culture
	Cross Cultural Enrichment
4. Personal Characteristics	Adaptability vs. Lack of Cultural Balance
	Blending in vs. Defining the Differences
5. Relational Patterns	Cross Cultural Skills
	Social Skills

Each of the independent themes, along with its sub-themes, were initially analysed independently. It became clear that there was a significant degree of overlap between the themes, as they were closely related. The first two emergent themes (Home and Identity), together with their sub-themes, were considered to form the core of the data collected, whereas the last three themes (Cultural Ownership, Personal Characteristics and Relational Patterns) developed and expanded on these core concepts. For the purposes of this study, I focussed the analysis, discussion and findings on the first two 'core' emergent themes (Home and Identity). I looked for similarities and differences and significant points of convergence and divergence between the TCK and non-TCK responses. Once each of the two emergent themes and sub-themes were analysed, an overall description of the meaning of the experience was constructed and some conclusions were drawn about the nature of the TCK and non-TCK experiences and indeed, about the potential 'Fallacy of Subjective Personal Validation'.

Home and Identity: Areas of Convergence and Divergence

In this section, I elaborate on key findings by reference to the terminology used by Pollock and Van Reken to describe their observations of the character traits uniquely attributable to TCKs.

Taking the first theme, 'Home', it became evident that firstly, both TCK and non-TCK participants felt at 'home' in their place of abode and secondly, that these feelings of being at 'home' had little to do

with factors of place of residence ('passport' or 'host' country), spoken language (English speaking or non-English speaking) and cultural make up (people of similar or different ethnicity with similar or different customs and traditions).

For example, a TCK participant, Adriana, who has lived in Hong Kong her entire life, commented:

> I have lived in Hong Kong my whole life and I always know that no matter where I am or what nationality I am, Hong Kong is my home. Although I am an American citizen and only speak English, I was born and raised in the same place and regardless of the way I look or the language I speak, I will always be at home here.

The participants' sense of 'home' and 'belonging' had more to do with the following concepts (not mentioned by Pollock and Van Reken):

i.   Feeling part of a stable and complete family unit; and
ii. Having a secure, physical place of residence somewhere.

A non-TCK participant, Ella, who has only ever lived in Australia, said:

> Home to me is basically my family. Wherever I am or will ever be, it will be home because I would be with my family.

Cindy, another non-TCK participant, agreed:

> Home is Sydney. Definitely Sydney. My family is in Sydney. I've lived here my entire life and it's everything I know.

In addition to the concept of 'home', the need for stability was also discussed.

Adriana, a TCK who has lived in Hong Kong her entire life commented:

> Home is Hong Kong. I see myself as an American citizen. It makes sense to me. But I'm comfortable in Hong Kong, because I don't need to adjust. I really know what it's like here. I know everywhere. I'm comfortable with living with Chinese. I live in Hong Kong and I'm part of the group. I don't like change. I like my world.

Sam, a non-TCK said:
> I am Australian. My family and friends are here. I've been at this

school since Kindergarten. This is all that I have ever known and I am comfortable. When I am home [Australia] I feel safe. I know that I belong to something.

For TCKs, the notion of having more than one secure physical place of residence (ie. a second, part-time home in their 'passport country') posed no difficulty and did not confuse their notion of 'home'. Further points of convergence regarding 'Home', were embedded in participant statements about mobility and transition. At some stage and on some level, participants of both groups had dealt with transition and mobility. Participants from both groups were able to identify and speak of family members and friends who had moved in and out of their lives, across countries, cities and states. Both TCKS and non-TCKs gave the impression that mobility and transition, although at times hard to deal with, have become an expected part of life in the modern, global setting.

Thus, although TCK participants had been exposed to greater levels of mobility and transition (high-mobility), when compared to non-TCKs, this did not present itself as significant an issue to TCKs, as the degree suggested by Pollock and Van Reken.

Interesting findings also emanated from participants' comments about the potential of living in other countries. Participants from both groups felt that they would adapt quickly to living in certain Western countries, due to the similarities in language, culture and ethnicity. At the same time, a notable point of divergence was that while non-TCKs persistently rejected the possibility of moving to Asian countries, TCKs were cautiously more open to the notion.

Erren, who has no significant reservations about moving to boarding school in England, voiced his concerns about leaving Hong Kong for other Asian countries, saying:

> I wouldn't consider moving to China. China's different. It has a long way to go to become what Hong Kong is now. I'd think about Singapore. It's got a lot of expatriates. I'd have to look into it.

Further, participants spoke about their long-term educational prospects and where they saw themselves studying in future.

Rebecca, a TCK said:

> I wouldn't want to study here. Not many people like to go to university where they live, even if they love it in the country. I'd be a little scared to leave and go to university, but I go to sleep over

camps, so I'm used to being away from my parents. I want to go to Canada or to the US.

Even Adriana, who has grown up in Hong Kong and mentioned her difficulties in adapting to new situations, said:

I don't want to study at university here. No one does. I'll go back to America to study. I've heard that the education is better in the States. I asked my mum and she said that I'm going to America.

Ella, a non-TCK commented:

I have some family in London, some aunts and cousins, so I wouldn't mind spending time with them when I finish school but I would want to study here [in Sydney]. It's where my friends and family are and I've done all my music and sports here so it makes sense.

Bianca, a non-TCK said:

I love New York. I think it's the best place on earth, but I wouldn't want to study anywhere but here. This is where I go to school and this is where I would study.

In relation to the second theme, 'Identity', interesting points of convergence and divergence emerged from the findings concerning participants' understanding of their sense of 'personal identity' and 'shared identity'. These concepts are highlighted by Pollock and Van Reken as posing great challenges for TCKs. Participants from both groups struggled with the notion of 'personal identity'. When they did speak about this notion, their responses were generally linked to their physical surroundings and relationships with others (ie. notions of 'shared identity').

Sam, a non-TCK commented:

Who am I? That's a tough one. We just did this at camp. I'm Sam. I'm Australian. I have a connection to my culture and to Australia. This is where I have always lived. There are so many aspects that make me Australian. I fit in with Australia…when I go travelling, I love to pull out my Australian passport.

Rebecca, a TCK, spoke of her 'personal identity' in terms of her 'shared identity' with sport:

I was at the rugby recently and it was America vs. Hong Kong and I was there with Nicole [another member of the TCK participant group]. We were like 'who should we go for?' We have both lived here for a while and we wanted to root for Hong Kong. We looked at each other and at the same time said 'Hong Kong'. Then, when America lost we were jumping up and down. It was very funny.

Speaking more about 'personal identity' she commented:

I was born in Boston, USA, but moved to Hong Kong nine years ago when I was only four. I still remember things about Boston, but I didn't grow up there and the only real memories I have are of birthday parties and eating chocolate covered raisins. My mother was born and raised in New Jersey, and my father was born and raised in Toronto. I guess I am a mix of so many things.

Adriana, another TCK, also spoke of her 'personal identity' in terms of her relationships with others, her sense of belonging and her relationship to her surrounding environment, saying:

I know I'm different [to the Chinese people in my school] but not in a bad way. Does that make sense? They are who they are and I am who I am and we can all hang out together and we all know who we are. The Chinese people stay together and the other people stay together. I'm good friends with them.

I'm a Hong Kong resident. I'm American. I speak English. My parents speak English and grew up there. I go back every summer. I spend time in the summer camps [in America]. If I didn't tell them [kids at camp] I come from Hong Kong they would never know the difference.

Participants spoke of their sense of 'shared identity', specifically focusing on the types and meanings of relationships that they have formed with peers, family and their countries of abode.

When speaking about relationships, Nicole, a TCK who has lived in Hong Kong for five years, said:

My experiences here are different to those of my friends in the States. My friends remain the same, but I've had a lot of experiences. I have travelled a lot. My friends in the States haven't.

She continued:

> Sometimes I feel that I am split between friends, as I have two best friends in two different parts of the world. I am equally as close to them, although they are two completely different people. I don't know which one of them I would side with if I ever had to choose between.

Rebecca, a TCK, spoke about the importance of her relationships with peers She said:

> Seventy percent of the people in my school are Asian. I even know how to swear in Chinese now. No one treats me differently. I have close friends who are Western and Asian and half Chinese, Japanese, Indian and Eurasian. It's such a mix. I don't look at someone and go, you're Chinese, how should I treat you? I just treat everyone as I would want to be treated myself.

Bianca and Sam, two non-TCKs felt that they had long established relationships with their peers. Bianca said:

> Nothing has ever happened. There are no challenges. We're definitely comfortable. We have a comfort zone from a long time ago, like a little community and I know that we'll always stay in our little community.

Sam stated:

> My life's pretty easy. My parents are here and my grandparents and my two cousins. We have dinner together every week. I've always been comfortable. I've been in the same school since Kindergarten and I've had all my friends since Kindergarten.

When asked about her 'personal identity' Ella, a non-TCK, reiterated what she had said earlier:

> Basically, my family is the most important to me. I see my grandad every day and I spend lots of time with my family. It's the most important thing.

This commonality of response suggests that the struggle with explaining 'personal identity' may not be unique to TCKs, but may instead be a concept that adolescents grapple with as part of their personal development, regardless of cultural environment.

In summary, it is fair to say that the findings discussed above consistently demonstrate an affinity by members of the non-TCK group with the concepts and terminology attributed by Pollock and Van Reken to the TCK experience.

Conclusion

In this study, I had set out to compare and contrast the experiences of a group of non-TCKs and a group of TCKs, seeking to identify points of divergence and convergence in their experiences. The impetus for this work was the need to conduct a study with a carefully selected control group of non-TCK participants, in order to test whether or not Third Culture Theory suffers from the 'Fallacy of Subjective Personal Validation'. Prior to undertaking the field research, it was expected that points of divergence between the two groups would emerge. It was also suspected that points of convergence may exist, but there was no data upon which to base such speculation. When the data obtained from the two groups was compared and analysed, clear areas of divergence arose from the findings and a number of points of convergence also materialised. Bearing in mind the exploratory nature of this study, these points of common junction are not presented as conclusive evidence for judging the credibility of the Third Culture Phenomenon. Rather, they provide a framework upon which to ground and construct a more detailed study, to formally test the validity of the suppositions and empirical statements made by Pollock and Van Reken concerning Third Culture and TCKs. A wider and more detailed exploration of this phenomenon, will no doubt reach a final conclusion as to whether or not Third Culture Theory does indeed suffer from 'Fallacy of Subjective Personal Validation'.

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China's Development Aid to Africa: The Case of Education

Bjorn Harald Nordtveit

Introduction

During the month of November, Chinese newspapers were awash with titles such as "Multibillion-dollar gift to Africa intended to help forge closer links with the continent"; and "Fears over loans to Africa rejected: IMF, World Bank find no evidence of expensive terms" (*South China Morning Post*), 1st and 6th November 2006, respectively). Western media, on the other hand, remained unimpressed or critical, indicating that China had embarked on an African "safari" (King, 2006). The media attention was due to the third Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, convening 48 African leaders in Beijing who enthusiastically received promises from the Chinese government of an unprecedented aid package to Africa.

China's recent expansion of its Africa cooperation has led to a renewed research interest on China-Africa relations. This paper examines the recent debates on China's development aid to Africa, using education as a case study. China's role in education development can be looked at from different perspectives: first, the direct aid from China to Africa can be seen as building local capacity. Second, China's development path could be used as a reference by some African countries, which would seek to imitate or learn from China. A third perspective could look at China's development aid to Africa as a means to gain access to markets (and in particular, to oil resources), but this angle has not been considered in this paper.

This review of the debates on China-Africa cooperation is divided into two sections; the first considers some issues regarding the post-1949 history of China's aid to Africa, including some of the recent critique China has faced for its modalities of cooperation with the continent. The second part looks at the modalities of intervention, enquiring whether China has proposed a counter model to the Western-inspired development vision for Africa, and in particular The Washington Consensus, this latter being promoted by the Bretton Woods organizations and different UN agencies.

China's Cooperation with Africa: a Historical Perspective

Contemporary China's development policies towards Africa have gone through different stages, each connected to wider political and economic realities. I have adopted a phasing of the educational engagement proposed by He Wenping, Director of the African Studies Section at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing. According

to He (2006), China's relations with Africa can be divided into three successive periods: (i) 1950-1980; (ii) the 1990s; and (iii) 2000-present. During the first period China's educational support to Africa was limited mainly to the provision of scholarships to African students and to the dispatch of teachers to Africa to teach Chinese and basic educational courses such as mathematics, chemistry and physics.

