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Global Comparative Education

Journal of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES)

Éducation Comparée Mondiale:
Revue du Conseil Mondial des Associations D'Éducation Comparée

Educación Comparada Global:
Revista del Consejo Mundial de Sociedades de Educación Comparada

Всеобщее Сравнительное Образование
Журнал Всемирного Совета Сообществ Сравнительного Образования

全球比较教育
世界比较教育学会联合会会刊

التربية المقارنة العالمية
مجلة المجلس العالمي لمختلف مجتمعات التربية و التعليم المقارنين

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EDITORIAL MANAGEMENT TEAM

ABOUT THE JOURNAL

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The *Global Comparative Education* is an open-access, peer-reviewed journal that aims to contribute to the comparative education literature by creating spaces to present critical analyses of the differences and commonalities within education worldwide (formal, informal, and non-formal), with an explicit focus on increasing and widening social justice globally, keeping in mind that for instance UNESCO to which WCCES is affiliated declared education a human right more than half a century ago. The Journal welcomes article submissions in the six UN languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish.

The Journal seeks articles that are diverse in numerous aspects and perspectives including, but not limited to: theories, methodologies and methods, pedagogical practices/tools/resources, policies, and scope/nature of comparison (e.g., geographically, culturally, linguistically, economically, historically, and population (gender identity, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation)) and any other grounds of differentiaon as they relate to educational processes, especially with comparative perspectives. Special focus will be given to providing space for historically under-represented areas of comparative education and transfers of knowledge (e.g., Global South to Global North). *Global Comparative Education* is the official journal of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES).

حول المجلة

ا التعليم المقارن العالمي هو مجلة مفتوحة الوصول إليها من قبل الأقران التي تهدف إلى المساهمة في أدب التعليم المقارن من خلال خلق مساحات لتقديم تحليلات نقدية للاختلافات الرسمية وغير الرسمية)، مع تركيز صريح على زيادة العدالة الاجتماعية وتوسيع نطاقها على الصعيد العالمي، مع الأخذ في الاعتبار أن (و القواسم المشتركة في التعليم في جميع أنحاء العالم وترحب المجلة .المقارنين أعلنت أن التعليم حق من حقوق الإنسان منذ أكثر من نصف قرن التعليم و التربية مجتمعات لمختلف العالمي اليونسكو التي ينتمي اليها المجلس بالرسائل المقدمة باللغات الست للأمم المتحدة: العربية ،الصينية ،الانجليزية ،الفرنسية ،الروسية والإسبانية.

الموارد والسياسات / وتسعى المجلة إلى مقالات متنوعة في جوانب ووجهات نظر عديدة منها على سبيل المثال : النظريات والمنهجيات والأساليب والممارسات التربوية / الأدوات وأية أسس أخرى للتمايز من حيث)والنطاقات / طبيعة المقارنة على سبيل المثال: جغرافيا،وثقافيا ،لغويا ،اقتصاديا ، تاريخيا، وديمغرافيا (الهوية الجنسية، العرق، التوجه الجنسي . وسينصب تركيز خاص على توفير حيز للمجالات ذات التمثيل الناقص في مجال التعليم المقارن ونقل المعارف (مثل الجنوب .صلتها بالمناهج التعليمية، وخاصة مع المنظورات المقارنة التعليم المقارن العالمي هو المجلة الرسمية للمجلس العالمي لجمعيات التربية التعليم المقارنين) العالمي إلى الشمال العالمي.

关于期刊

《全球比较教育》是一本公开、经过同行评论的杂志，目标是通过呈现对世界教（正式的、非正式的、和不正式的）异同点的批判分析，促进比较教育文献的发展。特别是由于比如 WCCES 附属其下的联合国教科文组织（UNESCO）在半个世纪之前就曾宣告过人权，所以本期刊尤其会着重分析日益严重、影响范围扩大的全球性社会公平问题。本杂志欢迎以下六种联合国语言提交的文章：阿拉伯语、中文、英语、法语、俄罗斯语、西班牙语。

本杂志寻求在诸多方面与视角多样化的文章，包括但不仅限于：理论、方法论、教学法的实践/工具/资源、政策、比较的视野/本质（比如，地理地、文化地、语言学地、经济地、历史地、人口地（性别身份、民族、人种、性取向），以及与教育过程，特

别是比较教育视角之下的问题有关的其他差异之处。特别关注历史上被忽视地区的比较教育和知识交换（比如，南方世界和北方世界）。《全球比较教育》是世界比较教育学会联合会的官方杂志。

A PROPOS DE LA REVUE

Éducation Comparée Mondiale est une revue accessible et évaluée par les pairs ayant pour but de contribuer à la littérature relative à l'éducation comparée en offrant des espaces pour présenter des analyses critiques des différences et des similitudes au sein de l'éducation (formelle, informelle et non formelle) dans le monde entier, en mettant un accent explicite sur le renforcement et l'élargissement de la justice sociale à l'échelle mondiale, tout en mettant l'accent sur le renforcement et l'élargissement de la justice sociale à l'échelle mondiale, et en gardant à l'esprit que, par exemple, l'UNESCO à laquelle WCCES est affilié, a déclaré l'éducation comme un droit de l'homme il y a plus d'un demi-siècle. La Revue accepte des articles présentés dans les six langues de l'ONU: l'arabe, le chinois, l'anglais, le français, le russe et l'espagnol.

La Revue recherche des articles variés dans de nombreux aspects et domaines, y compris, mais sans se limiter aux: théories, méthodologies et méthodes, pratiques / outils / ressources pédagogiques, politiques et la portée / la nature de la comparaison (par exemple, sur le plan géographique, culturel, linguistique, économique, historique, et démographique (identité de genre, race, origine ethnique, orientation sexuelle)) et tous autres sources/ problématiques/questions de différenciation en ce qui concerne les processus éducatifs, en particulier avec des perspectives comparatives. Une attention particulière est accordée aux régions historiquement sous-représentées en éducation comparée et aux transferts de connaissances (par exemple les pays du Sud et du Nord). Education Comparée Mondiale est la revue officielle du Conseil Mondial des Associations d'Éducation Comparée (CMEAC-WCCES).

О ЖУРНАЛЕ

Всемирное Сравнительное Образование - это рецензируемый журнал в свободном доступе, целью которого является вклад в литературу по теме сравнительного образования, путем предоставления критических анализов об общих и отличительных чертах в образовании в мировом масштабе (в форматах обязательного и дополнительного образования, а так же видов образования вне определенного образца), с акцентом на расширение и увеличение социальной справедливости в глобальном масштабе, имея в виду, что, например, ЮНЕСКО, к которой относится WCCES, объявила образование правом человека более полувека назад. Журнал приветствует публикации статей на шести языках ООН: арабском, китайском, английском, французском, русском и испанском.

Журнал ищет статьи, которые разнообразны по многим аспектам и взглядам, включая, но не ограничиваясь следующими темами: теории, методологии и методы; педагогические методики, инструменты и ресурсы; законопроекты; различные области и сферы для сравненительных анализов (например, географической-, культурной-, лингвистической-, экономической-, исторической направленности, а так же вопросы народонаселения, такие как гендерные и рассовые различия, этническая принадлежность, сексуальная ориентация), а также любые другие основания дифференциации, связанные с образовательными процессами, особенно со сравнительными перспективами. Особое внимание будет уделяться областям, исторически недопредставленным в сравнительном образовании и вопросам передачи знаний (например, с Юга на Север в глобальном понимании). *Всемирное Сравнительное Образование является* официальным журналом Всемирного Совета Обществ Сравнительного Образования (WCCES).

SOBRE LA REVISTA

Educación Comparada Global es una revista de acceso abierto, de revisión por pares cuyo objetivo es contribuir a la literatura de la educación comparada mediante la creación de espacios para presentar análisis críticos de las diferencias y de los aspectos comunes dentro de la educación en todo el mundo (formal, informal, y no formal), con un enfoque explícito en incrementar y extender la justicia social globalmente, teniendo en consideración por ejemplo que para UNESCO, de quién el WCCES is afiliado, ha declarado a la educación como un bien social hace más de medio siglo. La revista da la bienvenida a la presentación de artículos en los seis idiomas de la ONU: Árabe, Chino, Inglés, Francés, Ruso y Español.

La revista busca artículos que sean diversos en numerosos aspectos y perspectivas, incluyendo pero no limitándose: teorías, metodologías y métodos, practicas/herramientas/recursos pedagógicos, políticas, y el alcance/la naturaleza de la comparación (p.ej., geográfica, cultural, lingüística, económica, histórica y de población (identidad de género, raza, origen étnico, orientación sexual)) y cualquier otro campo de diferenciación en relación a los campos educativos, especialmente con perspectiva comparada. Se prestará especial atención en proveer espacio para aquellas áreas históricamente sub representadas en educación comparada y en la transferencia de conocimientos (p. Ej., Sur Global hacia Norte Global). Educación Comparada Global es la Revista Oficial del Consejo Mundial de Sociedades de Educación Comparada (WCCES).

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Editorial: Forward-looking Reflections on the COVID-19, Global Race Relations, and Change in the Educational Process

N'Dri T. Assié-Lumumba
Cornell University, USA

It is with a sense of special gratitude that we welcome the long-awaited volume 4 Nos.1-2 of *Global Comparative Education: Journal of the WCCES,* our peer-reviewed academic periodical in this unusual year 2020. Like it was recalled previously, while the journal was scheduled to appear twice annually, in March and September every year, it became necessary, with the unique challenges related to COVID-19, to combine numbers 1 and 2 under volume 4. It is also worth recalling that according to our initial plan and continued practice, we publish articles in any of the six official languages of the United Nations, namely: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish and every issue includes articles in at least two of these six languages usually with a majority in English. Furthermore, besides the representations in the articles in different languages, the abstract of each article published in any of these six languages is translated in the other five languages. Therefore, in every issue we have multi-language representation. The rationale for a WCCES multi-lingual publication in this journal, the *World Voices Nexus: the WCCES Chronicle* and the initially planned WCCES- Brill | Sense book series was a reflection of my commitment for inclusiveness and diverse possibilities for publishing to better cater to the needs of the broader comparative education community. In addition, it was also expected to tap into the vast expertise of WCCES in these languages.

In this issue of the Journal, you will read the following exciting articles: "L'art des rencontres et du dépassement des frontières, au service de la promotion de la culture, de l'éducation populaire et de l'éducation comparée: Cheminer avec Michel Debeauvais (1922-2012)" by Régis Malet, "Comparing Use of E-mail Communication and Face-to-Face Interactions as Medium for Adult Learners in Ghana" by John Kwame Boateng & Yaw Oheneba-Sakyi, "Pedagogies of Participation: A Methodological Framework for Comparative Studies" by Danilo R. Streck, "Preparation and Professional Development of Urban vs. Rural School Principals in China: A Comparative Study" by Zhixin Su, Huixian Xia, Jian Wang, Dan Mao & Airong Lu, and "Why do Students go to Private Colleges in India? Determinants of Students' Choice of Engineering Institutions in India" by Jandhyala B G Tilak. You are also invited to read the five book reviews with the hope that you will also be interested to read some of the books reviewed.

I would like to renew my profound gratitude to all the contributors in this issue, with special appreciation to those whose articles were accepted earlier but publication had to be delayed until this issue. We also thank also those whose submissions were not accepted for publication in this issue and encourage them to revise their papers, following the recommendations of the reviewers and to resubmit them. I am most grateful to the entire editorial team, especially Eve Coxon, Co-Editor & Book Review Editor; W. James Jacob, Associate Editor in charge of the Profiles and Copyediting of the submissions in English; and Aïcha Maherzi, Associate Editor responsible for Copyediting of the submissions in French. I also want to thank the anonymous

reviewers of the submissions in all the languages, including those who reviewed articles that are not published in this issue or are not accepted for publication.

My special gratitude goes to Greg William Misiaszek, the Associate Editor and Coordinator of the Language-Specific Management Team for translating the abstracts in the six official UN languages. I want to acknowledge Alex Mhone, Francisco Mitumba, and Jihye Green for their hard work and true dedication and for enabling us to fulfil our commitment to the six official UN languages through the translated abstracts.

I wish to acknowledge my colleagues of the WCCES Secretariat who provided important input into the process of publishing this issue, paticularly Dr. Kanishka Bedi, Executive Director of WCCES and also editor of *World Voices Nexus: the WCCES Chronicle* for his valuable contributions on numerous fronts. I also want to welcome again and recognize Sanaz Javadi Farahzadi, Volunteer in the WCCES office, for her taking up several tasks related to this publication.

Finally, I would like to mention that our optimistic anticipation when we started the year 2020 was shattered in the first trimester of the year with the threat of COVID-19 and its ensuing havoc disrupted families, personal lives, the functioning of social institutions and collective experiences as citizens of the planet. The education systems were disrupted as schools had to be shut down to mitigate the spread of the virus. The pandemic has exposed the fragility of nations and brought to light the vulnerability of vast segments of populations in many countries including some of the most economically powerful. Education systems and their respective populations have been directly impacted. This year has also brought attention, in the global consciousness, to the persistent and gruesome manifestations of the repugnant social virus of racism. Our field of comparative education calls for reflections on, and critical examination of, the life-changing experiences and new explorations and innovations to tackle the old and emerging issues. Thus, I appeal again to the entire comparative education community, the leadership and other members of the constituent societies, members of the different standing committees to submit and encourage members of these societies and various networks, the broader community of comparative education to participate and submit articles in order to have holistic, diverse, vibrant and sustainable scholarly publication outlets offered by WCCES, including this journal. Articles on the ongoing COVID-19, race relations and other factors of social differentiation and engaging the broader educational systems are highly encouraged.

It is a great honor for me to continue to serve as the Editor of the *Global Comparative Education: Journal of the WCCES*, in my second term as President of WCCES. I appreciate any feedback and suggestions as we continue to strive to achieve and sustain the status of a top and relevant journal. Happy reading and a Happy and Healthy New Year 2021!

L'art des rencontres et du dépassement des frontières, au service de la promotion de la culture, de l'éducation populaire et de l'éducation comparée. Cheminer avec Michel Debeauvais (1922-2012)

Régis Malet
Université de Bordeaux, France

Cette contribution s'attache à retracer l'itinéraire de vie et le parcours intellectuel de Michel Debeauvais, grand promoteur de l'éducation comparée et du dialogue interculturel, en mettant en lumière et en perspective quatre dimensions de son itinéraire qui illustrent la richesse du cheminement de l'administrateur et du chercheur qu'il fut, alliant, dans une grande disponibilité aux bifurcations et aux rencontres, ces dimensions que sont : la promotion de l'éducation populaire et de la culture ; les échanges entre recherche, ingénierie sociale et expertise internationale ; la créativité institutionnelle ; le développement de l'éducation comparée. Ces quatre volets de l'itinéraire de Michel Debeauvais ne sont pas hermétiques ou chronologiques, mais ils témoignent d'une vie d'engagements qu'on aurait tort de réduire à des activités ou des responsabilités institutionnelles successives et sans lien entre elles, quand une ligne invisible dessine d'évidence un trajet intellectuel qui peut encore aujourd'hui constituer une source d'inspiration et d'orientation.

Mots clés : Education comparée, Education Populaire culture, Cultures, Présidents CMAEC, Expertise internationale, Histoire de vie intellectuelle

تسعى هذه المساهمة إلى اقتفاء أثر حياة ميشيل ديبوفيه ورحلته الفكرية، وهو مروج كبير للتعليم المقارن والحوار بين الثقافات، من خلال إبراز الأبعاد الأربعة لمسار رحلته ووضعها في الاعتبار والتي توضح رحلة الحياة الحافلة بالأحداث للمسؤول والباحث. كان يجمع، مع توافر كبير للتفرعات والاجتماعات، هذه الأبعاد: تعزيز التعليم والثقافة الشعبية؛ التبادل بين البحث والهندسة الاجتماعية والخبرة الدولية؛ الإبداع المؤسسي تطوير التعليم المقارن. هذه الأجزاء الأربعة من مسار رحلة ميشيل ديبوفيه ليست محكمة أو ترتيبًا زمنيًا، لكنها تشهد على حياة من الالتزامات التي لا يمكن اختزالها في أنشطة أو مسؤوليات مؤسسية متعاقبة وغير مرتبطة، عندما يرسم خط غير مرئي بوضوح رحلة فكرية يمكن أن تشكل مصدر إلهام وتوجيه اليوم.

这篇论文力图追溯比较教育和文化间对话的伟大推动者——米歇尔-德博瓦的人生和思想历程。本文突出从他人生旅程的四个方面来说明他作为一个管理者和研究者的多项成就：促进民众教育和文化；研究、社会工程和国际专业知识之间的交流；机构的创造性；发展比较教育。他将这四个方面结合起来，并以极大的灵活性来进行交叉和融合。米歇尔-德博瓦的这四个方面的人生旅程其实并不封闭，也并不按时间顺序排列，只是它们见证了他一生的贡献，而这些贡献不可能被仅仅归结为连续并不相关的一些机构活动或他对机构担当的责任。当一条无形的线清晰地勾勒出一个学者的知识旅程时，这条线便仍然能够在今天构成我们灵感和指导的源泉。

This contribution seeks to retrace the life and intellectual journey of Michel Debeauvais, a great promoter of comparative education and intercultural dialogue, by highlighting and putting into perspective four dimensions of his itinerary which illustrate the eventful life journey of the administrator and the researcher that he was, combining, with great availability to bifurcations and meetings, these dimensions: the promotion of popular education and culture; exchanges between research, social engineering and international expertise; institutional creativity; the development of comparative education. These four parts of Michel Debeauvais' itinerary are not hermetic or chronological, but they bear witness to a life of commitments that could not be reduced to successive and unrelated institutional activities or responsibilities, when an invisible line clearly draws an intellectual journey which can still constitute a source of inspiration and guidance today.

этот вклад направлен на то, чтобы проследить жизненный и интеллектуальный путь Мишеля Дебове, великого пропагандиста сравнительного образования и межкультурного диалога, выделив и представив в перспективе четыре измерения его маршрута, которые иллюстрируют насыщенный событиями жизненный путь администратора и исследователя, которым он был, сочетая с большой доступностью для бифуркаций и встреч эти измерения: продвижение народного образования и культуры; обмен между исследованиями, социальной инженерией и международным опытом; институциональное творчество.; развитие сравнительного образования. Эти четыре части маршрута Мишеля Дебове не являются герметичными или хронологическими, но они свидетельствуют о жизни обязательств, которые не могут быть сведены к последовательной и несвязанной институциональной деятельности или обязанностям, когда невидимая линия четко рисует интеллектуальное путешествие, которое все еще может быть источником вдохновения и руководства сегодня.

Esta contribución busca rastrear la vida y el camino intelectual de Michel Debeauvais, un gran promotor de la educación comparada y el diálogo intercultural, destacando y poniendo en perspectiva cuatro dimensiones de su itinerario que ilustran el viaje de vida lleno de acontecimientos del administrador e investigador que fue, combinando, con gran disponibilidad a las bifurcaciones y reuniones, estas dimensiones: la promoción de la educación y la cultura popular; intercambios entre investigación, ingeniería social y experiencia internacional; creatividad institucional; y el desarrollo de la educación comparada. Estas cuatro partes del itinerario de Michel Debeauvais no son herméticas ni cronológicas, pero dan testimonio de una vida de compromisos que no podrían reducirse a actividades o responsabilidades institucionales sucesivas y no relacionadas, cuando una línea invisible dibuja claramente un camino intelectual que todavía puede constituir una fuente de inspiración y guía hoy en día.

Introduction

Évoquer la mémoire et l'œuvre de Michel Debeauvais et sa contribution à l'éducation comparée, c'est d'abord rappeler son expérience fondatrice de résistance – à l'occupation puis à la déportation et à la maladie – mais aussi son brillant parcours académique et sa contribution au développement culturel en France, et en écho, au développement des politiques publiques de la culture et de l'éducation et, bien évidemment, des sciences de l'éducation et de l'éducation comparée.

Michel Debeauvais était issu de ces grandes écoles de la République en charge de la formation des hauts-fonctionnaires, qui qualifient le caractère dual du système d'enseignement supérieur français (Bian 2016) : École Normale Supérieure (promotion 1942) puis l'ENA (École Nationale d'Administration – promotion 1947). Tout jeune énarque, Michel Debeauvais devient Consul adjoint de France à Anvers, puis directeur de recherche à l'Institut de développement économique et social (IDES) ; il est membre du Club Jean-Moulin très tôt dans sa vie, ainsi que de « Peuple et Culture » dont il a organisé les Universités d'été à partir de 1957.

C'est dans une articulation originale et créative entre haute fonction publique, développement international et promotion de la culture et l'éducation, que l'itinéraire et l'œuvre de Michel Debeauvais se signale par sa singularité et sa richesse. Sa conception de l'éducation comparée sera marquée par ces différents ancrages. La vie intellectuelle et l'activité de Michel Debeauvais furent en effet multiformes et cependant cohérentes, jalonnées de rencontres, de franchissement de frontières, de créations institutionnelles diverses dans les milieux de l'expertise internationale, de la culture, de l'éducation et du développement, dans des cadres associatifs comme ceux de l'AECSE[1] ou de l'AFEC[2].

L'art et le goût des rencontres de la construction de « réseaux sociaux », avant leur explosion globale, sont peut-être ce qui caractérise ce parcours hors-norme : que cette activité se soit déployée durant la période de Vincennes, au cours de laquelle les activités d'enseignement, d'organisation de colloques et de création d'associations convergeaient ; ou que cette activité ait tracé des voies apparemment parallèles, comme lorsqu'il anima les Rencontres d'Avignon avec Jean Vilar. En même temps, il contribuait à poser les jalons d'une économie de l'éducation et du développement à l'Institut d'études du développement de la Sorbonne, ce qui le conduira à l'éducation comparée quelques années plus tard dans cette université populaire de Vincennes, devenue depuis Paris 8 Saint-Denis.

De fait, dans tous ces domaines d'expression, dont les ressorts résident dans des expériences fondatrices qu'il a lui-même assez clairement identifié « de mémoire(s) » (Debeauvais 2010), se joue un enjeu récurrent et probablement vital de renouvellement, de participation et de rencontre. Quatre volets de l'itinéraire intellectuel de Michel Debeauvais illustrent, nous semble-t-il, cette richesse alliant, dans un franchissement réitéré des frontières et une grande disponibilité aux bifurcations et aux rencontres interculturelles, le cheminement de l'administrateur et chercheur qu'il fut : la promotion de l'éducation populaire et de la culture ; les échanges fructueux entre recherche, ingénierie sociale et expertise internationale ; la créativité institutionnelle ; le développement de l'éducation comparée. Ces volets de l'itinéraire de Michel Debeauvais ne sont pas hermétiques ou chronologiques. Ils témoignent plutôt d'une vie d'engagements qu'on aurait sans doute tort de réduire à des activités ou des responsabilités institutionnelles successives et sans lien entre elles. Une ligne invisible nous paraît en effet dessiner un trajet intellectuel qui peut aujourd'hui constituer une source d'inspiration, de la part de qui ne se reconnaissait sans doute pas d'héritiers, pour n'avoir pas été attiré par les voies d'un mandarinat universitaire auquel cependant tout aurait pu le conduire.

Rencontres fondatrices et promotion de et par la culture et l'éducation

La culture d'abord. Le nom de Michel Debeauvais n'y est pas spontanément rattaché et cependant elle a jalonné sa vie tant professionnelle que personnelle. Jean Vilar, le grand promoteur du théâtre populaire que l'on sait, et Michel Debeauvais se sont rencontrés en 1955, à l'occasion d'une tournée du Théâtre National Populaire (T.N.P.) en Belgique, alors que Debeauvais vivait à Anvers où il avait été nommé consul de France. C'est une passion commune, celle du théâtre et de la culture, partagée avec l'épouse de Michel, Sonia Debeauvais, complice indissociable de l'aventure de Jean Vilar ayant longtemps travaillé à ses côtés, à Chaillot, au TNP et à Avignon, qui scellera non seulement une amitié mais aussi un projet de

[1] Association des Enseignants et Chercheurs en Sciences de l'Éducation.
[2] Association Francophone d'Éducation Comparée.

développement culturel au sein d'un Festival aux destinées fameuses : les Rencontres d'Avignon.

Animateur du club de réflexion Jean Moulin, Michel Debeauvais avait imaginé avec Jean Vilar une collaboration entre le club Jean Moulin et le Festival d'Avignon, en mettant à profit cet événement estival de la culture pour approfondir les questions de société que le club se donnait pour objectif de mettre en discussion, en le reliant à des enjeux de développement et de promotion culturelle. La culture et son accessibilité à tous, ses frontières, ses formes de promotion et de reconnaissance, furent au cœur de leur projet, qui croisait confusément enjeux culturels, de promotion sociale et d'éducation populaire, dans des assemblées délibératives composites, dont le terreau était aussi bien artistique, associatif, politique, universitaire que syndical.

Nées de l'initiative conjointe de Jean Vilar et Michel Debeauvais, les Rencontres d'Avignon, universités d'été avant l'heure, organisées en marge d'un festival populaire de renommée et de rayonnement international, ont ainsi réuni dès leur création en 1964, des participants d'horizons variés au Palais des Papes d'Avignon, autour du constat d'une inégalité sociale d'accès à la culture et de la nécessité d'interroger l'idée même de production culturelle, avec pour visée de la sortir d'une conception figée et close : responsables culturels, associations d'éducation populaire et mouvements pédagogiques (CEMEA : Centres d'entraînement aux méthodes d'éducation active) auteurs dramatiques, comédiens, militants associatifs se croisent alors pendant ces Rencontres en Avignon. Une même ambition s'exprima alors fortement, en phase avec les conceptions exprimées et défendues par André Malraux, alors Ministre de la Culture du Général de Gaulle : celle de promouvoir un authentique service public de culture, et en quelque sorte de « donner une dimension culturelle aux conditions d'existence de la population » (Poirrier 1997).

Dès leurs prémisses, et dans une mouvance internationale de promotion culturelle par le théâtre dont Vilar et Debeauvais furent alors en somme les figures de proue, ces « Rencontres », au titre évocateur d'un état d'esprit, ambitionnaient alors non tant de réunir des experts autorisés, des groupes constitués, des institutionnels, afin de confronter leurs réponses sur la culture et la culture populaire en particulier, mais d'interroger et d'explorer les conditions et les formes émergentes de la culture populaire vivante. Ainsi, du 20 au 31 juillet 1964, comme le recense le journal *La Sentinelle* (1964, 3) au moment des premières Rencontres, « une cinquantaine de personnalités, parmi lesquelles des sociologues, des directeurs d'écoles, des dirigeants d'associations culturelles, des syndicalistes et des hommes de théâtre, se sont réunies quotidiennement pour examiner les thèmes de réflexion que leur proposaient les organisateurs des Rencontres : Pourquoi la culture ? Pour qui ? ».

De cette rencontre entre Vilar et Debeauvais naissent des moments de débats et d'échanges, chaque été, sur des thèmes différents : en 1964, la culture ; en 1965, l'école comme institution culturelle ; en 1966, le développement culturel régional…

En appelant de leurs vœux et en créant cet espace de questionnement sur les enjeux démocratiques de la diffusion de la culture, ces pionniers, qui voulaient œuvrer à confronter les besoins et les moyens d'action pour se fixer les objectifs d'une politique publique cohérente en matière de développement culturel, éducatif, urbain : « élever le niveau des besoins culturels de façon à leur donner une signification plus large , à l'échelle d'une société d'hommes libres participant activement à son devenir », selon les mots de Vilar (*Idem*). Comme le souligna justement Augustin Girard (2010), ceux-là étaient dans l'esprit à la fois proches en effet d'un Malraux qui déclarait que « la culture n'était pas là pour fournir les bonnes réponses, mais pour poser les bonnes questions », et proches tout autant d'un Lévi-Strauss qui avait reconnu dans «

le scientifique (non pas) celui qui fournit les réponses vraies, mais celui qui pose les vraies questions ».

De la haute administration publique à la promotion de la culture populaire, du développement social à l'éducation comparée, le parcours de Michel Debeauvais atteste ainsi, d'abord, d'une conviction en acte que l'activité d'intellectuelle ne saurait se concevoir dans un seul milieu, qui serait par exemple celui de la recherche ou de l'université, mais que cette activité ne peut être socialement utile et en quelque sorte créative, que dans l'association avec les praticiens de tous poils et dans la rencontre et la fédération d'énergies dans des projets collectifs.

Se souvenant des premières Rencontres d'Avignon, Michel Debeauvais en qualifie lui-même par l'exemple l'esprit et l'ambition : «On trouvait donc autour de la table aussi bien des sociologues comme Edgar Morin ou Joffre Dumazedier, des hommes de théâtre comme Jean Dasté et Gabriel Garran encore presqu'inconnu, des élus municipaux de diverses tendances politiques, des animateurs de mouvements culturels depuis Maurice Delarue (Travail et culture) jusqu'à Germaine Cambon, responsable de l'Amicale laïque de Saint Gratien… On y rencontrait encore des metteurs en scène étrangers comme Gianfranco di Bosio ou Mohamed Boudiaf (directeur du Théâtre national algérien), et de jeunes responsables syndicaux ou politiques comme Michel Rocard et Jack Ralite… Je me souviens de la complicité passionnée et inattendue qui se noua entre Jean Dasté et Bertrand Schwartz, directeur de l'École des Mines de Nancy et, surtout, pionnier de la notion de formation permanente » (Debeauvais, 2010 : 16).

Cette intuition de l'intérêt de construire dans le cadre des institutions culturelles ou éducatives des espaces délibératifs associant des acteurs sociaux d'horizons divers se mesure dans son œuvre de chercheur autant que dans son œuvre institutionnelle, et différents moments qui ont jalonné son itinéraire intellectuel et son engagement public en témoignent.

Echanges fructueux entre recherche, ingénierie et expertise internationale

La participation à la fondation de l'Institut d'études du développement de la Sorbonne (IEDES), en 1957, d'abord sous le nom d'Institut d'études du développement économique et social, à l'Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, fut ainsi une autre opportunité pour qui était disponible à de tels engagements d'initier et de contribuer à une aventure intellectuelle collective pionnière, dans un milieu intellectuel où se rencontraient économistes, psychologues, sociologues, anthropologues et professionnels de terrain. Cette expérience succédait à près d'une décennie passée au Ministère des Affaires étrangères, durant lesquelles Michel Debeauvais travailla avec Stéphane Hessel pour créer l'assistance technique aux pays dits à l'époque « sous-développés ».

C'est dans ce cadre institutionnel et humain, et plus encore ensuite au sein de l'IEDES, que Michel Debeauvais développa avec ses équipes des recherches en économie du développement en Afrique, en Asie, en Amérique du Sud et en Europe, créant la revue *Tiers-Monde*, associant chercheurs et professionnels dans le domaine de ce qu'on n'appelait pas encore le développement durable, mais dont les créateurs de cet institut international furent cependant les pionniers.

Dans sa phase initiale de développement, auquel contribua de façon décisive Debeauvais, qui déclina au cours de la même période la proposition de Jean Vilar de reprendre l'administration du TNP, l'IEDES promut une conception de l'éducation comme « libération de l'homme par l'homme » prenant en compte l'ensemble de ses composantes sociales, culturelles et économiques. Le développement de l'éducation et de la culture devant être conduit, dans l'esprit de ses fondateurs, selon une planification s'inspirant du keynésianisme, par les institutions nationales et internationales, l'Institut s'est attaché prioritairement à former les cadres de ces institutions.

On doit souligner que dans le domaine de la recherche en éducation et sur le développement culturel, les équipes de l'IEDES ont très souvent joué un rôle pionnier (Perroux 1963), en particulier au cours des décennies 1960 avec l'économie de l'éducation et l'éducation comparée, domaines promus par Michel Debeauvais, qui dirigea l'IEDES de 1959 à 1965 avant de rejoindre l'EHESS qu'il dirigea jusqu'en 1970, mais aussi en matière d'économétrie du développement, avec Boris Maldant, et depuis lors en ce qui concerne l'analyse comparative des politiques économiques, la société civile, ou encore la sociologie du développement.

Cette expérience fut également fondatrice d'un lien de coopération que Michel Debeauvais a nourri tout au long de son trajet professionnel, entre les disciplines, et aussi entre l'université, l'ingénierie sociale et du développement, la recherche et les grandes organisations internationales : Banque Mondiale, OECE, Nations Unies, Unesco. Ayant participé à partir de 1959 à la création de l'Institut du développement économique et social à la Sorbonne, Michel Debeauvais s'était alors spécialisé dans le domaine naissant de la planification de l'éducation, avant de rejoindre, en 1965, la Direction des affaires scientifiques de l'OCDE, pour mettre en œuvre les méthodes la planification des ressources humaines dans les pays du Tiers Monde.

Au carrefour de la recherche, de l'aide à l'action publique et de l'ingénierie sociale, le rôle d'expert international dans un domaine, celui la planification économique étendue à la sphère du social et de l'éducatif, suscitait chez Michel Debeauvais des questions nouvelles, relatives à la légitimité des savoirs des ingénieurs sociaux, de la demande sociétale, et celle de la mobilisation de ces savoirs et de ces techniques au service du changement social. Elle nourrît son appétit d'engagement autant que sa curiosité de chercheur, et prépara la période de grande créativité institutionnelle qui suivit, ou se poursuivit sous de nouvelles formes.

L'expérience de l'université de Vincennes – Créativité institutionnelle et éducation populaire

En automne 1968, quelques mois après le mouvement social de mai 1968, était créé le Centre universitaire de Vincennes sur décision du Ministre de l'Éducation Nationale Edgar Faure. Ses objectifs, définis par le Ministre Faure en créant un centre universitaire expérimental, étaient de répondre aux conséquences universitaires du mouvement étudiant avec l'ambition d'être un foyer d'innovation se caractérisant par son ouverture sur le monde contemporain, ce qui impliquait son ouverture aux salariés non bacheliers (étudiants de la deuxième chance), en conséquence aux adultes, aux étrangers non diplômés, à des disciplines jusque-là non enseignées à l'université (arts, urbanisme, développement etc.), de nombreux cours du soir, une pédagogie reposant sur des groupes restreints, une large liberté de choix offerte aux étudiants pour définir leur parcours.

Au moment de la création du Centre de Vincennes, qui deviendra l'université Paris 8, comme au moment de l'ouverture d'un département de Sciences de l'Éducation dont il fut un des acteurs majeurs, Michel Debeauvais a œuvré à créer les conditions d'existence d'un milieu scientifique, ouvert aux praticiens et aux professionnels de terrain. C'est d'ailleurs quelques mois seulement après l'ouverture de Vincennes que Debeauvais, qui était alors directeur de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, organisa un premier, puis un deuxième colloque sur les difficultés de la rencontre entre chercheurs et praticiens. Le Colloque d'Amiens de 1968 avait été un moment-clé dans la prise de conscience, partagée avec quelques autres, parmi lesquels Guy Berger (Berger & Hedjarrassi 2015), de la nécessité de promouvoir une communauté scientifique dans le domaine de l'éducation qui permette ces rencontres, qui ne soit inféodée ni aux sciences sociales instituées ni aux disciplines scolaires, et qui soit ouverte aux praticiens et aux acteurs de l'éducation non formelle, et en lien fort avec la formation continue (Berger, Courtois et Perrigault 2015).

L'ambition de Michel Debeauvais, cohérente avec les Rencontres d'Avignon qu'il continuait à animer, parallèlement à ces engagements au cours des étés de cette décennie 1960, était alors d'œuvrer à construire des lieux de rencontres pour un milieu savant pluriel, composite et soucieux avant tout d'échanges et de débats. Rejoignant ce que le critique Albert Simon avait identifié comme le but poursuivi par Vilar, Debeauvais et ceux qui les accompagnaient : « donner à l'homme sa juste place dans le monde et le réconcilier avec le monde » (Spira, 1964, 3). Les Universités d'été de Peuple et Culture, auxquelles l'avait associé Joffre Dumazedier, résonnaient fortement avec les Rencontres d'Avignon créées avec Vilar, de sorte que les thèmes de l'éducation populaire, de la justice sociale et du développement culturel ont convergé pour prendre dans l'engagement professionnel et associatif de Michel Debeauvais une dimension de plus en plus forte au cours de ces années 1960 et 1970.

Dans la présentation qu'il fit en Avignon au moment précis de la création des Rencontres, en juillet 1964, Michel Debeauvais décrit assez précisément une vision de la culture qui éclaire à la fois les liens étroits qui la lient à l'éducation dans sa vision, qu'il mettra en œuvre notamment à Vincennes, puis dans son engagement dans l'éducation comparée. Écartant d'emblée une définition abstraite de la culture, inspiré autant par Dumazedier et Morin sur le plan de son acception théorique, que par Malraux dans sa conception politique, Debeauvais plaide très tôt pour un accompagnement, une planification de l'activité de culture et une préoccupation de son accessibilité à travers la promotion d'un service public de la culture qu'il déplacera ensuite dans le domaine de l'éducation : « du point de vue de l'action, explique Debeauvais, on entendra l'idée de culture dans son sens le plus large, englobant toutes les activités de loisir : aussi bien le sport, les vacances, la télévision, que le théâtre, la lecture ou la musique » (Debeauvais, discours d'ouverture des Rencontres d'Avignon de 1964, cité par Spira 1964, 3).

