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Introduction

Greg Fairbrother and Wong Suk-Ying

This issue of the *Comparative Education Bulletin* begins and concludes with two pairs of related articles, bookends to four other articles which report some of the most recent research by scholars in Hong Kong on issues of school leadership, students' political attitudes, higher education, and teacher education. The two introductory articles are comparative on several levels. The first of these is a re-publication of an article originally written in 1970 comparing education in Singapore and Hong Kong. This contribution by Cho-Yee To discusses similarities and differences between the two city-states with a focus on comparative education as a field within teacher education. The other highlights Singapore's early emphasis on comparative education for cultural and utilitarian reasons, noting the relative unimportance of comparative education in Hong Kong's teacher education at the time. In a companion to this first piece, Mark Bray and Maria Manzon revisit the same themes, commenting on To's article with the insight of thirty-five years of development in the field. They draw attention to changes in Hong Kong and Singaporean education since the 1970s, discussing in detail the reversal of the fate of comparative education in the two locations as the field developed and became institutionalized in Hong Kong. Among their explanations for this trend are differing roles of professional societies, academic cultures, and other enabling and direct forces for change.

In the first of four articles originally presented at the 2005 CESHK annual conference, Nicholas Pang and David Gamage report on research among Hong Kong and Australian principals on school leadership, professional education, and experiences of school leaders. Based on their findings they suggest implications for the development of university-level professional development programmes for principals. Next, Kerry Kennedy sheds light on the nature of tolerance as an operationalized construct. From a secondary analysis of data from the IEA Civic Education Study, he discusses the attitudes of students in 28 countries toward women, immigrants, ethnic minorities, and anti-democratic groups, explaining that tolerance appears to be a multi-dimensional concept. In their contribution, Andrey Uroda and Roman Levsha report on a research project on higher education and national development. In particular, they compare the priorities for Chinese and Russian higher educa-

tion as perceived by three groups of Russian students and faculty. Wu Siu-Wai gives an account on the recent developments of school-based teacher development programmes highlighting the contrasting approaches that both China and Hong Kong have adopted.

Concluding this issue of the *Bulletin* are a pair of articles on private education. Satoshi Watanabe compares public and private education in Japan at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels, with the aim of introducing recent trends in private education. Among these are an increasing number of private schools, a growing role for extracurricular private examination preparation schools, and public schools hiring retired corporate executives as school heads. Geoffrey Walford then discusses private education in England. He first explores the diversity in private school provision in terms of size, religious affiliation, culture, history, selectivity, and characteristics and experiences of students. He follows with a discussion of government policy on private schools since 1979.

This is the eighth issue of the *Bulletin* and we have been receiving great support from our colleagues and members in Comparative Education. CESHK membership is growing, and it is always our primary effort to encourage more young scholars and graduate students to become members of the Society so that comparative education can play a role in shaping how scholarship by the emerging generation will be framed.

The article below was first published in 1970 in the Proceedings of the First World Congress of Comparative Education Societies. This event, held in Ottawa, Canada, was the birthplace of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES), which today has 33 member societies including the CESHK.

We have republished the article, with permission from its author, because it deserves to be revisited three and a half decades later. The article is worth re-reading in its own right; and the updated commentary which follows, by Mark Bray and Maria Manzon, presents comparisons over time as well as place.

Comparative Education in the Education of Teachers: Singapore and Hong Kong

Cho-Yee To
The University of Michigan

The Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, recently delivered a speech entitled "Hong Kong and Singapore – A Tale of Two Cities".[1] In the address he optimistically viewed the prospects of Singapore and Hong Kong, the two great international cities in Asia. He elaborated on the similarities between these two cities, namely, their origin as island colonies founded over a hundred years ago for trade; the British features in their judicial and administrative systems; their multi-ethnic background, and their predominantly Chinese population; their refugee problems; their urbanized centers with high population densities; their recent industrial and economic growth, etc. Prime Minister Lee was proud of the superior achievements of the two cities in their economic development, as compared with other developing areas in Asia,[2] and attributed their success mainly to their educational systems. According to Lee, both systems have been flexible enough to change "in response to … new demands for economic progress".[3] He believed that by incorporating the best elements of the old and the new, of East and West, in their educational systems, the two cities will be able to progress more rapidly, and that as pioneers in modernization, the two cities "can act as catalysts

to accelerate the transforming of traditional societies around them".[4]

Several points in the Prime Minister's address are of special interest to students of comparative and international education: the unique cultural background and political-economic situa-tions of Hong Kong and Singapore; the important role of education in the process of modernization and nation-building in developing areas; and the implication that a society can benefit from intelligent educational borrowing and cultural exchange.

Prime Minister Lee's "tale of two cities", is not without biases and exaggerations, however.[5] A misleading characteristic of his speech is that while he proposes to discuss the two cities, he focuses only on their similarities, completely ignoring their differences. Even the fact that Singapore became self-governing in 1955 and has been an independent, sovereign nation since 1965, whereas Hong Kong is still a British colony, is not mentioned. This fundamental political distinction between the two cities has been and will continue to be the main reason for their basic educational differences, which have rarely been observed. This paper will discuss the educational differences between Singapore and Hong Kong, using as an illustration the comparative education studies in the teacher training programs of the two cities.

II

To a certain extent, the educational systems of Singapore and Hong Kong have been responsive to the new demands for economic progress, as Prime Minister Lee indicated. Recent emphases of both governments on technical and industrial education can be cited as evidence.[6] Surface observations of other features of the schools in the two cities suggest more similarities between the two systems. For instance, their organization, administration, curricula, instruction and examinations were originally modelled after the British system and they still are heavily dependent upon their model, particularly the Hong Kong system.[7] In the past two decades, both governments placed a high priority in their budgets on the expansion of educational opportunities for the mass.[8] Also, the professional education programs for teachers in Singapore and Hong Kong are similarly classified and, like the British, are undertaken dualistically: at the higher level, there are university departments of

education for the training of graduates; at the lower level, there are teacher training colleges, or colleges of education, for non-graduate prospective teachers.[9]

A more careful examination, however, will reveal behind these similarities basic distinctions between the two systems of education. Since her independence, Singapore has been developing steadily her national character. Although British flavour is still strong, Singapore's political autonomy has generated greater flexibility for educational changes and reforms. Despite the value of the English language in international trade, commerce and industry, the people of Singapore chose Malay as their national language on the grounds of its importance in Southeast Asia. Contrarily, in Hong Kong, even though ninety-nine per cent of the population are Chinese-speaking, English is still the only official language.[10] The history of Singapore shows that with self-government in 1955 came innovative actions initiated by the Ministry of Education, which had just been converted from the colonial Department of Education.[11] As a colony, Hong Kong's vast system of education is led by the Director of Education, the British official appointed by the governor, also a Briton, who is directed by the Colonial Secretary in London. Although tremendous efforts have been made by both governments to promote popular education, the degrees of financial commitment are different: in Singapore the average government expenditure on education is 21.4%; in Hong Kong, it is only 14%.[12]

It is noteworthy that, unlike Hong Kong, Singapore (1) publishes official statements on the aims of education in general, and the aims of teacher education in particular; and (2) emphasizes the study of comparative education in teacher education. Deliberately spelled out and publicized, the threefold national goal of education in Singapore includes: first, the development of the potentialities of every child and the cultivation of loyalty to the Republic; second, the promotion of the ideal of democracy in the multi-racial and multi-lingual society; third, the propagation of the necessary knowledge and skills for economic development and social change.[13]

In Singapore, the cultural, political and economic roles of education are clear. As a new nation with proud people, Singapore is most eager to establish her national identity. Teachers and prospective teachers are asked to devote themselves to the nation-building cause. The pledge of the Tea-

chers' Training College, the government institution for teacher education, reads:

> We solemnly dedicate ourselves to the sacred task of nation-building by fostering the intellectual, physical, moral and social growth of every new generation. This we pledge in co-operation with all members of the profession in the spirit of brotherhood and progress in education.[14]

But in Hong Kong, the official goal of education has never been elaborated on. Official publications on education are usually descriptive and explanatory, and only one out of the three colleges of education there states its aims for teacher training in its prospectus:

> The aims of the College are as follows: (a) To give a sound professional training. (b) To improve the student's academic standard. (c) To instil a sense of vocation. (d) To help the development of personality and the widen-ing of interests on the broadest possible basis.[15]

The different degrees of deliberation on educational goals of the two cities reveal the relation of a government's political state to its educational policies. Politically identified with the United Kingdom, the Colony of Hong Kong does not need nationalism, and hence an educational goal of nation-building, as does Singapore. The unmanifested but practical purpose of education in Hong Kong is to meet the basic needs for education of its residents, and to provide efficiently yet economically sufficient trained manpower for commercial and industrial growth, so that the stability of the society can be maintained and the political *status quo* guaranteed.

In Singapore, the supreme goal of education is to build a prosperous, democratic and genuinely independent nation out of limited natural resources, within a competitive Southeast Asia. Realizing that the process of modernization involves constant acquisition of new ideas and techniques, and that national survival requires adequate knowledge about this changing world, educators as well as government officials in Singapore have been ardent in seeking international cooperation and exchange[16] and in promoting international studies. Their effort is particularly reflected in the inclusion of the study of compa-rative education in all of their teacher

education programs.

III

The study of comparative education includes two courses, "Education in Singapore and Malaysia" and "Comparative Education" and is provided for students in the non-graduate Certificate in Education programs as well as for those in the post-graduate Diploma in Education programs.[17] The non-graduate programs, administered by the Teachers' Training College, admit students who hold the School Certificate (equivalent to the tenth grade) or the Higher School Certificate (equivalent to the twelfth grade). Lasting either two years full-time or three years part-time, these programs are for the training of primary school teachers and secondary teachers of the lower grades. The post-graduate programs take either one year full-time or two years part-time for completion, and are sponsored jointly by the University of Singapore and the Teachers' Training College. For the training of secondary teachers of the higher grades, these programs admit only university graduates who hold acceptable degrees. All prospective teachers in Singapore are required to take the course "Education in Singapore and Malaysia" which emphasizes the "comparison of contemporary policies and set-ups" in the two neighbouring countries.[18] The "Comparative Education" course is divided into two sections, one for non-graduates and one for post-graduates. Both sections have ambitious syllabuses, which cover discussions on objectives, methodology, forces and factors, and area studies.[19] At the University of Singapore, graduate students can select research topics of comparative nature for their Master's or Doctor's theses.[20]

In Hong Kong, the two year post-secondary teacher training programs in the three colleges of education are similar to one another. In terms of admission requirements and professional level, these programs are the counterparts of the non-graduate Certificate in Education programs in the Teachers' Training College of Singapore. But none of these colleges provide any course in comparative education as such. The only information of comparative interest may be the several descriptive lectures on the educational systems in Hong Kong and the United Kingdom, which are part of the compulsory subject entitled "Education" or Education and Psychology".[21] In the Department of Education in the University of Hong Kong, the post-graduate diploma program[22] offers the course "Education

Systems". This course consists of (1) the English educational system, and (2) education in Hong Kong.[23] Obviously, its contents are not as broad as its title may imply. At the Master's degree level, students interested in comparative education can pursue studies in the field. The work is largely guided reading combined with essay and tutorials.[24]

In general, the teacher training programs in Hong Kong emphasize teaching methods and knowledge of subject matter, rather than educational ideas and ideals, as is illustrated by the aims of the college of education quoted previously. In the Colony, the function of the teacher education programs is to produce teachers who possess the skills of instruction and are efficient in performing their assigned duties.[25] Since the governmental policy on education is directly controlled by the British authority, knowledge about educational ideas and systems in other parts of the world, apart from Great Britain, has not been considered important.

The reasons for Singapore's unusual emphasis[26] on the study of comparative education are partly cultural and partly utilitarian. The people of Singapore are perhaps the most multiracial in Southeast Asia, and are comparatively well-educated. Their desire to know and to compare is understandable. Also, for a developing nation that is also an international port, the study of comparative education is an indispensable source of new ideas, experiments, and practices; its instrumental value is particularly great for educational planners and administrators. Educational borrowing is a necessity for a country of limited resources and manpower. As long as Singapore tries to compete economically with the advanced countries, as Prime Minister Lee advocates,[27] comparative education will continue to be an important part of the teacher education programs.

In the case of Singapore and Hong Kong, despite their historical, geographical and socio-economic resemblances, it is their unique political states that decide the role of education in their societies. This survey of the different standings of comparative education in the two educational systems reveals the educational needs as well as the biases of the two territories. Further study on the present topic would unfold a more accurate and complete "Tale of Two Cities".

Biographical Note: At the time that he wrote this article, Cho-Yee To was an Assistant Professor in the School of Education at the University of

Michigan. He had previously done research at the Center for John Dewey Studies at Southern Illinois University, and joined the University of Michigan in 1967. From 1979 to 1989, he was Professor of Education and Director of the School of Education at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK). He then returned to Michigan, but retained links with the CUHK, not only with its Faculty of Education but also its Faculty of Medicine. He continues to serve in various capacities in both Michigan and Hong Kong. He is the Author/co-author/editor of 10 books and over 150 articles on research methods, social and educational philosophy, policy analysis and intervention, community medicine, public health, and health education. E-mail: cyto@cuhk.edu.hk.

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[1] Lee Kuan Yew spoke at the Seventy-fifth Congregation of the University of Hong Kong, February 19, 1970, when he was conferred an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. The text of his speech was published in the *University of Hong Kong Gazette*, XVII, No.4 (February, 1970), 50-53.

[2] The GNP per capita of Singapore and of Hong Kong are the highest, after that of Japan, in Asia. *Ibid*., 54.

[3] *Ibid*., 52.

[4] *Ibid*., 53.