The period 1950-1980 can be subdivided into three different phases, each corresponding to a different alignment of China's foreign policy. In the 1950s, China, with a pro-USSR and anti-US international policy, supported African communist parties and encouraged their struggle for independence (Li, 2006). During the Bandung Conference (April 1955) between Asian and African states to promote Afro-Asian economic and cultural cooperation, the first steps for a closer relationship between China and certain African countries were taken. In particular, China's dialogue with Egypt (which was one of the organizers of the conference – and later a main player in the Non-Aligned Movement) led to the first educational cooperation between the two countries. As a first step in 1956, four Egyptian students came to China to study and four Egyptian scholars went to China to lecture, while one English teacher and seven Chinese students were dispatched to Cairo.

In the 1960s, China engaged in a double policy of anti-revisionism and anti-imperialism, which led to a disruption of her relationships with many of the pro-USSR communist parties in Africa (e.g., South Africa and the Reunion). The period of the Cultural Revolution also coincided with a further isolation of China, and led to the breaking of diplomatic relationships with several African countries. The deterioration of diplomatic relationships had a direct and negative influence on educational cooperation: from 1967 to 1972, China did not receive African students (He, 2006).

President Nixon's 1972 visit to China, followed by the adoption of the Shanghai Communiqué and the normalization of the relationship between the USA and China, ended this relative isolation of China. Contact with African countries was re-established, including educational cooperation. The post-Cultural Revolution economic situation in China, however, prevented China from re-establishing itself as an important donor. The period from 1976 to 1982 is therefore marked by limited external aid to Africa.

In September 1983, following the 12th Party Congress (September 1982) and Premier Zhao's subsequent visit to Africa, the cooperation increased substantially (Li, 2006). A broadening of China's re-engagement with Africa can be noticed through increasing aid packages and the inclusion of African countries other than those which had traditionally been close to China. For education, in the 1950s,

a total of 24 students came from Africa to China. As we have seen, Egyptian students were the first among these, followed by students from Cameroon, Kenya, Uganda and Malawi. Starting from a modest five countries at the end of the 1950s, China's educational cooperation reached 43 African countries and 2,245 students by the end of the 1980s (He, 2006).

A second phase of educational cooperation started in the 1990s. More specifically, this second phase of cooperation was initially linked to the events surrounding the Tiananmen Square killings in June 1989. China's relative isolation in the face of intense criticism from the West – coinciding with messages of approval from various African leaders – led to the Chinese government's realization that Africa was a useful and manageable source of international support (Taylor, 2006). In particular, many African leaders were threatened by the West's post-cold war discourse on human rights and democracy. In this, they found a degree of common ground with Beijing.

During the 1990s, the number of African students in China and the number of Chinese teachers in Africa doubled. This boost was not only due to increasing assistance to Africa from China: the number of African students studying in China on their own means increased from two in 1989 to 1580 in 1999 (He, 2006). During this period Chinese and African countries also increasingly developed common research programs.

The third phase of educational cooperation was triggered by the first Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in October 2000. Similar forums have been conducted every third year – in Africa and China alternatively. Accordingly, a second forum was held in Addis Ababa in December 2003. A third forum was convened in Beijing in November 2006, receiving unprecedented media attention. This third phase of cooperation is marked by an acceleration of the cooperation between China and Africa. During the recent forum, according to government sources, China's promises included the following:

- Double its 2006 assistance to Africa by 2009.
- Provide US$3 billion in preferential loans and US$2 billion in preferential buyer's credit over the next three years.
- Human resources and technology expertise transfer in agriculture, as well as aid for medical, health and educational areas; Chinese government scholarships to African students to double from 2,000 a year to 4,000 annually in 2009. (Sunday *Morning Post/South China Morning Post*, 5th November, 2006).

Whereas most international observers welcome China's accelerated engagement with Africa, others have pointed out that there are also

grounds for caution. Major concerns about the Chinese cooperation with Africa are related to China's policy of "non-interference" in local affairs and hence its dealings with a number of leaders who have been criticized for human rights abuses, environmental destruction and large-scale corruption. For example, China has declared that "developing friendly relations" with Robert Mugabe's regime in Zimbabwe, "accused by opponents and rights groups for using torture and arbitrary arrests to quell dissent", is "an unshakeable policy" (*South China Morning Post*, 6th November, 2006). Also, China's lack of transparency for the provision of loans to African countries has worried Western donor countries, especially in view of their recent canceling of US$50 billion in debt to African countries. The World Bank's president, initially critical of China's lack of transparency, later seems to have changed his mind on this matter (*South China Morning Post*, 1st November, 2006).

This disapproval from Western observers of China's African policies is weakened by a certain double talk. Most Western countries still have close relationships with governments that are in flagrant violation of basic human rights (Sautman and Yan, 2006; King, 2006). However, other observers have pointed out that "two wrongs don't make a right" – in other words, because the West largely prioritizes market access and economic dominance rather than human rights should not mean that China need follow a similar pattern.

China's economic successes and its engagement with African nations, which are taking different paths than those envisioned and proposed by Western nations and institutions, have led many observers to question whether there is a Chinese model for development. It is to the discussion of the existence of such a model – the "Beijing Consensus" as it has been called – that we will now turn our attention.

Is There a Chinese Model for Development?

Although there is evidence of worsening inequality between poorer rural areas and the eastern seaboard of China (Chaudhuri and Ravallion, 2006), international recognition of the country's success in moving millions out of poverty, and the sustained increase in GDP per capita and rate of economic growth, have encouraged observers to consider China as a possible model for poverty reduction. According to the Government and the UNDP (2005), "China has now achieved the target of halving the number of poor people from the 1990 figure of 85 million". Likewise, the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) indicates that the number of those living on less than $1 a day has fallen from 600 million in 1979 to 135 million in 2004 (2006), although there are still some 500 million living on less than $2 a day.

China's development model is very different from the current development discourse of the West. For example, the Bretton-Woods institutions have established a set of recommendations (and in many cases, loan conditionalities) setting the economic path for developing countries. The World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization, in particular, have been criticized for the propagation of a market-based development approach, often-called market fundamentalism, neoliberalism, or the "Washington Consensus". The Washington Consensus, based on the Hayek-inspired economic policies of Thatcher and Reagan in the 1980s, promotes fiscal discipline, financial liberalization, tax reform (including cutting marginal taxes), and generally the privatization of social services. Its fundamental idea is that unhindered market exchanges provide the driving force of economic growth. Neoliberalism and the Washington Consensus were criticized for their undesirable effects, e.g., deregulation and privatization led to less public expenditure for health and education.

A second Consensus, reached at the 1998 Summit of the Americas in Santiago, Chile, recognized the existence of market failure and the need for government intervention in certain sectors. The shift from the Washington to the Santiago Consensus (or Post-Washington Consensus) was, however, superficial, insomuch as development was still envisioned as market-based, although it was acknowledged that there is a role for government involvement, especially in public health and education.

China, not adopting the neoliberal cooperation discourse of the West, has followed a path that, in view of the country's spectacular economic growth, has been hailed as illustrating a third model, the "Beijing Consensus". This development strategy is, according to Joshua C. Ramo of the Foreign Policy Centre (who coined the term of "Beijing Consensus"), based on three pillars, which include innovation- and knowledge-led growth, a focus on the quality of life (instead of economic performance), and self determination (Ramo, 2004). China's government officially denies the existence of a Beijing model (Sautman and Yan, 2006). However, Chinese academic economists tout the superiority of the Beijing Consensus as opposed to Washington's neoliberal model (Zhang, 2004; Huang and Cui, 2005; and Wang, 2005). Also, observers reckon that the Chinese government needs other nations buy in to its world-view and in particular to its international agenda of a "Peaceful Rise" (Ramo, 2004).

One of the means China can use to propagate its development views is through the International Poverty Reduction Centre in China (IPRCC). In 2005, the government and the UNDP set up this centre with the aim of gathering and distributing lessons on poverty

reduction in China and internationally. The centre is thus the source of analytical work on lessons from poverty reduction in China; it also organizes training sessions on China's poverty reduction experiences for developing countries' civil servants. As an example of this centre's outreach to distribute information about the Chinese development path, one can cite a July 2006 Workshop on Poverty, Policy and Practice for African Countries, attended by nineteen participants from twelve countries, including Ethiopia, Ghana, Lesotho, Liberia, Mauritius, Namibia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The outcome of the workshop pointed clearly at the dissemination of a Chinese model for development:

> First, [the] Chinese basic situation, especially efforts on poverty reduction have been made known to all. The participants were given detailed information on Chinese economic and social development, current issues of agriculture, rural and farmers, the history of poverty reduction in China, one body two wings strategy, immigration and poverty reduction through the development of tourism, compulsory education in rural China, NGO roles in poverty reduction and local projects installed by international agencies. …

> Second, the field trip was a chance for the participants to witness and learn from Chinese experience and policies. The trip to Guangxi Province has led the participants to a deeper realization that rural China was remarkably transformed by the reform and opening-up policy adopted in the end of the 1970s and poverty in rural areas was reduced by the national program of poverty reduction. …

> Third, friendship was growing in one another. Fifteen days staying in China have convinced the participants that China is a faithful and friendly nation. (IPRCC, 2006 pp.2-3).

The information provided during the workshop arguably impressed the participants. The Ghanaian representative, for example, said she was "astonished" by the village-based development model she saw in Guangxi, and that she would "coordinate [the] Ghanaian government agencies into the study of the experience and hard work of the Chinese people" (see http://www.iprcc.org.cn). This attitude was largely shared at the 2006 Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, during which many African leaders expressed interest in the development path of China, stating that the best Africa can do, is to "do like the Chinese" (Zambian Foreign Minister, cited by King, 2006).

As noted above, China's capacity building role in Africa can be seen in two ways: on one hand, China offers direct aid to Africa's educational development; and on the other, China's vision of educational development could be adopted by African countries for their own educational systems. In November 2005, education ministers from China and seventeen African countries signed "The Beijing Declaration", offering a joint vision and commitment to educational development. It can debated whether the Beijing Declaration represents a Chinese vision or a model and to what extent it differs from other international declarations such as those expressed in the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) or in the Education For All (EFA) initiative.

The Beijing Declaration does not suggest that Africa should learn from China. It considers free and compulsory basic education as a human right. Also, it makes a commitment for participating countries to focus on lifelong education and on vocational training; on the improvement of quality through reform and through the use of information and communication technology in education; and on the development of high-quality higher education (Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, 2005). During the Education Minister's 2005 forum, China also pledged to increase substantially the education aid package provided to Africa. In this case, and in other instances such as during IPRCC's July 2006 Workshop on Poverty Policy and Practice, the two roles of China – as a model and as a donor – seem to merge.

During the third Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in 2006, the Chinese Government pledged to increase the training of African specialists in "various fields" from 10,000 in the 2004-06 period to 15,000 in the following three years. The Third Forum also decided to organize regular China-Africa Forums of Ministers of Education. The aid package also included assistance to African countries to set up one hundred schools; a pledge to increase the number of scholarships from 2,000 to 4,000 per year by 2009, as well as an offer of training to educational officials and heads of leading educational institutions (Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, 2006). This package is in itself quite modest as compared to other bilateral donors' aid to Africa, and does not especially point to the existence of a Beijing Consensus or a Beijing model for capacity building or for educational development.

Conclusion

It is difficult to consider China as a bilateral donor without considering it as the diffuser of a development model along the lines of a "Beijing Consensus" because of its tremendous success in economic development. In many cases the two roles seems to be confounded – China is providing capacity building and organizing workshops and forums to exchange lessons with Africa. Such exchange of experience

will naturally point to China's economic development path, whether one chooses to call it a model or not.

Comments from observers, the international press and donor organizations have treated China's engagement with Africa in different ways; from downgrading it to a "safari" in the search for an international support constituency, to seeing it as part of a political strategy to gain access to resources (Taylor, 2006), or to something ultimately positive in its own right (Remo, 2004). When Norway, an oil-rich Northern country, had to devise its responses to the development engagements of China in Africa, it proposed a three-pronged strategy as response to China's ambitions:

- Strengthening the capacity of partner countries and African regional organisations to negotiate and co-operate effectively with China;
- Supporting initiatives that stimulate China's participation in multilateral institutions and donor forums; and
- Developing bilateral co-operation with China in areas of mutual benefit (CMI Report, p.44, 2006).