Les sciences de l'éducation se développent dans ce contexte à Vincennes, et prennent rapidement la forme d'un département universitaire qui accueille des publics variés, selon le souhait de ses initiateurs, à commencer par Michel Debeauvais et Guy Berger : étudiants en formation initiale, mais surtout des salariés, parfois non diplômés, professionnels en reprise d'études, étudiants étrangers recrutés par Michel Debeauvais du fait de ses activités internationales. Debeauvais quitte alors l'OCDE et l'IEDES (Institut d'étude du développement économique et social) dont il était salarié pour rejoindre et accompagner en 1969 la création du département des toutes nouvelles sciences de l'éducation, créant dans le même mouvement l'Association des Enseignants et Chercheurs en Sciences de l'Education (AECSE), dont il devient le premier président.

Au carrefour de ces engagements pluriels : la promotion de l'éducation comparée

A l'intersection de ses divers réseaux académiques, culturels, d'expertise internationale, du fait de son parcours professionnel déjà riche au début des années 1970 et alors qu'il n'a pas 50 ans, Michel Debeauvais va s'engager dès le début de cette décennie dans la promotion de ce milieu savant qui rassemble ce que son parcours à la fois personnel et professionnel a continûment privilégié : un engagement intellectuel collectif au service de rencontres interculturelles, internationales et dans une visée d'émancipation et de promotion de la justice sociale.

Il crée l'Association Francophone d'Education Comparée en 1973, dont le siège est le Centre international d'études pédagogiques (CIEP) de Sèvres, ce qui présente un intérêt particulier du fait à la fois du rayonnement francophone et international du CIEP et de ses liens avec le monde de l'éducation et de l'enseignement. Il crée et édite dans le même mouvement *Education Comparée* qui fut d'abord un bulletin régulier de diffusion de l'actualité de la recherche et des événements dans le champ comparatiste, avant de devenir un espace de diffusion des colloques de l'AFEC, jusqu'au milieu des années 2000 et avant qu'elle ne devienne une revue scientifique biannuelle.

La promotion de l'éducation comparée fut pour Michel Debeauvais une nouvelle occasion de rencontres, de franchissement de frontières disciplinaires et de dialogues avec divers acteurs sociaux et culturels, au niveau international. Les enjeux de promotion de la culture et de définition d'une politique culturelle trouvèrent tant avec le développement de l'éducation comparée que des liens avec l'Unesco une dimension internationale renouvelée.

C'est aussi à l'intersection de ses engagements dans l'AECSE et l'AFEC que naitra les GRETAF (Groupe d'études sur l'éducation en Afrique), qui visait à accompagner la fédération d'une communauté scientifique sur le continent africain, en l'autonomisant d'associations sœurs avec lesquelles les liens restaient très étroits, en particulier l'AFEC, mais aussi l'AFIRSE (Association Francophone Internationale de Recherche Scientifique en Éducation) et le CMAEC (Conseil Mondial des Associations d'Éducation Comparée), qu'il présida de 1983 à 1988, organisant le congrès mondial d'éducation comparée à Paris en 1984.

Dans ces cadres professionnels et associatifs divers dans le champ de l'éducation comparée, au niveau de la francophonie comme au niveau international, Michel Debeauvais articulera ses intérêts pour les rencontres interculturelles, en mettant en place des groupes thématiques et des groupes d'intérêt internationaux au sein du CMAEC. Il encouragera l'accompagnement des projets de développement et la formation des cadres des systèmes éducatifs et de formation, en étant attentif autant à l'éducation formelle initiale qu'à l'éducation non formelle et l'éducation permanente. Il soutiendra les efforts de coopération scientifique entre le Nord et le(s) Sud(s) en lien avec l'AFEC et le GRETAF. C'est ainsi naturellement qu'il ménagera au cours de ces décennies d'engagement sur divers fronts, des liens de coopération qu'il juge essentiels entre les milieux savants et les organisations internationales (Banque Mondiale, UNESCO, OCDE) dont il restera toujours familier. C'est ainsi aussi que l'AFEC sera durant de longues années correspondante des ONG auprès de l'UNESCO. Il fut, tout au long de ces décennies d'engagement, en alternance et parfois simultanément à ses responsabilités dans l'université, les sociétés savantes et la recherche, en poste à la Direction des Affaires scientifiques de l'OCDE (1965-1969), conseiller technique au Centre de Développement de l'OCDE (1969-1975), puis directeur de l'Institut International de Planification de l'Éducation (UNESCO) (1977-1982).

Au cours de ces années, comme en témoignent aussi bien les bulletins de l'AFEC, les colloques organisés ou co-organisés par Michel Debeauvais dans le cadre du GRETAF, de l'AFEC, du Conseil Mondial des Associations d'Éducation Comparée (CMAEC), les thématiques qui sont au cœur des préoccupations de Michel Debeauvais, et déclinées au nord comme au sud, sont celles de la rencontre entre les cultures, de la culture et du bien public, de la justice sociale, de l'égalité de genres.

Conclusion

De son passé de Résistant, Engagé dans l'ORA (L'Organisation de résistance de l'Armée) de Lyon dès sa création début 1943, résistant au maquis de la Drôme au Grand Serre, puis arrêté et brutalisé par la Gestapo en octobre 1943 puis déporté à Buchenwald, dont il conserva le « souvenir confus de ces journées et des nuits interminables où nous travaillions et couchions dans le même tunnel, semblables aux réprouvés de Dante » (Debeauvais 2010 : 5), Michel Debeauvais a sans doute puisé la force et la résolution des survivants.

S'employant, après des années passées à « enfouir les cauchemars » (Debeauvais 2010 : 10), et selon ses propres termes et tout au long de sa vie personnelle et professionnelle, à « inventer une vie nouvelle » (*Idem*) en s'engageant dans la vie active, en créant des passerelles entre les cultures, les peuples, les personnes de toutes conditions, convaincu que tout milieu est aveuglant et mortifère s'il est clos sur lui-même et s'il évolue en circuit fermé, et que seules les rencontres, les franchissements des frontières sont des formes de réinvention permanente de sa vie. « Après mon retour d'Allemagne en juin 1945, » écrit ainsi Michel Debeauvais, « je ne suis pas retourné à l'École comme j'en avais rêvé. J'avais trop de difficulté à réapprendre à vivre, et j'avais le sentiment qu'une vie plus active m'y aiderait » (*Idem*).

Convaincu que les combats pour un service public de culture, d'enseignement et d'éducation populaire, pour la justice sociale et l'égalité de genre sont de ceux qui méritent d'être menés, Michel Debeauvais a saisi dans ces « expériences en chaine » (Debeauvais 1997), dans l'engagement pour la culture, l'éducation populaire, l'éducation comparée ou l'économie du développement, les moyens de promouvoir les valeurs de paix, de fraternité et d'égalité entre les peuples qui ont été ses boussoles.

Camusien dans l'esprit, Michel Debeauvais s'est révolté « pour » plutôt que « contre », engageant dans ses combats pour la justice et le développement des collectifs humains. Par ses engagements successifs, de cette évidence qui tire l'individu de sa solitude, il a fait sienne la célèbre phrase du Camus de *L'Homme révolté* : « je me révolte donc nous sommes ».

Aussi bien par ses engagements dans « la vie active » dans laquelle il s'est plongé dans l'après-guerre pour échapper au désespoir, qu'en revenant, tardivement et comme d'autres, à ses expériences traumatiques, dans une conscience aigüe d'un devoir de mémoire que les témoins de l'indicible barbarie ont compris qu'il leur incombait, au-delà de tous leurs efforts de réinvention d'une vie meilleure, Michel Debeauvais a moins contesté que *participé*, considérant que l'éducation et la culture sont avant tout des espaces d'engagement, dans des rencontres avec l'altérité.

De ses rencontres, et d'une notamment parmi toutes, Michel Debeauvais dit avoir tiré une leçon, celle dont Jean Vilar témoignait en actes et qu'il identifia comme une vertu majeure : la *non-violence engagée* (Debeauvais 2010 : 15), « leçon » qu'il mit en œuvre dans les environnements institutionnels et organisationnels, théâtres de conflictualités diverses que Michel Debeauvais traversa, selon le témoignage d'un de ses compagnons de route et ami, Guy Berger, avec distance et une certaine ironie (Berger, entretien avec Hedjerassi 2016).

Le trajet de vie et l'itinéraire intellectuel de Michel Debeauvais attestent d'une soif d'action, d'engagement, de participation et de rencontres, dont les traumatismes de l'expérience concentrationnaire furent de son propre point de vue des ressorts décisifs : « c'est dans le contingent que j'ai choisi de travailler, pour m'efforcer de donner un sens à ma vie active et à ma retraite, prolongée par une survie inattendue », écrivait Michel Debeauvais au crépuscule de sa riche existence (Debeauvais 2010 : 13). L'expertise internationale, l'éducation populaire et l'éducation comparée ont servi cette vision, et la notice biographique ainsi que la bibliographie sélective proposées à l'issue de ce texte témoignent d'un engagement, d'une créativité et d'une œuvre institutionnelle de première importance pour l'éducation et, au-delà, pour le monde universitaire et la société.

Sélection de travaux de Michel Debeauvais

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Notice biographique de Michel Debeauvais

Naissance à Saint Quentin (France) en 1922

Études supérieures en lettres, économie et science politique

École Normale Supérieure (1942)

École Nationale d'Administration (1945-47)

Maître de Conférences à l'Institut d'Études Politiques (Sorbonne) (1948-1952)

Directeur-adjoint de l'Institut d'Étude du Développement Économique et Social (IEDES, Sorbonne) (1959-1965)

Chef de Division à la Direction des Affaires scientifiques de l'OCDE (1965-1969) ;

Conseiller technique au Centre de Développement de l'OCDE (1969-1975)

Directeur d'Études à l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (1965-1970)

Professeur de sciences de l'éducation à l'Université de Paris 8 (1969-1977 et 1982-1987).

Président fondateur de l'Association des Enseignants et Chercheurs en Sciences de l'Education (1971 – 1976)

Président fondateur de l'Association Francophone d'Éducation Comparée (1973-1978) ;

Rédacteur en chef et fondateur de la revue *Education Comparée* (1973)

Président d'honneur de l'AFEC à partir de 1978.

Directeur de l'Institut International de Planification de l'Éducation (UNESCO) 1977-1982

Président du Conseil Mondial des Associations d'Éducation Comparée (1983 – 1988).

Conseiller technique à la Direction Générale des Relations Culturelles du Ministère des Affaires étrangères (1985-1987)

Membre d'honneur de la Société Européenne d'Éducation Comparée (CESE) 1990

Membre de l'Academia Europaea (émérite depuis 1992)

Membre honoraire de la Faculté d'Éducation de l'Université Charles (Prague) 1993

Co-fondateur et coordinateur du Groupe d'Étude Afrique (GRETAF) à partir de 1995

Membre du Bureau du Groupe ONG-EPT/NGO-EFA à l'UNESCO depuis 1995

Professeur émérite à partir de 1987.

Délégué du Conseil Mondial auprès de l'UNESCO et du Comité Permanent des ONG de 1988 à1998.

Missions internationales (missions d'expert de coopération technique, organisation de Colloques, cours et conférences) :

– Afrique subsaharienne : Afrique du Sud (1997), Burundi (1991), Burkina Faso (1995), Cameroun (1978, 1980), Centrafrique (1991), Guinée (1991, 1998), Nigeria (1979), Sénégal (1969, 1978, 1990, 1998), Tanzanie (1980, 1991), Zimbabwe (1981, 1990) – Asie: Bangla-Desh (1979, 1980, 1987), Brunei (1985), Cambodge (1955), Chine (1980, 1988), Inde (1950, 1971, 1978, 1979, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1992), Indonésie (1979, 1980), Iran (1972), Laos (1955), Népal (1971), Pakistan (1976), Philippines (1976, 1979), Sri Lanka (1978, 1979, 1981), Taiwan (1991), Thaïlande (1976, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1984), Viet-Nam (1955). – Océanie : Nouvelle-Calédonie (1986), Vanuatu (1986), Fidji (1986) – Moyen-Orient/Monde arabe: Algérie (1969, 1974), Bahrein (1989), Egypte (1966, 1969, 1979, 1980), Liban (1966, 1969, 1974, 1975), Maroc (1982), Oman (1979), Qatar (1978), Soudan, Syrie (1969, 1979), Tunisie (1963) – Europe: Allemagne (1989, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1995), Belgique (1991), Espagne (1977, 1978, 1979, 1982, 1989, 1990, 1991), Grande-Bretagne, Grèce (1975, 1985, 1986), Hongrie (1988, 1990), Italie (1989, 2000), Norvège (1981), Pologne (1972, 1978, 1987), Portugal (1980, 1990), R.D.A. (1978), Suède (1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1990, 1991), Tchécoslovaquie (1979, 1989, 1990, 1992), Turquie (1969), URSS (1978, 1980), Yougoslavie (1978, 1984) – Amérique du Nord : Canada (1979, 1988, 1989, 1994), Etats-Unis : (1974, 1979, 1980, 1985, 1986, 1987), Mexique (1970, 1978, 1980) – Amérique du Sud : Argentine (1970), Brésil (1979, 1986, 1987, 1989), Chili (1968, 1970), Colombie (1982), Equateur (1970), Pérou (1970, 1975, 1978), République Dominicaine (1985), Vénézuéla (1979, 1980, 1989) – Amérique centrale et Caraïbes : Cuba (1970), Jamaïque (1980), Haïti, Nicaragua (1981), République Dominicaine (1985), Trinidad (1979)

A Propos de l'Auteur

Régis Malet

Professeur d'éducation comparée à l'université de Bordeaux, Régis Malet a dirigé le Laboratoire Cultures, Education, Sociétés (LACES), avant d'être nommé membre senior de l'Institut universitaire de France. Auparavant, il avait dirigé la faculté des Sciences de l'éducation de l'université de Lille et la recherche et le développement international de l'Espé d'Aquitaine. Président de l'Association

francophone d'éducation comparée (AFEC) et rédacteur en chef de la revue *Éducation comparée* depuis 2006, il a créé et co-dirige le master bilingue et hybride "Formation de formateurs à l'International" de l'Université de Bordeaux. Ses travaux ont trait aux politiques éducatives et de formation et aux enjeux de cohésion sociale, de gestion des identités et de la diversité dans une perspective comparatiste internationale. Il a dirigé de nombreux projets et rapports de recherche internationaux, suscités et soutenus par diverses institutions auprès desquelles il a produit des expertises : Commission européenne, Parlement européen, Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche. Professeur invité dans de nombreuses universités en Europe, Asie et Amériques, il a été membre des comités d'une quinzaine de revues de recherche internationales. Il est membre du Collège des évaluateurs des chaires de recherche du Canada, expert pour l'évaluation de programmes de recherche en éducation européens, canadiens, sud-américains, et auprès du Haut-Conseil français de l'évaluation de la recherche et de l'enseignement supérieur (HCERES). Il a été par deux fois nommé par le Ministère en tant que membre du Conseil National des Universités. Page professionnelle : https://laces.u-bordeaux.fr/membres/malet-regis/

Comparing Use of E-mail Communication and Face-to-Face Interactions as Medium for Adult Learners in Ghana

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This research aimed at comparing students' use of e-mail and face-to-face communications with faculty in a Ghanaian university. The research was conducted as a concurrent mixed method using both quantitative survey and qualitative case study designs. After selecting one university purposively for the research, 96 first-year students in the Diploma in Adult Education program of the university were randomly selected to respond to a questionnaire in order to generate data for the survey. Ten out of the students, who volunteered to be interviewed in-depth, provided sources of data for the case study. Whereas the quantitative data was analyzed using both descriptive and inferential statistics, the qualitative data was analyzed inductively using content analysis and thematic approaches. The research found that students interacted with faculty more frequently through e-mail than they did through face-to-face communication. Also students interacting with faculty through e-mails asked more questions (126 questions) than their counterparts in the face-to-face group (62 questions). However, it was also found that, in the use of the face-to-face communication, student-participants felt more connected with faculty than they did in the use of e-mails. As part of efforts to respond to the growing demand for tertiary education in Ghana, it is imperative to promote the widespread use of e-mail and emerging technologies to enable effective and cost effective communication between students and faculty and between students themselves. Integration of technologies in education today not only meets the learning styles of diverse students, but also helps widen access to education for qualified adult learners who may be combining job and family responsibilities with schooling. In recent months, with the outbreak of the Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19) Pandemic, and the closure of schools and social distancing, the need for continuing education using technology for online teaching and learning has even become a necessity.

Keywords: Technology, Communication, Face-to-Face Interactions, Connection, Learning experiences, Learning satisfaction

يهدف هذا البحث إلى مقارنة استخدام الطلاب للبريد الإلكتروني والاتصالات وجهًا لوجه مع أعضاء هيئة التدريس في إحدى الجامعات الغانية. تم إجراء البحث بطريقة مختلطة متزامنة باستخدام المسح الكمي وتصميم دراسة الحالة النوعية. بعد اختيار إحدى الجامعات عن قصد للبحث، تم اختيار ستة وتسعين (96) طالبًا في السنة الأولى في دبلوم تعليم الكبار بالجامعة بشكل عشوائي للرد على استبيان من أجل توليد بيانات للمسح. قدم عشرة (10) من الطلاب، الذين تطوعوا لإجراء مقابلات متعمقة مصادر البيانات لدراسة الحالة. بينما تم تحليل البيانات الكمية باستخدام كل من الإحصاء الوصفي والاستنتاجي، تم تحليل البيانات النوعية بشكل استقرائي باستخدام تحليل المحتوى والأساليب الموضوعية. وجد البحث أن الطلاب تفاعلوا مع أعضاء هيئة التدريس بشكل متكرر عبر البريد الإلكتروني أكثر من تفاعلهم من خلال التواصل وجهًا لوجه. كما طرح الطلاب الذين يتفاعلون مع أعضاء هيئة التدريس من خلال رسائل البريد الإلكتروني المزيد من الأسئلة (126 سؤالًا) أكثر من نظرائهم في المجموعة وجهًا لوجه (62 سؤالًا). ومع ذلك، فقد وجد أيضًا أنه عند استخدام التواصل وجهًا لوجه، شعر الطلاب المشاركون أنهم أكثر ارتباطًا بأعضاء هيئة التدريس مقارنة باستخدام رسائل البريد الإلكتروني. كجزء من الجهود المبذولة للاستجابة للطلب المتزايد على التعليم العالي في غانا، من الضروري تعزيز الاستخدام الواسع للبريد الإلكتروني والتقنيات الناشئة لتمكين التواصل الفعال والفعال من حيث التكلفة بين الطلاب وأعضاء هيئة التدريس وبين الطلاب أنفسهم. إن تكامل التقنيات في التعليم اليوم لا يلبي فقط أنماط التعلم للطلاب المتنوعين، ولكنه يساعد أيضًا على توسيع الوصول إلى التعليم للمتعلمين البالغين المؤهلين الذين قد يجمعون بين مسؤوليات العمل والأسرة مع التعليم. في الأشهر الأخيرة، مع تفشي وباء فيروس كورونا (COVID-19) ، وإغلاق المدارس والتباعد الاجتماعي ، أصبحت الحاجة إلى التعليم المستمر باستخدام التكنولوجيا للتعليم والتعلم عبر الإنترنت ضرورة.

这项研究旨在比较加纳大学的学生与教师对电子邮件和面对面交流的使用。该研究使用了并行混合方法，包括定量调查和定性案例的研究设计。通过目的性抽样我们选择了一所大学，然后在这所大学随机选择了96名成人教育文课程的一年级学生来回答问卷生成调查数据。其中有10名学生自愿接受了深入访谈，提供了案例研究的数据来源。定量数据使用了描述性统计和推论统计进行分析，而定性数据则通过内容分析和主题方法进行了归纳分析. 研究发现，与通过面对面交流相比，学生通过电子邮件与教师互动的频率更高。与通过电子邮件进行互动的学生所提出的问题（126个问题）比面对面小组的学生（62个问题）要多。但是，我们还发现，使用面对面交流时，与使用电子邮件相比，学生参与者与教师之间的联系更加紧。为了应对加纳对高等教育的不断增长的需求，这迫切需要促进电子邮件和新兴技术的广泛使用，以实现师生之间以及学生与学生之间的有效且具有成本效益的通信。如今，将技术整合到教育中不仅可以满足多样化学生的学习方式，而且还可以帮助合格的成年学习者扩大其接受教育的机会，让他们可以将工作、家庭责任与学校教育同时进行。近几个月来，随着冠状病毒病（COVID-19）大流行的爆发，以及学校的关闭和社会隔离，使用在线教学技术进行继续教育已经成为必不可少的学习手段。

Cette recherche visait à comparer l’utilisation par les étudiants du courrier électronique et des entrevues en face à face avec le corps professoral d’une université ghanéenne. La recherche a été menée comme une méthode mixte concomitante utilisant à la fois une enquête quantitative et des études de cas qualitatives. Après avoir choisi délibérément une université pour la recherche, quatre-vingt-seize (96) étudiants de première année du programme de diplôme en éducation des adultes de l'université ont été sélectionnés au hasard pour répondre à un questionnaire afin de générer des données pour l'enquête. Dix (10) des étudiants, qui se sont portés volontaires pour être interviewés, ont fourni des sources de données pour l'étude de cas. Alors que les données quantitatives ont été analysées à l'aide de statistiques descriptives et inférentielles, les données qualitatives ont été analysées de manière inductive en utilisant une analyse de contenu et des approches thématiques. La recherche a révélé que les étudiants interagissaient avec le corps professoral plus fréquemment par courrier électronique que par entrevues en face à face. Les étudiants interagissant avec le corps professoral par e-mail ont également posé plus de questions (126 questions) que leurs homologues du groupe en face à face (62 questions). Cependant, il a également été constaté que, lors de l'utilisation de la communication en face à face, les étudiants-participants se sentaient plus connectés avec le corps professoral que dans l'utilisation des courriels. Dans le cadre des efforts visant à répondre à la demande croissante d'enseignement supérieur au Ghana, il est impératif de promouvoir l'utilisation généralisée du courrier électronique et des technologies émergentes pour permettre une communication efficace et rentable entre les étudiants et les professeurs et entre les

étudiants eux-mêmes. L'intégration des technologies dans l'éducation répond aujourd'hui non seulement aux styles d'apprentissage de divers élèves, mais contribue également à élargir l'accès à l'éducation pour les apprenants adultes qualifiés qui peuvent combiner les responsabilités professionnelles et familiales avec la scolarité. Ces derniers mois, avec l'épidémie de pandémie de maladie à coronavirus (COVID-19), la fermeture des écoles et la distanciation sociale, le besoin de formation continue utilisant la technologie pour l'enseignement et l'apprentissage en ligne est même devenu une nécessité.

Это исследование было направлено на сравнение использования студентами электронной почты и личного общения с преподавателями ганского университета. Исследование проводилось с помощью смешанного метода с одновременным использованием как количественного опроса, так и качественного тематического исследования. После целенаправленного выбора одного университета для исследования, девяносто шесть (96) студентов первого курса программы «Диплом в образовании для взрослых» данного университета были случайным образом выбраны для ответа на вопросник с целью получения данных для исследования. Десять (10) из числа студентов, которые добровольно согласились пройти углубленное собеседование, предоставили источники данных для тематического исследования. В то время как количественные данные анализировались с использованием как описательной, так и логической статистики, качественные данные анализировались индуктивно с использованием контент-анализа и тематических подходов. Исследование показало, что студенты чаще общались с преподавателями через электронную почту, чем через личное общение. Кроме того, студенты, взаимодействующие с преподавателями по электронной почте, общаясь с преподавателями по электронной почте, задавали больше вопросов (126 вопросов), чем их коллеги в очной группе (62 вопроса). Однако было также обнаружено, что при использовании личного общения студенты-участники чувствовали себя более связанными с преподавателями, чем при использовании электронной почты. В рамках усилий по удовлетворению растущего спроса на высшее образование в Гане крайне важно содействовать широкому использованию электронной почты и новейших технологий для обеспечения эффективного и экономичного общения между студентами и преподавателями, а также между самими студентами. Интеграция технологий в образовании сегодня не только соответствует стилям обучения различных студентов, но также помогает расширить доступ к образованию для квалифицированных взрослых учащихся, которые могут совмещать работу и семейные обязанности со школьным обучением. В последние месяцы, в связи со вспышкой пандемии коронавирусной болезни (COVID-19), закрытием школ и социальным дистанцированием, потребность в непрерывном образовании с использованием технологий онлайн-обучения и обучения даже стала необходимостью.

Esta investigación tuvo como objetivo comparar el uso que hacen los estudiantes del correo electrónico y las comunicaciones cara a cara con la Facultad en una universidad de Ghana. La investigación se llevó a cabo como un método mixto concurrente utilizando diseños de estudios de caso cualitativos y de encuestas cuantitativas. Después de seleccionar una universidad a propósito para la investigación, noventa y seis (96) estudiantes de primer año en el programa de Diplomado en Educación de Adultos de la universidad fueron seleccionados al azar para responder a un cuestionario con el fin de generar datos para la encuesta. Diez (10) de los estudiantes que se ofrecieron como voluntarios para ser entrevistados en profundidad, proporcionaron fuentes de datos para el estudio de caso. Mientras que los datos cuantitativos se analizaron utilizando estadísticas tanto descriptivas como inferenciales, los datos cualitativos se analizaron de forma inductiva utilizando análisis de contenido y enfoques temáticos. La investigación encontró que los estudiantes interactuaban con los profesores con más frecuencia a través del correo electrónico que a través de la comunicación cara a cara. Además, los estudiantes que interactúan con la facultad a través de correos electrónicos hicieron más preguntas (126 preguntas) que sus contrapartes en el grupo presencial (62 preguntas). Sin embargo, también se encontró que, en el uso de la comunicación cara a cara, los estudiantes-participantes se sintieron más conectados con la facultad que con el uso de correos electrónicos.

Como parte de los esfuerzos para responder a la creciente demanda de educación terciaria en Ghana, es imperativo promover el uso generalizado del correo electrónico y las tecnologías emergentes para permitir una comunicación efectiva y rentable entre estudiantes y profesores y entre los propios estudiantes. La integración de tecnologías en la educación actual no solo satisface los estilos de aprendizaje de diversos estudiantes, pero también ayuda a ampliar el acceso a la educación de estudiantes adultos calificados que pueden estar combinando las responsabilidades laborales y familiares con la educación. En los últimos meses, con el brote de la pandemia de Coronavirus (COVID-19), con el cierre de escuelas y el distanciamiento social, la necesidad de educación continua utilizando tecnología para la enseñanza y el aprendizaje en línea se ha convertido incluso en una necesidad.

Introduction

Background

This study was conducted to compare the use of e-mail and face-to-face interactions among university students (adult learners) in Ghana and their faculty (instructors). Researchers including Daft and Langel (1984) have argued that media communications have varying capacities for resolving ambiguity, negotiating varying interpretations, and facilitating understanding. Daft and Langel (1984) described different communication media as possessing specific characteristics that determine its ability to carry information, ranging from low (or lean) richness to high (or full) richness**.** Rich media (information) is noted for its ability to contain and convey multiple and often simultaneous cues, providing visual and facial responses, that allow for rapid feedback, enabling direct and targeted focus, and supporting high clarity of language. Examples of rich media include face-to-face communications and videoconferencing. Lean media (information), is often asynchronous in nature, and contains only a very minimal amount of visual responses (if any), has a slower interaction rate, and is often subject to multiple or ambiguous interpretations by the recipients, examples being, letters, reports, and e-mail communication.

Howe and Straus (2007) argued that undergraduate students would continue to orientate towards informational technologies that help them meet their educational needs and goals better. As a result, they predicted that the present and future college students would focus more on new educational technologies than on traditional educational methods. Acitelli, Black and Axelson (2003), noted that, in traditional education methods, a faculty makes himself/herself available to students' outside of the classroom during weekly office hours. However, Bippus, Kearney, Plax, and Brooks (2008) observed that, despite the faculty's availability during the office hours, students rarely seek help during these times. And since students do not seek help during face-to-face encounters, faculty may want to explore other communication methods to facilitate the communication process (Edwards and Helvie-Mason, 2010; Kuh and Hu, 2001; Nadler and Nadler, 2000). According to Edwards and Helvie-Mason (2010), innovative web-based technologies, such as e-mailing and the instant messengers used during virtual office hours (VOHs) are predicted to have a substantial ability to enhance the way in which faculty and students communicate with each other outside the classroom. However, instructional communication has not been applied to examine the use and impact of such technologies used for VOHs.

Moreover, the literature on digital, out-of-class communications between students and faculty is sparse and mixed. For example, Lei, Pitts and Rung (2011) suggested that students prefer virtual asynchronous communications in an American context, but it is unclear if this holds true for other cultural contexts where people are more accustomed to face-to-face communication. Meanwhile, while studies have captured student preferences, very little for example in Ghana, has been done to determine the impact of digitally mediated communication on academic performance.

Ross, Morrison and Lowther (2010) described educational technology use as a broad variety of modalities, tools and strategies for learning whose effectiveness depends on how well they assist teachers and students achieve the desired instructional goals. Coates (2006) observed that students' engagement is an umbrella concept that looks at the level and quality of student involvement in their learning. Similarly, Biggs and Tang (2007) argued that institutions are responsible for ensuring that circumstances surrounding teaching and learning as well as what goes on inside the course do indeed make engagement possible and provide opportunities for learning.

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Research has revealed that, disagreements are more likely to ensue between two parties when they communicate electronically such as through e-mail as compared to when they discuss issues either face-to-face or even telephone conversations (Daft and Lengel, 1984). Many reasons have been ascribed to why this occurs, but by concepts explained in the media richness theory (MRT), e-mail communication does not provide the facial, vocal, and body-language cues and feedback that are present in more rich forms of communication such as face-to-face or voice conversations. It is the important communication traits in rich media that help participants to moderate difficult or complex discussions.

The traditional MRT believes that e-mail is a lean media because it is text-based, asynchronous in nature, and incapable of transmitting non-textual cues, such as facial expressions, body language, and tone. However, studies have challenged this notion under communication theory and have found support for e-mail as a rich communication media. Research in communication theory has found that e-mail can actually create a rich interaction between senders and recipient, and that, richness is not an invariant property of a communication medium, but an emergent property of the interaction between the communication medium and its organizational context (Lee, 1994, p. 144). The prevailing view within current communication theory is that e-mail has aspects of both a rich and a lean media as it is capable of accommodating different types of structural and stylistic design elements.

Our study was to investigate the differences in student-faculty interaction formats – one mediated through e-mail technology and the other through the use of face-to-face interaction.

The following questions guided the research:

a) How do Ghanaian adult learners' use of e-mail and face-to-face communications with faculty manifest in learning outcomes?
b) What is the difference in learning satisfaction of Ghanaian adult learners who communicate with the instructor after class hours through e-mail and those who communicate through face-to-face?

c) What are the disadvantages of Ghanaian adult learners' choice to communicate with faculty through e-mail or face-to-face means?

Theoretical Framework

Media Richness Theory

Daft and Lengel's (1984) MRT explains that all communication media vary in their ability to enable users to communicate and to change understanding. MRT places all communication media on a continuous scale based on their ability to adequately communicate a complex message (Carlson and Zmud, 1999). Media that can efficiently overcome different frames of reference and clarify ambiguous issues are considered to be richer whereas communications media that require more time to convey understanding are deemed less rich (Dennis and Valacich, 1999).

A primary driver in selecting a communication medium for a particular message is to reduce the equivocality, or possible misinterpretations, of a message. If a message is equivocal, it is unclear and thus more difficult for the receiver to decode. The more equivocal a message, the more cues and data needed to interpret it correctly. For example, a simple message intended to arrange a meeting time and place could be communicated in a short e-mail, but a more detailed message about a person's work performance and expectations would be better communicated through face-to-face discussion.

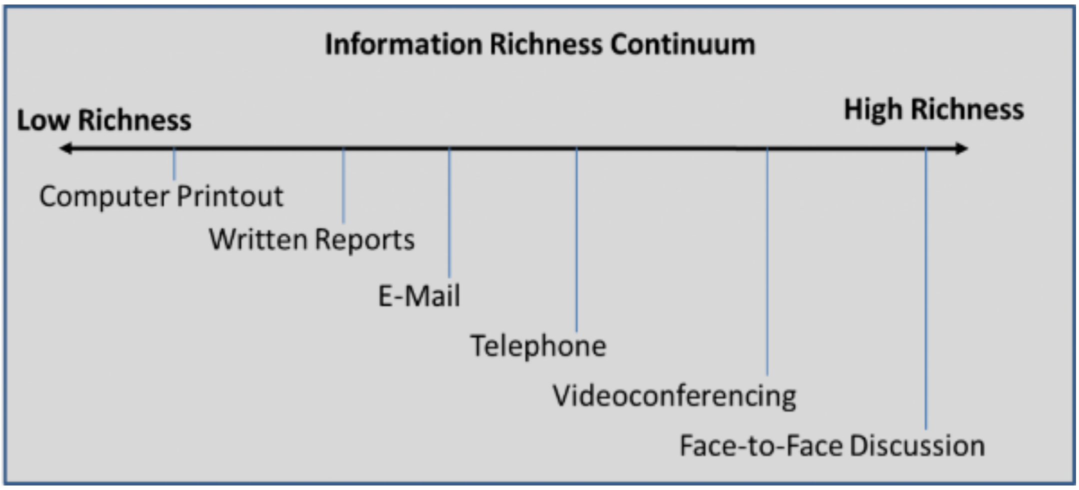
Assumptions and Criteria for MRT

MRT, first proposed by Daft and Lengel (1984), was made up of two major assumptions that, (1) people want to overcome equivocality and uncertainty in organizations and (2) a variety of media commonly used in organizations work better for certain tasks than others. Daft and Lengel (1984) presented a media richness hierarchy, arranged from high to low degrees of richness, to illustrate the capacity of media types to process ambiguous communication in organizations using the following four criteria:

(a) The availability of instant feedback;
(b) The capacity of the medium to transmit multiple cues such as body language, voice tone, and inflection;
(c) The use of natural language; and
(d) The personal focus of the medium.

As illustrated in Figure 1, face-to-face discussion is the richest communication medium in the hierarchy followed by telephone, electronic mail, letter, note, memo, special report, and finally, flier and bulletin. From a strategic management perspective, MRT suggests that effective managers make rational choices matching a particular communication medium to a specific task or objective and to the degree of richness required by that task (Trevino, Lengel, Bodensteiner, Gerloff, and Muir, 1990).

Figure 1. Different Ways of Communicating and Their Richness



Source: Daft and Lengel (1984)

MRT defines different communication media as possessing specific characteristics that determine its ability to carry information, ranging from low (or lean) richness *to* high (or full) richness**.** Rich media (information) is noted for its ability to contain and convey multiple and often simultaneous cues, provides visual and facial responses, allows for rapid feedback, enables direct and targeted focus, and supports a high clarity of language. Examples of rich media include face-to-face communications and videoconferencing. Lean media (information), by contrast, is often asynchronous in nature, contains only a very minimal amount of visual responses (if at all), has a slower interaction rate, and is often subject to multiple or ambiguous interpretations by the recipients. Examples of lean media include letters, reports, and e-mail communication. Dyadic communication must produce task performance (in terms of decision quality and decision time) and satisfaction performance (in terms of process satisfaction and outcome satisfaction).

In our study, we employed the use of after class e-mail and face-to-face communication between students and their instructor and assessed whether there were differences in task performance (final student grades) and task satisfaction (process – satisfaction with using the prescribed mode of communication; e-mail or face-to-face and outcome – satisfaction with the outcome of the interaction with the instructor in terms of how students performed in the course).

Literature Review

The Nature of Interactions Using E-mail as the Medium

Nie and Erbring (2000) revealed that e-mail is by far the most popular use for the internet. Crystal (2001) identified e-mail as a form of a larger category Internet discourse often referred to as “Netspeak” or computer mediated discourse that is asynchronic, in that it is not composed in the same time frame as it is received. Gaer (1999) showed that, e-mail can provide students an alternative to face-to-face communication by reducing the pressure on students to produce a constant flow of language in a face-to-face context and by eliminating the problem of heavy accents that can hinder communication. Hinkle (2002) noted that, increasingly e-mail has become the preferred means of communication between students and faculty as it allows students greater access to faculty. D’Souza (1992) reported that, students perceived positive effects from their e-mails with instructors. Roach (1999), noted that instructors seem to agree with students on e-mails because e-mail is often considered an effective teaching tool.