[5] The conservative and even the moderate would not agree with Lee's strong plea that Singapore change into a "mass-consumption technological society" (*Ibid*., 51). His statement that "the Chinese script … was developed for a scholarly elite, designed to leave ordinary people illiterate and in awe of the mandarins" (*Ibid*.) reflects an ignorance of philology in general and Chinese etymology in particular. His assertion that "today, both in Hong Kong and Singapore, no one is without primary schooling" (*Ibid*., 52) is inaccurate especially in regards to Hong Kong.

[6] In Hong Kong, the Technical College, which has been growing constantly in the past decade, is presently being reorganized and further expanded. In Singapore, technical and vocational programs at secondary, post-secondary and teacher-training levels have also been developing rapidly, with the enthusiastic support of the government. See *150 Years of Education in Singapore*, ed. T. R. Doraisamy (Singapore: Teachers' Training College Publications Board, 1969), pp.62-63, 73-75.

[7] Space limitation does not permit this paper to discuss this subject in detail. For a description of the Singapore system, see *ibid.*; for that of the Hong Kong system, see *Hong Kong Education Department Annual Summary*, 1968-69 (Hong Kong: Director of Education, 1969).

[8] Their effects were highlighted by the Seven-Year Expansion Program of Hong Kong (1954-1961) and the First Five-Year Plan of Singapore (1961-1965). For statistics, see *Hong Kong Education Department Annual Summary*, 1962-63 (Hong Kong: The Government Printer, 1963), p.42, and *150 Years of Education in Singapore*, p.67.

[9] In Singapore, there are the University of Singapore, an English-speaking university, and Nanyang University, a Chinese-speaking university. The former has a school of education, which has close ties

with the Teachers' Training College, the only but big (over 5,000 enrollment) training college in Singapore. The Department of Education of Nanyang University closed a few years ago. In Hong Kong, the University of Hong Kong, an English-speaking university, has a Department of Education, and the Chinese University, the second university in the Colony, which is Chinese-speaking, has a small School of Education (with only four full-time lecturers and fifteen full-time students in 1968-69). There are three training college type institutions, now called "colleges of education", named after three former governors: Northcote, Grantham and Black.

[10] English still remains one of the four official languages in Singapore. The other three are: Chinese, Tamil and Malay. In Hong Kong, there has been in the past several years a movement to make Chinese a second official language. But no result has been achieved.

[11] *150 Years of Education in Singapore*, pp.56-58.

[12] R.F. Simpson, *Economic Growth and Educational Resources* (Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Council for Educational Research, 1968) p.9.

[13]The following is an excerpt from the Singapore government's contribution to UNESCO's *World Survey of Education*, Vol. V, as quoted in *150 Years of Education in Singapore*, p.59.

> The main aim of education in Singapore is to develop the potentialities of every child physically, mentally and morally to the fullest extent possible in accord with the needs and interests of society by ensuring the optimum acquisition of experience, knowledge and skill, each according to his intelligence, ability, aptitude and interest. In the context of Singapore today, this entails the inculcation of sound habits, values and attitudes which would lead to the development of creativity and loyalty to the Republic, the instilling of the love of freedom, truth and justice with respect for fundamental human rights, appreciation of racial and religious tolerance and acceptance of the democratic way of life; and the propagation of the necessary knowledge and skills needed to carry out the successive stages of economic development; the preparation for changes in society.
>
> To attain these objectives it is necessary to provide every child with at least ten years of education from the age of six without discrimination on account of race, language, sex, wealth or status; ensure equal opportunity for higher education among the Republic's multi-racial and multi-lingual people through a system of education which promotes the study of two official languages by all pupils; and lay particular emphasis on technical and vocational education to promote economic development and create wider employment opportunities.

[14] This pledge is prominently printed in Malay, Chinese, Tamil and English in the inner cover of the 1969 *Bulletin* of the College.

[15] Northcote College of Education Students' Handbook 1969-70 (Hong Kong: Northcote College of Education, 1969) p.1.

[16] For instance, through the Colombo Plan, Fulbright, Aid to Commonwealth English, UNESCO, United Kingdom Overseas Development Ministry, etc.

[17] At these two levels, there are totally thirteen types of teacher

training courses to meet the needs of different language groups. See *Bulletin* (Singapore: Teachers' Training College, 1969), p.5.

[18] "Course Structure: Diploma in Education Course for University Graduates," mimeographed copy, [1969]. Teacher's Training College, Singapore, p.3.

[19] Descriptions of the two Comparative Education sections, obtained through correspondence from the School of Education, University of Singapore, are as follows:

> Non-graduate Certificate in Education: Objectives and Methodology. Factors that determine character of a national system of education. Problems of educational reconstruction. Aims and functions of UNESCO in Southeast Asia. Curriculum trends and teacher education problems in Southeast Asia. Education in Singapore and Malaysia: political, social and economic changes affecting educational policy; education reports. Education in U.S.S.R., India and Japan: school organization and curriculum; language problem; national identity; industrialization and economic development; school administration and financing.
>
> Post-graduate Diploma in Education: Definitions and Objectives of Comparative Education. The different comparative approaches, e.g., the descriptive, statistical, historical, sociological and problematic approaches. Illustrative examples of each approach. A study of the following comparative terms: politics and education; economics and education; administration and control of education; curriculum and evaluation; higher education. Some national case studies, e.g., secondary education, teacher education, liberal and vocational training, indoctrination in schools.

Currently, both levels are taught by lecturers who were trained in the London Institute of Education. It is easily noted that the above syllabuses resemble respectively the outlines of Nicholas Hans' *Comparative Education: A Study of Educational Factors and Traditions* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949), and Brian Holmes' *Problems in Education: A Comparative Approach* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965).

[20] Course work on comparative education is offered only at the Master of Education level. Doctoral candidates do not have course work.

[21] See the course description of "Education and Psychology" in *Sir Robert Black College of Education General Information* (Hong Kong: Sir Robert Black College of Education, 1969), p.7.

[22] The professional teacher training for university graduates in Hong Kong is either one year full-time or two years part-time.

[23] *Students' Handbook* (for education students) (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong, 1969), p.10.

[24] The number of advanced students in education at the University of Hong Kong is small. [There were seven candidates for the M.A. Ed. Degree in 1969. See the *University of Hong Kong Gazette*, XVII, No. 3 (February, 1970), p. 38.] Hence, work in comparative education can be partly geared to individual interests. Works that have been used include: G. Z. F. Bereday's *Comparative Method in Education* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964); I.L. Kandel's *The New Era in Education: A*

Comparative Study (Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1955); N. Hans' *Comparative Education: A Study of Educational Factors and Traditions* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949); and B. Holmes' *Problems in Education: A Comparative Approach* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965).

[25] The pledge of the students of Sir Robert Black College of Education reads as follows: "I will (1) devote all my time to my studies at the college, (2) at all times respect all officers and lecturers of the College, (3) observe College regulations and (4) uphold the good name of the College." Quoted from the "Form of Undertaking to be signed by a Successful Applicant," provided for the students by the College.

[26] Singapore's emphasis on the study of comparative education can be said to be "unusual" in view of the fact that comparative education is not a requirement for the Teaching Certificate in most American colleges and universities.

[27] Lee Kuan Yew, "Hong Kong and Singapore – A Tale of Two Cities," 52.

Comparative Education and Teacher Education in Singapore and Hong Kong: Comparisons over Time as well as Place

Mark Bray and Maria Manzon
The University of Hong Kong

To's article is indeed worth re-reading three and a half decades after it was first published. The article is a model of balanced and insightful comparative analysis; and a review of it today exposes instructive changes over time. Some of the contemporary insights from comparison of patterns in Singapore and Hong Kong are perhaps rather different from those identified in 1970.

To's article commenced with an address by Singapore's Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, delivered at the University of Hong Kong when he was conferred an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in 1970. As the article points out, many of Lee's observations were somewhat unbalanced and a few were inaccurate. It seems particularly extraordinary that Lee should have ignored the fact that Singapore was a sovereign state while Hong Kong was a colony. Nevertheless, Lee's comparison of Singapore and Hong Kong clearly had a meaningful basis. Many scholars, including ones in the field of education, have found such comparison a source of fruitful insights (e.g. Tan, 1997; Lee and Gopinathan, 2003; Mok and Tan, 2004). As explained elsewhere by Manzon (2004, p.7), as a rule of thumb units for comparison should have sufficient in common to make analysis of their differences meaningful, and in this sense Hong Kong and Singapore form an ideal pair for comparison.

Changing Orientations and Structures of Education

One dimension which makes To's article interesting concerns the changing orientations of education. Most obvious is the fact that Hong Kong is no longer a colony, having in 1997 become a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China. The 1970 article had observed that:

> Politically identified with the United Kingdom, the Colony of Hong Kong does not need nationalism, and hence an educational goal of nation-building, as does Singapore.

Now Hong Kong does need to pay attention to national identity – but within the wide Chinese context rather than the narrow Hong Kong one (Fairbrother, 2003; Lee, 2004).

The roles of different languages have also changed in both Singapore and Hong Kong. In 1970, To wrote:

> Despite the value of the English language in international trade, commerce and industry, the people of Singapore chose Malay as their national language on the grounds of its importance in Southeast Asia. Contrarily, in Hong Kong, even though ninety-nine per cent of the population are Chinese-speaking, English is still the only official language.

Subsequently, Singapore made a shift towards English in its education system. Although the 1960s and 1970s had been a period in which attention to Singapore's four official languages (English, Malay, Chinese and Tamil) had led to teacher training programmes in each language which were comparable in quality and coverage, the national education system launched in 1987 made English the main medium of instruction. The principal implication of this shift for teachers being prepared to teach in Chinese, Malay and Tamil was that they had to master English to an acceptable level in order to function well in an English-dominated environment (Gopinathan et al., 2001, p. 408). In Hong Kong, by contrast, in 1974 Chinese was made an official language alongside English. Major efforts were made to promote the place of Chinese in education even before the 1997 resumption of Chinese sovereignty, and the efforts gathered strength after the transition (Lai and Byram, 2003). In some respects, Hong Kong might have a more simple situation than Singapore with only two official languages rather than four; but the people of Hong Kong do not always view issues in that light. They commonly view Singapore's model as considerably more decisive (see e.g. Talbot, 1989; Wu, 2005).

Also instructive is the way that teacher education in both Singapore and Hong Kong has been raised in institutional status from college to university level. At the time that To's article was written, in Singapore the Teachers' Training College (TTC), which had been established in 1950, operated in parallel to the School of Education at the University of Singapore. In 1971 the School of Education closed, and the TTC became the only institution responsible for teacher training. The TTC entered a new relationship with the University whereby besides certificate

courses it prepared graduate students for both the professional Diploma in Education and postgraduate degrees in education. In 1973, the TTC was changed into the Institute of Education (IE), which in 1991 merged with the College of Physical Education (CPE) to become the National Institute of Education (NIE) as part of the Nanyang Technological University (NTU). The NIE remains Singapore's only institution for teacher education. It operates entirely within a university context, offering Masters and Doctoral degrees as well as Certificate and Diploma programmes (Gopinathan et al., 2001).

Hong Kong has moved through parallel changes, though has multiple institutions for teacher education. At the time that To's article was written, the University of Hong Kong (HKU) had been offering programmes in teacher education since 1917 (Sweeting, 1998) but the School of Education at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) was in its infancy. The CUHK rapidly developed what later became its Faculty of Education, and in due course HKU and the CUHK were joined in the field of teacher education by the Hong Kong Baptist University and the Open University of Hong Kong (Li and Kwo, 2004). Hong Kong's five Colleges of Education, which had been operated as branches of government and staffed by civil servants, were also transformed and upgraded. In 1994 they were merged to form the Hong Kong Institute of Education (HKIEd), which later moved to a new campus and subsequently achieved university status. Thus, in both Singapore and Hong Kong the dual structure which distinguished between universities and colleges in teacher education has been abolished. Also, both territories have substantially increased the proportions of teachers who are university graduates.

Further instructive parallels lie in the official aims of education, albeit with a time lag of a few decades. Thus juxtaposition of Singapore's official aims in the late 1960s as reported by To and Hong Kong's aims as presented two and a half decades later (Education and Manpower Branch, 1993) shows striking similarities. Key phrases such as holistic development of the child and development of civic duty are common to both statements. The clause about access to formal schooling is another similarity between the statements in Singapore in the 1960s and the 1993 document in Hong Kong, though a subsequent Hong Kong document (Education Commission, 1999) does not make statements about access to schooling,

which suggests that by that time the matter had ceased to be a major issue.

Comparative Education: Flourishing in Hong Kong but Less Visible in Singapore

In 1970, To noted that Singapore, unlike Hong Kong, "emphasizes the study of comparative education in teacher education". He explained this emphasis through reference to both cultural and utilitarian factors:

> The people of Singapore are perhaps the most multiracial in Southeast Asia, and are comparatively well-educated. Their desire to know and to compare is understandable. Also, for a developing nation that is also an international port, the study of comparative education is an indispensable source of new ideas, experiments, and practices; its instrumental value is particularly great for educational planners and administrators.

All the factors mentioned in the above paragraph might still be considered valid. Today, however, the study of comparative education, at least in a formal sense and under that label, is much more vigorous in Hong Kong than Singapore. One indicator of this vigour is the existence and work of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong (CESHK), of which this *Comparative Education Bulletin* is an official publiccation. The CESHK, which was established in 1989, is not large but undertakes significant activities including an annual conference, periodic study visits, sponsorship of seminars, and operation of a website. The CESHK is also an active member of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) – the umbrella body which was founded during the event at which To presented his paper in 1970. Singapore has no comparable society of comparative education.