In particular, it was recommended not only to encourage China to do more but also to learn more about Chinese policies and their evolving and changing approaches to African development. Studies, then, should perhaps not only be concerned with the modalities of cooperation, but also seek to understand China's African engagement by looking at China's internal development path and the extent to which Africa, through education and other forms of cooperation, is borrowing and adapting this path as a model.

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港珠師範生看全球化與教育的異同
Comparative Perspectives of Student Teachers in Hong Kong and Zhuhai on Globalization and Education

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Abstract

Globalization has affected many facets of life, and learning and education are no exception. An important task of teachers in both primary and secondary schools is therefore to help students to develop a global outlook. This has become an important educational aim in both Hong Kong and Mainland China. This qualitative study examines how future teachers in Hong Kong and Zhuhai perceive the consequences of globalization in their respective local contexts. This cultural approach to global understanding is based on the view that social reality is a socially constructed reality in which the interaction and interchange of cultural values and beliefs affect the formation of values. In this paper we try to reconstruct the global views and values of these student teachers. The commonalities and differences in the effects of globalization on individual learning, on education, on the local society and on the national culture of student teachers of the two sites under consideration are critically assessed through informal and non-structured interviews.

前言

　　在全球經濟一體化和互聯網不斷普及下，不同地區的人雖然越來越看到全球化的急速發展。在楊尊偉、王紅（2004）的文章中，介紹了加拿大通過國際教育和全球教育，培育青年關於世界的教育。國際教育使學生形成寬廣的國際視野，了解當今世界文化對本國的意義，及從小樹立「我是世界公民」的觀念。而全球教育則關注地球這個整體，通過增加本土學生的知識來改善世界居民的生活條件，鼓勵他們以緩解世界問題的方式去生活和行動（頁50）。在全球一體化的情況下，香港師範生怎樣看待全球化與教育？而內地師範生的觀點與香港的又有何異同呢？此文將透過文獻分析及質性訪談，以半結構性的開放問題初步了解香港與珠海兩地師範生對全球化所帶來的影響之理解。在整理了兩地師範生的訪談資料後，筆者兩人從中抽取了師範生對全球化的概念、全球下對個人學習、對教育、對當地社會及對傳統文化等各方面的看法。期望透過比較和分析，勾劃出兩地師範看全球化有哪些相近或不同的想像。

師範生眼中的全球化

　　全球化是什麼呢？有學者指出全球化最好是理解成一種「想像物」，是人類藉著想像力來組織一些活動的形式，並推動這些形式按一

定的路線發展；也是某些人基於自己的欲望、理論、自我投射或者說宗教感情而想像出的世界狀態(郭洋生譯：2000，頁85)。那麼香港師範生怎樣理解全球化呢？我倆和數位香港教育學院不同年級的師範生深入訪談後，得出下列三個概念。

- 以前在香港可能只是讀關於中國和香港的事，但在全球化之後你可能會讀拉丁美洲這些很難接觸到的事。或多或少都給你多了很多選擇，不再是只局限在香港鄰近地方的知識。（香港師範生）

- 例如足球這種運動，雖然我不知道是源自那一個國家，然後大班來自世界各地的人就開始喜歡這種運動。（香港師範生）

- 跟不上知識迅速，如果要深入探討是要從你的工作或興趣才能做到，我要知道全球化的事是沒有可能，沒可能會了解到每一地方，人的時間是有限的。（香港師範生）

在香港師範生的眼中，全球化可以令視野更加廣濶，了解的領域可達至世界的每一個角落。而一些全球性的體育運動更加是沒有了國界的區別，在全球的不同地方都一樣受歡迎，得到很多人的喜愛。而從下述珠海的師範生對全球化的描述中，有師範生感受最深的是互聯網發展帶來的親切感覺，在虛擬的世界中，天涯變成了咫尺，地域上的距離似乎不復存在，所有人和事都變得很近。

- 現在的溝通方式也是全球化的，整個世界的村落地球村各個地方像我有很多同學在外國讀書也好，但是我們通過MSN就感覺相差不遠，不像以前地理的位置相距很遠，就造成了不能溝通的障礙，現在已經打破這種界線。（珠海師範生）

- 就是外國人會來我們中國學泡茶，我們就希望在外國學煮咖啡。（珠海師範生）

- 我覺得全球化就好像一個市場一樣，有什麼樣的好東西都放在這裡，然後如果我覺得你的好我就拷貝一份拿過來，或者我覺得你這個也不錯也拿過來用一下，因爲這個越來越全球化和共用，你有什麼長處我也拿來用。（珠海師範生）

同時，在珠海師範生中有人亦覺得全球化促進了國際間的交流，推動了人類的發展。正如河清（2003）指出，隨著交通工具、傳媒技術的更新，互聯網的普及，貿易、旅遊的發展，世界各地的人確實互相更近了，更多地互相"照面"（頁19）；而什麼是全球化呢？筆者兩人建議可參考沈宗瑞（2004）的譯文：「全球化可以詮釋爲包括各種社會關係與處置措施等空間性組織發生轉變，而產生跨越洲際或橫跨區域的行爲、互動與權力運作等這一系列交流與網絡的過程。」（頁21-22）。

全球化下的個人學習

在新世紀全球化的年代中，聯合國教科文組織總幹事松浦晃一郎（2000）認為教科文組織必須特別關注下列五個最優先的領域：為所有人的貫穿其終身的教育以及「學會共處」、保護和促進文化多樣性、科學和技術的倫理道德；環境問題和全球信息社會等（頁73）。那麼，香港師範生在全球化下又如何看其個人學習呢？首先有香港師範生表示全球化令他感到要好好學習，學習更多新的知識和技能；此外他們有下列兩點看法。

- 我覺全球化知識是會讓你從多角度去看很多事，而讓你回想有什麼地方要改善。（香港師範生）

- 我在想當全球化每樣知識來時，不是每樣新知識都是好。不同地方有不同的新知識，如果我去吸收這些新知識未必會適合我這個地方，究竟這個知識是否真的是好或對我們是否真的適合我們呢？（香港師範生）

可見香港師範生在面對全球化下知識飛快更新，是會思考是否需要全盤接受新知識及擇其需要才接收。面對不同的知識和信息，香港師範生會從不同的角度思考問題的對與錯、是與非。不會只執著有一個不變的標準；再從中反思自己需要改進的地方。而當與珠海師範生談全球化下的學習時，他們最直接而又有最切身體會的便是學習英語。在珠海和內地的其他地方，學校及社會都十分重視英語。不少師範生更覺得自己大學的學習似乎是把時間用在學習英語上。更有甚者，在內地考取研究生只要英文過關，其他的專業和學術水平便可忽略不計。

- 其實4、6級這個考試在中國還是挨罵的比較多，就是無論什麼專業的同學都要伴著4、6級考試、然後就很頭痛。很多老師都說無論你是學什麼專業的人，專業課都不知道，只要知道英語。而且我們很多師兄及現在教我們的老師也說在大學時什麼都沒有學到，只知道英語4、6級、托福、全都是英語考試，在大學的時間都在讀英文。（珠海師範生）

- 我想整個文化的發展可能會出現一個矛盾。最希望去把英語引進過來作一個工具，在各種領域去使用，但又防止這種語言背後的文化侵入，所以在我們的英語教育裡面就有一個問題。（珠海師範生）

有關全球化的影響，葉瀾教授（2004）曾指出全球化不等於同質化、平等化和現代化。且不說現在真正的超越國界、去民族的全人類利益，對一切國家同樣有效的世界秩序遠未形成，世界也不可能成為同質、單一的世界（頁9-10）。故內地師範生不應以為學懂英文便等於全球化，而內地過分重視英文的現象除了教育制度上的偏頗及社會的成見外，也造成了大部份內地學生在面對全球化下的學習時失卻了本土化。

幸好，仍有個別師範生在反思內地的學英文風氣時提出了對文化入侵的隱憂。

全球化對教育的影響

　　全球化會導致經濟競爭架構內的整合性增強，對於教育傳遞國族文化的分析，將逐漸由教育對全球化經濟的服務角色所取代，教育實務逐漸轉變為服務與促進全球化的強化過程 (陳儒晰譯，2003，頁83)。這情況正好反映了香港教育改革的現況。香港近年來實行的教育改革，在全球化情況下不斷抄襲海外經驗，就連師範生都有同感。究竟這些新的措施是否適用於香港本土呢？全球化下各地的教育都有自己的優缺點，是不是所有他山之石都可以攻玉呢？有學生對於這一點是很有保留的。另一方面，香港師範生是認同如果某種知識是社會需要的，則需要學習以適應社會發展。由於全球化的發展使獲得資料比以前容易得多，因此學校教育已不是著重知識的傳授，而是學習技巧和技能的訓練。所以學會學習這也是受訪師範生所認同的觀點。

- 很多教育政策都會參考新加坡好像早幾年的I.T.，又會參考下國內一些課程如數學，抄了回來但就沒有將他本土化，所以很多時候是否適合呢？這個我覺得值得去研究。（香港師範生）

- 或者會看發展方向，例如未來十年無論是社區或個人，未來可能要和日本人打交道，可能要加多一樣語言日本語，不排除這個可能性，所以如果要去怎樣選擇一些好東西的話是要看個人、地區性政策上有什麼特別方針要我們市民去跟隨。（香港師範生）

- 我覺得全球化與教育是學會學習。因為現在全球化很多時候都說一體化，你上網會找到其他國家很多資料，例如經濟和商業。以前只有自己地區或有交通聯繫地區才去到，但全球化在世界某個角落都會做這樣的事。你要不斷學習新事物，當你接觸到就要學。我覺得教育是教他們怎樣有技巧地找資料，教他們怎樣去學習。（香港師範生）

　　有珠海師範生認為全球化既然已使全球資源共享，內地教育部門就應該主動、及時地借鏡外國優秀的教材和教法，讓學生得益。但也有個別學生認為不能一見到外國好的東西不經消化就直接拿來用。例如多年來的實驗學校、實驗班和實驗教材，是令學生受益還是成了某一個時期的犧牲品，不禁使人質疑。以上兩種對於全球化下的教育理解正是矛盾所在，如何取得平衡需要敏銳的目光和有遠見的思考。正如鄔志輝（2004）提出：既然教育是文化的、社會的，而且不同地域的文化和不同時期的社會又是不同的；所以全球普遍通用、歷世普遍有效的教學育是不存在的。每一種教育學都首先是一個地方的教育學，由此地方向彼

地方的輸出或引進，必須有一個本土化的過程。如果失卻了本土化這一中間環節，那導致的只能是教育學的殖民化或霸權化（頁278）。各地教育應如何面對全球化呢？王嘯（2002）則清晰地指出對於教育全球化，人們可以反思，可以批判，但絕對不能夠拒絕。明智的態度是既"解構"又"重建"，也就是在中國教育的全球化中保持認同的同時又要堅持反思批判的立場，只有這二者之間保持一種恰當的張力，人們才能真正認清教育全球化的本質（頁57）。

- 我覺得全球化給人的感覺最深有兩點：一個是資源的共享性，教育資源的共享越來越明顯。外國的老師來到中國教學，中國的老師到外國講學，雙方在這種教育理念和思想下帶動一種交流和溝通。（珠海師範生）

- 全球化本身是大規模的跨國運動，既然外國有那麼多優秀的教學模式，我們國家不應該等到改革來才去改革，應該是主動去改革，不僅從教材方面改革，也可以從教學模式上去改革。（珠海師範生）

- 教育全球化是一定要的，最重要的是教育把持否，要知道我們中國教育需要的是什麼？不是在外面隨意找一些新的東西拿過來，然後實驗一下再說。我們同齡的人就是很不幸的一群，好像實驗品一樣。小時候上實驗班，成為變革中的犧牲品。可能是心理有點不平衡，被拿來研究之後是否真的符合自己的心意，是不是真的符合需求，這樣我才拿來用。還有一個是中國有自己傳統。中國有很多東西需要自己去回過身來看看我們走過的歷史，看看我們有什麼東西遺留在地上要執起來用。（珠海師範生）