Gilbert (1995) showed that, the use of e-mail as the medium of interaction with the instructor, may also allow the less active classroom students to become more engaged and enhance the student-instructor relationship. There is, however, research that reports of negative view of e-mail use between instructors and students. Malveaux, (2000) reports concerns about the absence of the 'human touch' and widening the gap between students who have access to the internet and those who have no access. Similarly, Bimling (2000) argued that, e-mail does not allow students to fully develop their interpersonal skills with classroom instructors especially in the case of quality of messages students send to instructors. When the quality of e-mail communications from students fall below the instructors' expectations and approved norms held, the outcomes may be negative. Duran, Kelly and Keaton (2005), observed that, some instructors believed that, through e-mails students engaged in inappropriate behavior, such as communicating too casually, too carelessly and in a cocky manner that deviates from the usual benefits of using e-mail communication

The Nature of Interactions Using Face-to-Face Communication

According to Zhanabekova (2014), face-to-face communication provides richness that one cannot obtain from telephone or e-mail discussion. Teaching someone a new task is best done in person, as are coaching, delegating tasks, sharing information and answering questions. Zhanabekova (2014) further observed that, one of prime advantages of face-to-face communication is the personal touch which is good for building relationship especially when meeting the contact for the first time. Astin (1999) found that, student engagement in activities outside the classroom and interactions with other students and faculty tends to have a substantial impact in terms of student retention, academic performance and overall satisfaction. Other researchers studying the effects of student-faculty interactions outside the classroom have found that, informal contact between instructors and their students was positively associated with personal, social, and intellectual outcomes as well as students' overall satisfaction with their college experience (Halawah, 2006). Similarly, Kuh and Hu (2001) investigated the frequency and nature of out-of-class interactions between students and faculty over a time period and discovered a positive correlation between the interactions and positive student outcomes.

Despite the benefits of contact between student and faculty outside of the classroom, studies have shown that, the actual communication between faculty and their students is infrequent and largely limited to formal and structured situations related to classroom lectures (Nadler and Nadler, 2000). According to Acitelli, Black and Axelson (2003), office hours after class has traditionally been a part of the instructor's teaching responsibilities and is intended to provide students a time for informal interaction and communication beyond the classroom. Notwithstanding the probable enormous advantages of setting aside office hours to facilitate student-instructor relationship building and effective learning for students, studies such as those by Nadler and Nadler (2000) as well as Kuh and Hu (2001) have shown that, in practice students rarely take advantage of the opportunity, and when they do, the duration of the visits are very brief and short in nature. This probably could be a compelling reason to suggest e-mail as an alternative to face-to-face after class communication by reducing the pressure on students and instructors.

Methodology

Approach and Design

This study was conducted as an explanatory mixed-method relying specifically on a quantitative survey and a qualitative phenomenology. Being an explanatory mixed-method design, the survey was conducted first followed by the phenomenology which shed light on the former. The design was chosen because of the nature of the research questions which sought both close-ended and open-ended responses (Creswell, 2009). The intention to offset the inherent weaknesses associated with using only one of the approaches (i.e., either quantitative or qualitative) also informed the choice of the design (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011).

Participants' selection

The study was conducted in two stages. The first stage was the selection of the University of Ghana based on the modal purposive sampling technique. The University was chosen because it is the largest higher educational institution in Ghana in terms of employees and student population. Since we were interested in exploring how Ghanaian adult learners communicate with faculty, we selected first year students enrolled in *Introduction to Research Methods* as a required course in the Diploma in Adult Education program in 2015 at the University of Ghana, Legon. Accidental sampling technique was then used to select ninety-six (96) students out of a total of 120 students enrolled in the class to participate in the study. The second stage which was conducted as a realistic phenomenology enabled us to further engage 10 volunteers out of the 96 students in in-depth interviews.

Ethics

In line with ethical standards, the participants were kept abreast of the nature of the research and their express consent was sought and achieved prior to the commencement of the study. Participation in the study was therefore voluntary and the participants could fall out at any stage of the study. The participants were also assured of anonymity. In place of institutional ethical clearance, we applied and obtained written permissions from the Office of Research, Innovation and Development (ORID) of the University of Ghana.

Instrumentation and data collection

In the first stage of the research, data were collected via a researcher-constructed questionnaire eliciting the students' views on the use of both face-to-face and e-mail communications with faculty. Framing of all the items in the latter section was done in accordance with scholarly opinion expressed in the extant literature reviewed. Responses to items in the latter section were measured according to a five-point Likert Scale (Strongly Agree-5; Agree-4; Unsure-3; Disagree-2; Strongly Disagree-1). Because the instrument was self-developed, both face validity and reliability tests were conducted. Results indicated constructs in the instrument precisely met our objectives, and they were reliable because the Cronbach's alpha obtained was 0.78.

For the second stage of the research, data was obtained through individual face-to-face in-depth interviews. As per the key essence of realistic phenomenological research, the in-depth interviews enabled us to solicit the lived experiences of the students concerning the use of face-to-face and e-mail communications with faculty. Numbering 10, each interviewee's turn took 30 minutes to complete. Because the questions were open-ended, we obtained very detailed and crucial information which complemented the data we obtained at the first stage. We also observed and took videos of the phenomena of students' use of e-mails as well as face-to-face interactions with faculty.

Analyses

The quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed separately. In analyzing the quantitative data, both descriptive and inferential statistics were used. Whereas frequencies, percentages, means and standard deviations were utilized to describe the data, the Chi-Square test of dependency was rather used to determine whether the students are more satisfied with a particular means of interaction. The SPSS version 20 was used to analyze the data. The qualitative data were analyzed inductively to exhaustively examine patterns based on constant comparisons, content and thematic analyses. This was done to unpack the hidden meaning behind the data (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). The data analysis was conducted with the aid of NVivo.

Findings

Frequency of Interactions is Higher through E-mail than Face-to-Face

For the e-mail group, there were 126 specific questions students asked faculty focusing on seven issues or problems with the Introduction to Research Methods class. These issues comprised of research report, sampling, descriptive statistics, research approaches, methods of collecting research data, testing of hypothesis, and research variables. Forty-one percent of all questions asked focused on 'the components of research report'. Questions asked included 'what are the types of research reports?' 'What are the main components of the research report?' Twenty-two percent of questions focused on 'sampling'. Students asked questions like 'what are the techniques used in sampling during a research?' Fourteen percent of questions focused on 'testing of hypothesis.' Student asked questions like 'what is hypothesis and hypothesis testing?' 'What are the various ways to test hypothesis in research?' Questions asked pertaining to descriptive statistics made up 7% of all questions asked and included questions like 'what is a descriptive statistics' Similarly, 6% of all questions asked focused on variables including questions like 'what is research variable, what is dependent and independent variable, kindly explain the types of variables.'

For the face-to-face group, 62 specific questions were asked of faculty focusing on seven issues or problems related to the Introduction of Research Methods class. These problem areas were components of the research report, data collection methods, variables, literature review, how to calculate measures of dispersion and sampling techniques. Of all the questions asked, 31% focused on components of the research report. Students asked questions like 'what are the steps in the research reporting process? 'How does one write a research report?' 'Can you throw some light on an abstract?' 'What is the difference between appendix and references?" Methods of data collection as a problem in research received 19% of all questions asked. Students asked questions like 'what is the difference between primary and secondary data collection?' 'What are longitudinal and cross-sectional surveys?" and 'what is qualitative and quantitative research?'

Questions pertaining to measures of dispersion made up 16% of all questions asked. Questions asked included 'how does one calculate measures of dispersion and interpret standard deviation' Similarly, 15% asked questions focusing on variables with questions such as 'what is dependent and independent variables' 'what is research variable?' and 'what is a measured variable'? Eleven percent of questions focused on testing of hypothesis. Questions asked included 'what is hypothesis' and 'what is alternate hypothesis'?

The two groups asked different questions but cut across three areas that were similar namely:

(1) *Components of the research report*-- generating 41% of questions from the e-mail group and 31% of questions from the face-to-face group.
(2) *Testing of hypothesis*--- generating 14% of questions from the e-mail group and 11% of questions from the face-to-face group.
(3) *Research variables* – generating 6% of questions from the e-mail group and 15% from the face-to-face group.

It is interesting to observe that while the face-to-face group asked only 62 questions the e-mail group asked 126 questions. This observation corroborates findings by Gaer (1999), who showed that, e-mail can provide students an alternative to face-to-face communication by reducing the pressure on students to produce a constant flow of language in a face-to-face context and by eliminating the problem of heavy accents that can hinder communication. Hinkle (2002) also noted that, increasingly e-mail has become the preferred means of communication between students and faculty as it allows students greater access to faculty. Similarly, Gilbert (1995) showed that, the use of e-mail as the medium of interaction with the instructor, may also allow the less-active classroom students to become more engaged and enhance the student-instructor relationship.

There is an indication that the variation of interactions between the e-mail group and the face-to-face group has unequal variances. We tested statistically to determine whether the frequency of interaction through the e-mail is significantly higher than that of face-to-face interaction. The frequency of interactions was found to be significantly higher for students interacting through e-mails than those interacting through the face-to-face means.

Table 1 presents the test of differences in means of e-mail and face-to-face communication. This provides a statistical test that investigates the assertion of difference between the two groups. Shown by the t-test value (0.866) and p-value (0.390) it is inferred that there is no statistical evidence to reject the claim that the number of interaction through e-mail is greater than the number of interaction through face-to-face.

Table 1: Test for Differences in Means

	T	**df**	**Sig.**
E-mail * face to face	**0.866**	**71**	**0.390**

Mode of Interaction

Satisfaction or utility derived from the interaction is dependent on the mode of communication. To determine whether satisfaction derived from the interaction is dependent on the mode of communication, respondents were asked to rate satisfaction by indicating whether they were glad or satisfied with the mode of communication. The chi-square test of independence was used to test this.

Table 2, shows how satisfaction is dependent on the mode of communication. It is shown that majority of the students in the study were satisfied with their mode of communication. The Chi square value of 3.921 with a p-value of 0.048 indicates that satisfaction of students is dependent on the mode of interaction that students had with faculty. Thus, the satisfaction students' derived from the interaction was dependent on the mode of communication with faculty. And this relationship was found to be statistically significant. Students who were found in the face-to- face interactions expressed satisfaction that was significantly higher than that expressed by students interacting through e-mails.

Table 2: Chi-Square Test of Satisfaction with Mode of Communication

	Satisfaction		
Means of Interaction	**Yes**	**No**	**Total**
Face to Face	37(92.5%)	3(7.5%)	40
E-mail	29(76.3%)	9(23.7%)	38
Total	**66**	**12**	**78**

Pearson Chi-Square = 3.921 P-value = 0.048

Mode of Interaction and Students' Performance

We investigated whether the mode of interaction and performance of students are independent; meaning that, the distribution of student's performance in terms of grades depends on the mode of interaction. Table 3 below shows how categorized students' performance is dependent on the mode of interaction. In all, it is envisaged that majority of the students in the study had performed above average and most of these students have interacted through the face to face. The Chi-square value of 0.243 with a p-value of 0.622 indicate that mode of interaction and students' performance are independent, thus they are not related to each other. Thus, the performance of the students is not dependent on the mode of interaction with faculty whether they communicated through e-mail or through face-to-face.

This finding is positive in that it is showing that student-faculty communication through e-mail is as good as communication through face-to-face interactions. This suggests that e-mail interactions between students and faculty may be used in place of physical face-to-face contacts without any negative effects on student performance in terms of grades.

Table 3: Chi-Square Test for Difference in Student Performance by Mode of Interaction

Student Performance	Mode of Interaction		
Remarks	**E-mail**	**Face to Face**	**Total**
Below Average	6	5	11
Above Average	26	30	56
Total	**32**	**35**	**67**

Pearson Chi-Square = 0.243 P-value = 0.622

During the second stage of the current study, in-depth interviews were further conducted with 10 volunteers out of the 96 students. Table 4 below summarizes the major themes and sub-themes from in-depth interviews.

Table 4. Major Themes and Sub-Themes from In-depth Interviews

Question	Major Theme	Sub-themes
Research Question 1 How do Ghanaian students' e-mail and face-to-face communications with faculty manifest in learning outcomes?	Flexibility	1. More convenience with e-mail 2. Easy to use 3. Do not have to physically meet instructor 4. E-mail communication recorded for future reference
Research Question 2 What difference in learning satisfaction is gained by students to communicate with the instructor after class hours through e-mail or face-to-face interaction	Feedback provision time	Reach across: 1. Space, time effect 2. Feedback is instant 3. Offline learning
Research Question 3 What are the disadvantages of students' choice to communicate with faculty through e-mail or face-to-face interaction?	Connections	1. Better connections through face-to-face 2. opportunity to ask questions and get instant feedback with face-to-face 3. Connections more realistic with students and instructor through face-to-face than e-mail

Flexibility and Convenience

A number of obvious advantages have been associated with e-mail communication for learning purposes. In this study, respondents' perceptions affirmed their experience of interactions with the instructor. On flexibility of e-mail after class communication, one student had this to say:

"*I prefer communicating through e-mail than through after class face-to-face office hours .It is flexible, I can work or study at my own convenience, at my own pace wherever; it doesn't matter the location. The face-to-face interactions restrict you to a particular place, which must incur some cost for travelling to the approved locations.* "

Another respondent had this to say:

"*I will like to do everything by e-mail. If I am working online and face some difficulties or challenges, I can pause and leave a message or note to the instructor or colleague about my challenges and I get feedback pretty soon.*"

The instructor's physical or online presence was a determining factor for a meaningful learning to happen. This is affirmed with this contribution from a respondent:

"*E-mail made studying online convenient, because you can communicate with the instructor everywhere. I am at the rural area but am able to learn through e-mail communication with the instructor. If there is any assignment, I am able to do it and have a feedback. If I have a question, I can ask through this medium.*"

Building Connections

The study found that, the instructor's online presence to interact with respondents' helped to build connections with students. Students by interacting with their peers build connections with them as well and became a community engaged in learning together. The respondents, it appeared came to depend on these connections and trusted the instructor and their peers to remain professionally engaged with them during the duration of the course and beyond. This finding is deduced from the contribution from a respondent:

"*I opt for office hours through e-mail, because you can trust the instructor to get back to you, even if he misses the appointment time. With the face-to-face office hours, something might happen and he cannot be available to meet you and you lose him for another good week or more time. But with the e-mail, you can send him a mail or message through the medium and instantly he can reply with helpful information. To me, the online is faster than the face-to-face. It is very convenient. I have come to rely on it and trusted that the instructor will be there for me no matter what.*"

Discussion

This discussion is directed on the basis of three findings from the research, which have been outlined from the results section as follows:

1. Frequency of interactions is higher through e-mail than face-to-face;
2. Students feel a more direct connection with the faculty member via face-to-face meetings than e-mail; and
3. Interaction through e-mail or face-to-face did not affect students' performance in terms of grade.

Frequency of interaction is higher through e-mail that face-face

The finding has indicated that, the frequency of interaction between students and the instructor was higher through e-mail than it was for face-to-face interaction. The limited frequency of interaction with face-to-face interaction is significant. It implies that, students are more likely to take full advantage of the opportunities that faculty can offer through e-mail rather than out-of-class face-to-face contact.

This finding is in line with findings from other studies. For example, respondents in Kuh and Hu (2001) study mentioned that, their face-to-face interactions with faculty were occasional. Similarly, Nadler and Nadler (2000) reported relatively infrequent out-of-class face-to-face interactions between students and the faculty. On the reason for the limited frequency for out-of-class face-to-face interactions, Cotton and Wilson (2006) observed that students might not have felt sufficiently comfortable with faculty to actually approach them for a face-to-face interaction. They noted that students' discomfort stemmed from their uncertainty about whether faculty members were interested in interacting with them.

Our findings also show that, the majority of out-of-class interactions made whether through e-mail or face-to-face focused on academic matters. This is also in line with previous studies on the subject matter. Fusani (1994), and Nadler and Nadler (2000), both observed that, majority of out-of-class interactions between students and the faculty did focus on academic work and only very few interactions were related to personal problems or were social in nature.

Students feel a more direct connection with the faculty via face-to-face meetings than e-mail

Our finding that, students' who engaged in out-of-class face-to-face interactions with the faculty experienced a more direct connection with them and found such interactions more satisfying than those who interacted through e-mail, was consistent with what other researchers have reported. Pingree and Zakrajsek (2017) observed that, for many students, especially those participating in large lecture courses, individualized interactions offer the deepest kind of learning experiences by enabling students to ask questions related to their own struggles and intellectual development.

It is essential to note that, students may be unwilling to seek out interaction with the faculty at first, especially through out-of-class face-to-face contact. There are many reasons why this is so, some of which have been discussed above. But once the ice is broken and the students get to experience face-to-face interaction with the faculty, they feel more connected and they find the engagement more satisfying than was reported by the e-mail group.

Interacting through e-mail or face-to-face did not affect students grades differently

Our study showed that student-faculty communication through e-mail was as good as communication through face-to-face interactions and did not have any negative effects on student performance in terms of grades. The finding is also indicative of the need for a future study to delve deep into the kinds of out-of-class interactions that students engage in with the faculty. It is believed that, out-of-class interactions that are task specific or related to some identified course related problems beyond the ordinary academic concerns might likely bring out differences in performance. Although e-mail mode of communication is traditionally considered as a lean media, students' experiences from the study suggest a strong feedback from this form of communication. More so, the flexibility and its interactive nature provide the needed clarification they desire on giving issues. Apart from the flexibility, the e-mail form of communication enables a large spectrum of students to contact faculty without explicit appointment while faculty is not expected to be physically present at an agreed location before attending to student concerns.

Conclusion

This study has implication for the use of technology in out-of-class communication between students and their faculty; especially in sub-Saharan African Universities where the use of technology for teaching and learning (through e-mailing and the use of Learning Management Systems) are on the rise and beginning to catch up with both students and faculty alike. The implications of our study are that technologies could widely be used to improve communication between students and their faculty in institutions of higher education in Ghana and for that matter in sub-Saharan Africa. Our study has shown that e-mail communication between students and their faculty and the learning outcomes resulting from such interactions do not significantly differ from the learning outcomes resulting from interactions that have taken place through the use of face-to-face office hours. Faculty must encourage students to communicate with them through the use of e-mail and other emerging technologies for the flexibility and convenience that such media offers to both students and faculty. It is very convenient and removes with the faculty. The findings of the study raise fundamental questions associated with the MRT. That is, whereas the MRT classifies face-to-face interactions as rich media that is less equivocal, there exist and inherent limitation which can turn out to inhibit communication in a teacher-lecturer relationship. The fluidity of communications largely depends on how comfortable the parties involved are in the communication environment. Additionally, the rise in student populations due to increased access to education in Sub-Saharan Africa makes it practically impossible for faculty to meet face-to-face with students.

Access to technology including e-mail and other messenger platforms has great potential to enhance communication among students and faculty to create a friendly learning environment. Integration of technologies in education today not only meets the learning styles of diverse students, but also helps widen access to education for qualified adult learners who may be combining job and family responsibilities with schooling. In recent months, with the outbreak of the COVID-19 Pandemic, and the closure of schools and social distancing, the need for continuing education using technology for online teaching and learning, dynamic student-faculty and student-student interaction outside the four walls of the traditional classroom have even become more of a necessity than a choice. It is envisaged that the full deployment of emerging technologies in the 21^{st} Century learning environment would undoubtedly enhance the learning process, improve student motivation and engagement, increase accessibility to information, individualize instruction, and improve communication with instructors and peers alike.

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Pedagogies of Participation: A Methodological Framework for Comparative Studies

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The article presents a reflection on participation as a key element for citizenship education. The first section is dedicated to analyze citizen participation in the context of a world system where the idea of coloniality expresses the old and new forms of domination, both in terms of national and international institutional arrangements as well as on the subjective level. It follows a brief look at Global Citizenship Education, particularly as proposed by UNESCO as a relevant approach to connect local practices and traditions of participation to a universal horizon for living together. The main part of the paper is dedicated to outline a methodological framework for comparative pedagogies of participation. The framework is made up by tree dimensions (ethical-political, epistemological and methodological). Each one of these dimensions is again divided in smaller elements from where can be developed units of analysis. It follow a brief identification of the empirical contexts which will be the object of further analysis.

Keywords: Popular participation; Citizenship; Comparative studies; Latin America; Popular education

يقدم المقال انعكاسًا على المشاركة كعنصر أساسي في التربية المدنية. القسم الأول مخصص لتحليل مشاركة المواطنين في سياق نظام عالمي حيث تعبر فكرة الاستعمار عن الأشكال القديمة والجديدة للسيطرة، سواء من حيث الترتيبات المؤسسية الوطنية والدولية وكذلك على المستوى الذاتي. وهو يتبع نظرة موجزة على تعليم المواطنة العالمية، لا سيما على النحو الذي اقترحته اليونسكو كنهج مناسب لربط الممارسات المحلية وتقاليد المشاركة بأفق عالمي للعيش معًا. تم تخصيص الجزء الرئيسي من المقالة لتحديد إطار منهجي لأساليب التدريس المقارن للمشاركة. يتكون الإطار من أبعاد شجرية (أخلاقية - سياسية، معرفية ومنهجية). يتم تقسيم كل واحد من هذه الأبعاد مرة أخرى إلى عناصر أصغر متفرعة حيث يمكن تطوير وحدات التحليل. يتبع تحديدًا موجزًا للسياقات التجريبية التي ستكون موضوع مزيد من التحليل.

本文对公民教育的一个关键要素--“参与”进行了反思。文章第一部分专门分析了在世界体系中的公民参与问题。在这个体系中，殖民主义以新或旧的形式的统治着无论是国家和国际体制安排还是人们的主观层面。本文首先简要介绍了全球公民教育，特别是教科文组织提出的全球公民教育。再将其作为一种相关的方法，把本地实践、参与的传统，与对共同相处的普世理解联系起来。本文主要致力于概述一个适用于参与式比较教育学的方法框架，该框架由树状维度（伦理-政治、认识论和方法论）构成，这些维度中的每一个维度又被划分为较小的元素，从中可以发展出分析单位。介绍完该方法框架，本文将介绍一些被确定为进一步分析的对象的实证情境和背景。

L'article présente une réflexion sur la participation en tant qu'élément clé de l'éducation à la citoyenneté. La première section est consacrée à l'analyse de la participation citoyenne dans le contexte d'un système mondial où l'idée de colonialité exprime les anciennes et nouvelles formes de domination, tant au niveau des arrangements institutionnels nationaux et internationaux qu'au niveau subjectif. Il fait suite à un bref aperçu de l'éducation à la citoyenneté mondiale, en particulier telle que proposée par l'UNESCO comme approche pertinente pour relier les pratiques locales et les traditions de participation à un horizon universel pour vivre ensemble. La partie principale de l'article est consacrée à esquisser un cadre méthodologique pour les pédagogies comparatives de la participation. Le cadre est constitué de dimensions arborescentes (éthiques-politiques, épistémologiques et méthodologiques). Chacune de ces dimensions est à nouveau divisée en éléments plus petits à partir desquels peuvent être développées des unités d'analyse. Il suit une brève identification des contextes empiriques qui feront l'objet d'une analyse plus approfondie.

В статье представлены размышления об участии как ключевом элементе гражданского образования. Первый раздел посвящен анализу вопроса участия граждан в контексте мировой системы, где идея колониальности выражает старые и новые формы господства, как с точки зрения национальных и международных институциональных механизмов, так и на субъективном уровненом уровне. Далее следует краткий обзор глобального гражданского образования, в частности предложенного ЮНЕСКО в качестве соответствующего подхода к соединению местных практик и традиций участия с универсальным горизонтом совместной жизни. Основная часть статьи посвящена изложению методологических основ сравнительной педагогики участия. Каркас состоит из трех измерений (этико-политического, эпистемологического и методологического). Каждое из этих измерений снова делится на более мелкие элементы, из которых могут быть разработаны единицы анализа. Далее следует краткое определение эмпирических контекстов, которые станут объектом дальнейшего анализа.

El artículo presenta una reflexión sobre la participación como un elemento clave para la educación de la ciudadanía. La primera sección se dedica a analizar la participación ciudadana en el contexto de un sistema mundial donde la idea de colonialidad expresa las viejas y nuevas formas de dominación, tanto en términos de acuerdos institucionales nacionales e internacionales como a nivel subjetivo. Continúa luego con un breve examen de la Educación para la Ciudadanía Mundial, en particular, tal como lo propuso la UNESCO, como un enfoque pertinente para conectar las prácticas y tradiciones locales de participación con un horizonte universal para la convivencia. La parte principal del documento se dedica a esbozar un marco metodológico para las pedagogías comparativas de la participación. El marco está formado por tres dimensiones (ético-político, epistemológico y metodológico). Cada una de estas dimensiones se divide otra vez en elementos más pequeños desde donde se pueden desarrollar unidades de análisis. Sigue una breve identificación de los contextos empíricos que será objeto de un análisis posterior.

Introduction

Participation has become a central theme in today's society, and is part of policies and strategies in different fields of action, and with a variety of ideological and political nuances. The main objective of the project where this paper originates is to understand the pedagogical mediations in participatory social processes, encompassing cultural and social realities in different countries and regions in order to understand the educational procedures in participatory processes for the education of citizenship in contemporary society.[1] It is assumed that future

[1] "Pedagogias da participação em perspectiva comparada internacional" (Pedagogies of participation in international comparative perspective) – CNPq.

ends of education will require attention as much to formal as non-formal pedagogical processes, and participation will be a key dimension for developing a democratic future.[2]

Theoretically, the project is based on three conceptual nuclei. The first one consists of the concepts of participation, citizenship and forms of democracy. It is assumed that a good working democracy needs an effective citizenship which, on its turn, relies on the possibility of democratic participation. As will be argued in this paper, democracy can or should not be taken for granted, and conditions and possibilities for citizenship learning through participation may take place in a variety of ways, in formal, non-formal or informal education procedures.

The paper also points out the interconnectedness of issues concerning citizenship. The second theoretical nucleus, therefore, brings together the idea of global citizenship with the concept of (de)coloniality. Current mass migrations, the persistence of poverty and growing inequalities within nations and among nations are expressions of a world system where old and new forms of domination inhibit the development of all individuals and peoples. The challenge is to promote an education that is both locally contextualized and connected globally.

The third theoretical nucleus derives from popular education as part of a broader framework of critical pedagogy. While attempting to develop a framework for international comparative studies, it is not only fair but necessary to identify the pedagogical perspective on which the reflection is based. In Latin America popular education has become an umbrella concept for encompassing a broad range of practices that have in Paulo Freire their main reference. Education is seen as a political-pedagogical praxis for social transformation "from below" where people create and recreate socially relevant knowledge in the process of resisting the effects of unemployment or underemployment, of race and gender discrimination, among other form of domination and social exclusion.

Methodologically, this paper is intended to be an introduction for comparative studies on pedagogies of participation. In dialogue with colleagues about the topic, I frequently was asked about the meaning of "pedagogy of participation". In the process of gathering data from different social and political contexts it became clear that, indeed, it was necessary to open up the concept in order to make any kind of comparison possible at all. In this sense, the main section is probably the one that presents the outline of a methodological framework for comparative studies of pedagogies of participation or, in a broader sense, of citizenship education in a global context.

So far, there are only preliminary indications of the empirical analysis that will follow. It is intended to collect data from three different social, political and cultural contexts: the cities of São Leopoldo (Brazil), Popayan (Colombia) and Gelsenkirchen (Germany). With about the same size of the population (around 200,000 inhabitants), there are significant differences that may help us to shed light on how – and if – participation can be seen as both an instrument for effective democratic decisions and as a process of citizenship learning.

Preliminary findings reveal, among others: a) the importance of an integrated approach to citizenship education, considering the lifespan and the varieties of loci of participation; b) the relevance of developing a clear understanding of democratic participation given the peculiarities of each context; and c) the necessity of building bridges among different pedagogical experiences of democratic participation both for local development and for the construction of a critical, participatory and cosmopolitan worldview.

[2] This paper was originally presented at the XVII World Congress of Comparative Education Societies (Mexico, May 20-24, 2019) under the theme "The future of education".

Participation and coloniality

A paradoxical situation regarding participation is observed today. On the one hand, there is a participative activism especially in social networks, where it is discussed from the safety in the street where one lives up to the great national and international problems. Certain technologies, as in the Arab Spring movement, proved important for facilitating mobilization efforts and creating counter narratives (Malone, 2012). The networks have also been a fertile ground for fake news that have influenced important political decisions (Delmazo & Valente, 2018). Besides, activism is expressed periodically in popular manifestations with different ideological nuances, from those who consider that there is an exaggerated intervention of the state in the market and in sectors such as social security, to those who advocate for a greater and more effective presence of the same state in control and in the management of public affairs; from popular social movements to manifestations by conservative organizations.

At the same time, there is a general mistrust of elected representatives and a discredit of representative democracy. The case of Brazil is quite revealing. According to a research conducted in 2017 only 17% of Brazilians were "very satisfied" or "satisfied" with democracy, the lowest level of trust in democracy in Latin America. This distrust boils down to a general distrust in people, with 7% responding that the "majority of people" cannot be trusted.[3]

While most countries today claim to be democracies, there has been a growing awareness that democratic living should not be taken for granted. The book *How democracies dye,* by Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, presents an account of democracies turning into authoritarian regimes, paradoxically by democratic procedures. What is more important in their book, however, is a comparative approach to how this happens. They develop a chart of four signals that may help to recognize an authoritarian leader, respectively, the risk for democracy: 1) when politicians reject explicitly or implicitly the rules of the game; 2) deny the opponent's legitimacy; 3) tolerate or encourage violence; and 4) indicate the disposition to restrain the opponents' civil liberties, including the media (Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018, p. 32). Extreme political polarization should also light a red signal. These signals can be found today, to a lesser or greater degree, in many places worldwide.

In Latin America, particularly in Brazil, participation - or the lack of it - is deeply rooted in the colonial past (Streck, 2017; Streck, Pitano & Moretti, 2017). Paulo Freire referred to this phenomenon as the culture of silence. He identifies two complementary dimensions in this culture. The first one is the recognition that there is a dominant culture and that both did not originate from themselves, but were constituted in the structuring process of society. They should be seen, therefore, in a dialectical relation and not as being in a symmetrical opposition. The second dimension refers to the "ideological reproduction of the dominant culture" which implies, on one hand, a movement of self-protection, self-preservation and survival, and on the other hand entails the potentiality for rebellion (Freire, 1977, p. 70).

In societies with great social inequality, it is hardly possible to speak of any kind of democratic participation. As rightly observed by Lynette Schultz (2012), we are faced with a dilemma. The elites are not interested in opening space for effective popular participation since this may put in risk some of their privileges. On the other hand, popular classes have sufficient reasons to mistrust discourses of participation that rarely represent real possibilities to improve their wellbeing, from material conditions to access to a good education and cultural services.

The concept of coloniality identifies the search for naming the objective and subjective conditions of domination and oppression that permeate class, gender, race and generational relations. The concept also encompasses a set of loci where and through which colonialism is

[3] https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-41780226 Acessed on 18.06.2019.

perpetuated, namely within relations of power, knowledge and being itself. However, parallel to the history of colonialism there is the history of systemic and non-systemic resistance and rebellion. As remarked by Morana, Dussel and Jáuregui in the Introduction to the volume entitled *Coloniality at large* "such resilient practices, as well as the numerous manifestations of collective sentiments of discontent and rebellion often expressed through the symbolic practices of everyday life and popular culture, are only possible because they are rooted in solid cultural and epistemological foundations" (Morana, Dussel & Jáuregui, 2008, p. 11). Thus coloniality, far from being an inescapable condition, is accompanied by decolonial movements and struggles. It is in this sense that Catherine Walsh (2019) refers to decoloniality as praxis. In her words: "Decoloniality, for me, is not an abstract theory nor a new critical paradigm. It is, for me, a perspective, stance, and proposition of thought, analysis, sensing, making, doing, feeling, and being that is actional (in the Fanonian sense), praxistical, and ongoing" (p. 13).

Let us have a brief look at some of the mechanisms where the colonization of citizen participation manifests itself, and respectively, where decolonizing movements keep popping up. As mentioned above, one of them is the suppression or "domestication" of forms of participation that may represent democratization of power relations. Examples from the participatory budgeting are quite revealing. While considered worldwide as one of the most innovative social experiments for income distribution and for participation in shaping public policies, creative forms of citizen participation are easily bureaucratized, and adapted to existing power structures (Streck, Eggert & Sobottka, 2005). Lack of participation should then not be easily considered as apathy, but may be a form of protest against this type of domesticated participatory process for failing to address relevant issues for the community.

The precariousness of organizational structures that would allow for planning and systematizing social demands is another mechanism where coloniality is manifested. One example of social fragmentation is represented by the religious diversity that can be found in the periphery of a city where the secretary of participatory budgeting mentioned that in one street they counted over thirty evangelical (pentecostal) churches.[4] While diversity should be respected and even welcome, what needs to be questioned in this case is the proliferation of leaders that care about their own flock, and social groupings that see themselves as competitors. The great amount of political parties in Brazil,[5] many of them without a clear ideological definition, is in line with the divisions that apparently offer popular classes opportunities for improving their lot, but that in the long run do not promote the development of organizations that may have a deeper impact on society. Again, this "dispersion" could be also seen as a decolonizing movement which, paradoxically, may again reinforce the logic of coloniality (Zibechi, 2007).

Gender participation is another context where the patriarchal character of coloniality reveals its perverse face. It has been observed that in participatory budgeting women are quite well represented in the lower levels of the process, while when it comes to the top they are rather few. It is a naturalized selective process for reasons that range from mobility to participate in meetings that require travel to argumentative abilities due to education (Monteiro, da Rosa & Rodrigues, 2019). However, women keep promoting decolonizing practices within this participatory process, even if restricted, as in the thousands of popular cooperatives where women are again a majority.

[4] Interview with Janaína Fernandes, Secretary for Participatory Budget in the municipality of São Leopoldo (Brazil) on October 26, 2018.
[5] At the Brazilian Higher Electoral Tribunal there are registered 33 political parties.

A look at Global Citizenship Education

The effects of coloniality are felt mostly in what – referring particularly to Latin America - has been called the "darker side of western modernity" (Mignolo, 2011). However, it can be argued that coloniality trespasses national and regional frontiers, impregnating the globalized world-system. Poverty in one part of the world and mass migration may be perversely connected to the accumulation of richness in other parts of the world. Natural resources and preservation of nature cannot be seen as exclusively national problems. This takes us to have a look at what has been termed "global citizenship education" or, as others prefer, "planetary citizenship education". Both concepts emphasize the political and practical aspects of building institutions that are able and willing to cooperate, as well as the ethical dimension of creating an ethos of mutual understanding among different persons and peoples.

In this context it is worth mentioning the recent document by UNESCO with the title *Gobal Citizenship Education: Taking it local*. In the context of the Education 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals the document states that

> for UNESCO, Global Citizenship Education (GCED) is an educational approach that nurtures respect and solidarity in learners in order to build a sense of belonging to a common humanity and help them become responsible and active global citizens in building inclusive and peaceful societies. (Deardorff, Kiwan & Pak, 2018, p.04)

The document acknowledges that the concept has been contested basically for two related reasons. Once, for not considering local needs and local or regional realities, overlooking particular cultural and social features framed in different cosmologies and epistemologies. In other words, and this would be the second reason, the understanding of the global as an abstraction that actually hides a "westernized" worldview. Based on these critiques, UNESCO has observed that there are local and regional concepts and practices that resonate with the three core notions that characterize Global Citizenship Education: "respect for diversity", "solidarity" and "a shared sense of humanity". In this sense, it is not claimed that the Global Citizenship Education is a new concept, but intends to be "a shared aspiration among all peoples to live together in peace, both within and beyond their own borders."

It follows an inventory of selected traditional local concepts that not only corroborate UNESCO's core ideas, but add or emphasize distinct perspectives. For example, the South African concept of *Ubuntu* ("I am because we are – we are because I am") points to an ethos of living together based on the sense of oneness of humanity. There is an interconnectedness of all persons which implies mutual care and responsibility. In Oman, *Shura* is "a form of public consultation and decision making inspired from Islamic practices" (Deardorff et al, 2018. p. 6). *Shura* is part of the civic education curriculum expressing Oman´s political model. In Canada multiculturalism/interculturalism is a national policy that seeks to ensure that citizens can keep their identities, including ancestral traditions. All states and territories have some legal provision regarding multiculturalism. In Latin America, the *Sumak Kawsay* (Well-being) of the Andean region regards humanity as part of the social environment. Ecuador, in 2008, became the first country to recognize de rights of nature (*Pachamama*).

The modern French concepts of *Liberté, Egalité* and *Fraternité*, read in a broader semantic context, thus also reveal their localness, related to a particular history and a particular people. This understanding does not mean that concepts of freedom, equality and fraternity are less important in a global context. The problem, as pointed out by Boaventura de Sousa Santos, is the metonymic rationality "which is not able to accept that the understanding of the world is much more than the understanding of the western world" (Santos, 2004, p. 782). He goes on proposing an ecology of knowledges, of temporalities, of differences, of scales and production.

This ecological thinking has some important implications for citizenship learning. On the level of praxis, what are real experiences of connectedness provided through education, nationally and internationally? How are the new digital resources used for promoting encounters with the *other*? On the cognitive level, what do we actually know about other peoples, and their ways of living together and organizing their societies? What could we learn from their experiences?

A methodological framework for citizenship education

As argued up to this point, there are sufficient reasons why citizenship learning may be best understood through a comparative international approach. In order not to fall in the trap of simplistic recommendations based on shallow comparisons, we will address basic questions before presenting a preliminary analysis of three national contexts: Why is it relevant to compare experiences of citizenship education, particularly on pedagogies of democratic participation, in different social, political and cultural contexts? What are relevant issues to be compared? How to compare in order to obtain trustworthy and relevant data for our particular object of study?