Hong Kong also has institutions specifically dedicated to the study of comparative education of a type which cannot be found in Singapore. Perhaps the most prominent is the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) at the University of Hong Kong, which was established in 1994 and which sponsors seminars, projects, publications and a website. In parallel a smaller Comparative Education Policy Research Unit (CEPRU) was established in 1999 at the City University of Hong Kong to undertake similar activities. The Chinese University of

Hong Kong also has a group of active scholars, and played the leading role in the establishment of the CESHK; and at the HKIEd, many scholars regularly join comparative education conferences and publish in the specialist journals of the field. The 1997 HKIEd *Staff Research and Scholarship Profile* listed 40 staff members who had particular interest in what was described as "international education/comparative education studies" (HKIEd, 1997, p. 533); and such interest has been maintained since that time. In Singapore, the Institute of Education did create a Department of Comparative Studies in the early 1970s, but the Department lost its identity during a reorganisation in the 1980s. Some Singaporean scholars do identify with the field of comparative education, but they are few in number.

The relative vigour of Hong Kong in the field is also evident in the international journals. The strongest such journals are widely agreed to be *Comparative Education*, *Comparative Education Review*, *Compare: A Journal of Comparative Education*, *International Journal of Educational Development*, and *International Review of Education*. Between 1995 and 2004, 111 articles were contributed to these five journals by scholars resident in Asia (Manzon, 2005). No less than 51 per cent of these articles were contributed by scholars resident in Hong Kong, whereas only 3 per cent were contributed by scholars resident in Singapore. To these publications in English-language journals should be added many articles in Chinese-language journals such as *Comparative Education Review* (published by Beijing Normal University) and *Global Education* (published by East China Normal University, Shanghai). Although many Singaporean scholars do read and write Chinese, the academic culture in Singapore is even more strongly dominated by English than in Hong Kong, and the number of articles contributed to these Chinese-language journals by Singaporeans was much less than the number contributed by Hong Kong academics (Cheng, 2003). To be fair, it must be recognised that Hong Kong has over twice the population of Singapore; and of course many other outlets exist for publication of comparative studies of education. Even after allowance for these facts, however, the gap has remained wide.

Further, turning specifically to the role of comparative education in teacher education, Singaporean scholars such as Saravanan Gopinathan and Jason Tan, both of whom have strong reputations in the field of comparative education,

consider the field to have little voice in Singapore. Gopinathan joined the Institute of Education in 1974 and became head of the Department of Comparative Studies from which he taught an elective on Southeast Asian education. The existence of the Department was notable, but Gopinathan felt that its impact was limited. As he explained (Gopinathan, 2005):

> My impression then as now was that comparative education was marginal to teacher preparation. A single teacher education institute with programmes aligned closely to school system needs was what existed. Teachers then as now want useful knowledge! I can't recall a single postgraduate thesis written on a non-Singaporean topic.

Similarly, Tan (2005), describing contemporary patterns, highlighted

> the total absence of comparative education courses in teacher education programmes in Singapore, [despite] much educational borrowing, official interest in foreign models, official visits overseas, use of foreign expertise in giving advice, many foreign staff teaching in Singapore, and a constant stream of foreign visitors who are keen to learn from what they perceive as a successful education system.

In this context, the lack of explicit comparative study of education and formal identification with the field was all the more noteworthy. "I guess it's a paradox," Tan remarked.

Explaining the Paradox

Comparative Education in Teacher Education

To's main hypothesis was that "political states … decide the role of education [including comparative education] in their societies". He described as follows the process by which comparative education gained importance in Singapore after it secured sovereignty in 1965:

> Realizing that the process of modernization involves a constant acquisition of new ideas and techniques, and that national survival requires adequate knowledge about this changing world, educators as well as government officials have been ardent in seeking interna-

tional cooperation and exchange and in promoting international studies. Their effort is particularly reflected in the inclusion of the study of comparative education in all of their teacher education programs.

This scenario had parallels in Spain and China. The incurporation of Spain into the European Union in 1992 triggered a major interest in comparative education studies, as a result of which the subject was made compulsory in all teacher training courses (Naya and Ferrer, 2005). In China, in 1996 comparative education was designated one of the 300 core disciplines for the government's Project 211 which sought to meet the challenges of globalisation and hasten economic development through targeted initiatives in 100 selected universities (China Education and Research Network, 2001; Beijing Normal University, 2004). Both examples illustrate the increased visibility of compa-rative education in countries emerging from isolation and seek-ing integration into a wider international community – a step which the leaders of those countries considered necessary for survival in the world system.

By contrast, in countries which see themselves as more stable and already well integrated in the international community, comparative education *per se* is less likely to be considered a priority in teacher education and in academic programmes alongside such domains as psychology, sociology or other foundation subjects. This is partly because comparative education is usually considered a field of study rather than a discipline (Bray, 2004). As noted above, Gopinathan (2005) pointed out that teachers "then as now want useful knowledge", and implied that at least in Singapore, comparative education was no longer seen as being in that category. Comparative educators might protest that comparison underlies almost all domains, and that it promotes understanding of both education systems and education processes. The reply might be that pragmatic teachers are less interested in broader understanding than in what to do when faced by a particular class to teach a particular subject on a particular day. In Singapore, as elsewhere, much comparative study in practice can be found in the various components of teacher education and also in other academic programmes. However, the advocates of the field *per se* have not succeeded in securing a specific place for the subject in the core curriculum. This is

partly because internationalisation is seen already to have arrived and not in need of special support.

Professional Societies

A further factor concerns the existence or absence of professional societies specifically devoted to the field. In the USA, the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES), which was established in 1956, has developed into a major organisation with a strong tradition of large annual conferences, smaller regional conferences on a more or less annual basis, a respected journal, a newsletter, and a website supported by a secretariat. The CIES may not operate as a mainstream body which permeates the country's teacher education and aca-demic programmes; but since the USA has a large population, at any one time a significant number of scholars are available to administer and participate in the society's affairs and to take the baton from older generations as those scholars hand it over. Similar remarks may be made about other long-established societies serving large regions or countries, such as the Com-parative Education Society in Europe (CESE) which was esta-blished in 1961, and the Japan Comparative Education Society (JCES) which was established in 1964. These bodies are among the 33 constituent societies of the WCCES.

Also among these 33 societies, however, are bodies which are much less robust. In particular, many of the smaller societies have encountered difficulties; and some have collapsed due to a shortage of members and lack of new generations to take over from older scholars. Among the societies in the latter category which were once vigorous but small, and which have now ceased to exist, are the Colombian and Portuguese comparative education societies. The CESHK has handled well the constraints of small size, albeit with some uncertainties and fluctuations (Bray, 1999; Wong and Fairbrother, 2005), but it must always be conscious of its dependence on the enthusiasm and commitment of a small group of people, and therefore of its vulnerability. Scholars in Singapore have not come together to form a society. It still seems very possible that they could do so, though the individuals who would most obviously be at the forefront of the field have to date had other priorities. Even in the regional Comparative Education Society of Asia (CESA), which was formed in 1995 and includes among the 22 seats on its Board of Directors an allocation of two seats for Singapore (Mochida, 2004), Singapore has not had as strong a

voice as might have been anticipated from such a dynamic and international city.

Enabling and Direct Forces of Change

Further interpretation of these patterns is facilitated by a framework presented by Thomas and Postlethwaite (1983), who focused on the forces of change in education systems. Thomas and Postlethwaite distinguished between enabling (and disabling) forces and direct forces for promoting (or impeding) change. Enabling forces, they suggested, are at the level of the overall environment but are not in themselves sufficient to cause change. Thus, major changes only occur when direct positive forces are exerted within an enabling environment. This framework helps to explain the contrasting patterns in Singapore and Hong Kong. Both locations had enabling conditions for the development of comparative education, but the nature of the direct forces was rather different.

Elaborating on this perspective, in the case of Singapore To cited the national priority given to modernisation in the post-independence context as a push factor for comparative education. Applying the Thomas and Postlethwaite framework, it can be said that Singapore's political and economic context was enabling since it presented a positive view of the role of comparative education in national development. Singapore's multi-racial and highly educated population was another element in this enabling environment. In this context, the direct positive forces exerted by educators and government officials led to the designation of comparative education as a compulsory subject in teacher training.

An extension of this conceptual analysis to some of To's predictive statements helps to show the usefulness of the framework. To's article stated that:

> As long as Singapore tries to compete economically with advanced countries, as Prime Minister Lee advocates, comparative education will continue to be an important part of the teacher education programs.

However, the contemporary status of comparative education in Singapore shows that To's prediction did not hold: economic competition has remained a core element in Singapore's dynamism, but comparative education has not remained an important part of teacher education. This indicates that the economic 'utilitarian' motivation (enabling force) for

pursuing comparative education was insufficient to sustain its status, and that the continued existence of direct positive forces (such as actors in the field) was needed to keep the field alive. Evidently, the weakening of the direct positive forces that engineered the change in Singapore's teacher training curriculum in 1965 led to the de-institutionalisation of comparative education in that city-state.

Shifting the analysis to Hong Kong, To observed that in the late 1960s the territory did not include courses on comparative education in teacher training. He attributed this phenomenon to the societal context:

> In the Colony, the function of the teacher education programs is to produce teachers who possess the skills of instruction and are efficient in performing their assigned duties. Since the governmental policy on education is directly controlled by the British authority, knowledge about educational ideas and systems in other parts of the world, apart from Great Britain, has not been considered important.

In other words, the prevailing context in colonial Hong Kong was a disabling force for the introduction of comparative education in teacher training colleges.

The advent and accomplishment of Hong Kong's change of sovereignty in 1997, and the implications of those events for the status of comparative education, somewhat parallel the patterns in Singapore during the 1960s. Hong Kong's political and economic contexts fuelled the already common practice of educational borrowing in the territory, and during this period added strength to the field of comparative education. Direct positive forces included the work of individuals and groups which established the CESHK, CERC and CEPRU.

Academic Cultures and the RAE

A further factor deserving attention concerns academic cultures. Explicit comparisons of Singapore and Hong Kong have been made in this domain by Walker and Bodycott (1997), who commenced by noting that although on the surface one might expect the academic cultures in the two locations to be almost identical, in practice considerable differences may be found. In the three areas of research, publishing and teaching, they reported (p. 1), "Hong Kong academics appear to be under greater pressure than their

Singaporean counterparts". In part, this reflected the increasing pressure that Hong Kong academics have experienced since the early 1990s to com-pete for scarce external funding, mainly from the University Grants Council (UGC). Even more obviously, repeated Re-search Assessment Exercises (RAEs) have delivered quantifiable indicators of research performance of individual cost centres in individual institutions, which have then been used to determine funding. Walker and Bodycott added (p. 2):

> Although pressure to research, publish and teach more effectively certainly exists in Singapore, it appears much less intense than in Hong Kong. The primary role of academics in Singapore remains focused on teaching, internal research, and service to the local community… Hong Kong academics have much greater demand placed on them to publish widely in refereed journals than their Singaporean counterparts. Newly established links between productivity, funding, and career advancement in Hong Kong have driven home a message all too common in Western universities: "publish or perish".

Although the RAE was imported to Hong Kong from the UK, and the article by Walker and Bodycott was written (just) before sovereignty over Hong Kong reverted from the UK to China, patterns during the subsequent years showed no softening in approaches. In this respect, the forces for change remained powerful and persistent. Academic life remained dominated by the RAE and related processes, and this emphasis on research output boosted the field of comparative education as much as other fields. Indeed since the RAE criteria gave strong weight to international recognition, comparative education may have been favoured over other areas since the field is almost by definition international in focus. The specialist journals in comparative education welcomed contributions from Hong Kong as much as from other parts of the world; and scholars who targeted other journals found that their work on the Hong Kong setting had a better chance of acceptance for publication if it was contextualised through benchmarking with patterns elsewhere.

However, even the impact of the RAE and its associated processes needs to be analysed with awareness of multiple strands in institutional development. The RAE has certainly been

a powerful centralised force at the system level in Hong Kong, but Hong Kong's universities have greater institutional autonomy than their counterparts in Singapore. Because of this, Hong Kong academics have greater scope for research on a wide range of topics, and are under less pressure to demonstrate that their publications have local relevance. In Singapore's centralised, top-down structure during the 1960s, comparative education could be 'made compulsory' in teacher education as part of a concerted national effort to achieve economic development. Evidently, this initiative later lost impetus as the relevant actors diverted their attention to other issues. Conversely, in the less interventionist Hong Kong, comparative education became visible through the initiatives of various academics in different institutions without a centralised directive from the Education and Manpower Bureau or its predecessor bodies to teach the subject as a compulsory component. In effect, the greater freedom in research focus and in course design has facilitated the field of comparative education in Hong Kong in a way that did not occur in a sustained way in Singapore.

Conclusions

To's article does indeed merit attention. It was a valuable commentary in 1970; and review three and a half decades later shows changes both in the education systems of the two places and in the nature of comparative studies of education.

Among changes that have occurred in both Singapore and Hong Kong have been shifts in language policy and upgrading of the status of teacher education. These themes would benefit from more detailed study to analyse the reasons for the similarities and differences in trajectories.

For readers of the *Comparative Education Bulletin*, however, the changes in the field of comparative education are perhaps even more instructive. In 1970, To described Singapore as a dynamic and internationalising city which placed "unusual emphasis" on comparative education. Hong Kong, by contrast, was described as a society in which "knowledge about educational ideas and systems in other parts of the world … has not been considered important". This picture is radically different today, and most observers would describe Hong Kong's reputation in the field much more positively than Singapore's.

While scholars in Hong Kong can take pride in the vigour of the CESHK and the institutions that are devoted to comparative

education, they may wish to reflect on the factors which have contributed to them. At the contextual level, both Hong Kong and Singapore have had enabling environments, so the chief differences appear to lie in the direct positive forces for change. One factor has been the existence of individuals and groups who have worked with enthusiasm and persistence in the field, and who have been able to nurture new generations. At a more systemic level is the existence of the RAE and its associated funding instruments. The RAE favours international publications in English, but Hong Kong scholars have also promoted their craft in Chinese. Singapore may have a larger number of official languages, but in the field of comparative education even less total output appears in Chinese, Malay and Tamil than in English. Comparative education has grown in an organic way in Hong Kong, and as a result is stronger than in Singapore where it was characterised by top-down initiatives.