當地社會的變化

吳興南、林善煒（2002）指出經濟全球化將以其內在的沖擊力撞擊傳統文化，產生一個內容豐富的、滲透到社會各個層面、多層次的社會變遷過程（頁224）。香港作為一個國際化的都市，全球化促進了香港社會不同層面的變化。作為香港的師範生，會覺得在香港可以見到和買到各個不同國家和地區的各種產品；例如食物在香港已經得到了本土化，使其適合香港人的口味，更受歡迎。由此推論，當接收到一個新的知識或信息時，如果能夠實行本土化，也許會吸收得更好。此外，在全球化中還有一個重要話題：環保。在這方面有香港師範生提出環境保護雖然重要，但在實行時也需要就個人選擇、成本效益與環保之間找到一個平衡點。

- 其實國與國已無一個界限，無論旅遊、產品根本沒有界限。你可以講是全球化，你是否進入或是否用他的產品只是你個人選擇而已。（香港師範生）

- 我覺得較多的是將其他地方的經驗本土化，尤其是食物。香港什麼國家的茶式也有，但你到當地食時發覺與香港那些完全不同，因爲已將他本土化。我會覺得是吸收了很多全球化的知識而將他本土化，應用在本土方面。（香港師範生）

- 個人選擇和全球化來講兩者好像找一個均衡點。其實每樣東西都有他的優點或缺點，例如少用一些膠袋，是對全球有環保意識。但如果我不用膠袋的話我怎樣承載東西，回復幾十年前買豬肉用條咸水草綁著又不成，所以可能我會選擇用膠袋。（香港師範生）

　　珠海師範生對於全球化下促使當地產品的豐富和多元化亦深有體會，這一點與香港學生是相同的。同時，珠海學生還認爲在全球化下國與國之間有著很多的文化交流。這一點甚至可以從內地的「哈日族」、「哈韓族」與外國人對中國的服裝、飲食和文化也同樣具有興趣的對比可以看出。也有個別師範生認爲某些東西不需要知道它來自何方，只要自己覺得是好的、合適的，便會喜歡和欣賞，可見全球化的社會爲人們的消費提供了多元選擇。這引證了葉蔭聰（1997）在譯文中指出全球文化今日的核心所在，涉及一場一元與差異兩股力量的政治角力遊戲，它們在互相搶奪對方陣地（頁80）。

- 中國的開放程度不僅是珠海，內地很多地方基本上都達到這個程度了。國內和國外很多品牌都同時在各個地方賣，由消費者自己來選擇那些好。買了之後認可了那個品牌繼續去購買他的東西，都是由自己來自主的。（珠海師範生）

- 現在目前中國很多青少年，如媒體經常韓國、日本那種青春偶像的電影，還有對他們的服飾都很崇拜，但是從韓國、日本反過來同樣中國很多青春電影的演員、文化，中國的唐裝在他們青少年當中也相當流行，大家雙方都在互相的交流。（珠海師範生）

- 關注的並不是這個事情是從那一個國家來，而是他是好的，就全球都可以用。例如麥當奴、肯德基是一種飲食文化，其他人是不會因爲它來自美國就喜歡，而是因爲本身就喜歡這件事情，所以我就會選擇它。（珠海師範生）

本土文化的承擔
- 我覺得未必全球可學同一的知識，因爲每個人的方向、工作或者興趣都不同。有些人可能會喜歡多元化，他可能會每樣都學些；但有人會因應自己的興趣、工作需要，是個人化的。（香港師範生）

- 我覺得保住自己的準則是好，但你太過堅持無論對國家或對外

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可能都會有些問題。（香港師範生）

筆者兩人在與香港師範生的質性訪談中，深深體會他們認爲在全球化下學習新的和好的東西對他們是很重要的。與此同時，有香港師範生提出在全球化下仍要保持自我，不是因全球化而變成跟風學習，要顧及個人及本土文化的需要。而另一個與本土文化有關的重點是，香港師範生在學習和發展時也會重視多元和彈性的。在全球化過程中，人類面臨的諸多問題表明，強調同質的、統一的全球文化是不可取的，它會導致文化衝突和文明對峙。只有培養從道德上、文化上對其他不同種族地域和文化敞開胸懷的公民才能應對全球化的挑戰（萬明鋼、王文嵐，2003，頁79）。

- 這種開放態度也是全球化的一種態度。例如中國歷史來講的話他不是一個開放的國家，現在中國的開放態度也是受全球化的影響是一種趨勢吧。每個國家都更開放了，中國也是比以前越來越開放。（珠海師範生）

- 我覺得還有一點正因爲存在各個民族文化的多樣化，我們才要去探索這種全球化。全球化從一個角度來講就是各個國家的交流，然後我去學習或者大家來互相探討各個民族你我之間的一種差異或不同。（珠海師範生）

- 中華傳統文化中雖然是要全球化，但也要有根基。其實中庸有人說不好，但中國文化能夠延續這麼多年，就是存在中庸，對什麼東西都很適合，什麼東西都拿來爲我所用，然後它是一種包容，也是一種改變。我覺得中國傳統東西還是要的，不能說這些東西限制我們的發展，（珠海師範生）

在全球化的進程中，珠海師範生除體會到國家開放的重要外，因生活於較著重傳統文化的內地，比香港同齡人較看重中華民族的傳統文化。同時，珠海師範生因看到不同的地區存在著不同的國家、民族和和文化的差異，所以認爲全球性的交流才具有意義。每個地域的文化都有其根基，中華民族五千年的歷史、文化沉積了許多寶貴的東西。故此，有珠海師範生提出要重視「包容」的概念，這也正是全球化文化大融合中所需要態度。正如項賢明（2001）指出在中國哲學中「和」的概念，是主張不同文化間的兼容和合，多元文化的和諧共生、共處。「和」的思想是多元論的，它構想的不是以多數淹沒少數；無論是西方文化還是東方文化，都不應再圖謀以我爲中心同化世界的文化霸主地位（頁40）。

後語
在比較港珠兩地師範生眼中全球化與教育的異同中，香港師範生在個人學習方面較重視學習新知識和要有多元角度，而珠海師範生則較關

心學好英文。在對教育的影響方面，香港師範生不滿本土教育政策的無根，而珠海學生則較重國際間的教育交流。在當地社會方面，兩地師範生都體會到要平衡全球化與本土化的需要。至於在本土文化承擔方面，全球化下的香港師範生較重視個人的選擇與準則的彈性，而珠海師範生卻提出應反思傳統文化的地位，並要求應以"和"的觀點去處理全球化中不同地區文化的差異與交流。這些有趣的發現，對兩地教師教育工作者如何更好地裝備當地師範生面對全球化，相信是有一定的參考作用。

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The Development and Challenges of School-Based Management in Hong Kong

Chau Chun Kwok, Anson

Introduction

School-based Management (SBM) is a worldwide trend of school governance reform. But when introduced in Hong Kong, it faced strong resistance. This paper investigates the development of SBM in Hong Kong within the framework of Hong Kong's unique governance structure of aided schools. It also highlights why SBM is a controversial reform measure and assesses its future challenges to the school governance structure in Hong Kong. The study was conducted using the qualitative methodology of collecting data by document and policy analysis, and examining the responses to questions presented by the government, as well as the views presented by the School Sponsoring Bodies and other interested parties during the Bill debates in the Legislative Council (2003a, 2003b). Information was also gathered from newspapers reports and commentaries on SBM, as well as by examining local and overseas literature on SBM principles and implementation. In addition, interviews were conducted with teachers, parents (including those who have participated in the School Management Committee) and Principals to obtain their views on SBM.

School-based Management

The concept of School-based Management lies in the belief that each individual school is in the best position to manage its teaching and learning process and thus is more responsive to the needs of its students and parents. It calls for delegation or decentralization of power from a central body to allow for individual schools to make decisions whenever possible whilst leaving only some education policies to be directed by the centre.

Ziebarth (1999) defines SBM as:

> …initiatives to substantially shift decision making responsibilities away from school boards, superintendents and central administrative offices to schools are generally referred to as site- or school-based management. The intent of these efforts is to move governance to a level where teaching, learning and meaningful change can happen – at the local school site…

SBM provides principals, teachers, students, parents and community members greater control in the education processes by

engaging them in decision making processes in areas like budgeting, personnel, and curriculum matters. Through their involvement in these key decisions, SBM creates a more effective learning environment for children (Conaty, 1993).

SBM is a democratic system of school management which advocates that participatory and decentralized management could improve the quality of the schools. SBM has been a major movement in the past two decades as a reform measure in school governance in developed countries like the United States and Australia. For example, most American states have legislation to enable the implementation of SBM. In Texas, school-based committees were mandated to be set up in each school by the 1st of September, 1992 (Rodrignez and Slate, 2001). In 1988, the Chicago Reform Act mandated the establishment of a Local School Council in each school which comprises six parents, two teachers, two community leaders and the Principal. The reform has gained great success through the establishment of the Local School Council (Crump, 1999). There are research reports in Australia indicating that SBM allows schools to be managed more flexibly and effectively – thus indirectly benefiting the students[1].

Therefore, it is not surprising that the government in Hong Kong wishes to adopt SBM as a strategy for improving school quality. However, in places like the United States and other developed countries, public schools were managed mainly by public officials, prior to the SBM movement. In Hong Kong, the case is very different as the governance of schools rests mainly with the School Sponsoring Bodies (SSBs). Before we discuss the development of SBM in Hong Kong, we need to understand the existing local school governance structure which is dominated by the SSBs.

School Governance Structure in Hong Kong
There are about 1,350 primary schools and secondary schools in Hong Kong. About 85% of them are aided schools; of the remaining, two main categories are government schools and private schools (including Direct Subsidy Schools) which comprise 6% and 11% respectively, of the total number of schools[2].

Due to historical reasons, the government does not normally operate the schools directly; the schools are entrusted to the non-profit-

1 In an article published by Mrs Betty Ip, Principal Assistant Secretary of Education and Manpower, she quoted research conducted by two Australian scholars, Brian J. Caldwell (2000) and David Gamage (2003) to support the government's position on SBM. Retrieved on February 13, 2006 from http://www.emb.gov.hk/index.aspx?langno=2&nodeID=5118

2 The number and percentages of different types of schools are found out by searches on the Education City Web site on Overview of Primary and Secondary Schools on April 7, 2006. (http://embhsc.hkedcity.net/secondary/ and http://embh-sc.hkedcity.net/primary/)

making SSBs for operation and management. The schools operated by SSBs are classified as aided schools. In the early years, SSBs were mainly religious bodies like various denominations of the Catholic and Christian churches. Since they have a longer history of operating schools, and well-educated missionaries from Europe and the United States have served these schools, many of these schools have become the elite schools in Hong Kong. Due to good results in operating the schools, religious bodies were given more chances to operate new schools over the years. Now the Christian and Catholic churches operate about 45% of the primary and secondary schools[3].

Apart from the Christian and Catholic bodies, many charitable bodies like Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, clan, rural, Kaifong and trade associations have also been entrusted by the government to operate aided schools. At present, there are about 250 SSBs operating some 1,350 schools. About 60% of the schools are operated by 32 large SSBs. This indicates the monopolistic nature of school governance in the aided sector.

The highest authority within the schools is the School Management Committee (SMC). The Supervisor represents the SMC in communicating with the government, implementing the decisions of the SMC through giving directions, guidance and instructions to the Principal. The SSBs can appoint the SMC members (including Supervisor) and this power is unchallenged by the government. For example, Po Leung Kuk, a large charitable organization and SSB which operates 46 primary and secondary schools adopted a system whereby the Chairperson of the Po Leung Kuk is appointed as the Supervisor and the five Vice-chairpersons are appointed as School Managers for each of its school[4]. This means that all schools have the same SMC composition. The Chairperson and Vice-chairpersons are elected once a year. They are usually businesspeople or they belong to certain wealthy families who have committed to donate a large sum of money to Po Leung Kuk during their tenure.

The SMC also has full discretion in all school management matters, including appointment of the Principal, teaching and supporting staff as well as the promotion of teachers. Many large SSBs like the Catholic churches, and Anglican churches are operated under a centralized SMC mode. This centralized SMC has direct control authorities over some 100 schools[5].