These questions are suggested by Morlino, whose book *Comparison: A Methodological Introduction for the Social Sciences* is mostly concerned with presenting tools for comparing political developments in different regions. The author exemplifies the present relevance of comparative studies in social sciences with a comment that is of particular interest for this study: "Since the early 2000s democracy appears to have been established in various areas of the world, from Southern Europe to Latin America and Eastern Europe. But which democracies have consolidated and how can this process be defined and explained?" (Morlino, 2018, p. 10). From a pedagogical perspective, the question could have a similar formulation: Which pedagogical processes helped to consolidate or can help to establish and consolidate democracy with an active and participatory citizenship?

There is no simple nor single answer to the question of why to carry out comparative and international research in education, and the "why" question is frequently overlooked. One of the reasons for not paying due attention to this question may be the assumption that every kind of research entails comparisons, even if implicit, and that therefore pursuing an explicit comparison may not produce better data nor analyses. However, there is a distinction between comparison as a natural process of thinking, and comparison as a method that attempts to comply with scientific criteria in social sciences.

Jürgen Schriewer (2018) differentiates comparison as a "universal mental operation" and comparison as "method of social sciences". The first one is characterized by comparison between observable facts, and emphasizes the viewpoint of the observer in a "sociocentric" positioning. On the other hand, comparison as a scientific method establishes "relations between relations", a process in which the observer positions him/herself from the outside in a movement of distancing and perspectivism (p. 140). Perspectivism should not be confused with neutrality, but is above all connected with the complexity of social issues, requiring openness for different and eventually divergent perspectives or different methodologies.[6]

The resistance to face comparison in research may therefore mean precaution to enter this field. Trying to address it adequately is like opening the Pandora's box, running the risk of not knowing what could come out of it, and what eventually do with complex data. Closely related

[6] "Many of those working in comparative education will see themselves as belonging to various methodological traditions. Halls defines several approaches: historico-philosophical; 'national character'; 'culturalist'; 'eclectic and pragmatic'; ´problem solving´; quantitative; economic; and social science" (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014, p. 22).

are the memories of misuses of comparison, mostly associated with information that leads to rankings based on decontextualized and de-historicized statistics. Comparative researchers, as is well known, are not innocent in promoting this view on their field.

In this study, I am lead by the following arguments for using a comparative and international approach. The first one is that the research object – participation as a means for educating citizenship – has multiple connections and can be understood more adequately within a larger geographical and temporal framework. Whether we refer to a global or planetary citizenship, the ineludible fact is that decisions, policies and actions in any part of the world have consequences for the whole of life on our planet.

A second reason is that when confronting our practices and projects with others we become aware of our limits and potentials. In this study, the primary interest is in contributing to the political education in Brazil. The international links provided in the study, however, may eventually serve for bridging with readers, researchers and educators in other countries. There is no intention of building a metatheory on how to form citizens worldwide. At the same time, it is assumed that there is much to learn from practices in other socio-political and cultural contexts without losing characteristics that may be considered as "proper", i.e., as historical constructions which, on its turn, exactly for being historical can also be problematized and changed.

This leads us to the "what" question. What exactly do we want to analyze comparatively? What is meant by "pedagogical dimension of participation" or, in short, by "pedagogies of participation"? The underlying assumption is that a democratic society is much more than a collection of happy individuals. It is permanently produced through a solidary and collective process that requires participation. There may be citizenship without democracy, as expressed in the forms of resistance against dictatorships or in the struggle for overcoming a merely formal democracy. But there is certainly no democracy without and effective citizenship, which on its turn implies as much institutional conditions to participate as personal and collective capacity to act in a republican spirit.

The citizen we are referring to is not modelled according to Rousseau´s Émile (Rousseau, 1995), a solitary orphan created by his tutor and spared from the evils of society, but is the person that grows up in the middle of inevitable conflicts and tensions of different orders and dimensions, from unemployment to forced migration, from local water supply to global heating (Streck, 2010). The issue, then, is how are citizens prepared to deal with the problems they face – individually and collectively – and within these tensions and conflicts. There is not one only way of dealing with these issues neither should we start out with a judgmental view of right and wrong. This is the reason for using pedagogy in plural, as we learned from Paulo Freire. His pedagogy of the oppressed extended and expanded to the pedagogy of hope, of indignation, of autonomy, among others, and offers the possibility of identifying key dimensions of a pedagogy of participation.

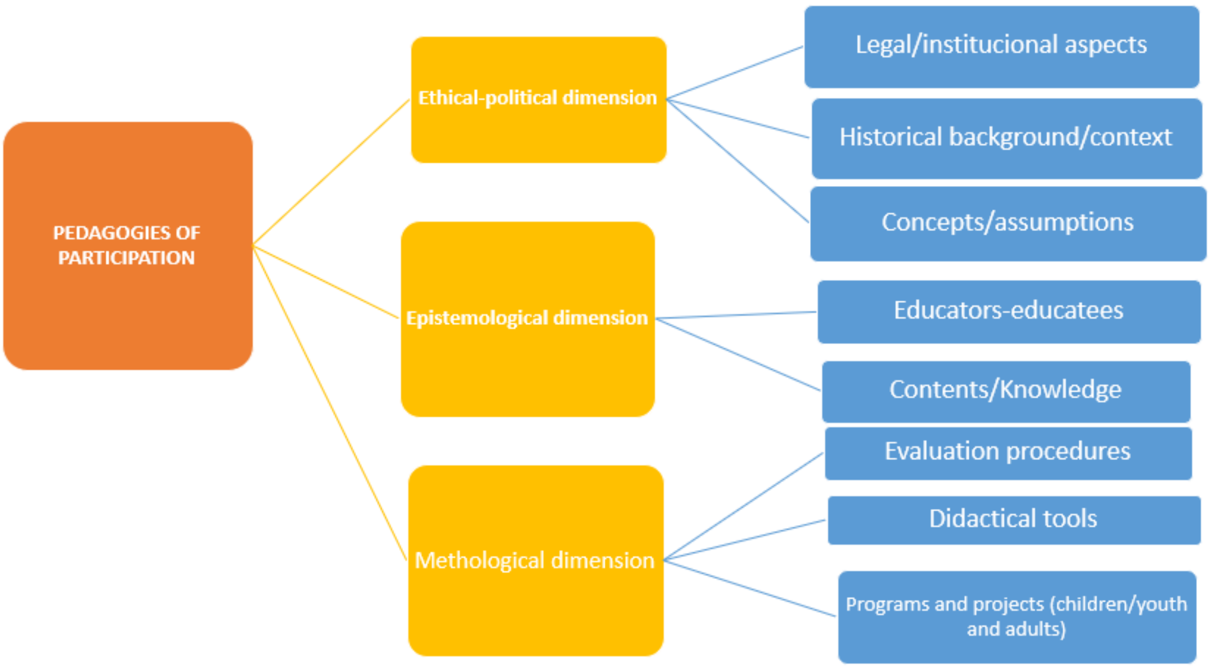
The identification of rather broad dimensions is, according to Morlino (2018), a first fundamental step in order to be able identify connections between the conceptual basis and the directly observable facts. Based on Paulo Freire, especially on *Pedagogy of the oppressed* one can identify three basic dimensions that are constitutive for a pedagogy. The first one is the ethical-political dimension, which for Freire (1981) is founded in the potential of "being more" (*ser mais*) in terms of humanization as a permanent process in which humans and the world they live in are in mutual becoming. Neither the world nor the persons have a definitive form, but there are historical conditions that enhance humanization or its contrary, namely, dehumanization. Education, respectively, pedagogy as the expression of the way education is articulated, is necessarily entangled in this social process.

The second one is the epistemological dimension. Since education necessarily deals with knowledge, there is no way of avoiding at least an attempt to understand what knowledge and knowing are about. Paulo Freire´s well known problem posing concept, as against the traditional banking one, summarizes his view as a dynamic activity where subjects dialogically "pronounce" their world, i.e., engage in an action-reflection movement that at the same time transforms consciousness and reality.

The third dimension is more properly methodological, which for Freire is not separated from the other dimensions. He would repeatedly say that he did not "invent" a method of literacy, but rather that his intention has always been to promote a way of relating to knowledge and to the world so that persons can assume their agency. This is how he comes to propose, for example, the investigation of the local generative themes to start teaching the alphabet, the substitution of traditional classes by circles of culture, the understanding of the "teacher" as educator-educatee and the "student" as educatee-educator.

These dimensions are not abstractions, but they can be seen concretely in programs, projects and practices. That´s where the *what* and the *how* come closer together in a diachronic and synchronic movement, attempting to understand the "units of analysis" as they present themselves today, but also paying attention to their historical development. The figure below illustrates a tentative framework for analyzing what we have termed pedagogies of participation.

Figure 1: Pedagogies of participation



Source: Adapted by the author.

The understanding of pedagogy of participation shown in Figure 1 allows for different entrances to the issue. For instance, a particular study may focus on civic education as a curricular component such as mathematics or geography, but it may also choose social movements as a privileged research locus; it may concentrate on one age level or attempt to see political education as a task for the whole lifespan. The relevance of attempting to integrate each one of those particular elements within a broad understanding of pedagogy of participation challenges us to be aware of our own limitations when performing research on the topic.

Phillips and Schweisfurth (2014) call our attention to the fact that "civics education" is a slippery issue since it can be used conservatively to perpetuate a status quo, even if unjust, or to foster the development of critical thinking and engagement for social change. The attempt to summarize research on "civic education" in schools indicates that what emerges "from a cumulative perspective of these studies is a picture of how the national political contexts shape the provision of citizenship education in different countries, and learners' understanding of themselves as citizens" (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014, p. 178). They also point out that the studies hint that the faith of teachers of learners regarding the importance of democratic education is accompanied by the awareness of the limitations of schools to deliver what is promised or expected. Their comments suggest, for example, that a pedagogy of participation needs to consider a complex system of social organizations where citizenship education takes place.

This discussion leads us to see pedagogy of participation as a dynamic concept that is not self-explanatory. The four levels – from pedagogy of participation to units of analysis – should be best understood as a circular process, where the previous understanding of pedagogy of participation influences the conceptualization of the dimensions and selection of research units, but that at the same the actual data and outcomes of research in any of these units feeds back for rethinking the understanding of pedagogy of participation.

Contextualizing participation

As mentioned in the Introduction the priority of this paper turned out to be the development of a methodological framework for carrying out studies on pedagogies of participation in an international and comparative perspective. In this section, I will outline briefly the three contexts that, explicitly (in the case of Brazil) or implicitly (in the case of Colombia and Germany), were present in the conceptual and methodological considerations: São Leopoldo in Brazil, Gelsenkirchen in Germany, and Popayan in Colombia. They have in common, besides similar population (around 200,000 inhabitants), a trajectory of citizen engagement, although in very different conditions. São Leopoldo is located in the Porto Alegre metropolitan area and in the last decades received a great number of migrants from other parts of the State (Rio Grande do Sul), many of them living now in precarious conditions in the outskirts of the city. Gelsenkircehn, in the Ruhr area, suffered from the closing of the coal mines, and the region is regarded as one of the poorest in Germany, having also received a great number of foreign immigrants and refugees. The Colombian city of Popayan, while situated in a context of the violent struggle in the last decades, has strong popular movements, among them the indigenous communities.

When observing the three contexts, a preliminary observation is that there is the need to distinguish between conventional and non-conventional forms of participation. The first ones are framed within constitutional and institutional arrangements, while the second ones originate in the movement of society through the engagement of citizens in favor or against particular issues or causes. With the crises of representative democracy, non-conventional modes of participation have grown in importance. In this paper the interest is both in local institutional arrangements and in non-conventional forms of participation contextualized in national and regional understandings, and in legal provisions for participation.

As in most countries today, there are institutional channels for participation in the three countries. Besides regular elections for the representatives there are channels for other forms of participation. In the first article of the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988 it is stated that:

"All the power emanates from the people, who exercises it through representatives or directly, in the terms of this constitution". Later, in article 14, it is explained that "Popular sovereignty will be exercised through the universal suffrage and direct and secret vote, and, in terms of the law, upon: I-Plebiscite; II – referendum; III popular initiative". Special laws created councils for the various areas, on national and municipal level;

On the municipal level São Leopoldo has a tradition of both social popular movements which had a strong influence in the implementation of participatory budgeting in the city. Participatory budgeting is "the process of public administration that allows the population to decide – in a direct, democratic and transparent manner – how the public resources will be applied in works and services to be executed by the Municipal Government"[7]. The government participates presenting proposals, providing information and technical assistance, but has no right to vote. The elaborated budget, after a process that involves a sequence of meetings, is at the end voted by the representatives.

The Colombian Constitution of 1991 also contains a variety of instruments for direct participation, although in practice this participation is largely reduced to voting (Damasceno, 2016). In a country long dominated by violence and fear, the constitution reserves an important space for the Colombian Constitutional Court. There is an explicit recognition of the rights of the indigenous people. According to Article 10 of the Constitution, while the official national language is Spanish, the regional indigenous languages are also recognized as official, and education in communities with their own linguistic traditions should be bilingual. The constitution also establishes the collective possession of communal land, and, within limits, the indigenous authority has autonomy to define crimes and the type of punishment according to local traditions.

The above references to the constitution help us to situate the participatory processes in Popayan,[8] a city of approximately 230,000 inhabitants near the Colombian Pacific Coast. Also known as the White City, Popayan was chosen for this study for the strong presence of the indigenous community, particularly for hosting the *Universidad Autónoma Indígena y Intercultural (UAIIN)*, an institution that is dedicated to recovering the ancestral territories, for the revitalization of indigenous languages and cultures, for strengthening traditional authorities in the exercise of autonomous government, and for the education connected with cultural resistance. There are also important social movements, as *Asociación de instrutores y trabajadores de la educación de Cauca (ASOINCA)*[9], a combative teachers' union.

In Germany, the homepage of the National Center for Political Education (*Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*)[10] identifies the following forms of political participation: a) Participation in elections and referendums (the core of political participation); b) Activities related to political parties (with participation of about 2.5% of the population; c) Community political activities (mostly dedicated to solve local problems); d) Legal protest (as demonstrations of protest or for a cause); e) Civil disobedience (against legal procedures not understood as legitimate); and f) Political violence (an extreme form of political participation). More recently

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[7] http://www.saoleopoldo.rs.gov.br/ accessed on 10.05.2019

[8] Based on notes from participation at the VI Encuentro Internacional y IX Regional de Experiências en Educación Popular y comunitária, promoted by Universidad del Cauca and Asociación de Institutes y Trabajadores de la Educación del Causa-ASOINCA, in Popayan, from October 9-13, 2017.

[9] http://www.asoinca.com/. Accessed on 10.05.2019.

[10] https://www.bpb.de/nachschlagen/lexika/handwoerterbuch-politisches-system/202091/politische-beteiligung-politische-partizipation?p=all Accessed on 10.05.2019.

a new type of civic engagement identified with "pre-figurative life styles" has grown, especially among young people and mostly related to socioecological issues.[11]

Gelsenkirchen[12] has been identified by UNESCO as a Learning City for its emphasis on citizenship education. In a joined communication, signed by authorities to NGOs and soccer team, education (*Bildung*) and participation are seen as decisive keys for one´s own future, as well as for the local and global capacity for future building (*Zukunftsfähigkeit*). Participation is conceived as the road and the goal; as a relevant instrument for the acquisition of learning and acting competences that enable persons for autonomous action as well as for social participation.

Among the units of analysis that emerge, for example, is the understanding of territoriality and the relation to participation and education. In São Leopoldo participation is very much connected with the idea of "seeing themselves", of being recognized. The secretary for Participatory Budget identifies various aspects of this process of visibility. One of them is that the citizen can see him/herself as participant of the local social context. This is of particular importance in a context of rapid urbanization, with precarious infrastructure, where people have difficulty of feeling at home. The other dimension of recognition and visibility is the difficulty of seeing the city and municipality as a whole. The project "Live the square", according to the Secretary for Participatory Budget, was designed to help people "recognize themselves, see themselves and value what they are."

In Popayan, due to the influence of indigenous communities, the territory has a strong connection with nature as *pachamama*, as mother earth, as well as a cultural matrix for existence and resistance. The objective of the UAIIN captures this relationship between territory, culture, education and organization. Territory is the mother earth to be respected and cared for because it provides the means for existence. But it is also the space where communities organize themselves to keep up the long history of resistance.

In Gelsenkirchen, in a conversation at an old mining site (Project Hugo), young people talked about the various clusters of environmental education that take place on this unlikely site for this purpose. The administrators stress the importance of education in an impoverished region where they intend to shift "from coal to minds". In spite of coal mines having been closed, the identity of "miners" still impregnates how they feel about the city and region. During the conversation, the German concept of *Heimat* came up as an attempt to summarize their feelings. Referring to the site of the project they stressed the perception of the population that "it is theirs", and reflected on the transition from collective awareness to collective action to transform their place.

Final considerations

These are exploratory remarks presented for testing the potentiality and limitations of the proposed methodological framework. Among the potentialities I would stress the possibility of having a contextual look at participation and education for citizenship in a global perspective. Countries, regions, and communities develop different views about how to cooperate for

[11] For the topic on children and youth participation in Germany see *Jugendliche planen und gestalten Lebenswelten* (Ködeppeter & Nitschke, 2008) and *Mehr Patizipation wagen* (Olk & Roth, 2007).

[12] Based on notes taken at the participation at the Second UNESCO Symposium on the Future of Education for Sustainable Development, in Gelsenkirchen, on March 27 and 28, 2019. The methodology of the symposium was based on observation of sites and practices, followed by theoretical reflection.

producing their societies. The remedy for non-democratic forms of participation, independent of the local and national context, can never be less participation.

More participation, however, should be connected with the search for quality of participation. An adequate framework for developing comparative studies on participation and citizenship education should contribute for identifying and discussing criteria for defining democratic participation today, as well as the means to promote, develop and implement them collectively.

As a limitation stands out the fact that citizenship education, more so when it comes to global citizenship education, can hardly be seen as a priority in any part of the world today. The questions and issues that predominate in education are mostly pragmatic, related to develop competencies for finding a place in a very competitive market. Technology plays a major role in defining these priorities. At the same time, especially digital technologies create new possibilities of participation that seem to present the same ambiguities as any other means of communication (Hindman, 2009).

Another limitation is that democratic forms of participation and citizenship learning for democracy many times happen in little and not visible places. Bringing these experiences to attention, potentializing their impacts in society, building bridges among educators that develop democratic pedagogical practices across the globe can be major contributions of comparative studies on pedagogies of participation.

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Preparation and Professional Development of Urban vs. Rural School Principals in China: A Comparative Study

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This paper reports findings from a comparative study of pre-service preparation and in-service professional development of urban vs. rural school principals in China. The study is a joint effort by education scholars in a major American public university and a key teacher preparation university in Shanghai and is a part of a larger survey study to explore and examine the profiles and preparation of urban and rural principals in China, in an effort to speculate implications for change in principal recruitment and preparation, especially for the less developed rural and minority areas. A comprehensive principal survey was administered to several hundred urban and rural school principals in China. Our study findings revealed a huge gap and inequality in the amount and quality of preparation and professional development programs received by principals between China's urban and rural areas. In large cities like Shanghai, there are now formal, structured and well-organized training programs covering key topics for principals both at the time of appointment and throughout their career as educational administrators, as has been confirmed by findings from OECD's TALIS. In contrast, most of the school principals in China's vast rural areas received little to no pre-service training because of the lack of organization and resources. The rural school leaders also did not have adequate opportunities to participate in in-service professional development programs and activities. In addition, the urban and rural school principals in China differ in their views on the importance of topics and the urgency of issues covered in their training programs, although they share some common concerns with regard to needed changes in the existing training programs. Findings from this study present special challenges for policy makers and education reformers to improve the preparation of educational leaders, especially for rural and minority schools in poor areas.

Keywords: Principal preparation, Professional development, Urban versus rural schools, Chinese education

تشير هذه المقالة إلى نتائج دراسة مقارنة للإعداد قبل الخدمة والتطوير المهني أثناء الخدمة لمديري المدارس الحضرية مقابل مديري المدارس الريفية في الصين. الدراسة هي جهد مشترك من قبل علماء التعليم في جامعة عامة أمريكية كبرى وجامعة إعداد المعلمين الرئيسية في شنغهاي وهي جزء من دراسة استقصائية أكبر لاستكشاف وفحص الملامح وإعداد مديري المناطق الحضرية والريفية في الصين، في الجهد المبذول للتكهن بالآثار المترتبة على التغيير في التوظيف والإعداد الرئيسي ، خاصة بالنسبة للمناطق الريفية الأقل تطوراً ومناطق الأقليات. تم إجراء مسح شامل للمديرين على مئات من مديري المدارس الحضرية والريفية في الصين. كشفت نتائج دراستنا عن وجود فجوة هائلة وعدم مساواة في كمية ونوعية برامج الإعداد والتطوير المهني التي تلقاها مديرو المدارس بين المناطق الحضرية والريفية في الصين. في المدن الكبيرة مثل شنغهاي، توجد الآن برامج تدريبية رسمية ومنظمة جيدًا تغطي موضوعات رئيسية لمديري المدارس في وقت التعيين وطوال حياتهم المهنية كمسؤولين تعليميين، كما تم تأكيده من خلال النتائج التي توصلت إليها منظمة التعاون الاقتصادي والتنمية في المقابل، تلقى معظم مديري المدارس في المناطق الريفية الشاسعة بالصين القليل من التدريب قبل الخدمة أو لم يتلقوه بسبب الافتقار إلى التنظيم والموارد. كما لم يكن لقادة المدارس الريفية فرص كافية للمشاركة في برامج وأنشطة التطوير المهني أثناء الخدمة. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، يختلف مديرو المدارس الحضرية والريفية في الصين في وجهات نظرهم حول أهمية الموضوعات وإلحاح القضايا التي يتم تناولها في برامجهم التدريبية، على الرغم من أنهم يشاركون بعض الاهتمامات المشتركة فيما يتعلق بالتغييرات المطلوبة في برامج التدريب الحالية. تمثل نتائج هذه الدراسة تحديات خاصة لصانعي السياسات ومصلحي التعليم لتحسين إعداد القادة التربويين، خاصة للمدارس الريفية ومدارس الأقليات في المناطق الفقيرة.

本文报告了中国城乡学校校长职前准备和在职专业发展的比较研究的结果。这项合作研究是由一所美国重点公立大学和上海一所重点师范大学的教育学者共同努力的结果，也是一项较大规模调查研究的一部分，该研究旨在探索和考察中国城乡校长的概况和培养情况、推测校长招募和准备工作的变化对特别是对欠发达的农村和少数民族地区的影响。我们对中国数百名城乡学校校长进行了一次全面的校长调查。我们的研究结果表明，中国城乡之间校长接受的入职准备和专业发展项目的数量和质量存在巨大差距和不平等现象。欧洲经合组织 TALIS 的调查结果证实，在像上海这样的大城市，现在已经有正规、结构化和组织良好的校长培训计划，涵盖了校长在任命期间及其作为教育行政管理人员的整个职业期间的关键性的主题培训。相比之下，由于缺乏组织和资源，中国广大农村地区的大多数学校校长几乎没有接受过岗前培训。农村学校领导也没有足够的机会参加在职专业发展项目和活动。此外，中国城乡学校校长对培训课程所涉及的主题的重要性和紧迫性的看法各有不同，尽管他们都认为现有培训课程需要一些必要的变化。这项研究的结果表明，尤其对贫困地区的农村和少数民族学校的教育领导者来说，他们的入职准备和专业提升给政策制定者和教育改革者提出了特殊的挑战。

Cet article présente les résultats d'une étude comparative de la préparation initiale et du développement professionnel en cours d'emploi des directeurs d'écoles urbaines et rurales en Chine. L'étude est un effort conjoint de chercheurs en éducation d'une grande université publique américaine et d'une université clé de préparation des enseignants à Shanghai et fait partie d'une enquête plus large visant à explorer et à examiner les profils et la préparation des directeurs urbains et ruraux en Chine, dans un effort pour spéculer sur les implications du changement dans le recrutement et la préparation des directeurs d'écoles, en particulier pour les zones rurales et minoritaires les moins développées. Une enquête complète auprès des directeurs a été menée auprès de plusieurs centaines de directeurs d'écoles urbaines et rurales en Chine. Les résultats de notre étude ont révélé un énorme écart et une inégalité dans la quantité et la qualité des programmes de préparation et de développement professionnel reçus par les directeurs entre les zones urbaines et rurales de la Chine. Dans les grandes villes comme Shanghai, il existe désormais des programmes de formation formels, structurés et bien organisés couvrant des sujets clés pour les chefs d'établissement au moment de leur nomination et tout au long de leur carrière en tant qu'administrateurs de l'éducation, comme l'ont confirmé les conclusions du TALIS de l'OCDE. En revanche, la plupart des directeurs d'écoles des vastes zones rurales de Chine n'ont reçu que peu ou pas de formation initiale en raison du manque d'organisation et de ressources. Les chefs d'école rurale n'ont pas non plus eu la possibilité de participer à des programmes et activités de perfectionnement professionnel en cours d'emploi. En outre, les directeurs d'écoles urbaines et rurales en Chine diffèrent dans leurs points de vue sur l'importance des sujets et l'urgence des questions couvertes dans leurs programmes de formation, bien qu'ils partagent certaines préoccupations communes concernant les changements nécessaires dans les programmes de formation existants. Les résultats de cette étude présentent des défis particuliers pour les décideurs et les réformateurs de l'éducation afin d'améliorer la préparation des responsables de l'éducation, en particulier pour les écoles rurales et minoritaires des zones pauvres.

В данной статье представлены результаты сравнительного исследования предпрофессиональной подготовки и повышения квалификации без отрыва от производства директоров городских и сельских школ в Китае. Это исследование представляет собой совместную работу ученых в области образования одного крупного американского государственного университета и ключевого университета подготовки учителей в Шанхае и является частью более масштабного исследования по изучению профессиональных профилей и подготовки директоров городских и сельских школ в Китае в попытке спекулировать последствиями изменений в основных принципах найма и подготовке директоров школ, особенно для менее развитых сельских районов и районов проживания этнических меньшинств.В Китае было проведено комплексный опрос нескольких сотен директоров городских и сельских школ. Результаты нашего исследования выявили огромный разрыв и неравенство в количестве и качестве программ подготовки и повышения квалификации, получаемых директорами школ, между городскими и сельскими районами Китая. В крупных городах, таких как Шанхай, в настоящее время существуют официальные, структурированные и хорошо организованные программы обучения, охватывающие ключевые темы для директоров школ как на момент назначения, так и на протяжении всей их карьеры на руководящих должностях в системе образования, что подтверждается результатами исследования TALIS ОЭСР. В отличие от этого, большинство директоров школ в обширных сельских районах Китая практически не получали предварительной подготовки из-за отсутствия организации и ресурсов. Руководители сельских школ также не имели достаточных возможностей для участия в программах и мероприятиях по повышению квалификации без отрыва от производства. Кроме того, директора городских и сельских школ в Китае расходятся во взглядах на важность тем и срочность вопросов, охватываемых их учебными программами, хотя они разделяют некоторые общие опасения в отношении необходимых изменений в существующих учебных программах. Результаты этого исследования ставят перед политиками и реформаторами образования особые задачи по улучшению подготовки руководителей системы образования, особенно для сельских школ и школ меньшинств в бедных районах.

Este documento informa los resultados de un estudio comparativo de la preparación previa al servicio y sobre el desarrollo profesional en el servicio de los directores de escuelas urbanas versus los directores de escuelas rurales en China. El estudio es un esfuerzo conjunto de académicos de la educación en una importante universidad pública estadounidense y una universidad clave para la preparación de profesores en Shanghái y es parte de un estudio de encuestas más amplio que busca explorar y examinar los perfiles y la preparación de los directores urbanos y rurales en China, en un esfuerzo para especular las implicancias del cambio en el reclutamiento y la preparación de los directores, especialmente para las áreas rurales y minoritarias menos desarrolladas. Se administró una encuesta amplia de directores a varios cientos de directores de escuelas urbanas y rurales en China. Los hallazgos de nuestro estudio revelaron una enorme brecha y desigualdad en la cantidad y calidad de los programas de preparación y desarrollo profesional recibidos por los directores entre las áreas urbanas y rurales de China. En las grandes ciudades como Shanghái, hay programas de capacitación formales, estructurados y bien organizados que cubren temas clave para los directores tanto en el momento de su nombramiento como a lo largo de su carrera como administradores educativos, como lo han confirmado los hallazgos de TALIS de la OCDE. En contraste, la mayoría de los directores de escuelas en las vastas áreas rurales de China recibieron poca o ninguna capacitación previa al servicio debido a la falta de organización y recursos. Los líderes de las escuelas rurales tampoco tuvieron oportunidades adecuadas para participar en programas y actividades de desarrollo profesional en servicio. Además, los directores de escuelas urbanas y rurales en China difieren en sus consideraciones sobre la importancia de los temas y la urgencia de las cuestiones cubiertas en sus programas de capacitación, aunque comparten algunas preocupaciones comunes con respecto a los cambios necesarios en los programas de capacitación existentes. Los hallazgos de este estudio presentan desafíos especiales para los formuladores de políticas y los reformadores de la educación para mejorar la preparación de los líderes educativos, especialmente para las escuelas rurales y de minorías en áreas pobres.

Introduction: Background and Rationale for the Current Study

Results from the most recent Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) of 260,000 teachers and administrators in 15,000 schools across 48 countries and economies, conducted by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), reveal that Shanghai teachers and school leaders received more early training and continuous professional development programs than their counterparts in many other countries (OECD, 2019). For example, during the year of study by OECD, 99.3% of Shanghai teachers participated in some kind of professional development activities, and 100% of Shanghai principals attended at least one professional development event. These are the highest rates among all countries in the survey (OECD, 2019). In addition, the study shows that Shanghai educators are shown to have participated in more varieties of activities than educators in other countries. Impressive as it is, TALIS, which was the largest international survey of teachers and school leaders about their working conditions and learning environments, did not yield information about the variation among educators working in different regions in China, and reading the TALIS report without any knowledge of China's rural education will lead to misinterpretation and lack of understanding of the full picture of the education of educators in a large and diverse country like China. The study reported in this paper intends to fill this gap in the research literature and inform policy makers in China and beyond of the vast differences in principal preparation and development between urban and rural school principals in China.

It is well known that there is a tremendous gap in educational opportunities and accomplishments between urban and rural schools in China (Gao, 2014). On the one hand, students in large urban areas such as Shanghai and Beijing enjoy abundant resources, excellent facilities, high quality curriculum and innovative instruction provided by well-trained teachers in schools led by adequately developed principals. Students in Shanghai, for example, consistently outperform students in most other countries and ranked No. 1 in the 2009 and 2012 Program for International Student Assessment (PISA). The Chinese students in Shanghai, Beijing, Jiangsu and Zhejiang also ranked No. 1 in all basic skills areas in the 2018 PISA. Although some scholars have raised issues regarding what PISA measures and do not measure and called for a critical analysis of the outcomes of cross-national tests of student achievements (Morris, 2016), the Chinese urban students' academic achievements as demonstrated by their outstanding performances in international assessment tests are recognized and admired by educators all over the world. However, on the other end of the spectrum in Chinese education, rural school students, especially those in remote and minority areas, who are not participants in PISA, are often crowded in dilapidated buildings and struggle to grasp basic learning amid a dearth of qualified instructors and absence of strong educational leaders. Even though research evidence has showed that rural students and schools in China are the ones lagging furthest behind, China's education budget plan and spending patterns still favor urban students and schools, especially due to the focus on universities (Yue et al., 2018).

In their efforts to gather empirical evidence to improve rural education, scholars in China have conducted conscientious research studies on various aspects of rural schooling in recent years, including student enrollment and graduation (Zhang & Wang, 2013; Hou, 2016), school facilities (Bai et al., 2016; Gao et al., 2017), gender issues (Zeng et al., 2014 ; Zhou et al., 2016), parental migration and left-behind children (Li, Wang & Nie, 2017; Bai et al., 2017), health and nutrition (Liu et al., 2015; Li, Wang & Nie, 2017); and impact of early childhood development on later learning (Wei et al., 2015; Yue et al., 2017). However, very few studies have addressed issues concerning the selection, preparation and development of teachers and principals in rural schools, in comparison to urban schools. Little is known about rural educators' qualifications and preparation, and no study has explored and examined their basic beliefs, attitudes and values towards education and schooling, their views and visions for school reform, and their perceptions of the roles they can play in reform. These critical questions are largely ignored and left unanswered in the past because of the lack of expertise and efforts to develop and implement research studies on the education of educators in China.

Meanwhile, since the 1990s, some educational reformers and researchers in the U.S. and Europe have argued for the importance of the school principal's roles in school improvement and effectiveness (e.g., Sergiovanni, 1991; Cranston, 1996; Wong et al., 2004; Blase et al; 2010; NASSP & NAESP, 2013). They view the principal as the key decision-maker, facilitator, problem-solver, and agent of change at the school site (Thomson, 1993; Waters et al., 2003; Fullan, 2005; Mendels, 2012). However, although much importance has been placed on the role of school principals, little information is available about how they are selected and/or recruited, prepared and retained in the profession, and even less is known about the principals' own perspectives on what is needed in their professional development in order to serve as strong leaders to meet the challenges in modern schools.

John Goodlad, a renowned champion for American education reform, recognized the lack of empirical data for policy making and reform in teacher education and led a team of scholars, including the senior researcher for the current study, to develop and implement a multi-year National Study of the Education of Educators (SEE) in the U.S. The SEE was conceptualized on a strong argument for the moral dimensions of the education profession in a democratic society (Goodlad et al., 1990) and a set of postulates-necessary conditions for a sound teacher education program, based on a historical review of the teacher education reform literature (Goodlad, 1990). Using an exploratory approach with mixed methods (Sirotnik, 1988), the researchers for the SEE gathered data from nearly 3,000 teacher candidates in 29 representative teacher education institutions in the U.S. and made significant recommendations for teacher education reform (Goodlad, 1990). Subsequently, the SEE was successfully replicated in Chinese teacher education by the senior researcher for the current study in collaboration with teacher education scholars in China. They gathered data from more than 2,000 teacher candidates in 23 teacher education institutions across China, conducted comparative analysis of the Chinese and American national data, and drew useful lessons on teacher education reform for the international education community (e.g., Su et al., 2001, 2002). Nevertheless, these national and cross-national studies focused only on the preparation of teachers, but not on school principals.

The opportunity to extend the Study of the Education of Educators to school principals arrived when large numbers of Chinese urban school principals began to come to the U.S. for professional development programs in the 1990s. The senior researcher for the current study and her colleagues at a major American public university provided training programs to hundreds of Chinese principals, and took the opportunity to implement a comparative study of urban school principals in the U.S. and China, using the same conceptual framework and exploratory methods in the American SEE and the comparative study of teacher education in the US and China (Su et al., 2000; Su et al., 2003a). Findings from this pioneering comparative study of school principals were presented at the CIES and WCCES conference and generated great interests among international scholars. The conceptual framework and methods for this study were then adapted and replicated in Australia by the senior researcher for the current study in collaboration with a research scholar in a major Australian university (Su et al., 2003b; Su et al., 2005), and in Sweden, Japan and Hong Kong by the same Australia scholar in cooperation with education scholars in the local areas (Gamage & Ueyama, 2004; Gamage & Hansson, 2006a; Gamage & Pang, 2006b). Moreover, the SEE and the school principal studies were successfully replicated on a small scale in South Korea and Taiwan by the senior researcher's doctoral students for their dissertation research. However, all of these studies focused on teachers and principals in urban schools, not in rural schools, largely because of the researchers' acquaintance with and easy access to urban schools.

Project Goals, Development and Research Methods

Recognizing the urgent need to improve rural education in China, the American and Chinese researchers for the current study have joined efforts in the past few years to extend the successful principal study, as reviewed in the introduction, to China's rural areas. They cultivated relationships with the rural and minority region education leaders in Yunnan and provided professional development programs not only for urban school leaders but also for rural principals from the remote, poor and minority areas via China's National Rural School Principal Training Program in Shanghai. The comparative study of Chinese urban and rural school principals, therefore, became a natural outcome of these collaborative efforts. Specifically, the current study was adapted from the previous principal research to address the following questions:

1. What are the demographic characteristics in the profiles of China's urban and rural school principals?
2. How do urban and rural school leaders in China differ in their entry perspectives and commitment to educational leadership as a lifelong career?
3. What kind of preparation and professional development opportunities do they have, or not have, in common?
4. Do they hold similar or different beliefs and values in education and schooling?
5. How do they view school reform and perceive their roles in reform?

The major data collection instrument for the current study, as it was for the senior researcher's previous teacher education and principal studies, is a survey containing both structured and open-ended questions. The survey incorporates important elements in the research instruments for the SEE and principal study, which contains significant contents in principals' knowledge and skill base as identified by the National Policy Board for Educational Administration (Thomson, 1993), as well as emerging new topics for principal training programs. The principal survey covers four major areas of concern: Part I on participants' background information and demographic characteristics; Part II on participants' pre-service and in-service training experiences; Part III on participants' views on the principal's job and responsibilities as well as their fundamental beliefs in education and schooling; and Part IV on participants' perceptions of the goals and tasks of school reform.