That is not to say that no comparisons are being made in Singapore. Indeed, rather the opposite, a great many comparisons are being made on a daily basis by scholars, Ministry of Education officials and visitors. However, they are not identified with the field of comparative education *per se*. Hong Kong also has much comparison which is not identified with the field *per se*, but also has various dynamic groups of scholars who do explicitly identify with it.

Yet even in Hong Kong it would be unwise to take the future for granted. Organically-developed phenomena may be generally more robust in the long term than legislated phenomena, but even they can wither in the absence of a continuous supply of nutrients. As in Singapore, Hong Kong teachers demand programmes from which they can see practical outcomes; and even in Hong Kong, comparative education does not *per se* occupy a core place in the basic programmes for teacher education. Its visibility is stronger at the level of Masters and Doctoral programmes, as well as in the non-programme-related research of individual scholars, but the field remains dependent on the existence of groups of scholars who choose to identify with the organisations and journals in the field.

To's article concluded by calling for further study on the topic to secure a more complete 'Tale of Two Cities'. His call remains as pertinent today as it was in 1970. Singapore and Hong Kong do indeed make a very meaningful pair for study; and with the benchmarks provided by To and others, it

becomes increasingly possible to make comparisons over time as well as space. Indeed further research is desirable not only on the dynamics of education systems but also on the changing nature of the field of comparative education.

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A Comparative Study of Continuing Professional Development of School Principals in New South Wales, Australia and Hong Kong

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Introduction

The educational reforms over the years have shaped the roles, tasks and responsibilities of principals, and they have been acknowledged as the ones who hold the keys to achieving school effectiveness in the midst of a rapidly changing educational environment (Gamage, 1996). In the capacity of school heads, principals are the vanguards of stability while at the same time, the agents of change. In performing their duties and discharging their responsibilities, school principals approach their job in many different ways, depending on each principal's personality and the situational factors including the maturity levels of his or her staff.

Research findings on the profiles of school principals who are confronting many new challenges in 21st century schools are very limited. In recent years, with increasing collaboration and communication among education institutions in different nations, comparative and international education scholars in the USA, Australia, Japan, Hong Kong, Sri Lanka, and Sweden have initiated a series of research projects to examine and compare the different aspects of school leadership, including professional education and experiences of school leaders. This paper, as part of a major study, presents the profiles of Australian and Hong Kong school principals along with pre-service and in-service training programs relating to their professional development. Implications for changes to university level professional development programs, selection and training of school principals both in Australia and Hong Kong are offered.

Review of Literature

At the dawn of a new era, the education system in Hong Kong is poised for change in order to stay abreast of the

demands of rapidly changing circumstances brought on by technological advances in a global and knowledge-based economy (Advisory Committee on School Based Management, 2000). The government has adopted a set of strategies to improve the quality of education in Hong Kong. The broad strategies include a comprehensive review of the education system by the Education Commission, with emphasis on new learning and teaching strategies, and coherent and effective measures to be developed by the Education Department in supporting school improvement. These include professional development for principals and teachers, training for school managers, measures to cope with diverse student needs, ways of reducing the non-teaching workload of teachers, upgrading of school facilities, school-based curriculum adaptation services and additional support initiatives (Hurst, 1981; Leithwood, Jantzi, and Steinbach, 1999; Walker, et al, 2000). A new principal preparation and continuing professional development (CPD) programme has been proposed to strengthen the leadership and professionalism of principals (Education Department, 2002a, b; Walker, Begley and Dimmock, 2000).

In Australia, Sharpe (1976) conducted a study on the profiles of high school principals in Australia and the United States. Later, on a project funded by the Federal Government, Chapman (1984) prepared extensive profiles of Australian school principals. More recently, Daresh and Male (2000) designed a small-scale exploratory study of selected first-year British head teachers and American principals. These findings suggest preparation for the headship and induction as cultural shock experiences in the transition from classroom teacher to the principalship.

Baltzell and Dentler (1983), Bennett (1987) and Baron (1990) have pointed out that in almost all states in the USA one of the key criteria for appointment to a position of principal is a master's degree in educational administration. When one observes the current trends in Australian and British systems which have adopted SBM, it seems that it would not take too long for these two school systems to follow the American example by requiring school leaders to have pre-service training in leadership and management. In response to these trends Australian universities today offer a wide array of courses and graduate programs aimed specifically at school administrators. They are available at graduate certificate, graduate diploma, masters, and doctoral degree levels. The latest teacher training

inquiry instituted by the NSW Government in its report (Ramsey, 2000), has emphasized the desirability of recognizing qualifications in leadership and management in education for appointing candidates to principal positions.

Principals have the power to use their resources in building a community of learners, cultivating an atmosphere of learning and working towards a spirit of collaboration in order to realize their visions and goals of the schools. Fink and Resnick (2001) assert that professional development is not something that is separate from administrative duties and responsibilities; rather it could be considered the centerpiece of exercising effective leadership that is totally committed to improving student learning. In the United States, the Rockwood school district in Missouri developed and implemented an administrative professional development plan (APDP) that focuses on improving the school principals' knowledge concerning the crucial areas of effective instruction, equipping them with the skills to build effective programs for staff development and to address student needs (Peckron, 2001). Mansell (2000) states that the National College for School Leadership in England has planned to provide professional development training for up to 100,000 principals, showing how the British system has acknowledged the need to train their school leaders.

Research Methods

Data collection was based on both quantitative and quailtative dimensions of research, which included empirical surveys, discussions with school principals and documentary analyses as were appropriate. The Hong Kong sample was comprised of the principals and vice-principals in 120 primary, secondary and special schools within Hong Kong. As each school had a principal and two vice-principals, 360 questionnaires were forwarded with 54% (N=194) of the respondents returning their responses. The Australian sample was comprised of principals and deputy principals in 130 primary and high schools within the school districts of Newcastle, Lake Macquarie and Maitland in the State of New South Wales (NSW). As there were deputy principals only in high schools and large primary schools, 145 questionnaires were forwarded with 71% (N=103) of the partici-pants returning their responses. The Australian data was collected in 2000, and the Hong Kong data was collected in 2003, as the Hong Kong researcher joined the project in 2002. However, this suited the

project as all Hong Kong schools had implemented school-based management by 2000, with the establishment of School Management Committees (SMCs) in 2002. These changes made Hong Kong schools more com-parable with the Australian sample, with SMCs in Hong Kong and advisory school councils in NSW, Australia.

The Hong Kong and Australian school principals are comparable in that all of the respondents came from major urban and coastal areas in both systems. In Hong Kong, 48% were primary principals, 48% were secondary, while 4% were special school principals. Within the Australian sample, two thirds (71%) of those surveyed were primary (K-6) and one third (29%) were secondary school principals. In our discussions and analyses, due consideration has been given to the different historical, political and social backgrounds of Hong Kong and Australia and we take into consideration such differences in our interpretation of the data.

Findings and Discussion

In an examination of the results from the data analyses, most of the Australian school principals in our sample have chosen to enter leadership positions primarily for altruistic and intrinsic reasons, whereas the Hong Kong principals have not taken the principalship as a career choice. They expressed more extrinsic reasons, with emphasis on service to the community and helping in student development and school management. The Australian principals seem to be more idealistic and more reform-oriented than those of Hong Kong, but the Australian principals feel more stressed than their Hong Kong counterparts and as a result, one fifth of the Australians in our sample intend to leave educational administration, whereas almost all Hong Kong principals (91.2%) plan to remain in their positions until retirement. Some Australian principals expressed feelings of powerlessness and stress in coping with the job. In Australia within the next four to five years, the predictions are that there could be a big shortage of principals, particularly in New South Wales, arising out of the continuation of the old system of selection on seniority until 1989. It is important for educational policy makers to reflect on the findings of this study and other related studies and develop strategies to recruit and retain high-quality school leaders.

Another major finding from the study shows that the Australian school principals tend to be more senior in age and

teaching experience but lower in academic qualifications than their Hong Kong counterparts. Apparently, both seniority and merit bear more importance in the selection and appointment of school leaders in Hong Kong. The NSW school system has only recently moved to merit based selections with graduate-level university-based professional development considered as desirable and important. In the past, most Hong Kong principals had little or no formal pre-service training before they took up their positions, but now there is a policy of mandatory certification of principalship. Similarly, even though it is not mandated by the systemic authorities, most prospective principals in Australia have started to undertake university level professional development.

For years, scholars in different parts of the world have debated the issue of whether or not people could receive adequate professional preparation for the principalship through academic experiences on university campuses. In the past, British, Australian, and Hong Kong educationists were of the opinion that there is no better preparation for leadership than on-the-job experience as a head of department, member of senior management team, and deputy headship. They did not support the American practice of pre-service training in university campuses as a pre-condition for principalship. Since the late-1990s British, Australian and Hong Kong educational systems have been encouraging candidates for principalship to have higher degrees, especially in the area of educational administration and leadership. The Teacher Education Inquiry established by the NSW Government expects that more and more Australian universities will offer formal and graduate-level training programs in educational administration (Ramsey, 2000). The federal government in Australia has recognized this necessity by establishing a loan fund for the university level post-graduate course-work programs to assist those who want to undertake such studies. The Education and Manpower Bureau in Hong Kong has recently commissioned the Faculties of Education of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the University of Hong Kong, and the Hong Kong Institute of Education to launch another cycle of Preparation for Principalship (PFP) Courses for the years 2004-06 to encourage perspective principals to acquire basic skills in educational leadership and management.

Moreover, findings from this study reveal that the Australian and Hong Kong principals tend to agree in their views re-

garding the importance of various topic areas for pre-service and in-service training. In making recommendations for the improvement of pre-service and in-service training programs for school principals, the Australian and Hong Kong principals have much more in common than the differences on the type of topic areas which are considered to be most important to be covered. Both groups want to place emphasis on connecting theory with practice and especially on the observation of exemplary educational administrators and group-work.

The findings of this project and other recent comparative studies of school principals demonstrate that nations continue to differ in both theory and practice in preparing their educational leaders, although they have recognized that principals are at the center of school improvement efforts. Educational policy makers and reformers should draw some useful lessons from this comparative study in their efforts to recruit and prepare more effective principals who can be pro-active and are committed to confronting the challenges of the 21st Century that are demanded by changing societies and advances in technology. After all, effective principals are the ones who create effective schools where the future generations can be educated and trained to take their place in an ever changing world. The principals' views and voices have strong implications for developing and restructuring existing training programs for school principals and suggest much closer links between schools and universities. However, it is important to emphasize that it may not be possible to generalize these findings due to the small size of the samples, and it is desirable to undertake research with larger samples to have better insight to the world of school principals.

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Student Attitudes to Minority Groups in Twenty Eight Countries: What Does it Mean to be Tolerant?

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Introduction

Tolerance is often viewed as a civic virtue in democratic societies. Branson (1994) has pointed out that "while majority rule is a basic principle of democracy, without attention to the rights of those in the minority it can degenerate into tyranny". Yet as the twenty first century progresses, the value of tolerance is under as much pressure and scrutiny as it was in the 1990s when the United Nations declared 1995 the International Year of Tolerance "to generate awareness among both policy-makers and the public of the dangers associated with contemporary forms of intolerance" (UNESCO, 1995). Indeed, in light of escalating international conflicts involving clashes between nation states and non-state networks and between nation states themselves, it might well be argued that tolerance is under even greater pressure today that it was a decade ago. The questions raised then remain relevant today and provide the rationale for the research to be reported here:

> Intolerance has been ever present in human history. It has ignited most wars, fuelled religious persecutions and violent ideological confrontations. Is it inherent in human nature? Is it insurmountable? Can tolerance be learned? How can democracies deal with intolerance without infringing on individual freedoms? How can they foster individual codes of conduct, without laws and without policing their citizens' behaviour? How can peaceful multiculturalism be achieved?" (UNESCO, 1995)

One way to respond to these questions is to understand better the nature of "tolerance" and "intolerance" as constructs. These constructs cannot be adequately understood in any de-contextualized way since they are operationalised in distinctive cultural contexts. Thus a comparative approach is more likely to highlight this variability and provide a richer explanation of each construct.

Method

A number of recent studies conducting secondary analyses of the data from the IEA Civic Education Study has pointed to the negative attitudes that a minority of young people have both across the twenty eight countries and in selected national sub-samples towards minority groups such as women and immigrants. (Husfeldt, 2004, Kennedy, 2004, Kennedy and Mellor, in press). In addition, analyses of students' attitudes to ethnic minorities and anti-democratic groups have recently been released and these scales show a good fit with student attitudes to women (Schulz and Sibberns, 2004).

Thus as evidence mounts about student acceptance or non-acceptance of the economic, political, social and cultural of different groups, there is also an emerging conceptual framework indicating that attitudes to different groups are not fragmented or isolated but related somehow as part of a more general construct. This relationship is shown most clearly in the work of Shulz and Sibberns (2004) who relate attitudes to women, ethnic minorities and women into a coherent model. Promising though that work is, it neglects to consider whether student attitudes to immigrants, a separate scale used in the IEA Civic Education Study, might contribute to an expanded model that has more explanatory potential than any considered so far.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to report on a secondary analysis of data used in the IEA Civic Education Study (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz, 2001). In particular, it will report on preliminary findings that will indicate the possibility of developing a model that can better account for the data on student attitudes to minority groups across the twenty eight countries that participated in the study.

Developing a Comparative Approach

The study to be reported here will identify relevant variables used in the IEA Civic Education Study and analyze those using data for the entire international cohort – some 90,000 students. This is the first step in developing a more explicit comparative approach to the analyses. The second step, will be to test the variables or models with national sub samples (28 countries participated in the study) to assess similarities and variability across those sub-samples, especially in relation to the results of the international cohort. A third step will involve investigating the reasons for similarities and variability in sub-samples where

such investigations enhance understanding of local contexts and factors that might account for the observations.