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3 The percentages of schools operated by Catholic and Christian bodies are found out by searches according to religions into the Education City Web site on Overview of Primary and Secondary Schools. Retrieved 1 January, 2005. (http://embhsc. hkedcity.net/secondary/ and http://embhsc.hkedcity.net/primary/)
4 Please see the website of Po Leung Kuk at http://www.poleungkuk.org.hk
5 Refer to Ming Pao report dated 28 May 2004. http://full.mingpaonews.com/ 20040528/28gp501.gif

The recurrent expenditure for aided schools is subsidized by government, a 100% subsidy funded by public money. The annual subsidies for a primary school and a secondary school are $22 million and $38 million respectively. In fact, aided schools are classified as 'public' schools but they are 'privately' managed by SMC directly appointed by the SSB. This form of governance structure is quite unique. Obviously, the current system favours the large SSBs which enjoy unchallenged authorities over managing substantial financial and human resources as well as the high social status by occupying offices of Supervisors and School Managers.

No other places, at least in the developed countries that we are aware of, adopt such a system where neither government nor the public are involved or participate in the management of the public schools or the appointment/election of the schools' decision-making bodies.

Development of School-based Management Reform
Against such a background of having a nearly 'closed' governance structure in aided schools and the prevailing SBM reform in the Western countries, the government aimed at making a change. It took almost 20 years from the inception of the idea to actual implementation of the change. Let us look at the journey of the SBM development in Hong Kong.

School Management Initiative
The evolution of SBM comprise of four stages. The first stage, the School Management Initiative (SMI), started in 1991 following the globalized trend of public sector reform[6] and "new paradigm of management" (Leung and Chan, 2001). One of SMI's recommendations stated that "School management framework should allow for participation in decision making according to formal procedures by all concerned parties: all teaching staff; principal; the SMC; and (an appropriate degree) parents and students."[7] Schools joined the SMI scheme on a voluntary basis. Some formal planning and review procedures were put in place for these schools. However, the core element of SBM, i.e. the promotion of a participatory management structure was implemented to the extent that it was a significant factor. Schools with both teachers and parents in the SMC comprised less than

6 Public Sector Reform is an initiative launched by the then Finance Branch of the Hong Kong Government. The main objectives are to devolve government operations through privatization measures, trading funds operation, financial delegation as well as demarcation of functions between policy Branches and operational Departments.
7 Refer to P.37, Recommendation 10 of the School Management Initiative issued by Education and Manpower Branch and Education Department in March, 1991.

5% of the total schools thus indicating the low participation of teachers and parents in school management.

Education Commission Report No.7

The second stage of development was the issuance of Education Commission Report No.7 on Quality School Education in September 1997. The report intended to put in place a quality assurance system through the implementation of SBM. The report recommended that all schools should implement SBM by the year 2000. There were five elements in the SBM. These were formal procedures for goal setting, planning and evaluation school development and budgeting, staff appraisal system, and the written constitution of SMC. These elements were implemented by schools, either by the government's administrative means or by the schools' own initiatives. However, the last and most crucial part of SBM, i.e. "participation of teachers, parents and alumni in school management, development, planning, evaluation and decision-making" (Education Commission, 1997, p.17) has caused a hot debate in its interpretation and implementation.

The Report recognized the existence, in some schools, a governance structure of School Executive Committees (SEC) which consisted of teachers, parents and alumni established under SMC. The Report recommended establishing SEC under the SMC in each school to decide on school matters and be answerable to the SMC.

Advisory Committee on School-based Management Report

Until this point, the involvement in SEC by various stakeholders was considered sufficient for participatory management. In the third stage of development, the government, in December 1998, appointed an Advisory Committee on School-based Management (ACSBM) to examine the governance structure, accountability framework and flexible funding modes. Contrary to the views expressed in the Education Commission Report No.7, ACSBM issued a report in February, 2000 stating that "SECs are advisory bodies with no substantive decision-making powers" (p.8) as some SSBs established a central SMC to govern all sponsored schools and SECs were only answerable to central SMC. This was not in line with the spirit of school-based management.

ACSBM made very specific recommendations in the report (p.12) on the composition of SMC to include parents, teachers, alumni and representatives from the community and to limit the number of SMC nominated by SSB to 60%. It also recommended that SMC should be formed as an incorporated body to avoid the individual School Manager holding personal liability in exercising his/her School Manager duties.

Education (Amendment) Bill 2002

The last stage of SBM reform development was the government's proposal of the Education (Amendment) Bill 2002, usually called SBM Bill. The government favored ACSBM's proposal and considered that 'real' SBM could be achieved through the enactment of law to mandate the composition of SMC, as was the case of the United States. However, SSBs opposed strongly to the proposed Bill and the government made some concession by reducing the number of teachers and parents in SMC from two each to one each but allowed the second representative to sit on SMC without voting rights.

The SBM Bill was proposed in November 2002. By this time, the government had gained support from teachers and parent associations as well as the general public. The Bill was examined by the Bill Committee from February 2003 to June 2004 through 37 meetings. Four public hearings were also conducted during the period.

Strong opposition came from the major SSBs which also successfully lobbied many Legislative Members to vote against the Bill. Despite this the SBM Ordinance (formally cited as Education (Amendment) Ordinance 2004) was passed in the Legislative Council on 8 July 2004 with 29 votes for and 21 votes against the Bill.

Reasons for the Controversy Surrounding SBM

The SSBs believe that they contributed greatly to the education in Hong Kong over the decades, especially in the early years when the government lacked funds and did not have adequate manpower to manage schools. The SSBs have also contributed to the one-off cost of furniture and equipment (now about HK$4.5 million for a primary school and HK$9.5 million for a secondary school) as well as a large number of volunteers from different professions to serve the schools as Supervisors and School Managers. However, they now feared of losing control over the schools that will be established as incorporated bodies by law. Religious bodies were also worried whether their original vision and mission (e.g. put emphasis on moral development and biblical value) would be preserved[8].

However, the government rationale was that since the aided schools are publicly-funded, there should be at least some extent of participation by different stakeholders (e.g. teachers and parents) in the SMC. The government does not wish to have a direct control over aided schools because this is seen to be against the modern trend of public management. But a system that ensured a proper check and balance in the school management was believed to be important. In line with government management reform practices, more power was to be delegated to the school level. Without an accountable and

8 Bishop Joseph Zen expressed these views on Ming Pao on 7 April 2004.

transparent system, the government faced difficulties in assessing whether management structures were sound and whether malpractices occurred in schools[9]. The government will not able to grant more autonomy to schools if no other stakeholders participate in the SMC.

The Contents of the SBM Ordinance

The main of contents of SBM Ordinance is to turn the SMC into an incorporated body called Incorporated Management Committee (IMC) as well as mandate its composition. The SSB is only allowed to appoint not more than 60% of School Managers (i.e. members of the IMC), the other 40% comprises one teacher (called Teacher Manager), with one additional teacher serving as an alternate Teacher Manager but without voting power, one parent (called Parent Manager), with one additional parent serving as an alternate Parent Manager but without voting power, one alumni and an independent member (not belong to the SSB) nominated by IMC. In addition, the Principal is the ex-officio School Manager. Other changes in school management are that a School Manager or Supervisor is only allowed to serve in not more than five schools[10]; the procedures of the recruitment of the Principal requires a more stringent procedures to avoid the direct influence of SSB; and the Supervisor also serves as the Chairman of the IMC[11].

The Progress

Although SBM Ordinance mandates that the SSBs of all aided schools should submit a draft constitution of IMC on 7th January 2009, with a view to forming IMC in their schools before 1st January 2010, the government, before passing the Ordinance, compromised by agreeing that a review on the implementation of IMC should be conducted in 2008; and if there are any implementation problems, the effective date of forming IMC should defer two more years i.e. to 1 January 2012.

The government wanted the SSBs to form IMC for their schools as early as possible in order to demonstrate the success of the SBM initiative, though large SSBs showed their non-compliance by putting off the formation IMC until the last minute, when they are mandated to comply under the law. The Catholic Churches Diocese of Hong Kong opposed the SBM Ordinance so strongly that on 7th December

9 The Permanent Secretary for Education and Manpower, Mrs Fanny Law advised that there are incidents of malpractices in schools like many SMC members belong to a same family, the contracted services of school buses, uniform and tuck shop are controlled by SMC member. See Ming Pao's report on 10 May 2004.

10 At present, many Supervisors and School Managers serve a large number of schools (say, over 10). There is no restriction under existing Ordinances.

11 At present, the offices of Supervisor and Chairman of SMC are separate posts. Most of the schools appoint/elect two persons to occupy these two posts. In fact, Supervisor has the authorities stipulated in the Education Ordinance and Regulation whereas Chairman of SMC is only responsible for chairing the meeting.

2005 it filed a petition to the High Court for a judicial review, claiming that the SBM Ordinance jeopardizes the Catholic Churches' autonomy in running their schools and contradicts the Basic Law which preserves the right of religious bodies to operate the schools according to the current mode[12]. On 23 November, 2006, the High Court ruled against the Catholic Church's petition. In his judgment, Mr. Justice Andrew Cheung Kui-nung said that "The Government, which provides huge funding to aided schools, has a right to regulate the management of aided schools for the purpose of accountability. Autonomy cannot therefore be an absolute right."[13]

Most of the other SSBs seem to be following a 'wait and see' policy with reference to the formation of IMC for their schools. In order to encourage the SSBs to form IMC as soon as possible, the government has put forward a series of initiatives including granting a cash set-up grant of $350,000, allowing IMC to have greater financial autonomy by combining the operation grants, granting cash for approved leave of the teachers as well as provide better insurance cover for the IMC members[14].

As of 15th November 2006, 160 schools have formed IMC[15]. These 160 schools belong to different SSBs:

Tung Wah Group of Hospitals	: 35
SSBs of Catholic/Christian churches	: 28
Buddhist and Taoist SSBs	: 16
Other small and medium-size SSBs	: 81
Total	: 160

One of the major non-religious SSBs, the Tung Wah Group of Hospital has formed IMC in all of its schools. Another non-religious major SSB, Po Leung Kuk has stated that it will form IMC for its

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12 The Catholic church is of the view that SBM contradicts with Basic Law 141(3) and 136 which state that "Religious organizations may, according to their previous practice, continue to run seminaries and other schools, hospitals and welfare institutions and to provide other social services" and "On the basis of the previous educational system, the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall, on its own, formulate policies on the development and improvement of education". But the government considers that SBM is in consistence with the above Sections.

13 See South China Morning Post's report at page A1 on 24 November, 2006.

14 See Sing Tao Daily's report on 28 July 2008 and also the Circular Memorandum No. 173/2005 issued by Education and Manpower Bureau on 20 August 2005.

15 Information Retrieved from Education and Manpower website on 20 May 2006. http:// www.emb.gov.hk/index.aspx?txtSchoolNameChi=&selSchoolLevel=&selSchoolDistrict=&selSchoolFinType=&inMode=2&nodeID=4344&langno=2.

schools as soon as possible[16]. It is interesting to note Buddhist and Taoist SSBs showed support for the government by forming IMC for their 16 schools, representing about 30% of the total schools operated by them. However, it is not surprising to note that a number of SSBs of the Christian and Catholic churches formed IMC for their schools because a large number of Christian churches belong to different dominations. Also, some Catholic churches are quite independent because they belong to different missionary organizations and not directly under the supervision of Catholic Churches Diocese of Hong Kong.

However, the progress is not too satisfactory in view of total number of 1,150 aided secondary and primary schools.

Challenges for Implementing SBM in the Future
There is a potential for conflict among various stakeholders in the new governance structure but at the same time there are also opportunities to resolve such conflicts and to enhance school management under the SBM reform. We shall discuss these issues in the following paragraphs.

Resolving Conflicts in the New Governance Structure
SBM is a reform adopting a means of decentralization of management. Leung (2003) pointed out that "the aims of the government's decentralization reform were to strengthen control" and "the process of decentralization inevitably involved a shift of power". Although the government does not overtly admit that the intention of the SBM Ordinance was to limit the power of the SSBs, but in effect, the power of the SSBs will be diluted through the decentralization of school governance structure and the inclusion of teacher managers, parent managers and other non-SSB members in the highest authority in each school.

With the enactment of the SBM Ordinance, large SSBs need to make preparations to ensure that sufficient Supervisors and School Managers are available for appointment. With the incorporated and independent nature of IMC, it is possible that conflicts may arise between SSB and IMC because the accountability relationship between SSB and IMC will become loose. In addition, IMC will have good reasons not to follow the instructions or directions from SSB because of the contrary opinions of the non-SSB members. There is also possibility of conflict in management issues between SSB and SMC and a recent example is the public confrontation between SSB, the Supervisor and

16 According to the report on Ming Pao on 6 October, 2004, Mr. M. Y. Cheng, Deputy Secretary of Education and Manpower, advised that Po Leung Kuk and five other medium-size SSBs will make preparation for their school to form IMC as soon as possible.

some of the School Managers over the issues related to the termination of employment of the Principal in Yaumati Kaifong Association School[17].