Between 2016 and 2018, the survey questionnaire in Chinese was administered to selected school principals both in urban and rural areas in China, with support from education scholars and administrators in Shanghai, Jiangsu and Yunnan areas. The Urban data include 170 returned surveys from 125 principals in Shanghai who were participating in various professional development programs directed by the Chinese education researchers for the current study, and 45 principals in Jiangsu Province who participated in professional development programs both in Jiangsu and at the senior researcher's university in the U.S. Over 73% of the urban school leaders surveyed were principals and nearly 27% were vice principals, with an average of 15 years of experiences as teachers before they became administrators. The rural school survey data were generated from 100 principals in a typical rural and minority county in Yunnan Province and 85 principals who participated in the National Rural School Principal Training Program in Shanghai. About 72% of the rural school leaders surveyed were principals and 28% were vice principals, with an average of 14 years of experiences as teachers before they became administrators. Other prominent demographic characteristics of the participants have been organized and presented in the first report for this study (Su et al., 2019).

In addition to survey questionnaire, the researchers and their assistants also traveled to Shanghai and Yunnan between 2016 and 2019, visited representative schools and interviewed selected principals - 35 in urban schools and 38 in rural schools. The interview questions cover similar grounds as the survey questionnaire, but allowed respondents more time and freedom to explain and describe their views and perceptions. In data analysis, descriptive statistics were applied to survey data and figures were constructed to compare and contrast urban and rural principals' ratings and choices regarding their entry perspectives and commitment to leadership careers, professional development experiences, beliefs and values, and views on principals' responsibilities and school reform. Content analysis was used to synthesize interview data in order to identify common themes, differing concerns and unique examples in principals' experiences and perspectives. These techniques were chosen because the study was primarily descriptive and exploratory in nature, and was designed on the same basic concepts and principles in the senior researcher's previous comparative studies of school principals in the U.S., China and Australia (e.g., Su et al., 2000; Su et. al., 2003a; Su et al., 2003b, 2005). The limitation of the current study is that the subjects were not randomly selected from urban and rural areas in China and cannot represent all school leaders across the country. However, Shanghai and Jiangsu Province represent China's most developed urban areas and Yunan Province is China's most diverse region with more than 25 ethnic groups, most living in remote and rural areas. In addition, the rural school principals who participated in Shanghai's

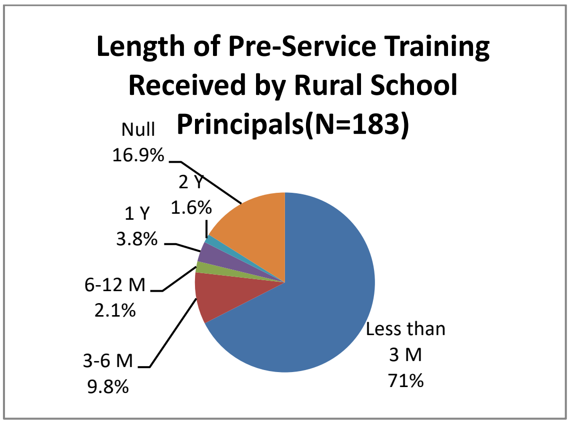
National Rural School Principal Training Program all came from rural and minority areas in China. Therefore, findings from this exploratory study can still shed light on key differences in professional preparation and development between urban and rural school principals in China, speculate implications for reform in principal preparation and retention, and provide useful lessons for improving rural education in China as well as in other parts of the world.

Findings and Discussions

In light of the large amount of survey and interview data, we have prepared several research reports on findings from the current comparative study of urban versus rural school principals in China. The demographic characteristics of principals and analysis of findings on their basic beliefs and values regarding education and schooling, their views on school reform and the role of the principal in reform, and their visions of the ideal schools in China are presented in other articles (e.g., Su et al., 2019). In this paper, the researchers examine and compare Chinese urban and rural principals' experiences in both pre-service training and in-service professional development programs and their views regarding the importance of topics and urgency of issues covered in these programs. Comparison and references are made to findings and discussions in the previous school principal studies in China, the U.S. and Australia, which were designed and implemented by the senior researcher as the project director. Implications for change in the early training and continuous development of school principals in China are speculated based on findings from the current study and in the context of relevant reform literature. In particular, recommendations are made for the preparation and development of school leaders in China's rural and minority schools in poor areas.

Pre-Service Training: Program Length

Findings from our study reveal that urban and rural school principals in China have very different experiences in pre-service training, both in length and in content. Figure 1 clearly indicates that rural school leaders received much less pre-service training than their counterparts in urban schools. Apparently, the majority of the rural principals in our study, 88%, received very little to no pre-service training before they became principals. In contrast, among the urban principals from Shanghai and Jiangsu Province in our study, more than 60% received some kind of pre-service training and more than 30% obtained one or two years of training. Still, almost 40% of the urban principals had less than 3 months of pre-service training, although this is a much smaller percentage than that in the rural sample.



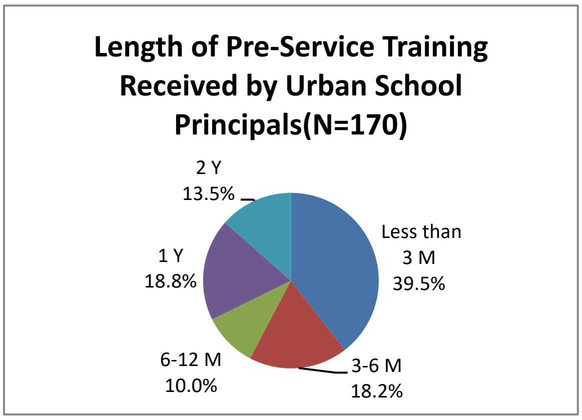


Figure 1. Pre-Service Training Received by Rural vs. Urban School Principals

Therefore, the urban principals in China have demonstrated a clear advantage in receiving much more training earlier in their career, either before or after their appointments, than rural principals. In Shanghai, for example, as early as 2000, nearly all school principals had the opportunities to participate in extensive pre-service training including formal courses on school management, educational theories and instructional leadership. In 2015, Shanghai Education Commission created the "Shanghai Modern Professional Education System Construction Plan (2015-2030) for all teachers and principals in Shanghai (Shanghai Education Commission, 2015), which requires all new and continuing educators in Shanghai to receive systematic professional development training. The official statistics indicate that more principals in Shanghai than in Singapore and Finland, two other countries that have achieved top performance scores in PISA, have received formal training in these three areas. This has come to be known as a "Shanghai Secrete" that contributed to Shanghai students' excellent performances and first-place ranking in PISA (Xu, 2016). Still, about 40% of the urban principals in our sample, including those in Shanghai, reported that they received less than 3 months of training before they took on the leadership positions. In our interview with Shanghai principals, we found that even though Shanghai Education Commission has issued a common plan for educator professional development, the education bureaus in different districts have the autonomy to create and implement somewhat different programs, both in quality and in quantity, for its educators including educational leaders, resulting in some disparity among the districts.

In the senior researcher's earlier study of school principals in the U.S. and China, the majority of the American school principals in the sample, 76%, participated in two or more years of formal pre-service training programs, 20% attended one-year programs, and only 4% received just a few months of training (Su et al., 2000). In fact, in most part of the U.S., candidates for public school principal positions are required to attend formal administrator training programs and obtain formal credentials, oftentimes graduate degrees, before they can apply for school administrators' positions. However, in a related comparative study of principals in the U.S. and Australia, the researchers found that 66% of the Australian principals in the sample did not have any pre-service training before they became school principals (Su et al., 2003b). This outcome appears to be the result of not having any pre-service requirements by the system except being a good practicing teacher. The Australian practice was and is more similar to the situation in China than in the U.S. Although many Australian universities now offer post graduate courses ranging from master's degrees to graduate certificates to help prepare teachers who want to pursue a career in administration, a postgraduate qualification is still not necessary to become a principal in Australia. In 2015, the Australian Government Department of Education invited the Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL) to develop a national school leadership development framework (AITSL, 2015). This framework has provided national consistency in getting new principals ready for the job and through a new national pre-appointment principal certification process (Australian Government Department of Education, 2019).

In this regard, both Chinese and Australian educators can draw useful lessons from the formally structured and highly organized American pre-service programs for educational administrators. As has been noted by scholars in other comparative studies (Daresh & Male, 2000), there is a long history of formal programs for principal preparation in the U.S. Since the end of the 19th century, there have been efforts to develop programs of study on the university campuses, which would enable individuals to enter the field of school management and administration (Culbertson, 1990). American principal candidates must have at least three years of teaching experience, and they must have completed formal and mandated pre-service training programs, often called first-tier administrator credential program, leading to the receipt of administrative credentials before they can apply to school leadership positions.

In most other countries including China and Australia, however, educational administration has followed the traditional apprenticeship model where future school leaders have been selected and prepared mostly by moving up the ranks from classroom teachers to master teachers to heads of the departments and to school principal positions, although there have been efforts to create and require some formal pre-service training for school administrators (Daresh & Male, 2000; Su et al., 2000). In China, where formal pre-service training is not required for principals before appointment, the National Ministry of Education now requires all the principals to obtain certificates of pre-service training before appointment or receive some kind of training within the first six months after the appointment (Chinese National Ministry of Education, 2017). Educational administration has also emerged as a formal teaching and research area in major institutions of teacher education. Nevertheless, in many areas in China including major cities, principals cannot begin to receive any formal training until they are appointed to the leadership positions. More often than not they have to learn on the job. In some cases, teachers are called upon to run for public election to the educational leadership positions. In general, school leaders in China are selected and appointed by higher level leaders, not by self-nomination or application, as it is the case in the U.S. (Su et al., 2000).

Pre-Service Training: Program Content

In our survey, we asked the principals to rate on the importance of a list of topics covered in pre-service principal training programs. Figure 2 shows a comparison of views held by Chinese urban and rural school principals. The urban principals considered "administrative leadership," "legal aspects of education," "organizational and management of schools," and "field work" as the most important topics. While the rural principals also gave their highest ratings to two of these items - "legal aspects of education" and "organization and management of schools", they also rated highly "school and community relations." In fact, rural principals considered "school and community relations" as much more important than urban principals, because of the close relationships that rural schools have with their local community and rural schools' reliance on the community to manage school affairs.

On the other hand, the rural school leaders assigned much lower ratings to "special education" than their urban counterparts. In reality, special education has not become a subject of great concern among Chinese educators, even in urban areas. Many Chinese principals who traveled to the U.S. to visit schools in recent years in the senior researcher's principal training programs have been impressed by the inclusion model in California, which not only welcomes students with special needs and disabilities in the regular classrooms but also provides them with additional resources and instructions by both general and special educators (Su, 2013). All teacher candidates in California, for example, are now required to take courses on special education laws and practices and to learn skills to work with parents and even doctors to develop individualized education plans for students with special needs and disabilities. In major

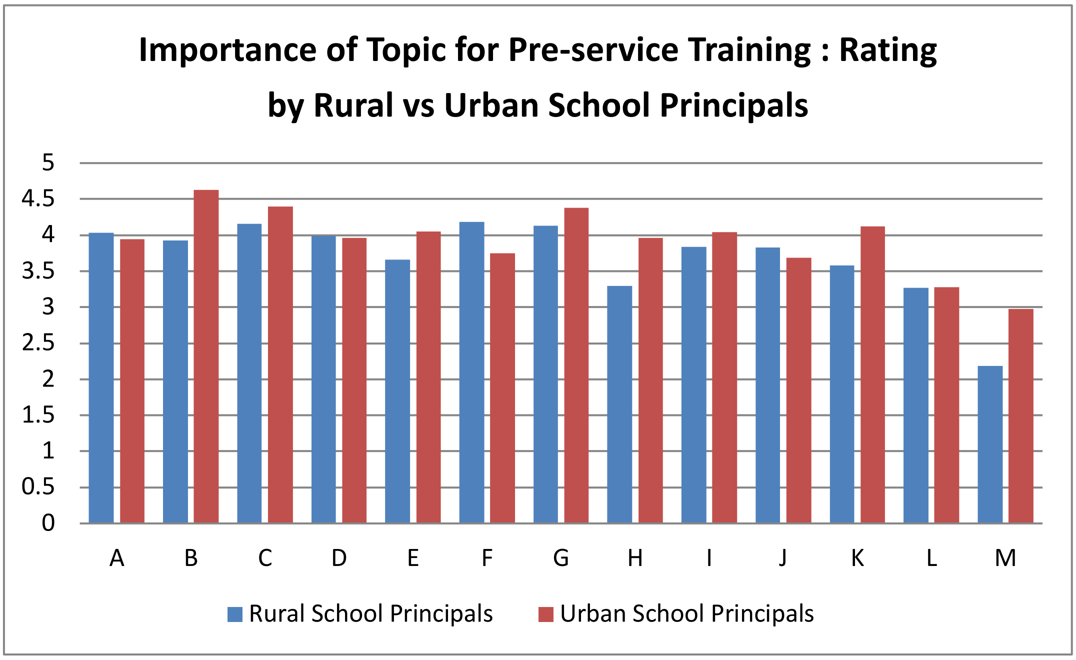


Figure 2. Importance of Topic for Pre-Service Training: Ratings by Rural vs. Urban School Principals

A. Research in Education

B. Contemporary Administrative Leadership

C. Legal Aspects of Education

D. Financial Management

E. Human Resources Management

F. School and Community relations

G. Organization and Management of Schools

H. Special education

I. Supervision of curriculum and instruction

J. Simulation in Decision-Making

K. Field work

L. Comprehensive Exam or Thesis

M. Foreign Language

cities in China, such as Shanghai, efforts have been made to establish special education resource centers in the districts, but not yet in the schools, to provide guidance and in-service development to teachers. However, no such centers exist in China's rural areas and very little information is available about rural children and youth with special needs and disabilities. Occasionally, individual children with special needs and disabilities in China are allowed to attend regular schools, if their families can provide needed assistance or pay for special assistance. In the U.S., such assistance is provided and paid for by schools with funds from the government, a point of great envy by Chinese education visitors to American classrooms.

The Chinese rural school principals also considered "foreign language" as much less important than urban principals, whose schools are striving for internationalization and providing more and more opportunities for international travel and exchange for students and teachers. "Foreign language" learning in Chinese schools often refers to the study of English as a foreign language, as it is regarded as the most useful of all foreign languages for international exchange and further learning outside of China, although Japanese and other foreign languages are also offered in some Chinese schools, as minor foreign languages. Schools in Shanghai and Jiangsu, for example, frequently organize international forums and exchange visits for educators and all students are required to study English as a major subject, almost equal in importance and quantity as the Chinese language arts, since grade three and in some schools, even grade one. It is not uncommon to find bilingual (Chinese and English) schools in large urban areas in China, but they do not exist in the rural and remote areas. Lack of adequate resources and absence of qualified teachers have deterred rural schools from offering foreign language instruction to their students, thus leaving them further behind in China's globalization efforts in education and economy.

Pre-Service Training: Recommendations for Improvement

When asked to make recommendations in open-ended survey questions and interviews to improve the existing pre-service training programs, both urban and rural school principals in China stressed that it would be critically important to create formal, structured, and early training programs for new leaders because of the significant differences between being a teacher and being a leader in schools. Unfortunately, findings from this study indicate that very few principals from the rural and minority areas in our study have received any formal pre-service training. The Chinese National Ministry of Education does not require school principals to go through extensive pre-service training before they begin to work as administrators (National Ministry of Education, 2010). In fact, no one in China can be considered a school leader and allowed to attend leadership training programs of any kind until after he/she is appointed by higher education authorities to the position. However, nearly all principals in our sample, either urban or rural, expressed strong needs for a "comprehensive and systematic" pre-service training, both in theory and in practicum under the mentorship of experienced administrators and supervision of university education scholars. One principal said it well: "without systematic pre-service training, I could only cross the river by touching the rocks in the bottom of the river，exploring and learning as I move forward."

The Chinese principals, both urban and rural, also expressed strong wishes to have more pre-service training in the area of politics and law and moral education, as these continue to be among the most emphasized elements in Chinese education and society (Chinese State Council, 2019). It is highly important for school leaders to become familiar with the changing politics and policies in China and incorporate them into the moral or political education curriculum in schools, which is a required component at all levels of schooling, although Chinese educators and scholars often lament about the lack of convincing substance in the contents of moral education, which is an urgent topic for research in China.

School safety is another common issue recognized by Chinese principals in urban and rural areas because of parents' increasing and, in some cases, excessive concerns over safety issues in schools. The principals in our study wish to have more pre-service training in this area so that they can handle various safety issues in schools. The rural principals have to serve as managers of boarding schools for the most part and school safety including food safety has become a most pressing issue for them. One rural principal from Yunnan minority area summarized the practical concerns from his peers in the region: "Pre-service training for principals is a must and should consist of three elements – how to safely manage boarding school students; how to make up for the deficits or deficiencies from students' families; and how to address students' psychological and emotional issues." He noted that there were more left-behind children in rural schools now, whose parents went to urban areas to work and make money for the families. These children seriously lacked parental love and care and had demonstrated all kinds of problems including a tendency towards violence because of their feelings of isolation and loneliness. In fact, both urban and rural principals in our study proposed that pre-service training for school leaders should include the study of psychology in order to understand and promote social and emotional development of students and to address the increasing mental health issues in schools.

In addition, both urban and rural principals in our study placed heavy emphasis on the importance of connecting theory learning with internship and fieldwork, and recommended the use of case studies, problem-solving strategies, and research seminars in their pre-service training programs. They wanted to address real issues in schools rather than to "view the flowers on paper" or "watch the flowers from the horseback," as the old Chinese saying goes. They also wished to have "more hands-on experiences," "more mentoring by experienced site administrators," "more emphasis on practical skills and realistic issues and problems that a principal may face," "more shadowing and mentoring," "more observation of exemplary principals," and "stronger link between the university and the schools." The principals pointed out the absence of these elements and criticized that some of the existing training programs were too abstract and not related to the reality in their schools to the extent that the results were just like "pouring water over a rock – no real impact." They emphasized the need to require current and prospective principals to undergo comprehensive training in educational administration and leadership with incentives provided by the system. These suggestions have strong implications for restructuring the pre-service training programs for educational administrators in China, and are quite similar in nature to the recommendations for reform in the education of educators proposed by American education reformers, as demonstrated by the postulates and recommendations proposed by researchers in the American Study of the Education of Educators (Goodlad, 1990).

In the research and reform literature, there have been strong arguments and empirical evidence as to the importance of good field experiences. Many educators consider field work and their field mentors as the most significant source of influence on the development of their fundamental education beliefs, attitudes and values (Su, 1992; Reiman & Theis-Sprinthall, 1998). Improving field experiences and internships with competent mentors and role models has been recommended as an important measure to improve graduate education programs for educational administrators in the U.S. (Schmieder, 1994; Daresh & Playko, 1993, Su et al., 2000). In California, for example, since 1997, entry-level administrators have been required to identify a university advisor and a practitioner mentor with whom to work in development/ implementation of a professional growth plan of 12-24 months duration. Doing that requires the establishment of a close relationship between the universities and those in the field (Cairns, 1995), which is often a weak point in the preparation of teachers and school leaders.

Moreover, the urban principals in our study wanted to add comparative education and international field visits as integral components to pre-service training programs, in order to broaden their perspectives and learn from educational experiences in other countries. In fact, the education commissions and district education bureaus in urban areas including those in our sample have frequently sent principals to attend professional development workshops in

Western countries in the past decade and even arranged shadowing experiences for their principals in American schools. However, such experiences are conspicuously lacking in rural principal training programs although in the most recent years, the Chinese National Ministry of Education has commissioned special training programs for rural school principals, conducted by major teacher education universities in urban areas, who have invited international education scholars to present workshops on comparative education to the participants from rural and minority areas. Although some education critics may problematize some of the contextual issues in Chinese educators' eager borrowing of ideas from the Western countries by sending large groups of educators to study and visit schools in the US and European countries, the Chinese policy makers and practitioners clearly do not have such concerns and they still look up to American and European educators for useful lessons of school administration and reform, as have been demonstrated by the findings from this study as well as the observation notes posted by rural school principals who attended the senior researcher's lectures on American education (e.g., Zhang, 2018; Li, 2018).

Finally, Chinese principals in both urban and rural areas in our study would like to receive more pre-service training on financial and human resources management, information system and technology application in education, teacher evaluation, and cultivation of personal qualifications to meet the national standards for school leaders. They recognized that principals must learn to guide teachers and know the methods and strategies to bring out teachers' initiatives- only in this way can school leaders and teachers become a unified force, rather than "a plate of loose sand" as the Chinese saying goes, in order to engage effectively in school reform. On their visits to American schools, the Chinese principals often find that one of the first things American principals like to talk about is school budget and financial planning, whereas the Chinese principals almost always begin the introduction to their schools with citations of academic achievements (Su, 2013). With the increasing modernization and to some extent the Westernization of education in urban areas in China, the Chinese principals now want to learn more about school finance and to become shrew leaders in financial planning, following the examples of American principals they met on their fields trips to American schools.

In-Service Training – Program Length

Similar to findings on pre-service training, our study reveals that the urban school principals in China have received much more in-service professional development than rural school principals. As shown by data presented in Figure 3, among the urban principals, more than 45% of them received one or two years of in-service training and about 20% of them obtained 3-6 months of training, although 34% of them only had 1-2 months of in-service training. Clearly some disparity exists among urban principals. In comparison, for the rural principals in our study, 25% of them received no in-service training at all, 38% had just 1-2 months of training, 35% obtained 3-6 months of training, and only 3% obtained 1 year of training.

Apparently, urban principals in China, especially those in Shanghai, have participated in more systematic professional development programs than rural school principals. In fact, Shanghai principals rank on the top in professional development even in comparison to some developed countries, as indicated by findings in the most recent TALIS (OECD, 2019). Shanghai principals in our study revealed that they usually attend structured and well-planned

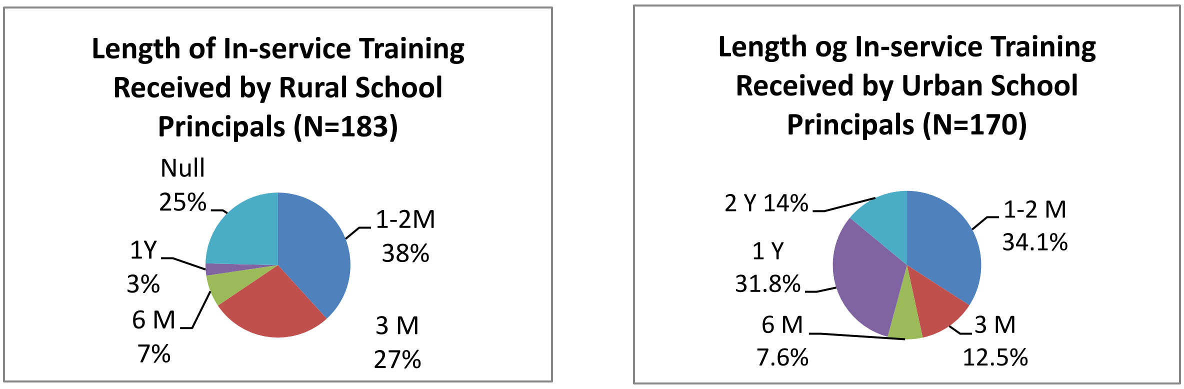


Figure 3. In-service Training Received by Rural vs. Urban School Principals

pre-service training after their appointment to principal positions, then continued their professional development with abundant opportunities throughout their careers, including field visits to schools in other countries. An earlier study by OECD also found that 97.9% of the middle school principals in Shanghai received formal trainings, both pre-service and in-service, on school management, education theory and instructional leadership. This was a higher rate than the international average – 78.8% - for all the principals from 38 countries who participated in the study (Xu，2016). As early as 2000, Shanghai was leading China in creating a ladder system for elementary and secondary school principals, which consists of four ladders and 11 levels. Shanghai has established a systematic principal development program that matches this ladder system, which no other cities in the world can rival with. Therefore, Shanghai principals are gradually becoming "lifetime learners" in their professional career (Xu, 2016).

On the other end of the spectrum, our study reveals that there is still a considerable number of urban principals in our study, 34%, who received only 1-2 months of in-service training since they became principals. Clearly, inequality of opportunities also exists among urban schools and some of the principals received much more professional development training than others. In China, the municipal education commissions and district education bureaus have their own education institutions and training centers to provide professional development programs to teachers and principals, thus the quality and quantity of training can vary from district to district. It is important to note that Chinese institutions of higher learning, including those in teacher education and educational administration, are only marginally involved in in-service training programs for practicing educators. District education institutions and teacher development centers, not schools and colleges of education in universities, are the major providers of in-service development programs for school teachers and principals, resulting in significant disparity in the quality and quantity of training programs among the districts even in one city.

As can be expected, the conditions and circumstances in China's rural areas are much more difficult and principals in China's rural schools do not have opportunities to receive high quality and sufficient amount of in-service development, just as they do not have such opportunities for pre-service training. Our survey and interview data demonstrate that most of the rural principals have received little to no in-service training. In recent years, the Chinese National Ministry of Education has made efforts to provide more professional development opportunities to rural school leaders, both in their local areas and in large cities, in partnership with major teacher training universities. However, the rural principals in our study reported that only very few rural school principals had opportunities to attend these in-service training programs.

In-Service Training: Program Content

When asked to indicate the relative importance of selected topics in in-service education, the Chinese urban and rural principals expressed similar views with some variations, as shown by Figure 4. The urban principals considered “leadership studies,” “field work in schools,” and “moral and ethical principles” as the most important topics for in-service training. The rural principals also regarded these topics as the most important, although they gave them lower ratings than urban principals. Both urban and rural principals assigned the same level of importance to “self-reflection and evaluation.” The rural principals also assigned higher ratings to “financial management” than urban principals, as more and more rural school leaders are confronted with the management tasks of not only academic learning, but also residential living for boarding school students. On the other hand, urban principals regarded “data analysis and interpretation” as much more important than rural school leaders, as the urban schools are more equipped with technology, more exposed to digitalization, and received more demands from leadership to gather data for educational innovation and reform purposes.

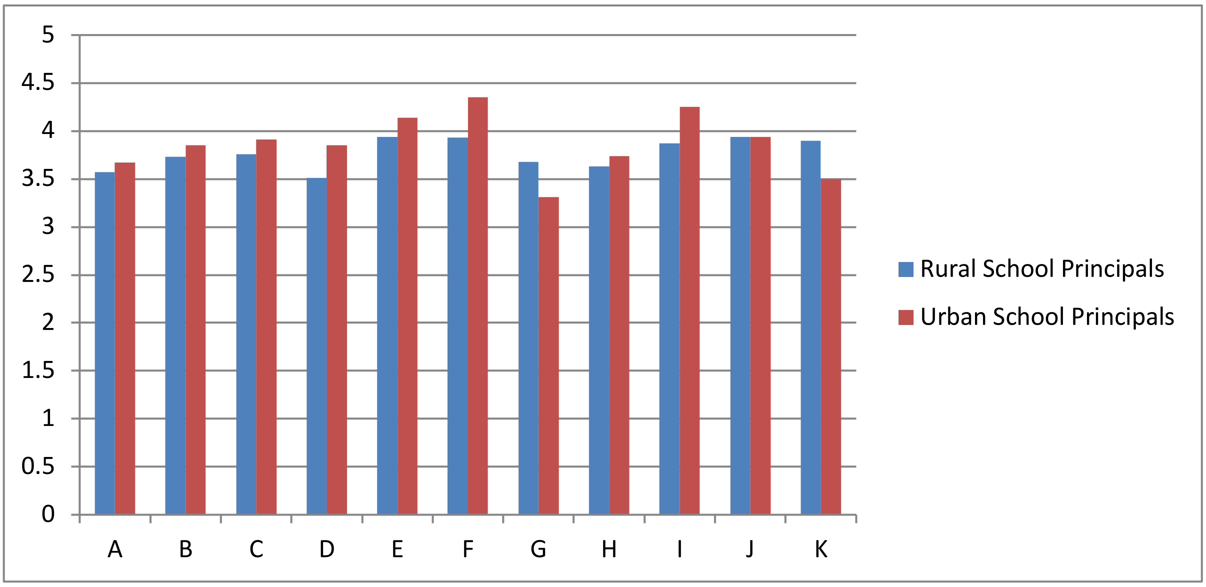


Figure 4. Importance of Topic for Pre-Service Training: Ratings by Rural vs. Urban School Principals

A. Mentoring

B. Organization Theory

C. Technology Application

D. Data Analysis and Interpretation

E. Moral and ethical principles

F. Leadership studies

G. Financial Management

H. Politics and Policy

I. Fieldwork in schools

J. Self-reflection and evaluation

K. Equity and diversity in Education

It is important to note that the rural principals in our study considered "equity and diversity in education" as one of the most significant topics in in-service training and gave it much higher rating than urban principals, most likely because of their keen awareness of the lack of educational opportunities for poor and minority students in rural areas. Most of the rural principals expressed strong feelings to work towards the goals of eliminating poverty and helping rural students transcend their dire status through education and schooling. In contrast, the urban principals gave this topic a much lower rating than their rural school counterparts, although China's urban areas are also becoming increasingly diverse with large numbers of migrant workers from the rural areas and less developed regions. In the past, migrant workers' children could not attend local schools in urban areas because they did not have urban residency cards. But in recent years, with the implementation of reform measures to provide all children with equal educational opportunities, migrant workers' children have been able to receive their compulsory education in urban schools close to where their migrant families live, but their parents still have to pay extra fees for them to schools. In addition, after 9-year compulsory education, the migrant workers' children must return to their hometowns in rural or less developed areas to attend high schools and to participate in the entrance exams for universities. Therefore, the small advantages that they may have gained in urban schooling during their compulsory education years would be easily lost, resulting in unequal footing and preparation for higher education and high status jobs.

The rural principals in our study who participated in the national training programs for them in Shanghai were very grateful to have the opportunities for professional development, but they felt that the urban schools they observed were too different from their rural schools to apply what they learned. Nevertheless, when they interacted with school principals in large cities and engaged in discussions on critical issues in schools, they claimed to have benefitted tremendously from the liberal views and worldly perspectives of urban principals, based on the interview data from the current study. Efforts need to be made by education institutions in large cities that provide this kind of professional development programs to rural school principals to make both the contents and format of training more relevant to the needs of rural principals. Some scholars in the West may question the one-way flow of support from urban to rural schools, but that is the reality and necessity in China right now because of the huge differences in educational quality between urban and rural schools and the lack of resources in the countryside. In fact, the education scholars in the teacher training institution in Shanghai who are collaborators for the current study have already begun to use our principal survey as an instrument to gather data from the rural principals to learn and understand their backgrounds, perspectives, needs and goals so that they can make changes in the existing programs for rural principals.

In addition, the rural principals in our study noted some other conspicuous discrepancies and deficiencies in the existing in-service training. When they attended the professional development workshops run by their county education bureaus, they often found the contents of training were based on China's economically more developed regions such as Beijing and Shanghai, and the format of training was largely classroom lectures without connection to rural school practice. They observed that this kind of programs were not relevant to the major issues of education encountered by them in rural education and some of the advanced education practices in developed urban areas were not suitable in application for the backward rural schools. Also, when training programs on critical issues are not offered to principals earlier in their career, it could result in serious consequences. For example, some rural principals lamented that trainings on safety matters and other urgent school issues often took place after accidents happened, therefore they were constantly on the defensive to mend holes rather than well prepared to take initiatives to prevent bad situations from occurring in schools.

In-Service Training: Recommendations for Improvement

In making recommendations for improving the existing in-service training programs, the rural principals in our study expressed deep appreciation for the increasing opportunities they now have to attend professional development workshops both in their local areas and in large cities and major metropolitan areas such as Shanghai. However, they reiterated that these programs should be tailored more to their special needs and situations in the rural areas. They also want to see more connections between theory learning and practical issue consideration, and more cultural exchanges and communication among local school principals. Many of the rural principals in our study received their appointments as school leaders with very short notices and had had no management skills when they embarked on school leadership work. They would like to have more opportunities to visit advanced or model schools in and beyond their regions and to shadow successful principals to learn and improve their own leadership skills. In addition, the rural principals in our study considered it very important for them to participate in special training programs on the emotional and psychological health of their teachers and students because of the great pressures on teachers and tremendous stress on students, especially those in boarding schools, who missed their families and lacked skills to take care of their own daily lives. Teachers in these schools were not just teachers, but also care-takers and house-keepers for young students - some of them were as young as five years old and had received little care and guidance from their own parents and relatives.

In comparison, urban principals in our study also wanted to have more in-service training in school management, parent education and psychological counseling. They wished to learn more theories and strategies to improve the quality of their teaching staff and to enhance the feeling of happiness among their teachers and students. They pointed out that shadowing famous and successful principals was a great way for novice school leaders to learn from the seasoned and accomplished administrators. In addition, they felt that they could benefit from specialized studies on legal aspects of safety issues, management of boarding schools, and how to cultivate unique talents and characteristics for their schools. They believed that case studies, problem-oriented methods, seminars on reform in teaching and learning could all yield productive in-service professional development. The urban principals seemed to be poised to become lifelong learners, not just participants in one or two workshops. They also appeared very eager and ready to learn from excellent educational experiences outside of their own comfort zones and geographic areas to overcome their shortcomings.

Our subjects' observations and suggestions are not new. Reformers in the U.S. have repeatedly recommended "pairing" and "mentoring" of novice principals with experienced and exemplary administrators on the job (Blumberg & Greenfield, 1986; Elsberry & Bishop, 1993; Daresh & Playko, 1993; Adams, 1999), where leadership and management skills are taught along with counseling in times of trouble, creativity is nourished, and advice is provided on job and career decisions (Parks, 1991). They also point to the need to include in the in-service training for school leaders more on-site content, careful choice of the contexts, and systematic planning by school systems and universities (Goodlad, 1990; Hart & Weindling, 1992). Moreover, some researchers have argued that in-service training of education administrators should focus more on life situations than on academic subjects (Richardson & Prickett, 1994) and that it is critical to offer in-service training in context-laden situations so that novice administrators can learn to devise solutions relevant to their local conditions (Murphy & Hallinger, 1987). These measures have been implemented in American professional development programs for school leaders, but Chinese educators can also benefit from these reform policies and plans.

In a cross-national study, Coleman and his associates (1996) reported that while mentoring was often part of the pre-service administrator-training process in the US and Singapore, in the United Kingdom it took place as in-service education for the new principal already in a position. In such cases, the new English principal tended to place high value on the support obtained from a trusted peer. Another study in Australia found successes in a peer assistance program involving training, observation, and feedback (Brady, 1996). In addition, Adams' study (1999) in California indicated that such support was increasingly the norm in that the school districts developed in-service mentoring programs in collaboration with university advisors, as required by the state's certifying agency, and established comprehensive in-house institutes and academies to aid new administrators and increase the likelihood of their success.

Recognizing the fragmented nature, the short duration and the lack of consistency in their in-service professional development programs, the Chinese principals in our study, both urban and rural, suggested that the future programs be organized in a more consistent, structured and comprehensive manner and with more emphasis on up-to-date knowledge and practice. They all expressed fond hopes to become lifelong learners and to participate in regular, structured, and continuous professional development programs throughout their education careers. They also wanted to have more opportunities to share information with colleagues both at home and abroad, and they were particularly interested in lessons of school reform from other nations.

Indeed, the Chinese educators can draw useful lessons from the American educational administrator development programs. The American in-service programs for school leaders, like the pre-service programs, tend to be more formal, more structured and developed, often located on the university campus in partnership with local schools. In addition, professional organizations, state and county agencies, and school districts provide various professional development programs for school leaders. For example, in California, since early in the 1990s, school administrators have been required to take a second tier administrative credential program provided by education schools and colleges in universities in collaboration with school districts, after completing a first tier pre-service training program, before they can continue in their leadership positions in schools. They are also encouraged to engage in lifelong learning and professional development throughout their careers (Su et al., 2000).

In fact, in recent years, many urban school principals in China have had the opportunities to visit schools in other countries as a part of their in-service professional development programs. Each year, the American researchers for this study would develop and provide in-service training programs for Chinese teachers and school leaders, who are eager to learn the most advanced educational theories and practices in cross-national and cross-cultural settings. In some Chinese urban schools, the principals have even hired international educators to serve on the faculty and the leadership team, and created curriculum and instructional programs that closely matched those in the best schools in other countries, such as the STEM program and the inclusion model in American education. Unfortunately, rural school leaders in China are conspicuously absent from professional development programs for international visits and collaboration, although some Chinese entrepreneurs such as Jack Ma (Ma Yun) have established a limited number of reward programs to select and send rural teachers and principals for professional development programs both at home in urban settings and abroad in other countries.

Summary and Implications

In examining the pre-service and in-service preparation of school principals in China, the researchers found a giant gap between urban and rural areas and some confusion regarding the differences between pre-service and in-service professional development, since most school principals in China are selected and appointed by higher level leaders and no one can voluntarily enter the field of educational administration by applying to a training program, as is the situation in American educational administrator preparation programs. In large cities like Shanghai, there are now formal, structured and well-organized training programs covering key topics for principals both at the time of appointment and throughout their career as educational administrators, although about 40% of the urban principals in our study still claimed that they only received less than 3 months of pre-service training, as urban districts vary in their regulations and practices regarding principal training. Among the rural school principals, more than two thirds fell under this category and some never received any pre-service training.