Results and Discussion

Four scales identified by Schulz and Sibberns, (2004) and tentatively entitled the Tolerance Scale were subjected to exploratory factor analyse using SPSS 12.0 (Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization) An examination of the scree plot suggested that there were four main factors and this was supported by the initial eigenvalues that ranged from 5.346 for Component 1 to .972 to Component 4. Together, these four factors accounted for 55% of the variance. Table 1 shows the means, standard deviations and factor loadings on each of the identified components.

Given that the factor loadings fell neatly onto the questions included in each sub scale, naming the sub sales was relatively simple and these names are also shown in Table 1. It seems that students attitudes to different groups within the community are both a response to individual groups but also, when considered together, represent an overall response across groups. It may be that students' attitudes in these contexts are more integrative than has been understood previously when each of the scales has been considered separately. This view is in line with recent work by Husfeldt (2004) who has argued that students' attitudes to one group (e.g. women) may well influence their attitudes to other groups (e.g. immigrants).

Further support for the suggestion that the data on students' attitudes can be best explained when attitudes to individual groups are considered together in a single scale comes from a consideration of item reliability. The internal consistency for each sub scale across countries and for the scale as a whole was computed using Cronbach's Alpha. Each sub-scale demonstrated moderate to strong internal consistency (Attitudes to Immigrants, .82, Attitudes to Women, .77, Attitudes to Ethnic Minorities, .74 and Attitudes to Anti-Democratic Groups, .72). When the 19 items on the Tolerance Scale were considered together, their reliability or internal consistency was moderately strong at .78. Psychometrically, at least, the evidence points towards a single coherent scale that is measuring a common construct labelled here as Tolerance.

Yet the scale also has some properties that warrant closer examination. For 15 of the items, the correlation between the

item itself and the total score for the scale ranges from .32 to .61 suggesting that there is a degree of commonality between what the item is measuring and what the total score is measuring. For 4 items, however, the item –total correlation is very low ranging from -.02 to .07. A similar result was reported by Schulz and Sibberns (2004), who found negative relationships between the Attitudes to Anti Democratic Groups scale and both Attitudes to Women and Attitudes to Ethnic Minorities scales. These correlational patterns raise some interesting questions about the nature of the underlying constructs being measured and in particular the difference between extending rights to anti-democratic groups and extending rights to other community groups. This is an important question for future research.

The 4 items concerned here make up the Attitudes to Anti-Democratic Groups scale. This scale had the lowest mean responses from students (2.55-2.75). suggesting that these were the most difficult questions for students when it came to extending rights. There was also a gender effect on this scale with both girls and boys generally being positive, although not nearly as positive as they were towards the other groups, but with girls being more positive than boys. This represented a continuation of the trend on the other scales where girls were more positive than boys towards women, immigrants, and ethnic

Table 1: Means, Standard Deviations, Factor Loadings and Sub-Scale Identification for each of the Components in the Tolerance Scale

Questions	Mean	SD	Attitudes to Immi-grants	Attitudes to Women	Attitudes to Ethnic Minori-ties	Attitudes to Anti-Demo-cratic Groups
To keep their own customs and lifestyle	3.06	.79	.781			
Have opportuni-ties to keep their own language	2.97	.82	.744			
Have the same rights as every-one else	3.13	.80	.689			
Children-same opportunity for education	3.31	.71	.673			

Have the opportunity to vote	3.00	.81	.672			
Women should stay out of politics	3.35	.85		.726		
Men are better qualified to be political	3.02	.94		.721		
Job's are scarce men have more rights	3.09	.93		.673		
Women should run for public office	3.31	.74		.645		
Woman should have the same rights as men	3.50	.71		.636		
Men and women should get equal pay	3.51	.71		.568		
Ethn. gr. should have equal chances f. job	3.23	.75			.719	
Ethn. Gr. should have equal chanc. f. educa.	3.28	.73			.714	
Teach students to respect ethnic members	3.19	.81			.636	
Ethnic gr. should be encouraged	2.86	.82			.634	
Anti-Dem. group making public speeches	2.70	.85				.764
Anti-Dem. group from running in an election	2.55	.89				.730
Anti-Dem. group should prov. from Org. peaceful	2.75	.83				.727
Anti-Dem.group should be prohib. from hosting	2.57	.86				.724

minorities. Some boys, it seems maintain negative towards the extension of rights, irrespective of the minority group that is involved.

Conclusions

These findings are preliminary in nature based on an examination of selected psychometric properties of four scales that were reported as part of the IEA Civic Education Study. There is some evidence to suggest that when these four scales are considered as sub scales of a single scale, called here Tolerance, they exhibit psychometric properties indicating they are measuring a common construct. Yet further work needs to be done to explore this further, especially subjecting the Tolerance scale to Confirmatory Factor Analysis.

Conceptually, it seems that tolerance, as represented by the 19 item Tolerance scale, is multidimensional in nature and is made up of:

- Economic and political rights;
- Social and cultural rights;
- The right to be intolerant.

The right to be intolerant, as represented by students' support for the rights of anti-democratic groups, poses considerable questions for a democratic society. Under what circumstances is it justifiable to be intolerant? Given that students had some difficulty with these items and also given the gender differences associated with them, what kind of civic education and broader political socialisation will ensure that both boys and girls can negotiate the complexities of these issues in a way that does not infringe basic human rights in a democratic society? Furthermore, how do these issues play out across societies and in comparative perspective? These will be the key issues to address as the project reported here continues to explore the nature of tolerance and its construction across cultures, societies and individuals.

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A Comparison of Socially Important Priorities of Top Research Universities in China and Russia

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Both the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China are notable today for increasing their degree of awareness concerning finding priorities for universities in the context of societal development. Regardless of whether the processes of change in national university governance differ a great deal in both nations, this process is driven primarily by the need to find the most important sectors and programs within the tertiary education system, meeting expectations, which a government may specify in the environment of austerity. The two countries simultaneously struggle for determining "the top", i.e. what type of schools will be considered as top ones, and, in particular, which of them will be listed at the top. The priorities will be the mission of those "top" universities, as the governments are unable to fund all programs.

Additionally, it is important to understand that both systems have tended to increase the degree of mutual cooperation, and seriously consider learning from each other's experience. This paper in particular, follows up on a project comparing curricula in both countries which was undertaken by a group at the Far-Eastern State Technical University (FESTU), sponsored by the Russian educational ministry in 2001-2002. The task force under the project came to a conclusion that the curricula do not just differ historically. Many similar things inherited from each other in the past correlate with a number of innovation trends growing in a similar way under similar circumstances. What differs are the dynamics, and degree of success. With some exceptions, while China is leading, Russia is chasing. The chasing in this case, as we observed, often means learning from the leader's mistakes. However, the indicators of practical success by Russian leadership and universities are less than moderate.

This paper is based on a series of seminars that took place at FESTU with graduating students and lecturers in 2000 and 2003. A lot of empirical material on national systems' educational development was summarized during the classes, taking into consideration a certain degree of presumable "similarity" between higher education reforms in Russia and China. Based on Postiglione's (1998) "Table of Highest Priorities in Higher Education in the Future," the in-class group slightly modified those listed priorities considering cultural differences, and ranked eight basic priorities connecting higher educational systems with national development.

The sampling groups consisted of professional sinologists, including business professionals, faculty members, post-graduate students, and some exceptional undergraduate students in their last year of training. The number of participants grew from year to year: 12 in 2000, 16 in 2003, and 21 in 2005. As the sampling was not a poll, increasing the number of participants was not a representational task, rather we relied on the expertise of group members.

The experts were asked to rank the following priorities for the Chinese (2000, 2003) and the two (2005) systems:

1. Intellectual inquiry,
2. Quality of life and raising cultural level,
3. Ability to compete internationally,
4. Preserve cultural heritage,
5. Students educated for work,
6. Solving basic social problems,
7. Cadres for leadership,
8. Technological advancement.

The results for 2005 are shown in Figure 1, when both systems were compared by the same group of experts. The priorities in the chart are numbered from left to right as above.

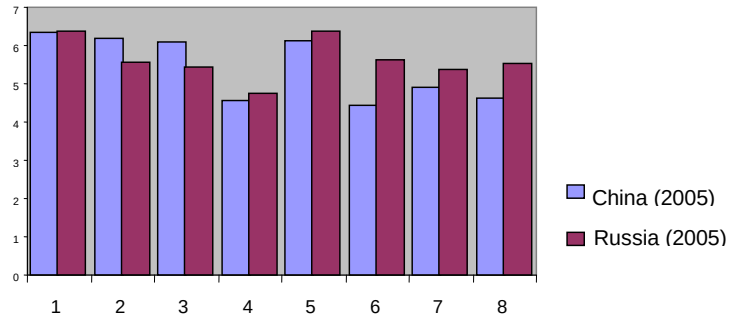

Figure 1. Comparing priorities for China and Russia (2005)

Viewing China as more human capital oriented than Russia today, it is interesting to observe that it has not always been that way: the nation has moved toward technological and traditional cadre priorities (or realized this movement through increasing expertise) just recently (Figure 2).

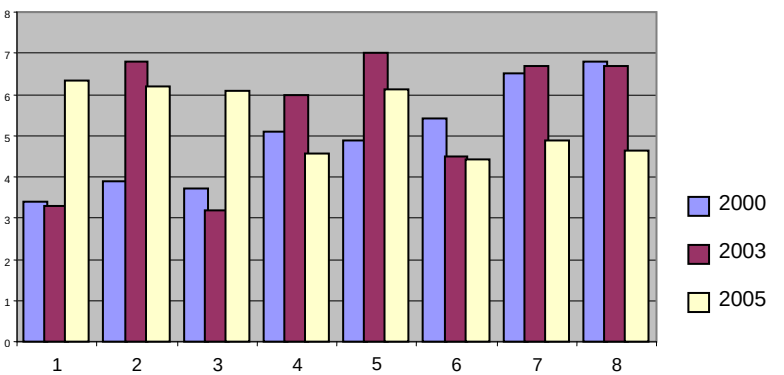

Figure 2. Priority dynamics in China: 2000-2003-2005

We found that such priorities as "free intellectual inquiry", "helping to solve basic social problems", and "increasing quality of life" were among the top ones both for China and Russia. Additionally, "educating for leadership" was noted as important for the Russian system. Also, the role of human capital prevailed over technologies per se, and this signifies a rather clear understanding of the higher education mission in both nations' societies.

For China, we have drawn the following conclusions:

1. The mission of higher education has shifted toward a societal orientation instead of technological advancement and elitism. It will be very interesting to discuss further to what degree this tendency is realized and through which mechanisms it is implemented.
2. The quality of life, along with intellectual expertise and international competence, are valued more highly than ever. This is the clear result of political agenda and realization of the CPC's concept of the "Three Representatives" in particular. Under the clear view and the drive from the leadership, the increasing role of human capital is a result of a more or less elaborated set of socio-educational policies, and a success from realizing the fact that priorities are always limited, and only some, not all, fields can be fully funded.

Comparing China and Russia, we add some further interesting observations:

1. Russia (both in the minds of leadership and masses) has to a large extent kept to the priorities of the industrial age, such as technological advancement and leadership – and this is very true when we view how the very top schools are funded and developed – like Bauman University of Technology and Lomonosov Moscow State University.
2. China in practice reached the points of determining realistic priorities and valuing education for human capital development, rather that training masses of students for future 'work in industry' – and this standpoint is closer to what we observe in developed nations and matches worldwide tendencies. At the same time, Russian thinking has stagnated with technological and leadership priorities, rather weakly following globalization trends.

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香港與內地校本教師培訓的比較

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爲了推動香港教師專業的發展，師訓及師資諮詢委員會於二零零三年發表了《學習的專業 專業的學習》文件，爲本港教師專業能力提供理念架構，並明確指出校長應確保教師的專業需要和學校的發展需要互相配合；這進一步推動本港學校的校本教師培訓。與此同時，內地這兩三年因課改及教師教育變革的需要，亦促使了校本教師培訓的興起。筆者於今年在香港比較教育學會年會所發表的文章，除回顧兩地校本教師培訓的發展外，亦提出一些個人的分析和探討，以促進對兩地校本教師培訓發展的思考。

根據黃冬柏(2004)在香港教師中心傳真的文章指出：教師專業發展的概念最早是在引入學校管理新措施時爲人所認識，上世紀九十年代初教育署提供了三天額外培訓假期，供學校進行教師培訓；到了教統會五號報告書發表時，教師專業發展更成爲其中一個主題。其後香港政府推行的校本管理、策略性規劃、資訊科技教育和課程改革等教育政策，都依賴在職教師的培訓去解決學校所面對的改革要求；而隨著更多教育政策的校本化，校本教師培訓亦相應地由單一模式：嘉賓講座，逐步發展成爲多元化及立體化的規劃。

根據零四年香港教師中心教師專業發展問卷調查發現，在三千多各中小學教師的回應，各類校本培訓模式中以邀請校外人士主持專題講座所佔百分比是 89.2%爲最多，其次分別爲安排校內教師報告或分享從校外研討會/課程所得的知識和體驗佔百分比是 71.2%；安排教師到本港學校參觀、考察、交流所佔百分比是 42.1%；至於安排教師到內地參觀、考察、交流則只佔百分比是 24.1%。

在內地校本培訓則有四個主要的取向，首先任小艾(2004)的文章指出近年來教師發展學校建設的規模在內地不斷擴大；據統計全國目前已有北京、河北、四川、上海、遼寧、浙江、山東、廣東等地的幾十所中小學校，先後掛上了「教師發展學校」的牌子，這些建設教師發展學校的目標是使中小學真實的教育環境成爲教師專業成長的豐厚土壤；除了使在職教師持續的專業成長的，也包括職前教師教育實踐能力的提升。至於第二個校本教師培訓的取向，正如蔡奕生(2004)指出：內地教育管理體制改革與學校辦學自主性的擴大，「校本課程」的蓬勃興起，是「校本培訓」實踐模摸索和理論探索產生的最直接原因之一。而陳永明(2002)則提出以學習組織開展校本培訓，可使學校成爲具有強大生命力和不斷進步的組織，去面對發展和變化；當中要求