It is envisaged that there will be more conflicts with the new governance structure. Therefore, the relationship between the Supervisor and the SSBs is seen to be crucial in resolving such possible conflicts. The SSBs may have difficulties in finding a trusted Supervisor for each school, who at the same time is capable in school management, and possesses necessary leadership and political skills. The SSBs also needs to develop an accountability system so that IMC is answerable to the SSBs in fulfilling the school mission set by the SSB because in the future, IMC will be accountable to both the Permanent Secretary of Education and Manpower and the SSB for the performance of the school[18].

The requirements of strong leadership and sufficient political skills will also apply to the Principal. Some Principals adopt a rather autocratic approach in the management of their school. Others are not used to adopting public relations skills in resolving conflicts. The management style of some Principals will need to be changed when a new governance structure is in place. The Principal should have the skills to balance the interests of various stakeholders in the IMC.

In Hong Kong, parents tended to be less vocal in school affairs in earlier times. In view of the change in social environment and the establishment of Parent Teacher Associations in recent years, parents are now quite concerned on school matters. When they are placed in the IMC, the highest authority in the school, they will become more vocal and be more willing to express their concerns given that significant financial and management information is now available to them for scrutiny. This is more likely happen in Band 1 schools or elite schools where parents are professionals or belong to the middle-class. Inevitably there will more pressure for the Principal to respond to the demand from the parents but at the same time to ensure that this will not put too much burden on the teachers.

As regards the conflicts between the government and the SSB, the government does not openly admit that the SBM Ordinance will take over power from the SSBs[19] although in reality the SSBs will lose some

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17 The performance of the Principal of the school was criticized by the Inspection Report of EMB. The SMC then decided to lay off the Principal by a 4-to-3 vote. However, the SSB supported the Principal and wished to dismiss the Supervisor. Finally EMB appointed three new School Managers, including two government officials, to resolve the conflicts. It was decided at a SMC meeting held on 19 May , 2006, that a new Principal be recruited as soon as possible. See Sing Tao Daily's report on 13 April, 5 and 15 May, 2006.
18 See Section 40AE (2) (c) of the Education (Amendment) Ordinance 2004
19 See the article written by Mrs. Fanny Law, published on 11 July 2004. http://www.emb.gov.hk/index.aspx?langno=2&nodeID=2446 (Retrieved on 1 March 2006)

control over the IMC of their schools. Thus some large SSBs desire that the result of the 2008 review on the implementation of IMC defers its implementation. However, the government wants to rally support from as many SSBs as possible by encouraging them to form IMCs in their schools through incentives and by lobbying. This conflict is predicted to continue until the SSBs form IMC in their schools before the deadline.

The current hostile attitude of some of the major SSBs is neither conducive to developing a good partnership relationship with the government in the future on education matters, nor receptive to the general public who consider that the participation of parents in IMC is in line with the democratic values importance in a modern society. There is a need to rebuild trust and relationship between the government and the major SSBs. Major SSBs also need to re-think their strategy of maintaining a positive image so that the public forms a view that the schools managed by these SSBs are of high quality and with sound management.

Improvement Opportunities in School Management

Although some researchers indicate that SBM help to foster improved school culture and high-quality decision (Crump, 1999), other researchers note that there is no firm research-based knowledge about direct or indirect effect of SBM on students (Leithwood and Menzies, 1998).

Despite the above, SBM will certainly enhance the transparency of the schools. It will also be conducive in developing culture of accountability and a participatory management mode in aided schools. According to the data in April 2003, the percentages of schools with teacher, parent and alumni managers in the SMC are only 22, 17 and 17 respectively[20], indicating low level of participatory management. The mandated law will ensure involvement of decision-making by various stakeholders of the school.

In order to ensure meaningful and fruitful involvement of non-SSB members, necessary training on financial and personnel management, meeting procedure and education matters in general for the IMC members (particularly inexperienced IMC members and parents) are required. For the Teacher Managers, because of the Chinese culture of not willing to express opinions in front of their supervisors, the school Principal and Supervisor should encourage the teachers to express their views for the benefits of the schools. An open-minded and receptive culture should be developed in the IMC in order to ensure

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20 See Education and Manpower Bureau's response to issued raised at 15 meeting held from 27 February to December 2003 of Bill Committee on Education (Amendment) Bill 2002 (Ref. L.C. Paper No. CB(2) 933/03-04(01))

good collaboration and high quality decision-making.

A study on the politics of the Local School Council (similar to IMC in Hong Kong) in the Chicago School Reform (Crump, 1999) reveals that strong democratically oriented schools with collaboration among Principal, teachers and parents in promoting school improvement only comprise 23 to 32 percentage of the total reformed SBM schools. Others types include those where Principal still keep close control of schools, those where there are conflicts over control and power and those where members are satisfied with the status quo.

Therefore, collaboration work for school improvement is not automatic with the establishment of IMC. It will be a great challenge for the various stakeholders in the IMC could collaborate and make valuable contributions to the improvement of the schools.

Another challenge to the SBM is the delegation of authority. During the past decade since the inception of SMI, government has delegated quite a lot of administrative and personnel powers to the schools. These include promotion of teachers, flexibility to transfer and spend money from different schools' accounts. However, there are a few important financial and personnel matters which are still centrally-control. The first one is the salary of the teachers. Although the school is allocated a large sum of recurrent expenditure, most of the expenditure (85%) is teachers' salary. Therefore, the flexibility given to IMC is only to manage the remaining 15% of annual expenditure. The other two are the establishment (i.e. number of posts) of the teachers which is calculated by the government under a rigid formulae and the laying-off of the teachers in which a prudent procedure need to be followed and the government officers need to be notified at each stages.

The above rules are stipulated in the Code of Aid which is a document to control schools' financial and personnel matters. It is obviously these approaches are not in line with the modern concept of management where financial and personnel matters should be delegated to the decentralized unit.

The government has mentioned the idea of merging of salary and non-salary grants and flexible funding models[21]. This means that the school can determine the number of teachers that they employ and their salaries. However, as stated by Leung (2003), "in view of opposition from the education sector, it is unlikely that the government would push any radical reform to alter the existing funding arrangement." Nevertheless, Leung (2003) considers that "flexible funding" is still on the government agenda as a management reform.

The objective of SBM is to allow greater autonomy of school and

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21 See P.40, Recommendation 15 of The School Management Initiative issued by Education and Manpower Branch and Education Department in March 1991.

flexibility in management. With the smooth running of the IMC, the government will delegate more power to IMC, such as the flexible funding, as well as other personnel and establishment matters to the schools, just like the Direct Subsidy Schools or in the universities where government no longer controls the establishment or pay scales.

More delegation of power to schools, poses a great challenge to the IMC in terms of the managing a large sum of money and a team of teaching and non-teaching staff when their salaries and pay scales could also be "school-based" and determined by the IMC.

Conclusion

This paper has highlighted how SBM developed in Hong Kong and why SBM is a controversial issue.

To the Government of Hong Kong, SBM reform is the only educational reform which required its implementation through the enactment of legislation. Although the government has won this hard battle in passing the Ordinance, it needs time to rebuild trust among other key players in education in pursuing a long term partnership relationship.

Teachers have not been too concerned over this controversial issue because they have been facing pressure from other reform measures put forward in recent years. At present, the teachers may not apprehend the benefits or risks by involving them and the parents in the highest authority of the school. It will take time for them to gain experience, reflect and make good contributions to a new participatory style of management.

The SBM reform stems from the importance placed in the value of democratic participation and accountability. However, we should not underestimate its effects on the politics within and outside the school. The challenge is great for the school leaders, particularly the Principal who will need to possess good interpersonal and political skills, in addition to their professional knowledge in education. However, with good preparation in skills and mindset, the new governance structure will provide a good opportunity for the Principal to collaborate efforts and contributions from the teachers, parents and alumni for the betterment of the school.

SBM is a means not an end. The government has paved the way by putting an accountable and participatory governance structure in place. But this does not guarantee for a sound school management. Sound management requires active participation, valuable contributions and good co-operation from all of the IMC members.

There is a need to conduct further research on this important reform initiative. Research conducted after the implementation of IMC will show whether this SBM can make a real change to the quality of

school management and enhance the quality of education in Hong Kong.

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What Makes Universities in China and Russia Engage in Partnerships across the Border?

Andrey Uʀᴏᴅᴀ

When education crosses borders, it is neither a simple event, nor is it a series of occasional or insignificant measures. The crossing of borders is the result of careful reasoning. Initializing cross-border educational settings is difficult. Explaining why and how it becomes important to transcend borders makes for an even more challenging task. The extent to which educators are driven by practices and patterns might be tied to their nation's agendas, and thus seeking explanations behind the moves are questions that may be raised among leaders within these cross-border institutional settings. Any attempt to study internationalization, as such, takes into consideration the functioning of a number of multifaceted factors.

It is no longer an acknowledged universal truth that nation states are the only players in the world game (Fujikane, 2003); consequently, success in having an initiative performing fruitfully is, in the present time, also in the hands of the actors themselves. Thus, they are no longer dependent only on policies imposed by the governments from above.

The two case studies of partnership presented in this paper are second-tier, but ambitious higher educational institutions in Harbin in China and Vladivostok in Russia. These institutions successfully met the challenges of establishing cross-border dual (Bachelor) degree programs for Chinese students completing their entire course of study based in the two countries.

It is not my purpose here to define the underlying reasons behind having the institutions and their leaders in China and Russia. These are presumably determined by local conditions rather than ministerial decisions. Nor do I undertake the task of measuring the importance of different factors. A general observation gauged from a number of interviews with Russian (N=7) and Chinese (N=7) university and program administrators in the spring of 2006 is that it is the market which drives universities to seek innovations and diverse categories of student bodies while creating and adapting relevant programs. This observation from the informants has been supported by some literature, primarily of Australian and American origin. The suggestion is that the localizing or border-crossing drive involves a variety of stakeholders and changes our common perceptions of what international higher education is all about.

I would argue that this drive is comparative in its nature.

According to Cummings (1999), a refocus on the "institutions" of education strengthens intellectual identity, as the institutions are comprised of complex norms and procedures oriented towards realizing particular goals and motivating behaviour to reach them. The building up of the foundations of strengthening and understanding the institutions to the best possible extent, he believes, helps in analyzing the roles and practices of the other stakeholders, especially when a dynamic change is taking place. Thus, the institutions, under analysis, might be regarded as both the initiators and the 'victims' of the changes that they undertake.

Indeed, many of the interviewees involved in the bilateral dual degree programs spoke of their concern of being unsuccessful. Their reasoning was partially as a result of apprehensions of being "not approved" by governmental structures, or being penalized for not following some top-down guidelines, primarily related to the issues of following standards and meeting quality requirements. However, they clearly stated, that in "case of success" they would be rewarded by reaching their goals, which are:

- Earn the most in terms of possible revenues from having more international students (in Russia).
- Gain credentials by having a better repute for their institutions from provincial and central ministerial authorities (in China).

There are certainly many other rationales involved but these two were identified as the most influential and the most desired goals.

Crossing the borders of two nations – so different in their cultures – is a socio-economic phenomenon that penetrates deeply into a number of activities and features of human life. A number of political, economic, social and cultural factors may affect the change, and only a limited number of discoveries made by even a smaller number of the studies may take them into consideration. What then are the factors that allowed the educators to overcome the possible threat of being misunderstood and failing? What enabled them to elaborate a new strategy of becoming successful in cross-border educational provision?

According to a number of responses, there have been several rationales crucial for understanding why the university leaders welcomed the challenge so much:

- Increased awareness about "each other". This includes finding about, listening to, and, finally, actually visiting the institutions located across the border. Publications related to such activities appeared, usually with favourable conclusions that raised the issue of the necessity of 'borrowing'.