Lessons can be drawn from comparative studies and the American educator preparation programs, which require all principals to receive formal and graduate level pre-service training before they assume leadership positions. In fact, the route to principalship in the U.S. can only take place through the completion of university courses, academic degrees, and governmental licensure (Daresh & Male, 2000). Although the Chinese National Ministry of Education (2017) now requires principals to receive some formal training with a certificate after appointment, very few teacher training institutions in China offer systematic programs to new and continuing school leaders. Service training for educational leadership in China, either pre-service or in-service, have been left mostly to district education bureaus and their affiliated teacher training centers and education institutions, which can vary greatly in their approaches and contents, depending on the local resources and decisions made by district education bureau officials.

In considering the importance of topics in pre-service training for school administrators, the urban and rural school principals in our study held both similar and different views. While they all considered legal aspects of education and organizational management of schools as the most important topics, urban school principals assigned higher ratings to special education than rural principals, as major cities in China have begun to pay attention to the education of students with special needs and disabilities. They still have a long way to go in this direction in order to catch up with American schools, which have adopted an inclusion model in an attempt to provide equal educational opportunities to students with special needs and disabilities, a major point of envy by visiting Chinese principals and teachers to American classrooms. The rural schools in China are even further behind in providing special education programs to students, even though educators have become increasingly aware of and concerned over the mental health issues of rural students, especially those left behind by their parents. One thing in common among the urban and rural school principals in our study is that they all recommended the establishment of formal, comprehensive and systematic pre-service training programs for principals before they assume leadership positions and they wanted the program to place emphasis on moral education, school safety issues, psychological and mental issues of students, and field work which could help them apply theories in practice under the guidance of experienced mentors in school leadership. The urban principals also wanted to add comparative education and international field visits as necessary components in their pre-service training so that they can broaden their perspectives and learn from schools in other countries. All major education institutions and large cities in China have established some kind of partnerships with education institutions in other countries, with frequent exchange visits and joint professional development programs. However, such programs and collaboration need to be expanded to include rural schools in China, which still occupy a large portion or two-thirds of China's compulsory education.

Our comparative analysis of in-service training programs for school principals in China also revealed vast differences between urban and rural areas. Urban principals have received much more in-service training than their peers in rural schools, although disparity also exists among urban principals in different districts, even in the same city. While principals in Shanghai have obtained high-quality, well-planned and abundant in-service training that can rival and even surpass those in some developed countries, most rural principals in China have received very little to no in-service training after they became principals because of the lack of resources and opportunities. The challenge for Chinese educational policy makers and reformers is to develop and provide the same kind of high quality in-service programs in major cities to the vast number of rural school principals. In addition, these programs need to be carefully designed or re-designed to be relevant to the special needs and circumstances in China's rural areas.

In considering the importance of topics for in-service training, both urban and rural principals in China assigned highest scores to leadership studies, field work and moral and ethical principles. The rural principals also considered equity and diversity in education as one of the most important topics and gave it a much higher rating than urban principals. Education was viewed by our rural principals as one of the most important vehicles to transform poor and rural areas in China and a best opportunity for rural youth to transcend their own limitations and circumstances. Although there is a lack of ethnic diversity in major urban areas in China, there is an increasing flow of migrant workers into the cities and most of them are from poor rural areas with large groups of ethnic minorities. Therefore, urban educators in China also need to confront the challenge of diversity and strive to provide equal educational opportunities to both the original urban residents and the children of migrant workers.

Like their consideration in improving pre-service training, the urban and rural school principals in our study wanted to participate in more systematic and more substantial in-service professional development programs. The rural principals emphasized the need to make training programs relevant to rural experiences, special needs and unique goals. Both urban and rural principals recognized the seriousness of psychological and mental health issues for students and wanted to attend special programs to enhance their knowledge and skills in working with such students. In addition, they all wished to shadow successful principals and receive mentoring from experienced and successful educational leaders. China has a strict retirement age requirement – men at 60 and women at 55, which provides a unique opportunity for retired but still energetic principals to share their expertise and experiences as mentors for new principals in schools. Special programs have been developed in some Chinese areas for retired urban principals to work with rural school principals in order to improve rural education. At the same time, principals in China's urban areas have begun to study and visit schools abroad, and even shadowed American principals in selected American schools. More opportunities should be provided to rural principals in China, for them to shadow successful principals and to participate in more in-service training programs both in their local areas and in large cities, as well as abroad.

Fortunately, in recent years, the Central Government in China has embarked on an ambitious infrastructure program that aims to rebuild nearly every primary and secondary school in rural China (Lai et al, 2014), and the contract teachers for rural schools have been replaced by civil servants, who now receive consistent pay from the central government (Wang et al., 2017). Students in rural schools in China are now receiving a free education – free tuition, free books and in extremely poor areas, free lunches (Chyi & Zhou, 2014). Most recently, the "2018 No. 1 Central Document" released by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the State Council of China (2018) addresses the unbalanced and inadequate development in China's vast rural areas, stresses the need to tackle fundamental issues relating to agriculture, rural areas, and rural people, and charts a roadmap for rural vitalization. Among the policies proposed by China's State Council, the priority is placed on the development of rural education with a focus on consolidating compulsory education. Moreover, the Chinese State Council issued a Supporting Plan for Rural Teachers (2015-2020), which aimed at providing consistent support including higher status and salary to educators working in rural and remote areas (State Council, 2015). Clearly, there is still a long way to go before China can realize this grand plan and to retain high quality educators for rural schools.

Findings from this study confirms the notion from previous research that school principals are at the center of school improvement efforts and a key factor to such improvement is the adequacy and consistency of the preparation and development programs for school leaders. The public expectations are very high and the organizational demands on principals and principal development programs are profound. It is hoped that educational policy makers and reformers in China and beyond will draw meaningful lessons from this comparative study in their efforts to recruit and prepare more and better school leaders in order to meet the challenges of the 21st Century and unexpected demands of a changing society. It is also hoped that more comprehensive, substantial and well-structured pre-service and in-service programs for school principals will emerge in China in the near future, in light of the best practices in different parts of the world. If we expect teachers and school leaders to become lifelong learners and innovators for school reform, as OECD researchers have hoped for (OECD, 2019), we must advocate and provide equal and high-quality preparation and professional development programs to them, both in urban and rural areas.

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Who Goes to Private Colleges in India and Why? Determinants of Students' Choice of Engineering Institutions in India[1]

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Engineering education is offered in India in public institutions -- central and state government institutions, government-funded (aided) private institutions and private institutions. Graduates of higher secondary education wishing to pursue studies in engineering education face a choice problem -- which institution to choose: public or private? Based on a sample survey of about 7,000 students enrolled in engineering institutions for their undergraduate (first) degree programme in 40 institutions located in four different states in India, the paper examines why do students choose to go to private or government colleges/universities. In the background of school choice theory and demand for higher education, a probit regression model is estimated, which links the choice of the type of higher education institution (private or public) with a set of socio-economic, individual, institutional and other factors. Among the statistically significant factors, after caste and gender, the most important ones that explain the choice of private institutions are preference for modern streams of engineering, secondary schooling in non-English medium schools, and the high cost of education. The next three important factors relate to academic background of the students: secondary schooling in a school affiliated to state board, the location of the school (in rural areas) and mother’s education. Meritorious students – students who score high marks in secondary level examination, prefer government to private institutions. Mother’s education has a negative effect on the probability of a student preferring a private institution. It should be noted that singling out different factors that explain students’ choice is important; but is indeed difficult and methodologically problematic as many factors interplay among themselves. Hence the results need to be interpreted with caution.

Keywords: Demand, Engineering education, Private institutions, Public institutions, Choice of institutions, Entrance examinations, India

يتم تقديم التعليم الهندسي في الهند في المؤسسات العامة - المؤسسات الحكومية المركزية والحكومية، والمؤسسات الخاصة الممولة من الحكومة (بمساعدة) والمؤسسات الخاصة. يواجه خريجو التعليم الثانوي الراغبون في متابعة دراساتهم في التعليم الهندسي مشكلة اختيار - أي مؤسسة تختار: عامة أم خاصة؟ استنادًا إلى عينة استقصائية لحوالي 7000 طالب مسجلين في

[1] An earlier version of the paper was presented in the XVII World Congress of Comparative Education Societies, held in Cancun, Mexico (20-24 May 2019).

المؤسسات الهندسية لبرنامج درجة البكالوريوس (الأول) في 40 مؤسسة تقع في أربع ولايات مختلفة في الهند، تبحث الورقة لماذا يختار الطلاب الذهاب إلى كليات / جامعات خاصة أو حكومية. في خلفية نظرية الاختيار المدرسي والطلب على التعليم العالي، يتم تقدير نموذج الانحدار الاحتمالي، والذي يربط اختيار نوع مؤسسة التعليم العالي (خاصة أو عامة) بمجموعة من العوامل الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والفردية والمؤسسية وغيرها. .
من بين العوامل ذات الدلالة الإحصائية، بعد الطبقة والجنس، أهم العوامل التي تفسر اختيار المؤسسات الخاصة هي تفضيل المسارات الحديثة للهندسة ، والتعليم الثانوي في المدارس المتوسطة غير الإنجليزية ، وارتفاع تكلفة التعليم. تتعلق العوامل الثلاثة المهمة التالية بالخلفية الأكاديمية للطلاب: التعليم الثانوي في مدرسة تابعة لمجلس الولاية ، وموقع المدرسة (في المناطق الريفية) وتعليم الأم.
أما الطلاب الجديرون بالتقدير - الطلاب الذين يحصلون على درجات عالية في امتحان المستوى الثانوي ، يفضلون المؤسسات الحكومية على المؤسسات الخاصة. تعليم الأم له تأثير سلبي في احتمال تفضيل الطالب لمؤسسة خاصة. وتجدر الإشارة إلى أن تحديد العوامل المختلفة التي تفسر اختيار الطلاب أمر مهم ؛ لكنها بالفعل صعبة ومنهجية إشكالية حيث أن العديد من العوامل تتفاعل فيما بينها. ومن ثم يجب تفسير النتائج بحذر.

在印度，工程教育一直被公共机构-中央和州政府机构，政府资助的（资助的）私人机构和私人机构所提供。希望攻读工程教育的高中毕业生面临着一个选择问题--选择哪个机构：公立还是私立？本文对位于印度四个不同州的 40 个机构中的工程学机构进行调查，邀请该校就读本科（主修）学位课程的约 7,000 名学生进行抽样，研究了学生为什么选择去私立或公立大学/大学的原因。在学校选择理论和高等教育需求的背景下，本文用概率回归模型将高等教育机构类型（私立或公立）的选择与一系列社会经济，个人，制度和其他因素联系在一起。在具有统计学意义的因素中，除了种姓和性别之外，解释私有机构选择的最重要因素是偏爱现代工程学、在非英语中学接受中学教育、以及高昂的教育费用。接下来的三个重要因素与学生的学业背景有关：州议会所属学校的中学教育，学校的位置（在农村地区）和母亲的教育程度。优秀学生–在中考中得分较高的学生，更喜欢政府而不是私人机构。母亲的教育会对学生偏爱私立学校的可能性产生负面影响。应该注意的是，虽然挑选出不同的因素来解释学生的选择很重要，但是这种解释确实是困难复杂、而且在方法上存在问题，因为许多因素相互之间存在着影响。因此，本文的研究结果需要被谨慎解读。

L'enseignement de l'ingénierie est offert en Inde dans des institutions publiques - institutions gouvernementales centrales et étatiques, institutions privées financées par le gouvernement et institutions privées. Les diplômés de l'enseignement secondaire supérieur souhaitant poursuivre des études d'ingénieur sont confrontés à un problème de choix - quelle institution choisir: publique ou privée? Sur la base d'une enquête par sondage auprès d'environ 7000 étudiants inscrits dans des établissements d'ingénierie pour leur programme de premier cycle diplômant dans 40 établissements situés dans quatre États différents en Inde, l'article examine pourquoi les étudiants choisissent d'aller dans des collèges / universités privées ou publiques. Dans le contexte de la théorie du choix de l'école et de la demande d'enseignement supérieur, un modèle de régression est estimé, qui relie le choix du type d'établissement d'enseignement supérieur (privé ou public) à un ensemble de facteurs socio-économiques, individuels, institutionnels et autres. Parmi les facteurs statistiquement significatifs, après la caste et le sexe, les plus importants qui expliquent le choix des institutions privées sont la préférence pour les filières modernes d'ingénierie, l'enseignement secondaire dans des écoles moyennes non anglophones et le coût élevé de l'éducation. Les trois autres facteurs importants ont trait au parcours scolaire des élèves: la scolarité secondaire dans une école affiliée à un conseil d'État, l'emplacement de l'école (dans les zones rurales) et l'éducation de la mère. Les étudiants méritants - les étudiants qui obtiennent des notes élevées à l'examen de niveau secondaire préfèrent les institutions publiques aux institutions privées. L'éducation de la mère a un effet négatif sur la probabilité que l'élève préfère un établissement privé. Il convient de noter qu'il est important de distinguer les différents facteurs qui expliquent le choix des élèves; mais est en effet difficile et problématique sur le plan méthodologique car de nombreux facteurs interagissent entre eux. Par conséquent, les résultats doivent être interprétés avec prudence.

Инженерное образование предлагается в Индии в государственных учреждениях - центральных и государственных учреждениях, финансируемых (поддерживаемых)

государством частных учреждениях и частных учреждениях. Выпускники среднего образования, желающие продолжить обучение в области инженерного образования, сталкиваются с проблемой выбора - какое учебное заведение выбрать: государственное или частное? Основываясь на выборочном опросе около 7000 студентов, обучающихся в инженерных вузах по программе бакалавриата (первый раз) в 40 учебных заведениях, расположенных в четырех разных штатах Индии, в статье исследуется, почему студенты предпочитают поступать в частные или государственные колледжи / университеты. На основе теории выбора школы и спроса на высшее образование оценивается пробит-регрессионная модель, которая связывает выбор типа высшего учебного заведения (частное или государственное) с набором социально-экономических, индивидуальных, институциональных и других факторов.
Среди статистически значимых факторов, помимо кастовых и гендерных, наиболее важными факторами, объясняющими выбор частных учебных заведений, являются предпочтение современным направлениям инженерии, среднее образование в школах с неанглоязычным средним образованием и высокая стоимость образования. Следующие три важных фактора связаны с академической подготовкой учащихся: среднее образование в школе, входящей в состав Государственного совета, расположение школы (в сельской местности) и образование матери. Отличники – студенты, получившие высокие оценки на экзамене среднего уровня, предпочитают государственные учреждения частным учебным заведениям. Образование матери оказывает негативное влияние на вероятность того, что студент предпочтет частное учебное заведение. Следует отметить, что выделение различных факторов, объясняющих выбор студентов, важно, но действительно сложно и методологически проблематично, так как многие факторы взаимодействуют между собой. Следовательно, результаты должны интерпретироваться с осторожностью.

La educación en ingeniería se ofrece en la India en instituciones públicas -instituciones gubernamentales centrales y estatales, instituciones privadas financiadas, con ayuda del gobierno e instituciones privadas. Los graduados de la educación secundaria que deseen estudiar ingeniería se enfrentan a un problema de elección: ¿qué institución elegir: pública o privada? Basado en una encuesta de una muestra de aproximadamente 7,000 estudiantes matriculados en instituciones de ingeniería para su programa de (primer) pregrado en 40 instituciones ubicadas en cuatro estados diferentes de la India, este documento examina por qué los estudiantes eligen ir a colegios/universidades privados o gubernamentales. En el contexto de la teoría de la elección de escuela y la demanda de educación superior, se estima un modelo de regresión probit, que vincula la elección del tipo de institución de educación superior (privada o pública) con un conjunto de factores socioeconómicos, individuales, institucionales y otros. Entre los factores estadísticamente significativos, después de la casta y el género, que explican la elección de instituciones privadas, los más importantes son la preferencia por las corrientes modernas de la ingeniería, la educación secundaria en escuelas medias de no habla inglesa y el alto costo de la educación. Los siguientes tres factores importantes se relacionan con los antecedentes académicos de los estudiantes: la educación secundaria en una escuela afiliada a la junta estatal, la ubicación de la escuela (en áreas rurales) y la educación de la madre. Los estudiantes meritorios, aquellos que obtienen altas calificaciones en los exámenes de nivel secundario, prefieren las instituciones gubernamentales a las privadas. La educación de la madre tiene un efecto negativo en la probabilidad de que el estudiante prefiera una institución privada. Cabe señalar que es importante destacar los diferentes factores que explican la elección de los estudiantes; pero de hecho es difícil y metodológicamente problemático ya que muchos factores interactúan entre sí. Por tanto, los resultados deben interpretarse con cautela.

Introduction and the Problem

Higher education in India has expanded very fast since the early 1990s. In 2018-19 there were nearly one thousand universities, 40,000 colleges and 11,000 'stand-alone institutions'-- all with nearly 37 million students (MHRD, 2019). But within higher education, it is private education that expanded at an alarming growth (Tilak, 2009). Compared to almost zero base in late 1980s, today there are 385 private universities and 90 private 'intuitions deemed to be universities'. Nearly 80 percent of the colleges are private colleges – 65 percent of all colleges are private colleges that rely more or less exclusively on student fees and 15 percent government-supported private colleges. Private education accounts for nearly two-thirds of enrolments in general higher education and more than three-fourths in professional education.

Among the major branches of higher education, engineering & technology is third major stream with four million students enrolled, constituting 16 percent of the total enrolments in higher education in 2017-18 (MHRD, 2018). Engineering education, like other branches of higher education, including general higher education, is offered in India in public institutions -- central and state government institutions, government-funded (aided) private institutions and private institutions (also known as unaided or self-financing institutions which are almost exclusively dependent on student tuition). There has been a very rapid growth of private universities and colleges during the last quarter century. Even though a good number of private colleges of engineering are getting closed during the last few years, and enrolments in private colleges are declining, private sector still accounts for a major share both in the number of institutions and in student enrolments in technical education as well as in general higher education. In the sphere of engineering education which is a part of technical education in India, the private institutions account for nearly three-fourths of the total (2017-18), as per All-India Council for Technical Education (AICTE) statistics.[2] In terms of students also, as high as 75 percent are enrolled in private (self-financing) institutions.

Secondary school graduates today are confronted with a choice problem, between public and private institutions: faced with an increase in choice, it is natural for school graduates to be anxious on how to make efficient choices. In practice, graduates of higher secondary education wishing to pursue studies in engineering education seek admission in many or all these institutions and finally the successful graduates end up in taking admission in one institution.

Demand for private education has been explained in the literature in terms of 'excess demand' (demand for education exceeding supply of public education) (Weisbrod, 1977) and 'differentiated demand' (demand for private education for quality or for any other kind of education different from one provided in public institutions) (James, 1986, 1987). It is generally felt that in case of higher education in India, it is the phenomenon of excess demand, and not much the differentiated demand, that explains the growth of private education. Students may opt to go to private universities or colleges for a variety of reasons, primarily because of inadequate supply of public education, and secondly due to higher perceived quality offered by the private institutions, inability to get, with low qualifying scores, admission in government institutions, availability of residential/hostel facilities in public institutions, physical distance of the institution, and several other factors.

Demand for higher education has long been analysed by researchers in many countries, using human capital theory (e.g., Cohn & Morgan, 1977-78; Clotfelter & Rothschild, 1993; Chowdry et al., 2008). In India also there are quite a few studies (e.g., Chakrabarti, 2009; Basant & Sen, 2010; Choudhury, 2012 for a survey). They concentrated on overall demand for higher education, but not separately for private education vis-à-vis public education and highlighted the importance of family economic and social background, apart from fees and other aspects, and at macro level growth in population, in explaining demand for education. Quite a few scholars have examined the issue of university choice and the factors that influence the same (see Muniswamy et al., 2014 for a survey). What is less analysed is the factors that determine the choice of a type of institution for higher education – public or private. While the literature on school choice focusing on public-private distinction is somewhat abundant, but is mostly

[2] http://www.facilities.aicte-india.org/dashboard/pages/dashboardaicte.php

confined to school level education; very few studies have focused on higher education, higher engineering education in particular. By examining the question, why do students choose to go to private colleges or universities or public institutions for engineering education in India, the paper adds to the limited literature.

Several studies (e.g., Bifulco et al., 2009; Miranda, 2013; Sandy, 2018; Gross, 2018) that examined the issue of school choice universally found that student academic ability, family income, and parental education are each significantly correlated with the decision to attend private or a public school. James (1986) and Cheechi & Jappelli (2005) argued that quality plays the most important role in the parental choice of the schools. Many of these studies conducted on US education also found that race is an important factor, white students being much more likely to enroll in private schools and black students in public schools. Hu and Hossler (2000) examined correlates of student preference for private institutions over public institutions in their senior year in high school and found that in addition to student and family background and student academic characteristics, students' responses to tuition costs and availability of financial aid have a substantial linkage with student preference for private or public institutions. These studies, particularly focusing on private school students provide only limited analysis on how school choices work in higher education. Many scholars including Manski & Wise (1983) and Sá et al. (2011) who focused on higher education, have not looked at private versus public choice. Sá et al. (2011) estimated a bi-variate probit model to examine higher education choices in Portugal – type of higher education institution (university versus polytechnic) and the decision regarding leaving home for higher education. Concentrating on competition between several universities in general, for students, Aydın (2015) analysed university choice process with the help of economic models, sociological models, combined models, and the marketing approach, and investigated factors such as reputation and attributes of universities, personal factors, location, job prospects, university fees, financial aid/scholarship, reference groups, families and other information sources that have an impact on the choices of students. Nguyen & Taylor (2003) used a multi-nominal logit model to investigate the destination of high school graduates in US, destination being defined as two-year public higher education, two-year private education, four-year public higher education and four-year private higher education institutions. In a study on Malaysia (Muniswamy et al., 2014), career prospects and reputation of the university and its programmes were found to be the most important factors in the students' decision of a place to pursue further studies. Using factor analysis and chi-square statistical formulation on the data collected form 261 in Thailand, Loren and Nalton (2014) found that support system in the university (availability of a bookstore, guidance/counselling office, scholarships, credit transferability, spiritual programming), learning environment (modern learning environment and facilities, reputation (beautiful campus, library and computer lab) and job, health care services, residential accommodation, extracurricular activities and safe and friendly environment as the most important ones that impact students' choice of an institution. In a similar study of choice of management institutions in Punjab, India, Gill & Malhotra (2019) found academic, social and personal factors, placement, financial incentives, faculty and staff to be very important. In a study on higher education in India, Dhaliwal et al. (2019) found public image, employability, promotion rate, fee structure and quality of academic programmes as important factors. Panda (2006) made an attempt on engineering education in Odisha, and Choudhury (2012) the same in Delhi. But for these few studies, many seemed to have focused on university choices without focusing clearly on public-private distinction.

Though the question between private versus public education is receiving increasing attention, very little is known about the factors that guide students' or parents' choice between private and public institutions. The choice of a type of higher education institution is indeed a complex process involving a wide variety of factors. As Sá et al., (2011, p. 690) noted, "choices comprise a set of expectations, aspirations, desires and representations of the future as well. Nevertheless, those complexities involved in the choice process are not easily dealt with in applied work." This paper is a modest attempt in this direction.

Complexities could be more in case of higher education in India characterised by imperfect markets and asymmetry of information, along with misleading advertisements and aggressive marketing practices. In higher education, especially in higher professional/technical education in India, the general perception is: government institutions provide better quality education than private ones; the latter are also associated with several questionable practices and methods of operation (Tilak, 2009). Exceptions on both sides do exist; but they are very few. Accordingly, it is widely acknowledged that in India the meritorious students with high scores in senior secondary level examination and with higher ranks in the national/state level common entrance examinations prefer government engineering institutions such as Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), National Institutes of Technology (NITs) and state government engineering colleges, the preference being almost in the same order, whereas less meritorious students (with lower ranks in the entrance examinations) are left with no choice except going to private institutions, which are widely recognised as low quality institutions, but where admissions are relatively easily available having excess capacity -- supply being more than demand, of course, if high fees can be afforded. However, this does not seem to be the case always. In some cases, students prefer private to government institutions and in some other instances, students qualified to be admitted in government institutions may not be able to do take admission in those institutions, due to a number of socio-economic and other reasons. For example, students who do not get their preferred branch of study in government institutions may opt for private institutions, if they are offered the branch of study of their choice; or they may opt for a private college because of its proximity to their residence; or because of some other factors including fees and other related costs. Examining students' choice of engineering colleges in Orissa, Panda (2006) has found two important reasons for students not joining prestigious government institutions like IITs and NITs even if they got selected: (a) not being able to get selected in their preferred branch of study; and (b) hesitation of parents to send their daughters or even sons to places far away from home, either for financial or for other reasons.

Thus, the choice of students for government and private institutions seems to be complex in nature and is influenced by a set of socio-economic, institutional and other related factors[3]. It is not only complex, but also can be far from efficient, given the asymmetry of information, imperfections in labour market as well as in education markets, and interplay of many factors. Hence, there is need to study the dynamics involved in the students' choice of government *versus* private engineering institutions in India. It is important to note at the very outset that students in India do not necessarily have unlimited choice between private and government institutions because of the supply constraint (of admissions in government institutions) and the counselling system followed in the admission process. Students usually indicate their first preference in favour of government as against private institutions. Due to the excess demand for government institutions, many students do not necessarily get admission in these institutions (even if they have a strong preference) and hence get compelled finally to go to private institutions. So, in practice students do not have much choice between government and private engineering institutions mainly due to limited supply, and even among several private institutions for various reasons, and therefore, a typical choice function for the engineering students in the Indian context may not exist. But there is still a rationale to look at what makes

[3] The choice framework of demand for higher education in UK using *luck egalitarianism* theory is discussed in detail by Voigt (2007).

students to prefer to go to private or government engineering institutions, as in some cases students prefer private to government institutions, and in some other instances, students opt to go to private institutions, even if they get admission in government institutions, as described earlier.

Database

The paper examines the possible determinants of students' choice of engineering institutions in India, using the data collected through a sample survey of about 7000 students studying in 40 engineering institutions in four major states in India, namely, (National Capital Region of) Delhi, Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu, where the growth of private engineering education has been phenomenal. Andhra Pradesh another state in south, where private engineering education has grown very rapidly has not been considered, as it was intended to have some regional balance in the sample. Tamil Nadu and Karnataka are in south India, Maharashtra in the west, and Delhi in the north. Engineering education has not expanded much in eastern India, nor in central parts of India. The survey includes all varieties of engineering institutions of higher education in India, viz., Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), National Institutes of Technology (NITs) (known earlier as Regional Colleges of Engineering), central and state universities, private universities, government colleges and private colleges – government aided private, and private (fee-dependent) institutions (known as private unaided colleges). IITs, NITs and central universities are governed and funded by the union (central) government, while others come under the jurisdiction of the state (provincial) governments. Some of these are known to be 'elite' institutions (IITs are ranked high in any ranking matrix) and some -- particularly private ones -- non-elite or 'mass' institutions. The sample of institutions also include some very old and some newly established ones. Thus, they together are somewhat fairly representative of the country in terms of high growth of engineering education, the geographical spread and the variety of institutions in terms of governance, funding, and quality. The survey was conducted in the context of a larger international comparative study of BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) (Carnoy et al., 2013). States and colleges were chosen based on purposive random sampling. Other considerations of the wider study determined the choice of institutions. Institutions were chosen based on purposive random sampling, essentially considering the availability of five major streams of engineering education -- a few core/traditional -- mechanical, civil, electrical etc., and a few non-core/'modern' – electronics, information technology, computer sciences and related disciplines of engineering education at first degree level; and all the students in the final (fourth) year enrolled in those departments, formed the sample. The reasons for selecting the fourth (final) year students were: their likely higher ability to give nearly comprehensive information about their studies, having completed more than three fourths of their undergraduate study programme, ability to decide about their further careers --further studies or employment, and likelihood of already securing job offers in campus recruitment.

Table 1 provides a detailed profile of the sampled engineering students in India. A few important features are as follows: Engineering education is still male centric: 71.4 percent of the engineering students are men. A little less than 30 percent of the students belonged to socially backward sections of the society. A majority of the students (58 percent) belong to lower income strata (with an annual family income below Rs. 500,000). More than one-third of the students go outside their native state for engineering education. A majority of the students come from families with parents having higher education, and also with fathers who are engaged in professional occupations. As high as 70-90 percent of the students in engineering had their schooling in private institutions in urban areas with English as medium

Table 1: Distribution of Engineering Students in Different Types of Institutions, by their Socio-Economic Profile

a) Gender				***b) Residential Status***		
	Male	Female	Total	Outside the State	Within the State	Total
Government	24.77	18.89	23.09	20.13	17.88	18.71
Private						
Government-Aided	9.29	14.99	10.92	13.06	11.35	11.98
Private	65.95	66.12	66	66.8	70.77	69.3
Total	100 (4728)	1000 (1895)	100 (6623)	100	100	100
Distribution	71.4	28.6	100	37	63	100

c) Social Category					
	SC	ST	OBC	General	Total
Government	36.4	48.39	29.34	19.34	23.09
Private					
Government-Aided	17.18	21.77	13.23	9.35	10.92
Private	46.42	29.84	57.43	71.3	66
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Distribution by Social Category	7.4	1.9	19.4	71.3	100
d) Family Income	<Rs. 100,000	Rs.100,000 - 500,000	Rs.500,000 - 1 million	> Rs.1 million	Total
Government	20.22	24.54	22.69	31.74	23.58
Private					
Government-Aided	19.12	8.37	6.3	4.1	10.65
Private	60.66	67.1	71.01	64.16	65.77
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Distribution by Family Income	17.6	40.8	7.8	33.7	100

e) Parents' Occupation						
	Professional Workers	Service Workers	Unskilled Workers	Business Men/ Women	Others	Total
			Father's Occupation			
Government	24.63	29.27	25.98	13.16	29.03	23.05
Private						
Govt. aided	9.4	16.06	17.82	8.43	15.44	10.62
Private	65.98	54.67	56.19	78.41	55.53	66.33
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Distribution	57.6	7.8	5.3	19.9	6.9	100
			Mother's Occupation			
Government	21.75	22.44	26.73	57.66	20.78	24.41
Private						

Govt. aided	9.55	10.67	16.83	4.07	9.44	9.28
Private	68.7	66.89	56.44	38.28	69.78	66.31
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Distribution	25.2	9.1	2	8.4	55.2	100

f) Parents' Education

	Illiterate	Primary	Secondary	Higher General	Professi-onal	Total
			Father's Education			
Government	23.08	33.66	24.81	22.23	23.6	23.2
Private						
Govt. aided	7.69	14.85	13.54	9.4	11.08	10.61
Private	69.23	51.49	61.65	68.37	65.32	66.19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Distribution	0.2	1.6	16.8	55.8	25.6	100
			Mother's Education			
Government	31.15	25.1	25.81	21.62	26.24	23.55
Private						
Govt. aided	14.75	15.06	13.56	8.16	9.3	10.31
Private	54.1	59.85	60.64	70.22	64.46	66.13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Distribution	1	4.3	31.5	55.2	8	100

g) Academic Background of the Student

	Type of School			*Location of the School*		
	Government	Private	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Government	23.25	24.1	23.86	19.55	27.54	20.46
Private						
Govt. aided	11.18	10.94	11.01	8.32	8.13	8.3
Private	65.58	64.96	65.13	72.13	64.33	71.24
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Distribution	28	72	100	88.6	11.4	100

	Medium of Instruction			*Education Board*			
	English	Others	Total	CBSE	ICSE	State Board	Total
Government	22.93	28.06	23.69	25.83	17.92	22.67	23.45
Private							
Govt. aided	10.56	13.03	10.92	4.77	6.25	14.48	11.2
Private	66.51	58.91	65.39	69.4	75.83	62.86	65.35
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Distribution	85.2	14.8	100	30.5	3.8	65.6	100

	h) Average % of Marks Secured by the Students in Senior Secondary Examination, by Board				***i) % of Students who took Pre-Admission Coaching***		
	CBSE	ICSE	State boards	Total	Yes	No	Total
Government	81.83	87.36	86.76	85.01	25.58	15.51	20.28
Private							
Government-aided	72.89	80.28	76.13	75.72	4.41	11.35	8.06

Private	76.19	80.9	77.51	77.19	70.01	73.15	71.66
Total	77.46	82.01	79.39	78.84	100	100	100
Distribution					47.4	52.5	100

j) % of Students who Appeared in Entrance Examination for More than Once				***k) % of Students who got the Admission in the branch of First Choice***		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Government	58.23	20.78	23.13	21.39	30.79	23.7
Private						
Government-aided	1.01	11.95	11.27	10.87	11.91	11.13
Private	40.76	67.26	65.6	67.74	57.3	65.17
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Distribution	6.3	93.7	100	75.4	24.6	100

l) First Choice of the Brach of Engineering

	Electrical & Electronics	Computer	Information Technology (IT)	Tele communication	Electrical
Government	17.8	25.58	17.57	30.01	44.65
Private					
Government- aided	10.56	12.23	2.72	9.8	13.65
Private	71.64	62.18	79.71	60.19	41.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Distribution	11.6	33.3	8.1	27.9	4.6

	Civil	Mechanical	Instrumentation	Management	Others	Total
Government	7.41	9.35	12.5	0	8.02	23.68
Private						
Government- aided	69.14	3.96	1.39	0	15.33	11.12
Private	23.46	86.69	86.11	100	76.65	65.19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Distribution	1.4	4.7	1.2	0.1	7.1	100

of instruction. Nearly half the students took private coaching as a preparation for competitive entrance examination; and majority of the students wish to pursue modern streams of engineering like computer science engineering, telecommunications and information and technology.

The Methodology

Whenever the dependent variable is a dichotomous or a binary variable, i.e., it can have only two possible outcomes, yes or no, and takes alternative discrete values of zero and one, of the kind we have – whether the student is enrolled in private institution or not, the appropriate statistical tool to analyse the determinants is the probit regression model, also known as 'normit' model (Gujarati, p. 608), which is extensively used in applied economics and econometrics. This is also considered as more appropriate than linear regression and other regression models. The probit model helps to estimate the probability of the dependent variable to happen, given the value of the predictor or the independent variable (Aldrich & Nelson, 1984; Liao, 1994). The probit analysis provides statistically significant findings on which predictors or the explanatory variables increase or decrease the probability of the dependent variable falling into category one or the other. The most common form of the probit regression equation, when there are multiple regressors, is as follows:

$$Pr\,(Y = 1 \mid X_i) = \varphi\ (\beta_o + \beta_{i\,i} X_i)$$

where *Pr* refers to probability (of Y becoming equal to 1), Y is the dependent variable, X_i are the predictors or the regressors, $\beta_{i\ \text{are}}$ parameters to be estimated that show the likelihood or probability or odds of change in dependent variable versus independent variables, and φ denotes non-liner cumulative distribution function of the standard normal distribution.

Marginal effect denotes how much the (conditional) probability of the outcome variable, i.e., the dependent variable changes from 0 to one, when the value of the particular regressor changes, holding all other variables constant. Marginal effect shows the magnitude of impact of an explanatory variable on dependent variable. Thus the estimates of marginal effects provide insights into how the explanatory variables shift the probability of happening of the outcome (dependent) variable. Using the econometric software STATA, the probit regression model is estimated here to analyse predictors of students' choice in favour of a private engineering institution against a public institution in India. The dependent variable in the model is defined as follows:

ENRL_PVT = 1, if the student is enrolled in a private institution;
= 0, otherwise, i.e., if the student is enrolled in a government or government-aided private institution.

The function estimated is:

$$ENRL\_PVT = \alpha + \beta_i X_i + \varepsilon$$

where X_i are the regressors; β_i coefficients of the explanatory variables, α the intercept, and ε the random disturbance term capturing unobserved characteristics or simply known as error term.

Explanatory Variables

The choice between government and private engineering institutions is indeed not a simple clear process, as it involves mutually interacting factors including individual characteristics, household factors, and academic background of the students. We concentrate on the choice of the type of institution and link it with a set of probable factors, which are chosen based on the review of literature, other information and knowledge of the system. The final selection of the variables is also constrained by the availability of data. The following are considered as possible determinants for the empirical analysis here.

Individual Characteristics: Gender and caste are considered here as the two most important individual characteristics that may have influence on the students' choice of institutions.

Household Factors: Among the household factors, family income, as a measure of economic status of the households, parents 'occupation, parents' education, household demographic burden measured in terms of number of siblings in the family and residential status of students, whether they migrated from other states or whether they were natives of the same state where the institution is located, are considered here.

Students' Academic Background: As the educational background of the students influences their choices, we considered six major aspects relating to the higher secondary schooling and related characteristics of the students, namely, academic achievement at school level, i.e., percentage of marks secured in the higher secondary level end examination, medium of instruction followed in the higher secondary school, type of board of higher secondary examination, type of the higher secondary school, location of the higher secondary school and whether students have taken pre-admission coaching to appear in the entrance examination.

Current Education of the Students: We have also considered a few major factors related to current education of the students, such as stream of engineering, household cost of engineering education, receipt of any financial assistance like scholarship or educational loan for the current studies, and whether student is engaged in any part-time work during studies.

Employment Prospects and Educational Aspirations: Finally, future plans of the students that include employment potential and educational aspirations are taken into account to examine whether they have any influence on students' choice of the type of institutions.