學校內的每個人都以正確的方法開展學習和工作，以形成一個學習型組織 。

最終一個的取向則是姜平(2004)提出校本教師培訓與校本研究結合問題，指出無論是校本培訓還是校本研究，都源於對學生實際問題的認識和把握；而這些問題的解決方式最終需要教師通過校本培訓，進行計劃—行動—考察—反思這樣的研究過程去解決。正如褚宏啓等(2003)譯文指出：經驗告訴人力資源管理者，僅僅使用「讓我們研討」的模式進行僱員發展是多麼的愚笨。過去以及現在一些學區或學校仍然偏愛的「在職培訓」的傳統概念，無論在適應用範圍上，還是在實效性上，都存在著嚴重的局限性。與之相反，「僱員發展」概念反映了教育組織的真正需要。這說明當前校本教師培訓理念的傾向，將更新傳統在職教師的培訓模式。

在翻查校本教師培訓的文獻時，筆者發覺本港有關校本教師培訓的文章不多；而根據筆者所知，香港有不少跨校校本教師培訓的計劃，當中香港教育學院近年大力推動的教學啓導計劃，是透過教師教育培訓機構與學校專業力量的結合，通過以校本培訓及集中培訓的模式去支援學校發展課堂研究，以推動學校專業社群的建立。另一方面，令筆者奇怪的是英文文獻中以校本教師培訓爲題的文章不多，這說明國際教育界對校本教師培訓的興趣或經驗有限。故香港與內地要更好地發展校本教師培訓，一定要多從本土的實踐中總結，及多做兩地交流和比較研究，以便更好的建構校本教師培訓的理論，促進兩地學校教育的發展。

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Roles of Private Sector in Developing Modern Japanese Education

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I. OVERVIEW

The purpose of this article is to provide first-hand accounts on the recent development of private education in Japan, for researchers and general readers residing outside Japan, presumably the Chinese readers as the main audience. Special efforts have been made to provide statistical evidence, whenever available, to support the discussion on the recent trends in Japanese public and private education. Therefore, the article places its emphasis on presenting statistical facts rather than putting heavier weight on the much debated policy issues of the current Japanese education system. Overall, the article aims to provide a comprehensive picture of the recent development of the private education sector in Japan at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels, in comparison with their public counterparts.

At the primary and secondary levels, the private sector seems to have played significant roles in forming modern Japanese education in several aspects. The first is the growing impact of formal schooling provided by private entities, i.e., the regular private primary and secondary schools. Such private schooling is considered to compete with the formal schooling administered publicly by the national or local governments. The second is the form of private schools that are not considered "formal" by definition and their legal status, but schools that teach or "cram" students who are preparing for competitive entrance examinations to a high prestige school or the school of their choice. These extracurricular classes are usually offered in evenings after the regular school hours and/or on weekends.

Thirdly, an increasing number of the Japanese public schools are now hiring retired executives of private corporations as principals. The trend is certainly explained by public schools' serious attempts to shift the administrative authority from Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (simply referred to as MEXT) and local boards of

education, to the leadership of successful former business executives. Lastly, the recent trend of Japanese education in terms of privatization is characterized by the concept of "school choice," which has gained the influential votes among young parents and communities as "charter schools" or "community schools." Although these schools are still in their prototype forms, growing interest in these "publicly-owned, privately-managed" schools are forcing MEXT to grope for future possibilities.

There are separate issues at the level of higher education. Besides the fact that a relatively large number of private institutions exist in Japan,[1] the latest National University Reform by the central government is particularly important and deserves special attention. As of April 1 of 2004, all the 89 national universities in Japan became "independent bodies" of the central government and were reborn as "national university corporations." Although the new university corporations continue to rely on the public funding as their main revenue source, the amount received is expected to decrease gradually in the near future. This is certainly the first-step for Japanese higher educational institutions to begin a new life as private organizations with serious challenges for offering higher quality services with efficient management by reducing running costs. At the same time, Japanese universities face a dramatically shrinking 18-year-old population and thus must attract an alternative population of potential students in the next few decades[2].

This paper consists of several sections in the following order: the general statistics on both public and private "formal" institutions in 1985-2003 are provided in Section II. In Section III, we discuss the growing role of extracurricular private schools, namely "cram schools," in relation with MEXT's recent reform of the national curriculum standards. We also explain the latest National University Reform by the Japanese government. Section IV then discusses public schools' challenges in hiring retired corporate executives as their new school leaders. The newly conceptualized charter schools and community schools are also introduced in this section. Concluding remarks are

[1]The proportion of private 4-year institutions was 74.9 percent in 2003, while the private proportion for 2-year colleges was 88.2 percent in the same year, according to the statistics by MEXT (2004).

[2] The 18-year old population is forecasted to decrease sharply from 1,556,000 in 2000 to 1,026,000 in 2030 and to 817,000 in 2050 (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, 2002)

made in Section V.

II. GENERAL STATISTICS

1. Statistical Overview in 1985-2003

Table 1 provides basic statistics on the proportions of private institutions in Japan, by education level for selected 1985-2003 years. The general time-series trend observed in the table indicates that the private proportions increased at all levels of education in 1985-2003 though the increments were not substantial. Moreover, a cross-sectional trend across education levels reveals that, excluding kindergartens, Japanese primary education relies heavily on public provision, with less than 1 percent of currently existing private elementary schools. The private roles of formal schooling then start rising with the grade level, reaching the highest proportions of private sector involvement at the tertiary level. A great deal of public involvement at the elementary and junior high school levels reflects Japan's centralized educational structure and the governments' responsibilities for equal provision of compulsory education to every child.

Table 1. Proportions of Private Institutions in Japan, by Level of Education: 1985-2003 (Selected Years)

Kindergarten		Elementary	Junior High School	Senior High School	2-Year Colleges	4-Year Colleges
1985	58.5	0.7	5.2	23.6	83.8	72.0
1990	58.3	0.7	5.4	23.8	84.0	73.4
1995	58.2	0.7	5.7	24.0	83.9	73.5
2000	58.7	0.7	6.1	24.1	86.9	73.7
2003	59.4	0.8	6.3	24.2	88.2	74.9

Note: "Public" institutions include both nationally and locally administered schools.
Source: Calculated by the author using the data available from MEXT (http://www.mext.go.jp/english/statist/).

In contrast to the strong public controls and involvement at the elementary and secondary levels, private kindergartens have played a greater role in accepting young children. However, financial burdens of the private tuitions and fees are non-negligible for young parents of kindergartners, and the heavy

burdens are seen as an obstacle for married women with young children to join the labor force (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2002). In 1999, the Basic Law for a Gender-equal Society was enacted by the Japanese government. [3] As the female labor force participation continues to grow in Japan, a greater commitment by the governments and society becomes essential and is strongly called for in order to reduce the economic burdens of these working couples with young children. The private role is expected to increase in this domain as the public sector reaches its limitation in supplying sufficient facilities and human resources to accommodate the needs of these families. An important factor that is creating a current of students flowing from public to private schools is the introduction of the new Courses of Study by MEXT, which came along the line of the highly debated "*Yutori Kyōiku*" (education with latitude) policy. Behind this new policy lie the historical debates on severe competitions among Japanese children and cramming them with subject matters in the early years of life, which have often been blamed for an increasing incidence of absenteeism, problems of bullying, suicides, juvenile delinquency, and young students being involved in serious crimes, etc. The new Courses of Study was then introduced nationwide in April, 2002 to emphasize teaching each student the strength to live by caring and cooperating with others rather than out-performing on the examinations. However, not only did the new policy cut down the number of school days and class hours, but it also reduced the elementary and lower secondary course content of every subject by 30 percent. This obviously led to the current debate on students' declining achievement and the skepticism of the validity of this new policy in maintaining (or regaining) Japan's competitive edge in the global economy.

As a result, parents who are skeptically concerned about MEXT's new attempt started sending their children to private schools where the government's revised Course of Study has less or no influence. Accordingly, the proportions of students enrolled in private elementary and junior high schools increased

[3] This law was established in order to "clarify the basic principles with regard to formation of a Gender-equal Society, to set a course to this end, and to promote efforts by the State and local governments and citizens with regard to formation of a Gender-equal Society comprehensively and systematically." (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2002)

Table 2. Proportions of Students enrolled in Private Institutions in Japan, Level of Education: 1985-2003 (Selected Years)

	Kinder-garten	Ele-mentary	Junior HS	Senior HS	2-Year Colleges	4-Year Colleges
1985	75.3	0.54	2.9	28.5	89.7	72.7
1990	78.1	0.68	3.8	28.7	91.4	72.7
1995	79.6	0.81	5.2	30.2	92.4	73.2
2000	79.1	0.92	5.7	29.4	91.2	73.3
2003	79.1	0.94	6.2	29.3	91.0	73.5

Note: "Public" institutions include both nationally and locally administered schools.
Source: Calculated by the author using the data available from MEXT (http://www.mext.go.jp/english/statist/).

significantly from 1985 to 2003. For example, Table 2 shows that the proportion of students in private elementary schools increased by 74 percent from 0.54 to 0.94 between 1985-2003, while that of junior high schools more than doubled from 2.9 to 6.2 percent during the same period. Although the increment was much smaller in senior high schools (approximately 3 percent), even smaller increments were experienced at kindergartens, 2-year and 4-year colleges, with slightly over 1 percent.

III. IMPACT OF EDUCATION REFORMS IN JAPAN

1. The "Cram Schools"

Preparatory or "cram" schools have significantly affected Japanese families and children who wish to excel in the classroom and succeed on an academic path. These private preparatory schools offer extracurricular or "after-school" classes on weeknights and/or weekends to teach subject matters to the students preparing for entrance examinations to high prestige schools and colleges.

As the nuclear family becomes the typical household unit in the modern society of Japan with a declining number of per-household children, it has become affordable for the parents of school age children to concentrate on the "quality" of education their children receive. Moreover, considering the commotions and anxieties of the continuous reforms in the national curriculum standards, which cut 30 percent of the curriculum content, it is not unusual that concerned parents choose to send their children to the cram schools after the regular school hours. Table 3 shows the cross-categorized proportions of

Japanese families, by grade, control type of enrolled regular school, and annual spending on the cram school tuitions, based on a survey conducted by MEXT. The survey collected a randomly selected sample of nearly 20,000 children enrolled in K-12 schools between April 1, 2002 and March 31, 2003.

Table 3. Annual Spending on Cram School Tuition in SY2002

	Kindergarten		*Elementary*
	Public	*Private*	*Public**
¥0	84.1	83.2	61.0
¥1-49,999	10.2	8.1	12.8
¥50,000-149,999	4.2	4.9	14.8
Over ¥150,000	1.5	3.8	11.4
Average spending	¥57,000	¥114,000	¥130,000

	Junior High School		*Senior High School*	
	Public	*Private*	*Public*	*Private*
¥0	25.0	45.1	61.7	54.7
¥1-49,999	9.7	12.1	10.1	9.0
¥50,000-149,999	21.4	15.1	10.7	11.3
Over ¥150,000	43.9	27.7	17.5	25.0
Average spending	¥215,000	¥193,000	¥191,000	¥241,000

*Households with children enrolled in private elementary school were not surveyed.

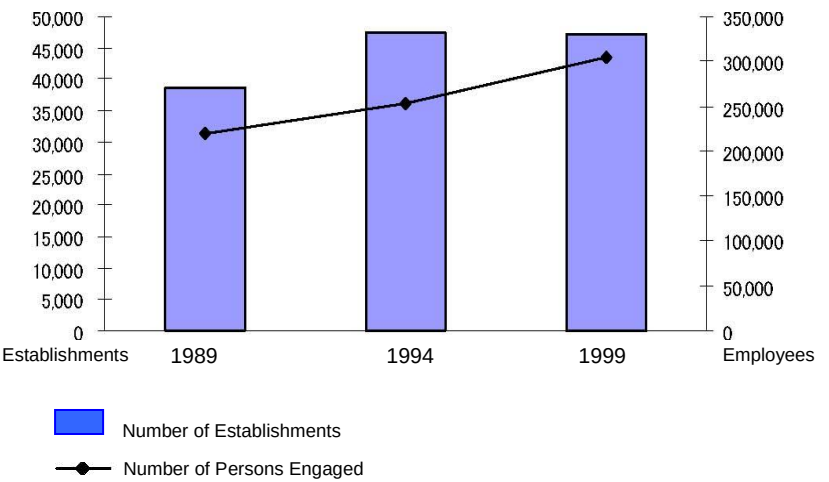
Note: Totals of 5,100 families (kindergarten), 5,400 (public elemen-tary), 5,400 (public and private junior high), 7,200 were surveyed between April 1, 2002 and March 31, 2003, and the number of respon-dents were as follows: 4,757 (kindergarten), 4,731 (elementary), 3,459 (junior high), 6,112 (senior high). Source: MEXT (http://www.mext.go.jp/ b_menu/toukei/001/006/ 03121101/ 004/013.xls).

The table indicates that significant proportions of Japanese families expend a non-trivial amount of their income on educating their children outside the regular curriculum in private cram schools. At the junior high school level, in particular, more than a half of the surveyed families responded that they spent some amount to send their children to cram schools in SY2002. Moreover, a staggering 44 percent of surveyed households with children enrolled in public junior high school spent over ¥150,000 per year, with the average of ¥215,000 per year for this group. In contrast, parents whose children were enrolled in private junior high school spent less (¥193,000 per year on average), but 55 percent responded that they had some

expenditures on cram school tuitions. Although fewer families spent money on cram school tuitions at the high school level, the proportions of households who did spend and the average amount they spent were sizeable.