- Collaborating, to a certain extent, in the fields of science and technology. The degree and importance of this collaboration though should not be overestimated, as the level of science in the Russian and Chinese provinces bordering each other was far from being world class, and the collaboration was typically one way, i.e. seeking any possible technologies for Chinese industries. The scholars, however, laid the groundwork for trust by successfully completing many projects, usually in the fields of natural sciences, like geology. The universities administered the projects, not the research institutions because the latter was closed for outsiders or were simply unskilled in running international projects.

- Obtaining experience in 'traditional' student exchange activities. These included widening the number of the institutions allowed to place participants of government sponsored exchange programs, as well as new experiences in partnerships between departments, sending and receiving students under credit transfer agreements.

- Having assigned research tasks to study and re-evaluate each other's educational systems: these two countries were once historically close due to borrowings by the 'younger brother' (China) from the 'older brother' (USSR);

- Increasing overall awareness in both of the societies that mutual exchange-based programs will positively contribute to the welfare and economy of both countries.

In other words, the institutional leaders were (and are) comparing what was going on with each other. This comparison was not scientifically based, as the scholarship and scale of comparative education is, as yet, hardly to be found anywhere in the Northeast China (except the well-known centre in Shenyang), and is completely missing in the Far East of Russia. However, this comparison, undertaken by people who are certainly skilled in their fields, laid a step-by-step, firm foundation towards the realization for a need to collaborate closely and more productively, setting up new goals and having more valuable outputs. As a university Vice-President in Russia pointed out:

We were going along in understanding what we really needed to get from each other. This experience-based sort of study helped [both sides] to uncover some specific features, where mutual replacements and fillings could be made. In other words, each of the parties has

found what they were really missing, and it is not necessarily the rationale to earn more money, which stands behind those dual degree initiatives, even for us. I clearly see that not only Chinese students receive what they would never receive in their home institutions in China, but our people on both sides, who are related to running these programs, compare leadership and administration style, curricula, student life, etc. and know not only how to run the programs with the partners together, but also how to switch on different thinking "as those Chinese would do".

These findings represent a new but in increasingly common phenomena whereby the changes that are believed to be caused by globalization is more rapid in practice than any theory explaining the processes. But since 'comparative thinking' is quite common for the human nature, the results, perceived in the atmosphere of collaboration, could be impressive as well. As Kubow and Fossum (2007) point out, comparative thinking is an essential skill. This gets developed alongside one's ability to think deeply and comparatively about political, economic, social and cultural landscape affecting education, as well as education's influence affecting the landscape. The development of comparative thinking as such and the ability to use relevant analytic frameworks will probably remain on the agenda in the years ahead.

The dual degree programs between Chinese and Russian partnering institutions represent such a comprehensive agenda for the transnational region they serve. Since the students in the programs simultaneously receive two bachelor degrees recognized by the states, their tuition inevitably involves utilization of the comparative advantages of both educational systems under the notion of substitution and mutual filling in. Since the market they serve upon completion of their education is transnational and dynamic in nature, the students as well as the institutions and their leaders are obliged to take into account all the complexities and fluctuations of the local economies. Since many of the actors or stakeholders contribute to re-gaining mutual awareness under the notion of being 'cultural ambassadors' to each other, their actions, publications and verbalized discourse will enrich the picture of political determination, possibly affecting both nations' policies across the border, especially at lower levels that are unfortunately untouched by the 'big' diplomacy. This is certainly heavily dependent on what course the politicians might be taking, but the presence of many of those who were 'dually educated', gaining power under strengths of receiving education abroad (which is a common case for China), may contribute to decision-making even at the central political level. From this point of view, the list of the graduates given to the researcher by one of such partnering institutions

in China, containing their initial employment data, sounds as a very promising source of information.

Institutional improvement is also a by product of this as the universities themselves pursue on-going development. Those in China had the chance to improve their teaching methods and teaching quality as the government set assumption is that amongst the rules for Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools, only the advanced should be adopted and only the best must be learned. The universities in the Far East of Russia are also becoming more experienced and professionalized in terms of cooperation with international partners, thus creating much more realistic grounds for real full-scale collaboration. However, the cultural grounds remain vulnerable. The researcher and the interviewees suggest several reasons for the situation. For example, often the individuals who are responsible for improvement of the 'cultural climate' are the policy-makers, who did not go beyond declarations, while claiming they were working on creating these grounds. Also Russian society might have not sown enough multicultural seeds. To what extent the people at both sides of the border and those in power are aware on future development of multicultural communities is a task for another research, within educational aspects, or much beyond.

Overall, for stakeholders at levels below the state, for the current period of time, two related but contradicting tendencies have been observed:

- Today, as different from four or five years ago, Chinese students pursuing the joint degree programs in Russia are much better oriented towards the acquisition of specific (or even unique) cross-cultural, or transnational skills, useful not only for survival, study and (future possible) work in Russia, but also for continuing cross-cultural expertise in-service, while back in China.

- However, there is a growing concern that Russian society which was expected to welcome Chinese students, not only due to economic rationales but for political reasons as well, is becoming less tolerant of foreign (Asian, Chinese) sojourners, thus undermining the very principles of success in presence of the international students in Russia's educational institutions.

It is believed that comparatively studying how educators define and solve problems, gives certain shortcuts towards findings about complex issues, which are difficult to discover by other research tools. The interviews incorporated such a strategy though several highly

structured questions. It is not surprising that among the problems indicated by the interviewees, possibly due to close and advanced degree of collaboration between the partners, some similarities have been observed. In a pre-set matrix suggested to the educators (administrators only, N = 7+7), they had to rank the most crucial ones for the time being.

Table 1. Three significant operational problems

Chinese Administrators	Russian Administrators
Scale 1 to 10, where 10 represents the problem deserving most of attention	
Student housing, discipline, life *(rank I, mean = 7.29)*	Incorporation of specialized modules *(rank 1, mean = 6.71)*
Language problems, low level of Russian, being the medium of instruction *(rank II-III, mean = 7.14)*	Language problems, low level of Russian, being the medium of instruction *(rank II, mean = 6.57)*
Reaching agreement and contract paperwork preparation *(rank II-III, mean = 7.14)*	Recruitment and enrolment process *(rank III, mean = 6.29)*

The issue of having the same problem as commonly noted is certainly significant, but in addition to representing an important issue as such, it also bears certain commonalities in approaching the internationalized form of education through similar grounds based on primacy of learning the language and culture of each other (of Russia as in this case). This statement is supported not only through many findings from the interviews, but also through a very interesting dilemma related to the expectations of the students and perceptions and how their perceptions gets changed over the time that they are in the programs. Interestingly, according to the students themselves, as well as indicated by the teachers and the administrators, prior to the commencement of the programs in 1999-2000, the students' only dream was "to become interpreters and quickly jump into the border trade market in order to secure high salaries and bonuses". Whereas currently, since students are receiving their degrees in certain subjects, such as Information Science, Civil Engineering, International Trade, and Food Technologies, they are (both prior to the entry and being in) much more aware about where the programs they study lead them to.

Positively, as discovered, the tendencies at the labour market match – according to the data from the universities and the administrators – the graduates incorporating the knowledge and technical skills that are the result of being in such in a unique combination with cross-cultural

experience are becoming attractive to future employers. This possibly may be related to the qualitative growth of the Chinese employer institutions themselves as well.

The latter may be regarded as a significant achievement. To a large extent, the programs have moved away from their primary aim of increasing cultural awareness towards filling in gaps identified by the market under increased and matching demands. The importance of language has not decreased, but the importance of skills exhibits significant increase. Some educators believe this is the sign that the programs are on the right track. It is certainly possible to assume that, in addition to this, they also achieved much in their mission of pioneering in breaking the ice on the cultural border.

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The Researcher as Insider and Outsider:
The Duality of Positions

Mitsuko Maeda

Introduction

This paper presents a brief look at some of the issues related to the author's research that places her in the dual role of an insider and an outsider within the research site. The study identifies, illustrates and analyzes power relations among actors involved in development cooperation. International development cooperation is a global enterprise that involves diverse actors, ranging from the micro- to the macro-level. The actors include States, aid organizations, private companies, and citizens in both the aid provider country and the recipient country. While some people participate actively and directly, others are even not aware of their indirect engagement. It is therefore not easy to illustrate the complex overall picture of diverse relations and interactions among actors, who have different motives, concerns, interest and power – though numerous attempts have been made by scholars to present an integrated overall view of the picture. This study identifies some of the missing pieces, and also attempts to fit these pieces into the wider picture.

The Context

Specifically, the study explores the intricate power relations among actors with reference to a Japanese-assisted teacher training project in Cambodia. Since the early 1990s, Cambodia has experienced diverse and prolific interventions from foreign countries. Cambodia had suffered from the chaotic situation created by the brutal Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1979) and in the decade after this period it was largely ignored by the International Community. However, in the 1990s, many foreign actors rushed into this war-torn country and started programmes of "development cooperation" that gradually involved Cambodian actors as well. The Japanese-assisted teacher training project was one of these programmes. This project was planned in the early 1990s and implemented from 2000 to 2004. The focus of the project was secondary school mathematics and science education. The project involved diverse actors such as the two governments, educational institutes, Japanese advisors, Cambodian teachers and students. The author was a key actor – a science education advisor – in this project.

Issues Related to the Duality of the Researcher's Position
The study that the author is undertaking compares and conceptualizes the power structures within this project, paying attention, on one hand, to the temporal aspects and on the other hand, to the domains in which power is exercised. An investigation of this nature thus places the author in a unique dual position as a researcher: that of being concurrently an insider and an outsider. She is an insider in the sense that through her personal active involvement in the project for three years she is familiar with not only many of the actors in this project but also with the cultural settings. The position that she holds as an insider thus may add considerable strength to this research. First, it is relatively easy for her to identify the location of necessary information as she knows the people to approach in order to garner information and is also cognizant of the contents of many of the key documents related to her study. Second, the access to information is relatively easy. While many outside researchers face difficulties in establishing relationships with research participants (see e.g. Warwick, 1983, pp.320-322), the author has already developed relationships with many of the participants and can obtain their support in accessing information. Third, the information provided by research participants has the potential of being interpreted in more a valid manner because the author has some understanding of the culture and systems in Cambodia.

Nonetheless, while being an insider may provide benefits to this research, paradoxically it could also create problems. One disadvantage lies in the in the fact that inside researchers cannot easily perceive familiar settings from objective viewpoints, while outside researchers may have an advantages due to their unfamiliarity with the context that cautions them against taking anything for granted. These two contrasting concerns, "making the familiar strange" for insider researchers and "making the strange familiar" for outside researchers (Spindler and Spindler, 1982), are pointed out not only by educational researchers in less developed countries (e.g. Vulliamy, Lewin, and Stephens, 1990, pp.166-167; Louisy, 1997, pp.200-201), but also within the broader perspectives of comparative educationists (e.g. Bray, 2004, p.250).

Another disadvantage of being an insider is that there is a possibility of invoking a feeling of anxiety or threat within the participants. According to Berg and Smith (1988, pp.217-218), if the group to which the researcher and the research participants belong has experienced conflicts or suspicion among the members or has unspoken norms, it is more difficult for the insider researchers to discuss interpersonal relationships with the group frankly. This is less likely to be the case for outside researchers. The anxiety or threat to members demands

that the author should be highly sensitive to ethical issues, especially in this small-scale research setting. Although this study discusses actors from the macro to the micro level, the research scene itself – the project – is relatively small-scale and has a highly personalised nature within its system and structure. In the context where individuals can be easily identified by readers, ethical issues related to confidentiality and privacy inevitably pose a dilemma between "the public's right to know" and "the individual's right to privacy" (Louisy, 1997, p.204).

To avert such anxiety, the researcher has kept in mind Louisy's (1997) experiences as an inside researcher in a small state setting. She overcame the associated difficulties by circulating the draft of the report to key informants "not only for purposes of validation, but for possible reactions to the manner in which the information they provided was reported" (p.215). The researcher has used Louisy's useful guiding principle – that any information given "off the record", no matter how important, is not reported (p.215).

In the meantime, questions may be raised as to the extent to which such 'insider-ness' is valid in this research. It is true that the author was working for the project with the Japanese aid organization but she was there for three years only. The project, on the other hand, has a much longer history, and the organization has permanent personnel who may be deemed to be more of 'insiders'. Additionally, though the author is familiar with Cambodian culture, she is still a foreigner in Cambodia and thus an outsider. Being an outsider also entails strengths and weaknesses that are distinct to being an insider. An example would be the ethical issues associated with being an overseas researcher. Whatever, the position is, the author is aware of the pitfalls of being over-confident of the position.