The empirical equation estimated is as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{ENRL\_PVT} = {} & \alpha + \beta_1\,\text{GENDER} + \beta_2\,\text{SC} + \beta_3\,\text{ST} + \beta_4\,\text{OBC} + \beta_5\,\text{lnHHY} + \beta_6\,\text{FATHOCP\_PROF} \\ & + \beta_7\,\text{FATHOCP\_BUSN} + \beta_8\,\text{MOTHOCP\_PROF} + \beta_9\,\text{MOTHOCP\_BUSN} \\ & + \beta_{10}\,\text{FATHER\_ED} + \beta_{11}\,\text{MOTHER\_ED} + \beta_{12}\,\text{SIBLINGS} + \beta_{13}\text{RESIDENCE} \\ & + \beta_{14}\,\text{SEC\_MARKS} + \beta_{15}\,\text{SEC\_MEDIUM} + \beta_{16}\text{SEC\_BOARD} + \beta_{17} \\ & \text{SEC\_MANGMT} + \beta_{18}\,\text{SEC\_LOCATION} + \beta_{19}\,\text{COACHING} + \\ & \beta_{20}\text{STREAM\_STUDY} + \beta_{21}\,\text{lnEDU\_COST} + \beta_{22}\,\text{SCHOLARSHIP} + \beta_{23}\,\text{LOAN} + \\ & \beta_{24}\,\text{PART\_TIME} + \beta_{25}\,\text{EMPLOYMENT} + \beta_{26}\,\text{ED\_ASP} + \varepsilon\end{aligned}$$

where ENRL_PVT = enrolment of student in a private institution (a binary variable),
α = Constant, β_i = respective coefficients of the explanatory variables, and
ε = error term.

Some of the explanatory variables used in the analysis are continuous and some are used in the dummy form. Table 2 gives notation and definition of variables and Table 3 summary statistics of the data used.

Table 2. **Definition and Notation of the Variables used in the Probit Analysis**

Variable	***Notation***	***Description and Measurement***
Individual characteristics		
GENDER: Gender of the student	GENDER	= 1 if female, 0 otherwise
Caste of the student	SC	= 1 if SC, 0 otherwise
	ST	= 1 if ST, 0 otherwise
	OBC	= 1, if belonging to other backward classes, 0 otherwise
	GENERAL	= 1, if general (non-reserved) category, = 0 otherwise (reference category)
Household factors		
Parents' occupation		
	FATHOCP_PROF	= 1, if professional/technical worker, 0 otherwise

Father's occupation	FATHOCP_BUSN	= 1, if businessman, 0 otherwise
	FATHOCP_OTHERS	= 1, if belonging to other occupations, 0 otherwise
Mother's occupation	MOTHOCP_PROF	= 1, if professional/technical worker, 0 otherwise
	MOTHOCP_BUSN	= 1, if businessman, 0 otherwise
	MOTHOCP_OTHERS	= 1 if belonging to other occupations, 0 otherwise
Parental Education	FATHER_ED:	Actual years of schooling of father
	MOTHER_ED:	Actual years of schooling of mother
	SIBLINGS:	Number of siblings in the family
Household Income	HHY	Annual income of the household (in Rs.)
Residence	RESIDENCE	= 1, if the student belongs to the state where the institution is located;
		= 0, otherwise, i.e., if the student has come from other states
Student's Academic Background (at School level)		
Academic Performance	SEC_MARKS:	% of marks secured in the board (school-end) examination
Medium of Instruction	SEC_MEDIUM:	Medium of instruction at the school = 1 if English, =0 otherwise
Education Board	SEC_BOARD	Board under which secondary school studies were completed
		= 1, if the student has studied under state board;
		= 0, otherwise, i.e. if the student has studied under central board.
Type of School	SCH_MANGMT	= 1, if the student completed secondary schooling from a private school
		= 0, otherwise, i.e., if the student completed secondary schooling from a government school
Location of the school	SEC_LOCATION:	Location of the school, =1 if located in rural areas, =0 otherwise
Preparatory Coaching	COACHING	= 1, if the student has attended any coaching classes in preparation for the entrance examination
		= 0, otherwise, i.e., if the student has not attended coaching classes

Student's current education		
Type of Institution	ENRL_PVT:	Type of institution the student is currently studying
		= 1, if the student is enrolled in a private institution;
		= 0, otherwise, i.e., if the student is enrolled in a government institution.
Stream of Engineering	STREAM_STUDY	Stream of engineering discipline in which the student is enrolled
		= 1, if enrolled in modern/IT-related courses, =0 otherwise
Cost of Education	EDU_COST:	Total household expenditure on engineering education of the student for tor the current academic year (Rs.)
Scholarship	SCHOLARSHIP:	Receipt of scholarship
		= 1, if received any scholarship, =0 otherwise
Education loan (from a commercial bank)	LOAN	= 1, if taken any loan, =0 otherwise
Employment and Educational Aspirations		
Employment Prospects	EMPLOYMENT:	= 1, if the student has not got any offer of employment in the on-campus recruitment
		= 0, otherwise, i.e., if the student has got any offer of employment
Educational aspirations of the student	ED_ASP:	Student's further educational plans/intentions
		= 1, if the student intends to go for further studies, =0 otherwise

Table 3: Summary Statistics of the Variables used in the Probit Analysis

Variables	*Number*	*Mean*	*Standard Deviation*	*Minimum value*	*Maximum value*
Individual Characteristics					
GENDER	6623	0.29	0.45	0	1
SC	6623	0.07	0.26	0	1
ST	6623	0.02	0.14	0	1
OBC	6623	0.19	0.40	0	1
GENERAL	6623	0.71	0.45	0	1
Household Factors					
lnHHY	6076	12.33	0.96	10.82	14.04
FATHOCP_PROF	6121	0.20	0.40	0	1

FATHOCP_BUSN	6121	0.20	0.40	0	1
FATHOCP_OTHERS	6121	0.60	0.49	0	1
MOTHOCP_PROF	4948	0.15	0.36	0	1
MOTHOCP_BUSN	4948	0.08	0.28	0	1
MOTHOCP_OTHERS	4948	0.76	0.43	0	1
FATHER_ED	6550	14.57	3.91	0	17
MOTHER_ED	6516	12.94	4.74	0	17
SIBLINGS	6518	1.46	0.94	0	6
RESIDENCE	6033	0.63	0.48	0	1
Student's Academic Background					
SEC_MARKS	6141	78.89	11.19	30.29	100
SEC_MEDIUM	6079	0.15	0.35	0	1
SEC_BOARD	6306	0.66	0.48	0	1
SEC_MANGMT	6014	0.72	0.45	0	1
SEC_LOCATION	4746	0.11	0.32	0	1
PRE_COACHING	5212	0.53	0.50	0	1
Student's Current Education Status					
MNGT_PVT	6623	0.66	0.47	0	1
STREAM_STUDY	6623	0.69	0.46	0	1
*lnEDU*_COST	5900	4.15	0.91	0.61	7.01
SCHOLARSHIP	6581	0.18	0.39	0	1
LOAN	6033	0.10	0.30	0	1
PART_TIME	6294	0.10	0.30	0	1
Employment and Educational Aspirations					
EMPLOYMENT	6438	0.74	0.44	0	1
ED_ASP	4017	0.593727	0.491198	0	1

Empirical Results and Discussion

The probit estimates are given in Table 4. The pseudo R-square of 0.26 indicates joint significance of all regressor coefficient estimates. Based on these estimates, we make the following observations:

Effect of individual characteristics

Gender and caste are two individual characteristics that are widely acknowledged to be important in determining participation in higher education and also in the choice of institutions by the parents.

Gender plays an important role in demand for higher education, more particularly in case of demand expensive engineering education (Rao 2007). It is generally perceived that the parents in India hesitate to send their daughters to far off places (to other states or to different cities

Table 4: Determinants of Students' Choice in favour of Private Engineering Institutions (against Public Institutions): Probit Estimates

Variables	*Coefficient*	*Standard Error*	*Marginal Effect (dy/dx)#*
Individual Characteristics			
GENDER	0.189**	0.093	0.052
SC	-0.626***	0.153	-0.214
ST	-1.852***	0.365	-0.644
OBC	-0.287***	0.113	-0.088
GENERAL	Reference		
Household Factors			
*ln*HHY	0.027	0.048	0.008
FATHOCP_PROF	-0.157*	0.096	-0.052
FATHOCP_BUSN	0.111	0.102	0.031
FATHOCP_OTHER	Reference		
MOTHOCP_PROF	0.304*	0.113	0.078
MOTHOCP_BUSN	-0.077	0.171	-0.023
MOTHOCP_OTHER	Reference		
FATHER_ED	0.003	0.015	0.0009
MOTHER_ED	-0.016***	0.013	-0.005
SIBLINGS	-0.158***	0.044	-0.045
RESIDENCE	0.336***	0.087	0.099
Student's Academic Background			
SEC_MARKS	-0.038***	0.005	-0.110
SEC_MEDIUM	-0.604***	0.117	-0.199
SEC_BOARD	0.401***	0.095	0.118
SEC_MANGMT	0.155*	0.087	0.045
SEC_LOCATION	0.085	0.137	0.024
PRE_COACHING	0.094	0.076	0.027
Students' Current Education Status			
STREAM_STUDY	0.734***	0.084	0.236
*lnEDU*_COST	0.566***	0.059	0.162
SCHOLARSHIP	-0.299***	0.100	-0.093
LOAN	-0.004	0.119	-0.001
PART_TIME	-0.102	0.115	-0.030
Employment and Educational Aspirations			
EMPLOYMENT	0.341***	0.083	0.103
ED_ASP	-0.049	0.081	-0.014
Constant	0.318	0.759	
Log Pseudolikelihood	-721.797		
Pseudo R^2	0.263		
Number of Observations	1693		

Notes: Level of Significance: *** p < 0.01; ** p <0.05; and * p < 0.1

within the same state) for their higher education in comparison to their sons (Panda, 2006). In some cases an institution is basically preferred by girls if it is situated close to their locality or having a hostel facility, whether it is public or private. Female students might prefer to enroll in private than in government institutions, if accessibility – particularly in terms of distance to the private institution is better than the latter one. Distance is not considered as a big issue for many male students. Secondly, caste dominates almost every development aspect in Indian society. Caste of the student can also be an important determinant in explaining demand for higher education in government *versus* private institutions. Generally, it is observed that students from lower social background (e.g., scheduled castes [SC], scheduled tribes [ST] and other backward castes [OBC]) are more likely to prefer public to private institutions. The degree of implementation of reservation policies, differences in costs of higher education, availability of scholarships, [4] and availability of special development programmes for disadvantaged students may also be responsible for the students belonging to lower strata to choose government institutions.

Gender: The results show that both the individual characteristics (gender and social category) are statistically significant in determining students' choice of institutions. About 67 percent of the total female students have taken admission in private institutions as against of 65 percent among male students (Table 1). The difference is small; but the marginal effect associated with 'gender' shows that a female student has 4 percentage points more likely to attend private institutions than a male student. The less probability of female students seeking admission in government institutions may be due to the fact that a significant proportion of male students take pre-admission coaching to prepare them for the entrance examination and they might get into government institutions.

Caste: The presumption that students from lower social category (SC, ST and OBC) are less likely to enroll in private institutions than the students from the general category as private education is costly and as more importantly the state reservation policy may not be strictly followed in these institutions (see e.g., Sengupta 2020) also holds true in the present study. The probability of enrolling in private institution is less for the students belonging to SC, ST and OBC than general category students. The estimates of the two dummy variables (SC and ST) on the probability of enrolling in private institutions compared to government institutions show this clearly. Furthermore, as revealed by the corresponding marginal effects, between the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, the probability of attending private as against government institutions is less among the former than among the scheduled tribes. Besides the reservation policy, the reason may be attributed to the relatively low socio-economic background of SC, ST and OBC students and as a result they may also feel more 'comfortable' and be able to 'adjust' better in government institutions, which have better policies such as anti-ragging, provision of remedial and bridge courses, and where discrimination by caste is very much less if not nil, than in private institutions.

Effect of household characteristics

Family Income: Economic status of the households is widely recognised as an important factor in explaining demand for higher education (Tilak, 2015; Tilak & Choudhury, 2019). Given relatively high subsidies and low costs of higher education in public institutions, one can hypothesize that student from low income strata would prefer government institutions to private institutions for their higher education. In fact, very low-income families may not go for higher education, if they do not secure admission in public institutions. But high costs of private

[4] Some of these are considered as additional variables in the probit analysis. We have not found much multi-collinearity between several independent variables chosen. The sample is also large enough in size.

higher education might not prevent high income families to opt for private institutions, if admission is available. Thus, one can expect a positive relationship between the economic capacity and the probability of attending private engineering institutions. But given the high quality and even the reputation and brand of public institutions in engineering education, students from high income strata families would also prefer admission in public institutions. Thus, the effect of economic status of the family (measured in terms of annual income) on the students' decision to take admission in government *versus* private institutions is generally expected to be high. So we have attempted to empirically estimate the effect of economic status on the admission of students in government *versus* private engineering institutions.[5] The probit results in Table 4 indicate that the probability of taking admission in private institutions is positively related with annual income of the family, i.e., the students from higher income families are more likely to take admission in the private as against government institutions. This supports the common presumption that the students from well-off families opt for the high-cost private engineering institutions, whereas the students belonging to low and middle income families enroll themselves in low cost government institutions. But the coefficient is statistically not significant. About 60 percent of the students from lower income households have attended private institutions as against of 65 percent from upper-middle households (Table 1).

Parents' Occupation: It is widely held that occupation of the parents has an orientation towards sending their children to government or private institutions. High status occupations of the parents give an opportunity to their children to take admission in good quality engineering institutions. Students belonging to these families are able to take rigorous pre-admission coaching which helps them to score a good rank in the entrance examination conducted for the admission into different institutions. Further, parents working in professional occupations may have better access to information and may be able to help their children in choosing appropriate institutions to pursue degree level engineering studies, besides family income enabling the child to opt for a good quality institutions, even if they are very costly.[6] There may also be different effects of occupation of father and mother on the household's choice of institutions. Parental occupation is included here with a hope that it might capture the effects of the family's non-financial (social capital) resources.

The regression results confirm that a student whose father is a professional/technical worker is less likely to enroll in private institutions than the students whose fathers belonged to other occupations such as clerical and related occupations (service workers, farmers, fishermen and

[5] The economic status/capacity of the household is measured here in terms of annual income of the family, information on which was collected in the survey in four income brackets: (i) less than Rs.100,000; (ii) Rs.100,000-500,000; (iii) Rs.500,000 to Rs. one million; and (iv) above Rs. one million. While we use these income categories in presenting the descriptive characteristics given in Table 1, in the probit analysis mid-values of each income bracket are used in measuring the income variable, as if it is a continuous variable, and for smoothness, the logarithmic value has been used in the probit model. For the open-ended last income category, the upper limit is taken as Rs. 2 million.

[6] Information on occupation of the parents was collected on sixteen occupational categories which are re-grouped here into three: (a) professional or technical workers; (b) businessmen/women; and (c) others. The reclassification was found necessary due to small numbers of observations in many of the occupation categories such as clerical and related workers, service workers, farmers, fishermen and related workers, skilled workers (foreman, craftsman etc.), unskilled workers (ordinary labourer), retired, and workers not classified by occupation (athlete, actor, musician, unemployed, partially unemployed). All these occupations are included in the category of 'others.' The 'professional or technical workers' includes both junior and senior professional workers like doctors, professors, lawyers, architects, engineers, nurses, teachers, editors, photographers and bank employees. In case of mother's occupation, it is important to note that housewives (homemakers) constitute about 23 percent of the total number of mothers in our sample, which was included in the 'others' category.

related workers, skilled workers, unskilled workers, and retired persons). However, a mother working as a professional worker is more likely to send her children to private as against government institution than the student whose mother is engaged in other occupations and the coefficient is statistically significant at one percent level. The difference in influence of the parents' occupation (between father and mother) on students' choice of institutions needs to be probed further in detail.

Parents' Education: Another important variable considered for analysis is the educational level of the parents of the students[7]. It is expected that higher educated parents, i.e., the parents with higher levels of education may be more concerned about the quality of education and may be more aware of the nature, quality and other aspects relating to various institutions, and hence they would like to enroll their children in good quality government or private institutions, than parents with less or no education. The main measure of educational attainment used in the literature is the highest level of education completed by the head of the household. Education level can be measured in terms of years of completed education or as an ordinal variable with the obvious ordering of education from the lowest to the highest level of education.[8] To analyse whether mother's education has more (or less) effect than father's education on sending their children to government or private institutions, years of schooling of both father and mother are considered as two separate independent variables. However, the results are not clearly conclusive. The coefficient associated with father's years of schooling turns out to be positive but is found to be statistically not significant, whereas the coefficient of mother's years of schooling is negative and statistically significant. Hence, the presumption that the educated fathers send their children to government institutions or vice versa does not hold good as per these estimates, while mother's education influences positively in increasing the probability of the student going to government institution. The difference in the effects of parents' education --between father's and mother's -- is interesting and needs further probing.

Size of the Household: Number of siblings in the family[9] is taken as an indicator of 'demographic burden' the households face. It is generally believed that the households with large number of siblings may not be able to spend higher amounts of money on education, as demand for resources for alternative purposes would be higher in these families. In many cases, parents fail to afford the study expenses of other children if one or two children are already in the education system and it is more so if in technical higher education. The issue becomes more complicated if the child is a girl and her sibling(s) (particularly any brother) is already attending higher education. Hence, it is expected that number of siblings in the family will have a significant impact on students' demand for engineering education in government or private

7 The educational qualifications of all members of the family may matter in the choice of different institutions, but this is not considered in here, as we could not attempt at developing any aggregate measure of educational level of all the members of the household, as we do not have the data on all the members; and moreover, in nature it can be problematic, and both methodologically and conceptually it may not be free from errors.

8 Students were asked to report in the survey the highest level of education attained by both their parents, classified into three levels: (a) below secondary; (b) higher general; and (c) higher professional. Higher general education includes the undergraduate (first degree) and postgraduate (Master's degree) programmes of study in the disciplines of arts, science and commerce, whereas higher professional education includes the undergraduate and postgraduate courses in technical and professional disciplines of study. The illiterate parents and the parents with primary level of education, who constitute less than one percent of the total sample were included in the 'below secondary' category. This classification has been used in the descriptive data analysis (Table 1), whereas for the regression analysis the levels of education are converted to years of schooling, as it is considered as a better indicator and has been extensively used in the literature than the level of education.

9 Several studies have examined the impact of total family size on demand for education. However, due to the non-availability data on total family size, the impact of number of siblings in the family is considered here.

institutions. A household with larger number of siblings might be associated with lower levels of participation in engineering education and especially in private engineering education as this is more expensive than in the government institutions. So one can expect a negative relationship between the number of siblings in the family and the students' admission in private institutions due to the cost difference between government and private institutions. Households with more children need extra money for their maintenance related expenses and therefore spend less on education, particularly higher and professional education. Such a presumption is found to be true here. The results presented in Table 4 indicate, as one can expect, that the presence of more siblings in the family reduces the probability of attending private as against government institutions. The marginal effect of the coefficient shows that an increase in one sibling in the family reduces the probability of attending private institutions by one percentage point.

Residential Status: Residence of the students is also believed to be an important factor in influencing demand for private versus public higher education. In the literature residence of the respondent is generally defined in terms of rural and urban. However, in the present case location refers to the state of domicile of the students – whether the student belongs to the same state where the institution is located or whether she/he came from some other state in India for higher education. This also gives some idea of the extent of inter-state migration of students for higher education. The survey includes students from almost all the states (including Union Territory of Chandigarh and Andaman and Nicobar Islands) in India in the sample. To make a meaningful comparison and also due to less frequency for each state, state of domicile of the student is categorized as: (a) 'the state in which the institution is located'; and (b) 'other states'.[10]

Generally, one may expect that students coming from other states are supposed to take admission in government institutions (especially in central government) as these institutions do not provide reservation of seats for domicile students. They also may not go to another state to take admission in the private institutions, as access to similar and expensive institutions as well be available to the students in their own states. Such a view is also confirmed to be true in the present analysis. The probit estimates in Table 4 suggest that the students coming from the states in which the institution is located were more likely to attend private institutions than the students belonging to the category of other states. Around 70 percent of the students who have come from their own states had taken admission in private institutions, whereas the share was 65 percent among the students who had come from other states.

Effect of educational background of the students

Students' Academic Background: Academic background exercises considerable influence on students' choices. The background includes academic performance in examinations, type of school attended, the medium of instruction, location of the school etc.

Academic Record: Earlier studies suggest that academic attainment is a very important factor in influencing demand for higher education. This, namely academic performance of the students measured here in terms of percentage of marks scored in senior secondary level final examination may be considered as a significant factor in determining students' decision to take admission in government or private engineering institutions. Generally, it is felt that the students scoring well in the senior secondary examinations have higher chances to perform

[10] The survey does not include information on the students by their geographical location, i.e., whether they belong to rural or urban region. However, it gives the data on location of senior secondary schools (rural or urban) in which the students completed their secondary education, which is considered here as another explanatory variable, as described later.

better in the highly competitive entrance examination[11] which finally matters most, and thus, more likely to secure admission in government institutions. Percentage of marks scored in the senior secondary examination is used as a continuous variable in the probit model, applied to estimate the students' choice function of engineering institutions.

Controlling all other factors, the percentage of marks secured by the students in the higher secondary examination is negatively related with the probability of taking admission in private institutions. Stated differently, the percentage of marks scored in senior secondary examination is positively related with the enrolment in government institutions. The marginal effect indicates that one percent increase in the marks reduces the probability of enrolment in private institutions by one percentage points (column 4 of Table 4). Though the percentage of marks does not have direct role in the admission of government or private institutions, it reflects the cognitive merit of the students which helps them in securing a higher rank in the entrance examination and hence to take admission in a better quality institution (especially in government institutions). Simply stated, students with better academic background go for government institutions and vice versa.

Medium of Instruction: Classroom teaching in most of the private senior secondary schools is done in English medium, whereas the government schools teach the students in the regional language(s). The medium of instruction matters much, as the national entrance examinations and later the engineering degree studies are mostly conducted/offered in English (and to a lesser extent in Hindi) only. So it is expected that the students from English medium schools have a higher advantage generally in the entrance examination and finally in getting into quality government institutions – national or state level, than the students from schools with medium of instruction other than English. This variable is used in the probit model as an explanatory variable to see if there is any relationship between the students' medium of instruction in the senior secondary level and their choice of government *versus* private institutions.

The probit results reported in Table 4 show that students who had completed their senior secondary schooling with English as medium of instruction are more likely to go to private institutions than the students who had completed their schooling in local/regional language (non-English medium). Around 67 percent of the students who had completed their senior secondary schooling with English as medium of instruction have enrolled themselves in private institutions as against 59 percent among the students studied in regional language (Table 1). Though it needs to be further examined, it may be noted that students who go to English medium schools (majority of which are also private), may come from better-off sections of the society.

Type of School: Along with the medium of instruction, the effect of the type of school the graduated from: public (government including government aided) or private – is of significance. At school level, the general perception is private schools offer better quality education than government schools, though the evidence is not conclusive. It is argued that private schools offer better quality education than government schools and the demand for private education may also mean to some extent the demand for quality education (Tilak & Sudarshan, 2001, p. 6). Growth of private schools in India, mainly attributed to the breakdown in the functioning and quality of government schools, is well-documented in the literature (e.g., Tilak, 1992, 1994; Kingdon, 2017; Tilak & Sudarshan, 2001; Kumar & Choudhruy, 2020). Hence, private schools are favoured in India mainly on quality grounds besides a few other theoretical and empirical aspects like excess and differentiated demand, government failure,

[11] We do not have data on the rank scores of students secured in the competitive common entrance examinations.

efficiency, accountability, job market relevance, quick response to market signals etc. Taking these into consideration, it can be rationally expected that the students graduating from private senior secondary schools would seek admission in government institutions for higher education and vice versa. But surprisingly the probit results reveal a contradictory picture. The students who complete their senior secondary schooling from private schools are more likely to end up in private institutions. The difference in favour of private institutions is by seven percentage points. So, one may tempt to infer from these results that the English medium and even private school system do not necessarily provide high quality education, if our presumptions that high quality students prefer government institutions in higher engineering education, and government engineering institutions offer better quality than private colleges -- are necessarily correct. But as we noted, there are several factors and they also inter-play in the choice of the type of higher engineering education institutions.

Location of the School: Rural-urban differences are generally very wide in case of most aspects of higher education. Urban schools tend to have better infrastructure and are perceived to be better quality institutions. So, the rural-urban differences can also be expected to influence students' choice of the type of higher education institution. It is generally presumed that the students in urban higher secondary schools receive better quality education than the students of rural schools. Schools belonging to rural areas in India are mainly maintained by the government and lack in adequate quantum basic physical and human infrastructure needed for providing quality education. On the other hand, a large number of higher secondary schools in urban India are privately managed and provide quality teaching to the students which help them performing better in their further career. Instead of considering rural-urban differences based on the student's/family's original place of living, the location of the senior secondary school from which the student graduated is considered here. While it is expected that the students from urban higher secondary schools seek admission in government institutions, the regression results presented in Table 4 indicate that students graduating from urban higher secondary schools are more likely to take admission in private institutions than the students of rural schools. About 71 percent of the students from urban senior secondary schools have taken admission in private institutions, whereas the share is 56 percent among the students graduated from rural schools. This may be due to the low economic status of the rural households, who may be unable to spend large amount of money by enrolling their children in private institutions.

Education Board: Among the variables on academic background, the board of education matters. All secondary schools in the country are necessarily affiliated to central (all-India) boards or state (government) boards of examinations. Prominent boards are: Central Board of School Education (CBSE), and the Council for the Indian School Certificate Examination, a private body that conducts Indian Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (ICSE) at all-India level, hence known as central boards and various state (government) boards. In all, there are 34 boards of secondary and senior secondary education in India; and more than 95 percent of the schools are affiliated to state boards. Given the variations in quality in curriculum offered by different boards, students come out with varying capabilities, which will have an impact on their choices. Generally, CBSE curriculum is regarded to be of higher standard than others. It is generally believed that the schools managed by CBSE and other central boards provide good quality education (mainly the curriculum and syllabi are written in the contemporary context and revised periodically as per the need of the students) which helps to develop the cognitive skills of the students in a better way. On the other hand, the syllabi followed in the state boards, with some exceptions, are not up to the mark for the intellectual development of the students. Besides syllabus, the students studying in the schools managed by central boards are taught by trained and qualified teachers. According to a National

Achievement Survey of grade 10 students that was conducted by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT, 2018) students from CBSE and ICSE schools fared better than those from various state boards in all disciplines across India.[12] Hence, examination board of the senior secondary schooling – central or state -- is considered here for our analysis.[13] As expected, the empirical results show the students studying in the schools affiliated to central boards are more likely to take admission in government institutions than the students graduated under state boards.

Coaching for Entrance Examination: Due to the excess demand, i.e., demand being greater than supply of engineering education, admission into engineering colleges has always been a tough proposition, with an increasing number of students seeking entry on the one hand, and limited availability of quality institutions such as IITs and NITs, on the other. The competition is very tough among the students for admission in different institutions, and it is more so in case of government institutions. The common entrance examinations conducted for admission to professional courses in India are highly competitive and demand elaborate preparation and special coaching to secure high ranks (Sivasankaran & Babu, 2008, p. 90). Hence, preparatory coaching, which is also quite expensive, is widely perceived as an essential pre-requisite for securing high ranks in entrance examination and then in obtaining admission in any good engineering education institutions in India, though a good number of students who do not undertake such coaching also get high ranks and admission in good quality institutions. In general, it is held that students taking pre-admission preparatory coaching to secure a good rank in the entrance examination prefer to enroll in government as against private institutions. The results here indicate that it is true: students who have attended pre-admission coaching have higher probability to prefer admission in government institutions to private institutions.

Effect of Factors Related to Students' Current Education Status

Stream of Engineering: Based on the prevalence of major streams of engineering education in under graduate education in India, students enrolled in five major streams (majors) of engineering, viz., electrical engineering, mechanical engineering, computer science & engineering, electronics & communication engineering, and information & technology were chosen to constitute the main sample of the survey. These majors are broadly categorized into two groups, namely traditional and modern/IT-related streams of engineering. Traditional streams include electrical engineering and mechanical engineering, whereas modern areas include computer science & engineering, electronics & communication engineering, and information & technology. Government institutions seem to lay more emphasis on traditional/standard disciplines such as mechanical engineering, civil engineering and electrical engineering, while private universities and colleges respond to market-influenced demand of students and offer highly demanded and more revenue-generating IT-related/modern disciplines like computer science & engineering, electronics & communication engineering, and information & technology. Of course, in some cases, the rigid structures of government institutions do not allow them to be flexible in offering new disciplines and programmes of

[12] *https://www.hindustantimes.com/education/survey-finds-class-10-students-of-cbse-icse-perform-better-than-their-state-boards-peers/story-OURp2u3oiMn6VATbemZpKJ.html*

[13] About 90 percent of students in our sample have come from CBSE board and 8 percent from schools affiliated to different state boards. As only 25 students (two percent of the total students covered in the study) had completed their senior secondary examination through ICSE board, which is also a central board, CBSE and ICSE are grouped into one category as 'central board'. Due to small sample size of each of the state boards, it has not been attempted to analyse the impact on students' choice of institutions by each state board separately. Even if such data are available, it would be difficult to use, as they need to be standardised using somewhat arbitrary weights. The different state boards vary widely in their quality, standards, evaluation and other procedures.

study. Further, the traditional streams of engineering like mechanical and electrical engineering require heavy infrastructure in the form of laboratories and workshops and huge investments, which the private institutions might be reluctant to make. Similarly, some engineering colleges are famous for specific disciplines of study.

Demand for modern areas of engineering education is very high, compared to traditional areas, which used to be the main chunk of engineering education in India for a long time. In general, the preference of the student for a given area of study is so strong that often students do not mind compromising on their choice of an institution (see Tilak 2020b). Hence the STREAM_STUDY may have a significant effect on the students' choice of government vis-à-vis private institutions. Students preferring modern streams have higher preferences for private institutions, as many private institutions offer such courses, compared to government institutions, whereas students preferring traditional areas of engineering may opt for government institutions. Some government institutions are also known more for some of the traditional streams of engineering. So, students prefer a particular institution to others, given their preference for a stream of engineering.

Given the above, one can expect that the students willing to study traditional disciplines may have higher chances to enroll in government institutions, whereas students interested to enrolling in modern/IT-related streams go for private institutions. The results confirm this. Students keen on modern streams of engineering, are 73 percent more likely to prefer private institutions than government universities or colleges. The choice of a stream of study seems to play a strong role in the choice of the type of institution. In fact, if there is a choice between type of institution and the choice of stream of engineering, it appears the latter is more dominant.

Household Cost of Engineering Education: Compared to general higher education, households have to spend a lot on professional education like the engineering education in India. The fee and other household cost of education is generally considered as one of the important factors determining students' choice of government *versus* private higher education institutions, as the higher educational cost that the students have to incur discourages the students from low and middle income families to opt for the same. Generally, the fees and other expenditures are higher in private institutions than in government institutions. Total household expenditure on engineering education is used as a proxy of household cost of education in the probit regression here in logarithmic form. This, the household cost includes the household expenditure on fees (library fees, examination fees, fees on games and sports), non-fee items (dormitory or housing, food, transport, textbooks and other classroom materials) and other related expenses (improving communictions in English language, purchase of computers, internets, phones, entertainment and other necessay expenses). As per the survey data, the total household expenditure per student was Rs.110,000 in government institutions and Rs. 166,000 in private institutions. However, these figures do not include the opportunity cost of education. Difference in the household expenditure on government and private institutions is mainly due to the difference in the fees, though in case of other items also one finds a big difference. Students in private institutions pay fees which is two times more than what the in-government institutions pay.[14]

[14] It would have been better to take the *net* household expenditure, i.e., the total household expenditure on engineering education minus the amount of scholarship or any other financial assistance received. However, we do not have required details on the amount of scholarship or financial assistance received by students during their programme of study. But we have information on whether a student has received scholarship or not, which is taken as an independent binary variable in the estimation of students' choice for government *versus* private institutions.

Here it is hypothesized that the students' choice in government versus private institutions is considerably influenced by the costs of education. Household expenditure on education is taken as proxy of household cost of education. The estimated probit coefficient of household cost (*ln*EDU_COST) shows that it is positively related with enrolment in private institutions. Household costs also reflect the ability of the households to spend on education of their wards. So, households with higher ability to spend, opt for private institutions, as we have already seen.

Financial Support: The availability of scholarship, loan and part-time work might reduce the financial burden and may stimulate more demand for admission in those institutions where these are available.

Scholarship: Scholarships and stipends reduce the household costs of education. Availability of scholarships or any other financial assistance in an institution can be expected to influence the students' choice of an institution. Hence students may prefer those universities/colleges, where there is a high probability of getting such financial assistance, than others. This may be very important particularly in case of students coming from low- and middle-income families, as it will have implications for the financial burden of the households considerably. The probability of getting financial assistance[15] is comparatively higher in government than in private institutions. This increases the students' preference in favour of government compared to private institutions. We find the same in the present analysis: students with higher probability of getting scholarship are less likely to take admission in private than government institutions. After all, government institutions have separate budgets for scholarships, especially for the students coming from disadvantaged sections of the society such as SCs, STs, OBCs, physically challenged (handicapped) and students from poor economic backgrounds, whereas the private institutions hardly provide any good number and decent amounts of scholarships.

Student Loans: Also related to the household costs, is availability of student loans. Engineering education being a costlier discipline of study, many students may like to avail educational loan facility to cover the costs of education (Tilak, 2020a). The probability of getting educational loan varies among the students enrolled in government and private engineering institutions, as banks tend to discriminate between the institutions, and also between programmes and the students. Further, some institutions – government or private, have arrangements with banks and other lending institutions, if any, to arrange for quick loans to the students admitted in their institutions. It is generally observed that the students enrolled in government institutions have higher chances of getting educational loans from commercial banks than the students enrolled in private institutions. So, it can be expected that the students seeking admission in engineering education may prefer those institutions where the probability of getting a loan is higher. Availing of an educational loan by the student from commercial banks for study is considered as an explanatory variable.

Results shown in Table 4 indicate that the students who are keen on educational loan are less likely to take admission in private institutions by 98 percentage points than government institutions. This shows that the scope of getting educational loan from commercial banks by a student is higher if she/he takes admission in government institutions than in private institutions. The commercial banks may feel more assured, to a greater extent, regarding the repayment of their loan amount by the graduates of government institutions. These students

[15] In the survey, we collected information on whether a student has received any scholarship or not during their programme of study, and the variable SCHOLARSHIP is defined to take the value 1, if she/he received any scholarship and 0, otherwise.

might get jobs in the labour market soon after the completion of their study and also with a good salary.

Part-time Work: Engineering students belonging to lower- and middle-income groups and not necessarily receiving any financial support (scholarship or educational loans) may look for opportunities to engage themselves in part-time jobs to cover at least a part of their cost of education. Accordingly, students choose government or private institutions which will provide them scope to work outside during their study. But such opportunities are not evenly available in all institutions. Availability of such opportunities obviously influences students' choice of institutions. Hence, the part-time work engagement of student is included as one of the explanatory variables in the probit analysis. In the present study we find that two-thirds of students have taken part-time jobs. The probit results show that the students who wish to get involved in part-time jobs during their study are more likely to enroll in the private as compared to government institutions. This may be due to the fact that in some cases, private institutions provide better opportunities of working on campus part-time jobs, compared to government institutions. Further, it is also reported that many private institutions may not be very strict in insisting on the regular attendance of students in classroom activities and may, instead, allow them to appear in the final examinations even without having the required minimum percentage of attendance in the classes. This may not be the case in government institutions; they may insist on full and regular attendance in classes/laboratories/workshops/seminars etc., which will not allow time for part-time work. So students who would like to work part-time may prefer private institutions.

Effect of Employment and Educational Aspirations

Employment Prospects: Employment is normally an important consideration, for anyone pursuing higher education, more particularly expensive engineering education. Hence it needs to be considered in every analysis of demand for higher education. Ideally, measures of labour market conditions, such as employment or unemployment rate and earnings associated with graduates of private versus public engineering institutions of higher education, should be used to examine the effects of labour market conditions on students' choice of the type of institution. Unfortunately, our survey does not cover employment or earnings of engineering graduates, as it was conducted on students currently studying in the final (fourth) year (seventh or eighth semester) of engineering degree programme, who were yet to complete the programme. However, we tried to capture employment potential of the programmes/institutions, by looking at placement profiles. On-campus recruitment of students, before they complete their studies is common in many engineering institutions of higher education in India. Prospective employers visit the institutions and conduct on-campus recruitment process and make offer of jobs to the suitable students, who will take up the employment after completion of their studies. So, we collected information on, 'whether the student has got any job offer through on-campus recruitment' which can be considered as a proxy of employment capacity of various engineering degree programmes and the institutions. It is important to note that the employers do not necessarily visit all institutions; they visit only those institutions that have a high brand and/or proven record of producing quality graduates. So on-campus recruitment is also viewed as employer recognition of the institution. Out of nearly eight lakh engineering graduates, only less than half of them get jobs through campus placement, according to the AICTE data. In other words, students' decision to take admission in government or private institutions also largely depends on the extent of campus recruitment opportunities the institutions provide to their graduates , or simply on 'placement' records of the institutions. In the present sample, only 26 percent of the total engineering students have got employment offers through on-campus recruitment.[16] Of the 26 percent of the engineering students who got job-offers, 65 percent are enrolled in government institutions and 35 percent in private institutions. Thus, students do seem to be considering on-campus recruitment records of the institutions, while making a choice to take admission in government versus private institutions. So, this variable is considered as a dummy variable in the students' choice equation. The probit results reveal that the students caring for employment assurance are less likely to go to private as against public institutions. This may be due to the reputation of the government institutions where the students will be getting employment in the on-campus recruitment process relatively more easily than graduates from private institutions.[17]

Educational Aspirations: In recent years, engineering graduates usually enter the job market after completion of their under-graduate studies, and very few of them go for higher studies, i.e., to pursue master and Ph.D. level programmes[18]. Particularly those who are interested in academic careers may prefer to go for further studies. Such opportunities are relatively more available in government institutions than in private ones. So, the students who would like to go for further studies might choose government institutions. Quite interestingly, in our sample, around 40 percent of the students have expressed intention to go for further studies (Master or Ph.D. level programmes), the share being higher in private institutions than in government institutions (43 percent and 36 percent respectively), though public institutions in general offer better opportunities for further studies. What is the impact of students' ambitions to go for further studies on their choice in favour of government *versus* private institutions for their undergraduate studies?