In accordance with the large population of school age children attending the private cram schools, the establishments of these schools increased in the past as well. Figure 1 shows that the total number of cram school establishments increased from 38,642 in 1989 to 47,475 in 1994, and then slightly decreased to 47,082 in 1999. Considering the fact that the total number of elementary, junior and senior high schools was 40,217 in 2003, the size of the cram school industry is quite substantial in Japan. The number of individuals employed by these private extracurricular schools also increased steadily during the surveyed period from 218,706 (1989) to 253,226 (1994) to 303,559 (1999). In comparison, the total number of elementary and secondary school teachers in 2003 was 924,277 in 2003.

Figure 1. Cram School in Japan, 1989, 1994 and 1999



Source: Survey on Service Industries, Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Post and Telecommunications (http://www.stat.go.jp/data/service/ index.htm)

Provided that the general consensus for the education with latitude (*Yutori Kyōiku*) policy is not reached by Japanese parents and society, the teaching role of these cram schools is expected to continue or even grow in the future. The original aim of introducing *Yutori Kyōiku* into public education was to alleviate the severe competition among young children and nurture their abilities to live with care and harmony with others rather than out-performing on the entrance examinations. However, anxious and worried parents are sending their children to private extracurricular courses, for which they have to spend a significant portion of their income. As a result, these cram schools continue to prosper in the education industry as important service providers.

It should be noted that it is relatively easy for well-off parents to pay for their children's extracurricular tuitions. Considering the long lasting depression of the Japanese economy, however, it should also be remembered that there are families who cannot afford such expenses. Many argue now that this may cause a widening gap of academic achievement between children of affluent families who can attend private preparatory schools and those who cannot. MEXT needs to carefully consider the long-term impact of its public school reforms on the private education industry to avoid unfair opportunity among families of different income levels.

2. The National University Corporations

Following the legislation and enactment of the National University Corporation Law, all the 89 national universities in Japan have become "independent bodies" of the central government on April 1, 2004. The reform is certainly one of the most dramatic attempts in Japanese higher education history since the Meiji era. From now on, the new national university corporations will be expected to develop their own distinct educational and research functions with autonomous and independent management. This means that each university corporation makes decisions based on its own mid-term plans and goals without MEXT's strict controls but only at the expense of less governmental funding support. It gives each university a higher degree of freedom about the administrative and management decisions, but at the same time it becomes imperative for each university to acquire outside funding by establishing stronger bonds with private companies. MEXT is also encouraging partnerships between national university corporations and

private industries.[4] In the future, the Japanese government will be expected to maintain its responsibility to support national universities in terms of promoting basic academic research as well as producing highly skilled professionals.

The future of these university corporations is unforeseeable at this time, but the competition for the decreasing 18-year-old population among these universities has certainly become keen. Many universities, both national university corporations and private institutions, are now trying to attract high school seniors by introducing a variety of admissions policies and criteria, such as the Admissions Office examination which puts less weight on the entrance examinations but more on academic records and personal experience. Japanese universities are also introducing new curricula which allow superior students to graduate early by skipping grades or to obtain both bachelor's and master's degrees in five years, etc. Others have added new academic departments and schools with "catchy" program names, claiming that they reflect new professional fields required in the complex modern society. Universities are also becoming frenetic about approaching the mature working population as a big target, by establishing new law schools, business schools, policy schools, etc., modeled after American graduate professional schools (Table 4). Accordingly, the last few years, and perhaps several coming years, may be characterized as the period of "professional-school rush" in Japan's higher education history.

The severe competition for potential students among these universities is expected to continue though some critics warn that some of these professional schools may have to shut their doors in the future due to inability to acquire enough students. Overall, Japanese higher education is on a new path and seems to have started moving towards privatization, with the principle of market competition offering a variety of "goods and services." The introduction of the National University Corporation Law was certainly the trigger, but the challenges of these universities have just begun.

[4] See the Press Release (http://www.mext.go.jp/english/org/science/07d/ 03061301.htm) by MEXT.

Table 4. Number of Newly Established Graduate Professional Schools in Japan: 2000-2004

	National University Corporations				
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Law	0	0	0	0	22[1]
Business[2]	1	0	1	1	2
Public Policy	0	0	0	0	2
MOT[3]	0	0	0	0	0
Other[4]	1	1	0	0	0

	Private Universities				
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Law	0	0	0	0	46
Business[2]	0	1	1	1	4
Public Policy	0	0	0	1	2
MOT[3]	0	0	0	1	1
Other[4]	0	0	0	0	5

[1]Includes 2 prefectural universities.
[2]Includes accounting schools.
[3]MOT stands for "management of technology".
[4]Includes "health care administration and Management", "digital contents", "social work", "media design management", "Information technology and web business", and "obstetrics".
Source: MEXT (http://www.mext.go.jp/).

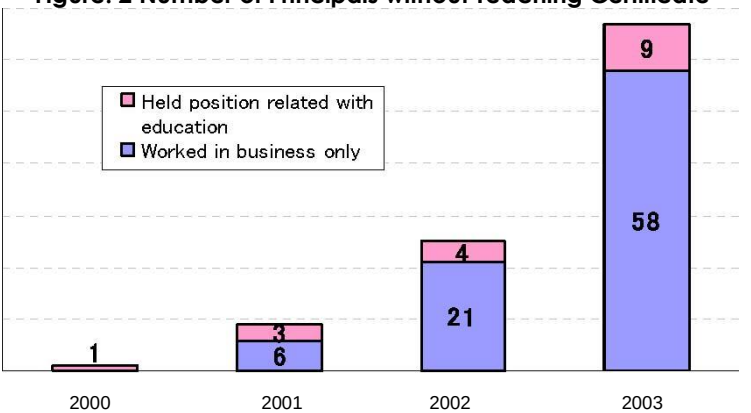
IV. "PUBLICLY-OWNED, PRIVATELY MANAGED" SCHOOLS

1. From Business Executives to School Principals

In April, 2000, the amended School Education Act permitted individuals without a teaching certificate to take the principal position at public elementary and secondary schools. Since then, an increasing number of public schools in many prefectures started hiring interested retired business executives as their school leaders. Although the number of these principals is still very small,[5] the increment in the last few years was nearly exponential (Figure 2).

[5] There were a total of 37,494 principals at all the public primary and secondary schools in 2003 (MEXT, 2004).

Figure. 2 Number of Principals without Teaching Certificate



SOURCE: Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/15/04/03042501.htm)

The retired corporate leaders are receiving a high expectation from the public to apply their creative ideas and implement their private management skills to efficiently run the organization of completely different work environments – public schools. A small study which surveyed six local boards of education, conducted in 2003 by MEXT, indicates that the performance of these "executive principals" generally surpassed their expectation.[6] However, shocking news reported in March 2003 that a public elementary school principal in Hiroshima, a former banker, committed suicide struggling desperately in his new position.

The case warns us that the gap of required managerial skills between private corporations and pubic schools may be wider than we imagine in terms of organization, communication, human resources, etc., and some problems occurring in public schools may be so deeply rooted that one single business elite cannot solve them with his or her own knowledge and experience. It is also alerting us that a simple transfer of "private concepts" may be unsuited for successful management of public schools, and it certainly requires other teachers and participants to work together to alleviate the stress and difficulties in the workplace and classrooms.

[6]The Press Release (5/26/03) by MEXT http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/ 15/05/03052601.htm).

2. Emerging New Schools – Charter Schools and Community Schools

The new wave of the "school choice"[7] movement in the United States has reached the shore of Japan only recently. Although an attempt to introduce the school voucher[8] system, for example, has been considered neither at the government nor individual community levels yet, the concept of "charter schools," which has been reinterpreted and renamed as "community schools" to include a wider range of functions and involvement of the entire community, is becoming well-accepted by the educational reformers and some communities in Japan.

Though neither charter schools nor community schools exist at the time being in Japan, the former is strongly supported by those who have children with absenteeism or other problems requiring special needs that cannot be provided by the regular schools. The supporters emphasize that in order for charter schools to meet the needs of these children and parents, the schools should be unbound by conventional public compulsory curricula or restrictions.

The concept of community schools has been developed to include a wider range of participants, by involving the entire community and its constituents to create its own publicly funded, community administered schools. Supporters of community schools also demand less governmental control in terms of school management to meet the needs specific to the children and families residing in the area.

Although these schools still have a long way to go to develop their own unique status, the basic concept of providing equal educational opportunities to every child seems to have been loosing its ground at the rudimentary level. A growing population in Japan has begun to reveal preferences for the educational curricula and schools that reflect their

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[7] There are a growing number of educational alternatives in the United States, ranging from traditional public schools, private or parochial schools, charter schools, school vouchers, private scholarship programs, and home schooling. School choice attempts to provide the option to select among the alternatives for every child and their parents in order to pursue the educational opportunities they wish.

[8] School vouchers allow low-income families to receive tuition coupons valued at a certain amount, and parents can use the vouchers to send their children to any school, including private schools, that accept them.

specific needs. It seems, from the government-centered viewpoint at least, that the school choice supporters are turning away from the "equal-to-all" education to more individualized and decentralized schools. These people perhaps started recognizing that being "unequal" does not necessarily mean "unfair" as long as it mirrors the needs of individual students and families as well as the entire community.

VI. CONCLUSION

Japanese education has gone through various phases of reform to strengthen the nation's educational backbone under the leadership of the former Ministry of Education and the current Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. This article attempted to provide the general accounts on the historical roles of and recent development in Japanese private education. Japanese education has multi-fold issues distinctively at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels, but for almost every issue the private sector plays vital roles. There have always existed competitions between public and private regular schools for both quality and quantity. Private extra-curricular programs have also affected and often been blamed for the severe competition among students preparing for the entrance examinations to high prestige schools.

The general trend of the Japanese educational reforms at all education levels seems to be moving towards a decentralized or individualized system, based on varying needs of individual families and societies. At the primary and secondary levels, there is an emerging new prototype of schools called "charter schools" and "community schools," which allow families and the entire community to be involved in founding concepts and functions as well as the management of the schools. At the level of higher education, the most dramatic reform since the Meiji era has been carried out by the central government, establishing the new "national university corporations" by abolishing all the 89 national universities. Each university corporation now has its own decision-making management board and is expected to take advantage of the managerial flexibility to achieve individually-set goals with private mind-set. The costs and impacts of decentralizing educational structure and privatizing public school system are enormous and unimaginable. It appears that the nation continues to struggle in reforming its curriculum standards and choosing

the optimal national policies, and that perhaps explains why the private sector prospers in the education industry in Japan.

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Private Schools in England

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Introduction

In 2003 there were about 2,160 registered private schools in England. Although the official name used for these schools in England is 'independent' schools, this article will follow the terminology used in the vast majority of other countries and use the term 'private'. This term is now the most commonly accepted and appropriate choice (Walford, 1989). In 2003, private schools in England educated nearly 583,000 children, which is about 6.97 per cent of the school-age population, and 7.86 per cent of children in schools aged five and above. About half of these children in private schools are in just two of the nine geographical regions of England – London and the South East. Scotland has about 3 per cent of its children in private schools while Wales and Northern Ireland have even fewer. As there are considerable differences between the systems in the four constituent parts of the United Kingdom, this paper will focus on England only.

The most widely known private schools in England are undoubtedly the old-established boarding schools that have long served the economic and political elite. Thus names like Eton College, Winchester College, Westminster School, and Cheltenham Ladies College are recognised as 'brand leaders' throughout the world. Such schools are highly selective both academically and financially and have annual fees of up to £17,000 (plus some smaller extras). It is certainly true that the children who leave these schools usually do so with a clutch of very good A-levels (school-leaving examination successes) and that they most often enter prestigious universities, but whether their success is due to the schools or to the children's own social, economic and cultural capitals is open to question.

But such well-known schools are only a very small part of the English private sector. Far from being a homogeneous group of schools, in practice, the private sector in England is highly diverse and the study of this variety is unexpectedly fascinating (Hillman, 1994). There are some obvious ways in which the schools differ in terms of clearly observable variables such as age range and gender of pupils, size, religious affiliation

and geographical location, but the schools also differ greatly in their culture, history and traditions and in the experiences that pupils receive. While some are highly selective by academic ability, others are more comprehensive in their intakes or may even cater for children with learning difficulties such as dyslexia.

Diversity Examined

Most of the sociological research on the private sector has concentrated on the elite schools and, in particular, the boys' boarding schools. Important, but dated, studies include those of Wakeford (1969), Lambert and Millham (1968) and Walford (1986). It used to be that the term 'public school' was used for those elite schools whose headmasters had membership of the Headmasters Conference (HMC), an organization formed in 1871 in a successful attempt to ward off an early political attack on the schools. The total number of members was limited, initially to 50, but this has gradually grown to 244 (in the UK). The term 'public school' is now very little used as it has associations with elitism which the schools themselves wish to reduce. But the HMC still includes the majority of the most prestigious schools. As the number of schools grew, so did the diversity of schools involved – a development recognised by the change in name to the Headmasters and Headmistresses Conference in the early 1990s. The range is now from the well known schools such as Eton College and Winchester College that are of ancient foundation and provide a full boarding life for highly academically able boys at very high cost, to many day schools with a range of degrees of academic selectivity which cater for children at about a quarter of the cost of the historic schools. Most schools are now coeducational, and only about 21 per cent of pupils in the HMC schools are now boarders, and 27 per cent of the pupils are girls.