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從西方到東方再到巴黎
──訪新任國際教育規劃研究所所長貝磊教授

From West to East, Thence to Paris:
An Interview with Mark Bray

葉建源
Ip Kin-yuen

Abstract

Mark Bray, President of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) and a former President of CESHK, recently took a period of leave from his position as Professor of Comparative Education and Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Hong Kong to take up a new position as Director of UNESCO's International Institute of Educational Planning (IIEP) in Paris, France. In this interview with him, Mark Bray considers in each of its four sections, (1) his early years working and gaining experience around the world before settling in Hong Kong; (2) his accepting an academic position at the University of Hong Kong that reflected his interests in comparative education and in international educational development; (3) the IIEP and the role it plays in helping United Nations member countries work towards UNESCO's goals in Education For All; and (4) Hong Kong and UNESCO.

前言
　　貝磊教授 (Professor Mark Bray) 曾任香港大學教育學院院長、香港比較教育學會會長，現任世界比較教育學會聯會會長，是比較教育界德高望重的學者。2006年，貝磊教授離開服務二十年的香港，前往巴黎接任國際教育規劃研究所 (International Institute for Educational Planning, IIEP) 的所長一職。本文作者在他離港前及抵達巴黎後分別訪問了貝磊教授，暢談他的經歷、香港、聯合國與國際關係研究所等等，這裡刊出部分內容，以饗讀者。

遊歷世界，定居香港
葉：請簡單介紹您的經歷。
貝：我在英國出生，曾經到過許多國家工作，例如非洲的肯尼亞、尼日利亞，然後是巴布亞－新畿內亞，教過書，做過學術研究，幹過行政工作，也當過專業顧問。後來就到了香港，在香港大學教育學院工作，二十年了，這麼長，連我也感到驚奇。

葉：生在英國，為何對非洲感興趣？
貝：一來是年青，二來的家庭裡很自然就有這樣的機會，我只是追隨著兄長的足跡。最初我到肯尼亞去，為一個志願機構工作，這個機構

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的任務是把學生弄到學校去唸書，我在那裡幫忙，做志願的中學教師。後來到了尼日利亞，幫忙另一個志願機構招攬世界不同地方的人到有需要的地方服務。

葉：你是怎麼從教師走向研究，並成爲比較教育學者的呢？
貝：我早期專注於非洲，在肯尼亞和尼日利亞教書之後，我修讀了一個有關非洲研究的碩士學位，主題是發展(development)，既涉及經濟也涉及教育。當時興致非常高昂，取得碩士學位之後，我回到尼日利亞教書。再後來，我繼續修讀博士學位，就是這樣，我一步一步走上了學術研究之路。

葉：你後來到了香港，停留了很長的時間，爲何沒有繼續到其他地方呢？
貝：我在香港過得很好，在香港大學也非常愉快。當然更重要的是家庭因素，我太太是香港人，當時已經在港大教書。當時我因工作與研究關係，經常往返於英國的倫敦大學、蘇格蘭的愛丁堡和太平洋的巴布亞－新畿內亞之間。我們結婚後，在香港安居樂業也就順理成章了。此外，香港大學也是讓我留下來的原因之一。港大是一所外向型的大學，對外界的事情觸角非常敏銳，對我的專業成長很有幫助。

進身學術研究
葉：可以談談你的研究興趣嗎？
貝：我的本科學經濟學，因此一直對教育經濟與財政特別感興趣。有一段時間，我研究得比較多的是小國家 (small state) 的教育情況，與教育經濟與財政的研究很有關係。現在，我較爲知名的可能是在比較教育的方法學方面的鑽研，例如對香港與澳門教育的比較，既含有本地色彩，而當中的方法學問題則是國際性的。近年我研究私人補習，一定程度上也是由經濟學引起的。當時聯合國兒童基金會和世界銀行委託我進行一個有關東亞地區的家庭開支的研究項目，私人補習這個課題就是由此而來的。在研究了九個國家的情況之後，我發現私人補習是家庭開支中不可忽視的重要因素。

葉：你在國際的教育研究網絡中涉足甚深，可以介紹當中的情況嗎？
貝：我很樂意談談。例如「世界比較教育學會聯會」(World Council of Comparative Education Societies, WCCES) 共有33個比較教育學會作爲其團體成員，這些團體當中有以國家爲單位，有以區域爲單位，也有以共同語言爲單位，包括了香港比較教育學會、中國比較教育學會、台灣地區的比較教育學會，還有亞洲比較教育學會等，是非常重要的世界性教育研究網絡。我在聯會中頗爲活躍，在1994年擔任助理秘書長，2003年做秘書長，在2005年被選爲會長。我很重視這項工作，聯會裡匯聚了一群很有意思的學者，讓他們結成伙伴，匯集不同地區的力量。

前往巴黎之路

葉：你是怎麼成為國際教育規劃研究所的所長的呢？

貝：國際教育規劃研究所在國際上享有崇高的聲望，它成立於1964年，是聯合國教科文組織 (UNESCO) 屬下的機構之一。我是在愛丁堡大學修讀非洲發展碩士課程時認識IIEP的，七十年代中期，我到IIEP去探訪，是為了了解尼日利亞的教育情況，向該所的職員請教。在1984-85年間，我曾在倫敦大學工作過一段很短的時間，我也曾帶領一些學生到IIEP去拜訪。及後，IIEP又邀請我參與他們的出版計劃，甚至加入他們的工作團隊。就是這樣開始了我與該所的長期聯繫。我一直認為IIEP是教育規劃領域的先行者。後來他們為所長空缺尋找適合的人選，不只一人問我是否感興趣。雖然我在香港大學有很好的工作，並不急於跳槽，但能夠參與聯合國教科文組織、國際教育規劃研究所的工作，肯定是非常吸引的。那是非常國際化的工作，而我的工作能力應該可以派上用場。

葉：那是什麼性質的工作？

貝：它的工作性質看來很適合我。IIEP的職能分三個主要方面，包括提供培訓（他們有一個文憑課程，現已升格為碩士課程），做研究，以及提供政策諮詢。我在香港大學及其他大學具有相當的教學和管理課程的經驗，對研究在行，對行政也有經驗，很配合他們的要求。至於他們要求新所長對欠發達國家的教育有認識，我也很適合。IIEP剛完成了一項自我評價作業，結果非常正面，我非常渴望在其已有的良好基礎上繼續發展，並與聯合國教科文組織的成員國家緊密合作。

葉：能否進一步介紹IIEP的特點？

貝：IIEP是UNESCO架構的一部分。UNESCO在1946年成立，在60年代開始發展它的附屬機構，現在已成立了6個所及22個中心，IIEP是其中之一。UNESCO及IIEP的總部均設於巴黎，隔著塞納河彼此遙望。IIEP有其獨立的大樓，獨立的董事局，擁有相當的自主性。IIEP在南美洲還設有分支辦事處，在發展西班牙語的培訓和教材方面具有非常重要的作用。

葉：IIEP如何運作？

貝：IIEP有自己的董事局，有自己的決定權，但必須附合UNESCO的宗旨。財政方面，UNESCO每年負擔IIEP百分之20的財政預算，其他經費來自項目收入（例如世界銀行的研究項目）及捐款（如英國和瑞典的基金會、丹麥政府）等。IIEP日常做的，包括舉辦英法雙語的培訓活動，也包括研究項目，這對當前的熱門話題或事件都有所貢獻，例如IIEP一直提倡小學教育要真正的完全免費，而這個問題總是不時給提出來，為何還不能做到呢？我們就會深入探討實踐之中遇到的難題，這也就是我們所做的政策諮詢工作。

葉：在研究的議程上，扶貧是否一個重要的關注項目？

貝：UNESCO服務其成員會，而重心之一，是貧窮的發展中國家。當然也不會忽略較富有的國家，我們也會研究諸如高等教育中資訊科技的運用、小班教學等問題。不過，我們的重點仍是「全民受教」(Education for All)。聯合國在千禧年確定了「全民受教」的目標，其中之一是要在公元2020年時，每一個孩子都要在學並享有具質素的教育。IIEP的職責之一，就是經常報告經濟較落後的地區（如中國西部、柬埔寨、老撾、非洲的不少國家）的進程。由此可見，IIEP一方面有義務接受UNESCO的委託進行研究，另一方面也有訂定自己的研究議程的自主權。

香港缺席**UNESCO**

葉：提到聯合國教科文組織，有一點非常特別：澳門是其附屬成員(associate member) 之一，而香港不是。你對此有了解嗎？

貝：這一點很有趣。澳門在1995年已經成為UNESCO的附屬成員，那是在澳門回歸之前。澳門從中獲益不少，因為UNESCO的其中一個重點是「文化」，而文化對澳門很重要，澳門獲得了「世界文化遺產」資格 (World Cultural Heritage Status)，也明顯與此有關係。教育方面也是重要的，例如UNESCO的國際教育研究所 (International Educational Bureau) 不久前在瑞士日內瓦舉辦盛大的國際教育會議，澳門也佔了一席，可以和各國的代表打交道。香港應否加入？是否已失去時機？是非常有趣又值得探究的問題。我猜想香港要加入的話，最好的時機是在回歸之前。現在香港已成為中國的一部分，外交事務由北京負責。當然，香港也可以通過中國的代表團參與UNESCO的事務。

葉：目前中國的UNESCO代表團中似乎並沒有來自香港的參與，這會否令香港和UNESCO顯得疏遠呢？

貝：香港加入，在UNESCO有一把聲音是好的。北京的代表團把自己看成是大陸的代表團，忽略了香港的存在，也是很自然的。香港的加入必會帶來好處，像澳門一樣，這有助提升香港與世界各地的聯繫。而且，香港不僅可以從中獲益，還可以作出貢獻。香港是一個繁榮、發達的城市，在過去二十年裡，我目睹這個城市的高速成長，人才不斷積累，我剛來時教育界沒幾個人有博士學位，到如今已經為數不少。可以說，這裡擁有驕人的人才與經驗，足以作出貢獻。在目前香港不具有附屬成員地位的情況下，香港人仍可以通過其他途徑參與。例如IIEP的培訓工作，就一直有香港學者幫忙，那是以個人身份參與的，當然那不能取代官方之間的正式關係。

葉：你成為IIEP所長之後，將如何看待該所與香港之間的關係？

貝：肯定會有很多合作的管道。例如IIEP以出版知名，它希望其出版物能散佈在世界上不同的角落，讓不同地區的人們都可以接觸到，因而在各地物色管理完善的圖書館收藏其出版物，全世界約有90所這樣的圖書館。儘管香港並非UNESCO附屬成員，香港教育學院的圖

書館還是被選中了成為其中一所，IIEP的所有出版物都會自動送往收藏，這是一個很好的例子。合作管道還有很多，例如它一直與香港大學的比較教育研究中心合作出版書籍等等。

New Book in Comparative Education
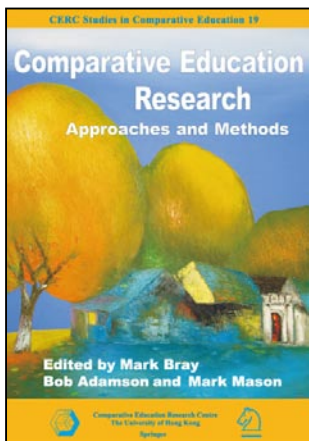
Comparative Education Research
Approaches and Methods

Edited by Mark Bray, Bob Adamson and Mark Mason

Approaches and methods in comparative education research are of obvious importance, but do not always receive adequate attention. This book contributes new insights within the longstanding traditions of the field.

A particular feature is the focus on different units of analysis. Individual chapters compare places, systems, times, cultures, values, policies, curricula and other units. These chapters are contextualised within broader analytical frameworks which identify the purposes and strengths of the field. The book includes a focus on intra-national as well as cross-national comparisons, and highlights the value of approaching themes from different angles. The book will be of great value not only to producers of comparative education research but also to consumers who wish to understand more thoroughly the parameters and value of the field.

The editors: Mark Bray is Director of the UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning, in Paris; Bob Adamson is Associate Professor in the Hong Kong Institute of Education; and Mark Mason is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Hong Kong. They have all been Presidents of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong (CESHK), and Directors of the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) at the University of Hong Kong. They have also written extensively in the field of comparative education with reference to multiple domains and cultures.