The probit estimates show that students who intend to study further are less likely to enroll in private institutions by 54 percentage points as compared to government institutions. This may be due to the existence of larger avenues and facilities in public institutions for higher studies and research in engineering disciplines compared to private institutions. Many private institutions offer only first degree programmes, and very few master's and Ph.D. degree programmes.

Summary of Findings

In this paper we have modelled the determinants of the choice of senior secondary school graduates with respect to private versus public institutions for higher education in engineering in India. Descriptive analysis and the probit equation estimated to examine the factors explaining students' choice of the institutions lead us to make a few findings:[19]

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[16] As the students covered in the study are from fourth (final) year of their studies, they are expected to get job offer before they graduate with the help of the placement cells of their respective engineering institutions. See also Tilak (2020c) for more details.

[17] However, Banerjee & Muley (2008) find that the rate of placement in private institutions is at par with IITs and better than the placement of NITs.

[18] The percentage of masters' output to the graduate (first degree) engineers' output had declined from 15 percent in 1980s to 8 percent in 2005 in India. Similarly, the percentage of Ph.D. output to the graduate engineers' output had fallen from three percent to less than one percent in the same period (Banerjee & Muley, 2008, pp. 58-59). Further, the number of engineering doctorate degrees awarded each year is less than one percent of the total number of first degrees in engineering awarded in India, whereas the corresponding figure ranges between 5-9 percent in China and USA. Tilak & Choudhury (2021) describe this as yet another 'imbalance' in the growth of higher, specifically engineering, education in India.

[19] Descriptive statistics and probit estimates give contradictory results in a good number of cases. The interplay of many factors may be partly responsible for this. Obviously probit estimates are more reliable in identifying the probable predictors.

- The presumption that for many reasons, students belonging to socially backward strata (Scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward castes) are more likely to prefer government institutions and are less likely to enroll in private institutions holds true in the present study. Similarly, from gender point of view, a female student has 4 percentage points more likely to attend private institution than on average a male student.
- The probit results indicate that the presence of a larger number of siblings in the family reduces the probability of attending private institutions, as against government institutions. The other two household factors determining students' choice for institutions are the parents' occupation and state of domicile of the students. Surprisingly, income of the family is found to be statistically not significant. While mother's education has a positive influence in the student's preference towards government institutions, father's education has no statistically significant effect.
- As expected, a student graduated from a secondary school which is under a central (government) board is more likely to enroll in public institutions of engineering education than a student graduated from a school managed by state board.
- The probability estimates relating to medium of instruction followed in the senior secondary school and the percentage of marks scored in the entrance examination yield results in somewhat expected directions. Students who completed their secondary education in English medium are more likely to go to private institutions, while those who score high marks in the school end examinations are less likely to enroll in private institutions. Obviously, students with better academic background (marks) and with English medium can compete for better quality institutions, which are in the state sector.
- Students' choice of an institution is significantly determined by the employment prospects, or more specifically employment assurance that can be indirectly derived from the performance of the institution in terms of campus recruitment and offers of placement in jobs made to the students. Offer of employment of students through on campus recruitment is considered as a positive indicator of employment providing capacity of the institutions. As the government institutions tend to be able to offer better opportunities for employment through on-campus recruitment by reputed companies, they become a preferred choice of the students seeking admission, than private institutions. The probit estimates confirm the same. Obviously due to the reputation or brand name of the government institutions, graduates will be able to secure good employment easily than in case of those graduating from private institutions.
- The other factors determining the students' choice for institutions include the availability of scholarships, cost of engineering education and the streams of engineering the students intend to choose. Students who could secure scholarships mostly from the government, do not prefer private institutions. Students in private institutions afford higher costs (of private institutions) and spend more than those in government institutions. Lastly, students interested in modern (IT-related) courses seem to be going more to private institutions than to government institutions. This is because, government institutions offer focus more on traditional streams, though they also offer modern streams of engineering sciences to a lesser extent, while private institutions, responding to the market demand, tend to offer more admissions in IT-related and other modern disciplines and less or almost nil in other traditional, but important programmes.
- To sum up, among the statistically significant factors, after caste, the most important ones that explain the choice for admission in private institutions are preference for modern streams of engineering, secondary schooling in non-English medium schools, and the high

cost of education. The next three important factors are secondary schooling in a school affiliated to state board, the location of the school (in rural areas) and mother's education. While mother's education has a negative effect on the probability of student preferring a private institution, all others among the above variables positively influence the choice in favour of a private institution. Some of them require in-depth probing of many related aspects, which is not attempted here.

Singling out different factors that explain students' choice is important; but is indeed difficult. The results also indicate the strong interplay of several factors, making explanation difficult. We find here that a multitude of factors explain why students choose public or private institutions for engineering education in India. We may note that quite a few considerations that we outlined in the very beginning limit generalized conclusions we can draw from these findings. The imperfect education market in a developing country like India, characterised by large scale growth of private education and diminution of public sector, asymmetry of information -- there are no strict regulations requiring institutions to share basic information that empowers students to make more informed choices, the limited supply of engineering education facilities of quality, the admission procedures, and uneven economic abilities of the households, -- does not mean existence of a genuine free choice in a typical market framework, for the parents or students in selecting a type of engineering institution. So, it is important to note that we have used the choice function in this paper in a restricted sense.

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About the Author

Prof Jandhyala B. G. Tilak, economist of education, is ICSSR National Fellow and Distinguished Professor at Council for Social Development, New Delhi. Former Professor and Vice Chancellor, National University of Educational Planning and Administration, Dr Tilak is a recipient of Dr Malcolm Adiseshiah award, UGC Swami Pranavananda Saraswati award, Inspirational Teacher of the Year award, and Devang Mehta award. Dr Tilak taught/researched at Hiroshima University, University of Virginia, Sri Sathya Sai Institute of Higher Learning, as Visiting Professor, University of Delhi and Indian Institute of Education as a faculty member and the World Bank at Washington DC as Economist/Consultant. Author/editor of more than

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Migration, Education and Translation: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Human Mobility and Cultural Encounters in Education Settings. Edited by Vivienne Anderson and Henry Johnson. London: Routledge, 2020. 255 pages. ISBN: 9780367260347

Countries from across the globe are becoming more diverse as people move across borders, some in search of economic prosperity and opportunities, while others are fleeing wars and famine. In many countries linguistic diversity is a feature of this demographic shift. *Migration, Education and Translation*, a volume in *Studies in Migration and Diaspora Series*, brings together scholars, practitioners and researchers from different contexts in examining ways in which language is mediated in different spaces and through a variety of voices and experiences. This multidisciplinary collection poses the questions of how the dominance of English in education might be challenged, how educational contexts might be reimagined in ways that privilege bi- and multi-lingualism, and what might be learned from existing educational settings that privilege minority or Indigenous languages. This volume brings to the center of language discourse important voices that have been at the margins. Authors position language as a means of liberation, of understanding others, while calling for the disruption of colonial languages that have held privileged positions in many countries.

The volume is divided into four parts: *knowledge, language, mobility,* and *practice*. Anderson and Johnson argue that this enables readers to experience a range of themes, topics, and theories which provide deeper insights into the emotions of language in the migrant experience. Voices and experiences of students in a number of advanced economies frame this collection. This is important given the rise of internationalisation of higher education and elsewhere.

As Konai Helu Thaman notes in the Foreword, in this volume the authors and editors provide an “amazing feast of knowledges, sourced from diverse contexts” (p.xviii). The edited volume starts with the Introduction by Anderson and Johnson which sets the stage for readers by highlighting the complex ways “specific histories shape education policies and practices and the impact on the lives of all who encounter migration in its many manifestations” (p.1). Highlighted are the tensions in language that exist between settler colonialism, migration and Indigenous peoples. The fourteen chapters which follow are rich examples, drawn from research conducted in Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, Japan, Malta, New Zealand, Poland and the United States, of students and others navigating their language journey through the lens of migration and other aspect of identity. Each chapter is grounded in relevant scholarship and empirical research written from “unique historical, cultural and socio-linguistic contexts” (p.6).

Part 1 focuses on *knowledge* and starts off with Michael Singh examining Post-Monolingual Research Methodology (PMRM) as an approach to thinking about language and ways to decolonize doctoral education. Tiffany Cone in chapter 2 draws on research conducted in Bangladesh to explore ways in which students from refugee backgrounds engage with language in new contexts. In this study Cone sought to utilize post-modern methodology to generate social theory to challenge Eurocentric social theory. In chapter 3 Lucas Walsh and Niranjan Casinader draw on testimonials of Primary Years Program (PYP) teachers in Canada and

Australia to explore language practice. These chapters offer readers new language epistemologies drawn from different contexts and offer examples of ways in which the dominance of Eurocentric language can be challenged.

Part 2 is focussed on *language*. In these three chapters by Mi Yung Park, Sadie Durkacz Ryan and Henry Johnson readers are taken through the impact of language on constructing identities, the impact of migration on this process, and the ways standard English is positioned and privileged. Park explores how "ethnicity interacts with identity construction and language learning in complex ways" (p.71), while Henry's research with a local language called 'Jerriais' informs readers of how inward migration led both to the decline of the local language and "simultaneously to a culture of translation through linguistic activism in educational and informational settings" (p.89). I am drawn to the notion of linguistic activism which creates space agency for migrants, refugees and all those navigating dominant language as a source of power.

The focus for Part 3, also comprising three chapters, is *mobility*. It starts with Naoko Inoue and Vivienne Anderson examining the role of language in relation to dominant language as a means of mobility. Through research conducted in Japan they explore internationalisation policies and `the complex positionality of *native* English-speaking academics in Japan. The use of the term *native* in this context is interesting. Inoue and Anderson use the term *native English speaker* "in recognition of the power associated with Inner Circle countries (such as the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand where English is spoken as the primary language) and in order to denaturalise power attached to *nativeness* in Japan" (p. 105-6). Andrew Butcher then examines ways in which international students are framed within policy discourses "as a) part of soft power, b) economic agents, c) source of income, d) temporary subject, and e) immigrants of doubtful value" (p. 120). Butcher suggests that in many developed economies neoliberal policy agendas conveniently position immigrants to be of 'doubtful value' thus perpetuating marginalization of some groups. Laura Gurney and Sherrie Lee complete part 3 by exploring the growth in numbers of diverse students in higher education in countries where English is preferred. This is seen by some students as increasing their marketability while being a source of tension. They suggest that "a significant component of internationalisation of higher education has been predicated on the movement of student-consumers to Anglophone centers of education-providers, the educational product distinguished by the medium of the English language" (p. 139). These authors tease out ways in which language is used within the neoliberal project of internationalisation within universities and the tension this creates for students navigating identities and language.

Part 4 focuses on *practice* and includes 5 chapters. In this section the authors seek to engage in praxis by connecting theory to practice starting with Sue Ollerhead and Sally Baker who posit the notion of "translanguaging" (p. 145) through a range of linguistic modes and practices as a way to engage immigrant students. They suggest that "translanguaging and trans-semiotising can be used as pedagogical tools in multilingual classrooms to deepen and enrich communication and to engender more humanising learning experiences for both learners and teachers" (p. 155). Next, Michelle Panzavecchia and Sabine Little examine the dominance of English rooted in British colonialism and the challenges created as countries become more diverse. They argue that "schools need to invest in human resources (including foreign language specialised teachers) and explore learning materials available through information technology" (p.170). In chapter 12 Toyotomi Morimoto examines intergenerational transmission of language, while Rachel Rafferty in chapter 13 examines the challenges youths from refugee backgrounds face when the "education system fails to recognise the particular challenges refugee background students can face, the student ability to succeed academically is reduced" (p. 188). In the final chapter, Karyn Paringatai completes this important volume on language and migration by examining Indigenous pedagogies and practices in higher education through Māori performing arts. She maintains that Indigenous knowledge is of benefit to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students, that “the curriculum taught and the use of an Indigenous teaching and learning methodology have served to strengthen the quality of educational experiences and to improve students’ cultural awareness” (p. 210).

Educators who foreground linguistic diversity in their work will find this volume useful. It will be of value not only to those in higher education, but also to educators in K-12 schools navigating issues of language in diverse classrooms, and who are seeking practical ways to engage students. However, given the editors contention that the volume seeks to disrupt the dominance of colonial language and practices, I would have liked to see more framing utilizing decolonizing and anticolonial theorizing and connection to practice. Such framing, I believe, in many ways helps educators to critically analyze discourses of inclusion. Moreover, while the division of chapters into four parts made for efficient organization, as an educator I am not necessarily in support of the setting apart of practice, preferring instead a weaving in. I am left wondering if ‘practice’ could have been woven into all chapters as each presents empirical research and findings that offer readers ways not only to theorize but to engage in language education practices differently.

Nonetheless, this is an important volume that contributes to the ongoing debate on language and migration as many countries become more diverse. The book aptly ends with Allison Phipps’ “Response: Listen to the lands’ language. Learn to translate, again”; a must read for everyone.

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Relationality and Learning in Oceania: Contextualizing Education for Development.
Edited by Seu'ula Johansson-Fua, Rebecca Jesson, Rebecca Spratt and Eve Coxon Leiden: Brill, 2020. 188 pages. ISBN: 978-90-42529-3

In *Relationality and Learning in Oceania: Contextualizing Education for Development*, Seu'ula Johansson-Fua, Rebecca Jesson, Rebecca Spratt and Eve Coxon provide an unusual and forward thinking set of chapters on the history, languages, and cultures of educational "development" in this unique region of 22 countries in Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. The word "development" is in quotes in their volume as it is one of the key concepts, among others, that the authors challenge as typically being imposed by outsiders.

Indeed, the volume as a whole is what they term a counter-narrative to what they see as a "managerial perspective" to educational interventions via aid-driven international development. They do so by arguing that international development efforts should be approached "relationally" and with a "strengths-based" approach. The authors ask their readers to approach educational development in Oceania through this relational lens.

Fortunately, this volume is accessible to those who may be unfamiliar with the countries and cultures of Oceania. In Chapter 2, for example, we are briefed on the cultural, geographical, political, and historical background of the Solomon Islands and Tonga. We learn that in 1862 Tonga became one of the first countries in the world to declare education compulsory, which is a practice that continues to date, free of cost. Readers also will learn about the colonial influences on education in the region, the complex historical connections between colonialism, economy, and politics within the education and development landscapes of the two island nations. As we transition through the chapters that follow, the authors describe the significant tensions between universalist Western assumptions and local realities that impact education up to the present day.

The term *relationality*, used in the book's title, may be less familiar to the reader. Here the authors use this concept to refer to an iterative, organic process that heavily relies on existing knowledge (what they also call Indigenous epistemologies) as a foundation for the guided support of teachers and caregivers. Across multiple chapters, the authors apply relationality to the fundamentals of education: literacy, bilingual learning, assessment, evaluation, design-based research, and pedagogy and practice. For readers looking to deeply engage in an extended discussion of how local cultures (including a rich cultural heritage, strong familial and social bonds, unity with land and resources, and multilingual background) impact education in Oceania, this book can serve as a very useful introduction.

Various chapters dig deeper into specific areas of learning and instruction. For example, in Chapter 5, *Literacy learnin*g, literacy is defined as "not only school bound, but [also] is cultural, intergenerational and social" (p. 73). Literacy is not only a "basic skill", but also a social activity – literacy is "language in action." In this chapter, Jesson, points effectively to two main risks in educational interventions: that literacy as a target skill is too narrowly defined (and does not include culture), and that literacy may be 'subtractive', does not sufficiently build on children's diverse local literacies and thus impedes literacy development (p. 79). She argues, as many have in the past, that children must build on local strengths (e.g., Wagner, 2018).

Chapter 6 (by Robert Early), builds on this same perspective in a useful discussion of how local languages may be used in the schools of Solomon Islands, which contains 71 local languages, and where such languages, along with Pijin and English may be used in various combinations in the classroom. According to the author, one very surprising language policy feature is government "disinterest" in using Pijin, the largest and most widely used language in the Solomons. He compares this situation to a common dynamic in US urban education, where educators tend to "pry open" what he terms ideological space to support multilingualism, in spite of national policies that are more rigid.

Such a volume with a strong local and cultural focus would seem to necessitate a complaint about the use of large-scale international assessments that might overly restrict flexible and culturally sensitive schooling. We have this in Chapter 8, with the appropriately titled chapter: *The tail wagging the dog or assessment for learning*? Here the authors suggest that such external literacy assessments "have the potential to reshape literacy learning practices in ways that are devoid of context and ignore the richness of [local] literacy practices" (p. 117). They suggest that it is critically important to focus on assessments *for* learning, not just assessments *of* learning (see Wagner, 2011).

In sum, readers may wish to treat the book like an extended essay–it would be difficult to pick out and read any one chapter and fully understand the themes of relationality, Indigenous knowledge, and design-based research that are central to the book. But across this edited volume, the chapters build on two education intervention programs in Oceania, to highlight features that both differentiate this region from other cultural contexts, but also provide a solid basis for comparisons with similar issues that face complex societies as they have confronted colonialism in the past, and the pressures of globalization in the future.

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Effective School Librarianship: Successful Professional Practices from Librarians Around the World. Patrick Lo, Heather Rogers and Dickson K.W. Chiu. Oakville and New Jersey: Apple Academic Press, 2018. 2 volumes. 512 pp. ISBN 978-1-315-14957-8

This is a fascinating book that has value well beyond the specific subject area of 'School Librarianship'. I enjoyed reading it from the start. The two volumes contain interviews with school librarians from around the world. On the one hand there is a considerable difference between working as a school librarian in diverse contexts such as the United States and Venezuela. But throughout the work, the professionalism, commitment, ambition, inspiration and, above all, the passion of the interviewees shines through.

I have long been a devotee of the 'ethnographic approach' to research and this title demonstrates the significant value of letting people speak in their own words – from the heart. I was already aware of the authors' use of this technique and was very pleased that one of the interviews reproduced here (Volume 2, Chapter 6) first appeared in my book *The End of Wisdom? The Future of Libraries in a Digital Age* (Chandos/Elsevier, 2016).

The interview template is the same for every chapter, which aids comparison and allows the reader to contrast school librarianship around the globe. At the same time, the common questions provide a useful 'backbone' to the book, ensuring that this is not just a series of 1-2-1 discussions, however interesting and indeed moving individual case studies are. The reader can delve into the text at any point and find much of interest and value on just about every page; or take a more systematic approach, focusing on different parts of the world or specific themes. Whatever approach is chosen, there is much of value to the profession and to the world of education at large. What is more important than inculcating and inspiring a love of learning through libraries, the educational and spiritual heart of any and every school?

As one of the foreword writers points out, in today's world the pace of technological change is creating both challenges and opportunities for education at all levels, and the school or college library has a vital and essential role to play in equipping both students and teachers with the expertise, knowledge and understanding needed to respond to best effect for the dynamic and uncertain future that we face. The word 'literacy' crops up so many times – critical literacy, digital literacy, media literacy, and so on – all to do with 'incorporating new skills of viewing and representing'. As a result, traditional library environments are at times being rethought and reengineered as vibrant 'third places', as much akin to Starbucks as they are to shelves of books.

But as always, people are the most important factor – and always will be. As another of the foreword writers comments: 'school librarians are meant to be facilitators/leaders/guides of active, critically reflective learning, as well as knowledge utilization. The value of this book lies in the fact that it provides the readers an overview of many up-to-date practices, which are carried out by school librarians working in a great variety of sociocultural, political, and educational contexts'. True: but more than that, these practices and ideas are applicable across every type of library – academic, special, public – not least because the school librarians represented here are providing real leadership in their field, their profession, their institutions and their countries. And what a treat it is to be able to see pictures of them and their libraries at the end of the relevant chapters! That is a wonderful touch and brings the people and their mission so obviously to life.

It is – or should be – an inalienable right of all children to have access to high quality education, information and knowledge. So much of a country's ability to provide this basic necessity depends on the school library and – judging by this book – the often-unsung heroes, the school librarians. I specifically commend this book to every library professional's attention, advising them to read as well as delve, to explore and share the ideas and to take the lead by this group of inspirational people. All involved in this publication are to be heartily congratulated.

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Exploring the Complexities of Global Citizenship Education: Hard Spaces, Methodologies, and Ethics. Edited by Lauren Ila Misiaszek**.** New York and London: Routledge, 2020. 215pp. ISBN: 978-1-315-18039-7

Global citizenship education, as an educational initiative promoted by the UNESCO organization to educate students on global challenges and create global solidarity, has recently gained much academic attention. In *Exploring the Complexities of Global Citizenship Education: Hard Spaces, Methodologies, and Ethics*, the editor, Lauren Ila Misiaszek, initiates the theme of encountering complexities and difficulties in practicing global citizenship education through sharing her own experiences of teaching and researching in the Global South. Aligning with the aforementioned theme, the chapter contents in this book are all situated in "hard spaces"–places that are difficult for effectively and transparently living, practicing, and conducting global citizenship education research and pedagogy (Misiaszek, 2020, p. 2). Furthermore, using an artistic metaphor, the editor contends that this is a book aiming to paint and fill out a canvas of the gaps, limitations, and obstacles in current research on existing global citizenship education frameworks.

Accordingly, each chapter in this book delves into illustrating the intricacies of one topic as it intersects with global citizenship education. The chapters offer an array of topics: there are explorations with conceptual frameworks on global reading, global youth identity formation through media, and issues of translating (interpreting) global citizenship in local contexts that affect citizenship understanding. There are also investigations into the empirical experiences of how global citizenship poses difficulties in specific national contexts. For example, the chapters reveal the difficulty of implementing global citizenship in schools in China, how politics of emotion manifested in local religion and secular life affects the forging of global citizenship identity in Tanzania, national identity in South Korea contending with global citizenship, identity struggles of Eritrean migrants in the U.K., citizenship formation in Zimbabwe, and complexities in utilizing non-Western global citizenship epistemology frameworks in India.

Many previous studies have debated the details in the UNESCO global citizenship education conceptual framework; many other studies have conducted research aiming to apply this framework in pedagogy around the world. This book pushes further than some previous research as it offers more in-depth and explicit delineation of the myriad of challenges in implementing global citizenship education in specific contexts. It also reveals the gaps where existing global citizenship education frameworks and critiques perhaps do not cover actual pedagogical practices.

This book presents valuable insights into global citizenship education both in its theoretical / methodological conception and inclusion of empirical experiences. Concerning the theory and methodology, this book employs an open choice and offers an opportunity for each chapter to develop a theory and method for illuminating specific hard spaces in global citizenship education. There is still a common thread, "a palette" of frameworks logically linking all the chapters and topics together (Misiaszek, 2020. p. 2). As is, this whole book could be an experimentation to offer different colors (frameworks or methods) to choose from with the aim of pinpointing the multifarious global citizenship education realities from various dimensions. The result is a combination of a proliferation of theories and methods for probing into empirical practices in the Global South concerning global citizenship education. Without this diversity of different colors of theoretical frameworks and methodologies, some topics and obstacles in global citizenship education might not come to light. A diverse framework is not a weakness in this book; instead, as the editor states, it is an offering of choices for authors of each chapter and for readers to apply the most appropriate framework and method to draw out the nuances of global citizenship education in challenging contexts. This is more suitable than merely deliberating the details of one abstract framework and forcing it onto different global citizenship education contexts. As each chapter progresses, the hard spaces and gaps are revealed and colored-in; also, future lines of inquiry are explored because this whole book is ultimately a set of questions to reflect on the current themes, framework, and methods of global citizenship education.

In addition to the creativity in choice of frameworks for highlighting specific challenges in global citizenship education, each of the chapter contents delineating empirical research evidence is vital for comprehending the concrete reality of implementing global citizenship education. The contents are valuable in not only unveiling the practical difficulties in applying global citizenship education, they also provide crucial insight into how some participants in these hard spaces attempt to overcome these obstacles. These chapters offer observant critical lenses to reveal actual obstacles to and lived practices of global citizenship education in specific contexts. The actual experiences may become crucial strategies and guidelines for practitioners of global citizenship education who are also facing challenges in the reality of these hard spaces.

This book contributes to global citizenship education research by examining various less discussed themes or less observed obstacles from multifarious dimensions. Another contribution is that each chapter could enable future researchers and educators to envision actual practice in implementing global citizenship education to overcome similar obstacles. The topics on politics of emotions in citizenship identity and issues of global reading, meaning-making, and translations of local contexts, for example, may be dimensions less explicitly linked to earlier global citizenship education research. Yet these topics and themes are worthy of discussion and help us reflect back on the existing framework and structure of global citizenship education. In this sense this book is expanding our imagination to envision a broader view of topics intersecting with global citizenship education.

A coloring-in of the hard spaces may be essentially reinterpreting the existing picture of the global citizenship framework. This book, therefore, could serve to open conversations about the questions and limitations that the existing framework does not address. It also offers a redefining of the global citizenship education framework and existing methodologies to reinterpret global citizenship education. Future paths of research inquiry stemming from this book could continue to probe into other critical issues in the world as they intersect with global citizenship education. This book may also be seen as one foundation for other educators to pursue further research and to include empirical global citizenship education experiences in more countries and regions.

I recommend this book as an informative resource for researchers and practitioners of global citizenship education because it reveals the actual contexts and realities of implementing global citizenship education in diverse places. The discussions of how different sociopolitical and national contexts affect global citizenship practices in in this book will also be useful for readers who are interested in comparative and international education. This book is a collaboration of different views and voices from the hard spaces in conducting research and pedagogy, in effect forming a kaleidoscope of colors that illustrates the less-explored complexities in global citizenship education.

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Re-visioning Education in Africa: Ubuntu-Inspired Education for Humanity. Edited by Emefa J. Takyi-Amoako and N'Dri T. Assié-Lumumba. Palgrave Macmillan, 265 pp. ISBN 978-3-319-70043- 4

Ubuntu is an inspirational philosophy upon which a new model of education for all can be rooted (p. 51)

This book is inspired by the 59th Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) Conference, held in Washington, DC, from 8 to 13 March 2015. The main theme of the conference was: 'Ubuntu! Imagining a Humanist Education Globally'.

The book comprises thirteen logically sequenced chapters including a thoughtful introductory section that elucidates the concept of 'Ubuntu-inspired education' as the central organizing theme that binds together the diverse perspectives presented throughout the book. The book is a provocative inquiry that challenges the Eurocentric educational practices, philosophies, and thoughts that have marginalized African heritages and experiences. It envisages an alternative path for education in Africa by theoretically and practically interrogating education within the framework of the Ubuntu paradigm which the introductory section briefly outlines.

The concept of Ubuntu is thoroughly discussed throughout the book, reiterating and building on Broodryk's (2002) interpretation as 'a comprehensive ancient African worldview based on the values of intense humanness, caring, sharing, respect, compassion and associated values' (p. 13). While acknowledging the contribution of the book in articulating the notion of Ubuntu as an essential concept to envisage the future of education in Africa, we strongly believe that emphasis should also be given to the fundamental difference between Ubuntu humanism and Western humanism. This is particularly important as Western humanism also makes claims around norms and values such as 'humanness, caring, sharing, respect, compassion, and so forth'. For Santos, a fundamental problem with Western discourses of morality, social justice, and human rights is in reducing people they are supposed to serve to objects and not subjects of such discourses. One of the key contributions of this book is synthesizing and vigorously articulating the notion of the Ubuntu paradigm thus providing a revealing insight into the ongoing contradictions and debates within globally prescribed paradigms of education and development nexus.

The key debate throughout the book is framed within two interwoven and leading thematic areas: (i) theoretical considerations in characterizing Ubuntu-inspired education for humanity in Africa, and (ii) practical solutions that illustrate Ubuntu-inspired education for humanity in Africa. After presenting a logical explanation of African humanist philosophy of Ubuntu and its educational attributes, Ali A. Abdi in the second chapter, attempts to capture the complexity involved in reconstructing possible ways of re-humanized learning systems in Africa. He argues for a broader philosophical foundation that accommodates multicentric knowledge and learning systems for a more inclusive social well-being platform. His chapter provides a unique conceptual and analytical perspective of Ubuntu alongside anti-colonial historical and educational analyses. The author takes the reader through a series of critical contrasts of ontological and epistemological realities that exist between the philosophy of Ubuntu and Western thoughts. Abdi's historical perspectives can also be grasped in the subsequent chapters within the frameworks of postcolonial and decolonization debates.

In the third chapter, Tukumbi Lumumba -Kasongo discusses the nexus between Ubuntu and Pan-Africanism as a way forward to an alternative future for African education. While acknowledging the striking difference in the historical trajectory of the two concepts, the chapter attempts to illustrate the philosophical and ideological contributions of the two concepts towards a continental educational paradigm that could address the development quest of African societies. The author recognizes the evident challenge of Africa as a continent characterized by weak solidarity among its people despite the pragmatism of their collective ethos at the communal and institutional levels, such as the family. His argument, however, can easily fall within metaphysical philosophies of idealism overly reliant on regional institutional transformations and development narratives. Indeed, the author gives a pan-African perspective to the notion of decolonization and an alternative future for Africa arguing that ‘African progress is not and cannot be sustained without a strong unified regionalist cultural and ideological project’ (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2018, p. 49). The author also seems to rest quite heavily on historical-structuralist and neo-contractarianism approaches to interrogating the practicality of Ubuntu and Pan-Africanism in explaining state-society relations and historical configurations of progress in Africa.

The subsequent two chapters present a comprehensive analysis of the key aspects of the Ubuntu paradigm for inclusive education in Africa. In chapter four Yusef Waghid provides an interesting analysis of the different meanings of Ubuntu which are imperative for inclusive education in the postcolonial and post-apartheid periods in Africa. He attempts to construct the idea of inclusive education from different dimensions of Ubuntu, namely, interdependence, human action, deliberative inquiry, and socially responsive action. One of the striking contrasts presented in this chapter is the conceptualization of Ubuntu both as a cosmopolitan practice and the cultivation of dignity. In chapter five, N’Dri Thérèse Assié-Lumumba provides a critical reflection on inclusive education in Africa from a gender inequality perspective. She attributes the unequal and discriminatory structures of education in Africa to the legacy of colonial education systems. She highlights the historical trajectory of colonial institutions which intrinsically produced a system that groomed and reproduced inequality. To address this challenge, the chapter convincingly highlights the contribution of the Ubuntu paradigm toward the prospects of gender equality in Africa. The chapter provides an innovative insight into the complex dynamics of gender, education and development in Africa. Assié-Lumumba argues that Ubuntu as an African paradigm provides an opportunity to rethink and re-design an inclusive education that binds the values of collective well-being, with the potential of becoming a model for the world.

Indeed, the main quality of the book is its compressive approach, juggling between postcolonial, postmodern, and poststructuralist approaches while analyzing the notion of an alternative future for education in Africa within the Ubuntu paradigm. In this regard, Pai Obanya’s, in chapter six, provides an explicit postcolonial perspective on the challenges of education in Africa as he sets his position in his first sentence ‘Africa lost its education the very moment she lost her sovereignty through being colonised’ (p. 85). He argues that African traditional education had a holistic, integral personality development notion of education before it was lost and replaced by colonial schooling. The author argues that contemporary education policies in Africa should tap into African heritage beliefs like Ubuntu to revitalize future education reforms. Here, one notes the temptation to portray Ubuntu as a pre-colonial phenomenon that should be reclaimed, as implicitly asserted. However, even though precoloniality is certainly a necessary point of departure, we argue that attention should also be paid to Ubuntu in its current expression and complexity; that it is through a critical analysis of the impact of Ubuntu on African lives under colonialism and neocolonialism that we can better understand and reclaim the true potential and power of African humanism. We believe that such an approach would provide a better idea of continuities and discontinuities throughout the colonial and post-independence processes, and identify possible tensions incorporated in African humanist legacy.

In chapter seven, Mohamed Chérif Diarra establishes his analysis on the challenges of Ubuntu within the framework of poststructuralist argument. In asserting that that Africa's rich cultural heritage has not been fully integrated into its education despite its intrinsic values, her argues that the only way to establish a relevant education system in Africa is through reclaiming and integrating a wide range of African indigenous philosophies, such as Unhu, Maaya, and Ubuntu, into its systems. The major challenge, however, is interrogating the exact way in which Ubuntu could inspire and transform education in Africa. Moreover, we maintain, associating Ubuntu with traditionality in contrast to the present realities of modernity or post-modernity is problematic given their colonial determinations. As is widely observed, within Western modernization (colonial) discourses, 'traditional' usually equals 'backward', 'undeveloped', 'primitive', and development as the disruption of the traditional order. Thus, we urge the scholarly community to be critical of considering and framing the future of Ubuntu projects within the disempowering dichotomy of 'tradition' and 'modernity'.

It is important to note here that the theoretical strength of the book is complemented by rigorous case studies of the next three chapters which employ the Ubuntu paradigm in reflecting on Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE), Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET), and E-Learning respectively. As for the preceding chapters, the authors of these three chapters emphasize the discontinuity of African philosophy and tradition within pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial education as an overriding factor for the current multifaceted challenges of African education. Addressing the challenges, Hamidou Boukary in chapter eight provides an eye-opening critical analysis of the feasibility of the Ubuntu paradigm for the development of an ECCE in Africa. He explores the gap in the existing educational policies gearing toward facilitating smooth transitions from home to school and from preschool to primary school for African children. Benjamin A. Ogwo's chapter nine, on the other hand, adopts the concept of Ubuntu to revise TVET and its role in realizing the sustainable development goals in Africa. One of the critical questions discussed in this chapter is how would Ubuntu-based skills, competencies, and ethical re-engineering of TVET programs yield environmentally friendly, justice-driven, people-oriented, and communally derived sustainable development in Africa. This issues are also indirectly related to Eric Kemeh's chapter ten, which proposes the adoption of Ubuntu values as an effective pathway for the acceleration of the use of e-learning technologies for teaching and learning in African universities. Kemeh tries to recapture the experiences of universities in Ghana in the usage of ICT tools as well as e-learning programs. These case-based chapters provide valuable empirical insights into the application of the Ubuntu philosophy to various areas of education in Africa.

In chapter 12 José Cossa takes the work forward substantially and goes a long way toward addressing the challenges of coloniality and the promises of modernity and cosmopolitanism in higher education in Africa. The author appears to take a postmodernist view towards conceptualizing higher education and scholarship within the perspectives of modernity and cosmopolitanism. He provides a unique approach to narrating stories of individual experiences in substantiating his overriding argument, 'education must find meaning in our calling to participate in the livelihood of our fellow humans.'(p.196) The penultimate chapter by Emefa J. Takyi-Amoako, on the other hand, provides an alternative perspective to global education policies. After briefly assessing the challenges of the Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the context of Africa, she proposes an alternative approach derived from the fusion of the philosophy of Ubuntu and the notion of 'Confluence'. The notion of Confluence is discussed as a meeting point where the global/international and the local/national/regional/continental meet. This chapter provides an interesting critique of the assumption that promoting growth in national economies leads to better education outcomes. Rather, it argues that a thoughtful consciousness of people's interconnectedness, interdependence, shared humanity, and membership to a community is crucial for the effectiveness of education in Africa. In the concluding chapter, the co-editors recap some of the arguments discussed in the diverse contributions and restate the call for the implementation of a new philosophy of education as articulated in the Ubuntu paradigm as the sine qua non factor of targeted development goals.

Our overall view is that this is a meticulously conducted and carefully reasoned book that provides both conceptual and empirical insights toward Ubuntu-driven education paradigms as an alternative future for education in Africa. It is ambitious and provocative in its purpose of developing an African perspective in contrast to globally initiated educational processes for a more efficient and effective development engagement. We would argue, however, that although alternatives such as Ubuntu are very much needed, they should be supported by further 'alternatives thinking' not only about the challenges we confront but also about the very issues we want to privilege. This could entail, for example, a deconstructive challenge to identify the Eurocentric remains inherited from colonialism, and a reconstructive challenge to revitalize or reclaim the historical and cultural possibilities of the African legacy, interrupted by colonialism and neocolonialism. While recognizing the strength of theorizing throughout all the chapters, there still exists a profound need on the empirical side of the discussion in order to make the notion of the Ubuntu paradigm more pragmatic than rhetorical.

Reference

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