Even though the HMC schools only educate about a quarter of all privately educated children, the concentration of sociological research on them is justified through their historic position in educating the nation's elites. Research by Reid *et al*. (1991) has shown that a large proportion of high ranking judges, civil servants, diplomats, directors of major banks and other similar highly prestigious and powerful groups, were educated at HMC schools. In 1984, for example, 84 per cent of the top judiciary, 70 per cent of bank directors and 49 per cent of high rank civil servants were from HMC schools. However, it is worth remembering that, while a disproportionate number of

mem-bers of the present elites attended private schools some 40 years ago, this does not necessarily mean that present-day pupils will have advantaged entry to elite positions in the future. Also, as such schools are highly academically and socially selective, such success says practically nothing about the quality of the schooling provided. In fact, most of these highly prestigious schools do not score very highly on 'value added' measures of academic achievement where the measure of school effectiveness is based on the abilities of the children entering the school as well as their achievements on leaving. Entry into elite positions may have little to do with the educational success of these schools, but may be related to pre-existing social and cultural capital.

There has been surprisingly little research that has sought to evaluate the effectiveness of the private sector in comparison to the state sector. The most thorough study, now more than 20 years old, concluded that in terms of academic results, the leading private schools were probably no more effective than the grammar schools that were available at that time for highly able children. In contrast, the second-ranking private schools were probably more effective than the secondary modern schools that the majority of children attended (Halsey et al., 1984).

One recent study by Sullivan and Heath (2003) indicated that the sole school-level factor that appeared to explain private schools' better examination results was the social composition of the school. This might operate through peer group processes of encouraging academic work or other mechanisms. However, there are indications that attendance at these HMC schools may be still linked to future elite status for, along with some of the prestigious girls' private schools, the HMC schools provide about 25 per cent of university undergraduates and about 50 per cent of undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge Universities.

Private schooling for girls has never been as popular or prestigious as that for boys, and there are fewer research studies. Although now dated, the most recent general survey is that of Wober (1971), while Avery (1991) gives a good history of the girls' schools and Delamont (1989) concentrates on the role of the elite girls' schools in social reproduction. The organization analogous with the HMC is the Girls' Schools Association (GSA) which has some 207 schools in membership. These schools have an even wider range of size, academic emphasis, geographi-

cal location, religious affiliation and so on than the HMC schools. Most were founded in the nineteenth century and can be linked to the greater emancipation of women that occurred at that time (Walford, 1993). In England in 2003, 49 per cent of private school pupils were girls. However, the proportion of girls being privately educated has increased faster than that for boys, which has enabled a few girls' schools to expend. Others have suffered a considerable loss to HMC schools as these schools have gradually changed from all boys schools to co-educational. Over three-quarters of HMC schools now accept girls – most now taking girls at all ages, but the remainder taking girls aged 16 or over only (Dooley and Fuller, 2003). The HMC schools have been very successful in attracting girls to these former all boy schools, but the girls schools that have attempted to attract boys have been almost completely unsuccessful. A number of girls boarding schools have recently closed as a result of falling rolls.

Another somewhat unexpected feature about these private schools is that, while the most highly prestigious schools are generally boarding schools, the percentage of children who board is not uniformly high throughout the sector. In 2003 only 14 per cent of pupils in Independent Schools Council schools boarded, and 42 per cent of boarders were girls. Overall, there has been a steady decline in the total number of boarders over the last two decades, with a decrease of some three per cent each year. The result is that many schools, even some of the well known names, now find it difficult to attract enough pupils of sufficiently high academic ability to fill their boarding places. This has led to an increase in the number of foreign students in these schools who, of course, usually have to become borders.

Private schools that cater for children below the age of 11 or 13 are called preparatory schools. Traditionally, these schools have also been single sex, but the moves towards greater co-education at this age led, in 1981, to the amalgamation of the two separate preparatory school associations into the Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools, which was the former name of the boys' association (Leinster-Mackay, 1984). This body now has some 490 schools in membership. All pupils must leave these schools by age 14, but most leave at any time between 11 and 13. It used to be that girls left to go to their secondary schools at 11, while boys stayed until entry to the HMC schools at 13, but the pattern is now much more

confused. Most of these schools are far smaller than the secondary schools, and about eight per cent of the pupils are either full or weekly boarders. The number of boarders at this age has approximately halved over the last decade. However, it is in the preparatory age range that the bulk of the recent increase in private school numbers is to be found, particularly at pre-school and pre-prep school levels.

About two thirds of all private school pupils are in schools in these three major groups, but there is an interesting diversity of schools beyond these. First, there are schools which are members of groupings which aspire to be similar to the major three. The Society of Headmasters of Independent Schools (SHMIS) shelters some 60 schools, while the Independent Schools' Association has 267. These two organizations, together with the major three, cater for about 80 per cent of pupils in the private sector, but beyond them are various unusual schools.

The diversity of the private sector in England is well illustrated by a simple study of the size of various schools. Nearly 200 of these 2,160 schools are very small – having 25 or fewer pupils – while 708 of them have 100 or fewer pupils. A total of 1,230 of these schools (more than half of the total number of private schools) have 200 or fewer students. The majority of these small schools are not affiliated to the Independent Schools Council and were established for a diversity of reasons.

Of particular interest are the small religiously-based schools many of which were established by parents and others who argue that the state-maintained sector does not offer an educational experience for their children which is congruent with the group's religious beliefs – even though there have been religious schools within the state-maintained sector for more than 100 years. There are some 80 or so evangelical Christian (Walford, 2001), about 80 Muslim (Walford, 2003, 2004), and a few other Buddhist and Hindu schools.

The evangelical Christian schools share an ideology of Biblically-based evangelical Christianity which seeks to relate the message of the Bible to all aspects of present-day life whether personal, spiritual or educational. These schools have usually been set up by teachers, parents or a church group to deal with dissatisfaction with what is seen as the secularism of the great majority of schools. The schools aim to provide a distinctive Christian approach to every part of school life and the curriculum and, in most cases, parents have a substantial role in the management and organization of the schools. The

facilities are usually poor as most of the schools run on very low fees. Teachers are often not paid on national salary scales, but see their teaching as a Christian obligation of service to others.

There has been a similar growth in the number of Muslim private schools, linked to a growing dissatisfaction with the state-maintained schools that their children attended. This dissatisfaction had several causes. One aspect was that some parents felt that their children were not achieving academically as well as they might. The inner-city schools that many Muslim children attended did badly on test scores and parents became more concerned that these schools might be failing their children. They were also concerned that the standards of discipline and respect for adults found in these schools was often lower than they wished.

But the main reasons for the growth in these schools was related directly to religious beliefs. Most British Muslims are descendants of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants who came to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s. As they became more established and developed a variety of distinct Muslim communities, they became more religious in their outlook. There has been a growth in religious observance and a significant majority of British Muslims attach special importance to their faith. As they became more religious, their concerns about both the structure and content of the state-maintained system grew.

There are about 80 private Muslim schools in England and they provide for a total of about 7,000 children – about two per cent of Muslim children in England. They range from one expensive London-based school with nearly 2,000 pupils, which is predominantly attended by children of diplomats, industrialists and professionals from the Far East to small one-room schools for five or more children based in domestic houses. While the range in size is from five pupils to nearly 2,000, the average is about 120.

A further group of small private schools has developed in response to parents who do not want their children to go to all-ability comprehensive schools. For those parents able and willing to pay fees, some of these schools act to replace academically selective grammar schools no longer available in the comprehensive system. In contrast, other parents believe that the highly competitive and structured nature of state schooling is undesirable and wish their children to receive a more liberal and broader education. Taking advantage of the benefits of smaller schools and the fact that private schools do not have

to follow the National Curriculum, there are now several small private schools that are designed to give more freedom to children's individual interests. These schools have formed umbrella organizations such as the Human Scale Movement and Education Now which campaign on their behalf. The number of children in these schools and the number being 'home educated' has increasing over the past few years.

Government Policy on Private Schools

Private schools in England receive no per-pupil funding from the state but have to rely on fees, donations and, in some cases, foundation income. Over the years, however, there have been specific schemes that have channelled government money to the private sector and many of the schools receive tax benefits as a result of their charitable status. Private schools also do not have to pay Value Added Tax on their services.

In very broad terms the Conservative Party has tended to support private schooling when in power whilst the Labour Party has generally attempted to reduce government support (Tapper, 1997). Thus, the Conservative government of 1979 onwards introduced an Assisted Places Scheme to allow academically gifted children from poor backgrounds to attend private schools. When Labour came to office in 1997 their first Education Act abolished this scheme. But the policies of the two major political parties are closer than they once were and there are substantial continuities between the two periods of government.

One of the interesting aspects of Conservative policy between 1979 and 1997 was that there was a blurring of the boundaries between the private and state-maintained sectors and increased privatisation within the state-maintained sector. The City Technology Colleges which were announced in 1986 were designed to be the flagship of this process (Walford and Miller, 1991). Here, private industry and commerce were expected to help finance inner-city technological education alongside the government. But the Colleges are officially independent private schools owned by trusts. They have their own conditions of service and salary scales for teachers, and overall control is vested in governing bodies dominated by industry. They are able to select well motivated children and give them a standard of education denied to children from less educationally aware backgrounds. As is now well known, the scheme

as a whole met with severe problems and only fifteen CTCs are in operation, but the increased competition, privatization and blurring of boundaries inherent in the idea were developed further in later Education Acts.

When Labour was returned to power in 1997 the abolition of the Assisted Places Scheme could be seen as part of its traditional policy of opposing the private sector. However, in some of its other policies there is both direct and indirect support. Within the first few months the new Labour government had established an advisory group to focus on the development of partnerships between the state and independent sectors. The Secretary of State for Education announced:

> Constructive collaboration and partnership is the way forward in education. We know that there is much that we can learn from the private sector and much that the private sector can share. We want to put aside the divisions of the past and build a new partnership which recognises that private schools can make a real contribution to the communities in which they are situated (Blunkett, 1997).

Later announcements spoke of an end to 'educational apartheid' between the state-maintained and private sectors and proposed a new partnership between them. Three 'golden rules' for Labour's new attitude towards private schools were set out. First, high standards in independent schools will not be compromised, Second, change will be voluntary. Third, there will be no imposition from above. It was also announced that £600,000 was to be made available for a partnership scheme between independent and state maintained schools. Small grants of up to £25,000 were made available for innovative schemes involving literacy, technology, sport, music, art, and other areas that made links between schools in the two sectors and contributed to raising standards. What is significant about this scheme is not the relatively small amounts of funding made available but the major change in policy that it represented and the ideological support it gives to the private sector. The unspoken assumption behind the scheme is that private schools are 'better' than state-maintained schools, and that they should share some of their expertise and facilities with local state-maintained schools. While it is certainly correct that many of the major schools do have far better facilities for sport, science, music and so on, it is not clear that the teachers in such schools

are necessarily 'better' or that they are ideally suited to 'help' children from comprehensive schools who often come from rather different social-class backgrounds than the children they usually teach. The scheme has been extended and continued throughout Labour's period of government.

Rather than closing the City Technology Colleges, as some had expected, Labour has supported then and extended the idea. There are now about 30 'Academies' mostly in inner-city areas which are officially designated as independent schools even though they receive all of their recurrent costs from the state. Again, the idea that being 'private' is better is dominant.

As part of this new relationship with the private sector, the government also made it clear that it does not intend to remove charitable status from private schools or impose Value Added Tax. This had been seen as a major threat in the 1992 General Election, as it would have led to significant increases in school fees (Palfreyman, 2003). While abolition of charitable status was not a part of Labour's 1997 programme, the clear abandonment of the policy came in 1998.

Conclusion

The private sector in England provides schooling for about seven per cent of children, but its significance is far greater than this proportion would indicate. Even though there is little evidence that the leading schools are actually more educationally effective, the belief that this is true is widely held. Indeed, the belief influences government policy towards both private and state-maintained schooling. Further, it has been shown that diversity is actually a central feature of the sector. Discussions that ignore this diversity are likely to be very misleading.

Note

Statistical data are taken from National Statistics (2003) and ISC (2002).

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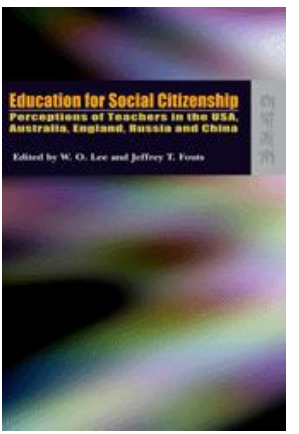
New Books in Comparative Education

Education for Social Citizenship: Perceptions of Teachers in the USA, Australia, England, Russia and China
W. O. Lee and Jeffrey T. Fouts, Editors
Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press (2005)
ISBN: 9622097286; 304 pp.
US$35 or HK$250



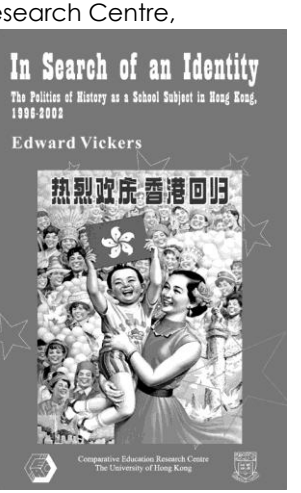
Citizenship education calls for the education of knowledge, skills and values that help the young to become informed and responsible citizens. Various cross-national studies have been carried out since the 1990s and most of these projects focus on the policy-making processes, students and the curriculum. There has been little coverage on teachers – obviously one of the key figures in citizenship education. This volume, emerging from a cross-national study of teachers' perception of good citizenship, aims to fill this significant gap. The chapters here ask two fundamental questions: What do teachers see as important in citizenship education? How do these perceptions facilitate or hinder the preparation of good citizens? While providing rich and useful data on the latest developments of citizenship education in various contexts, this book also offers an all-round review of concepts and arguments on the subject, as well as insightful comparative analyses of the findings emerged from the case studies. One encouraging conclusion drawn from these studies is that teachers across nations share similar goals and objectives that seem to have transcended cultural and political boundaries.

This book will appeal to all those who are interested in citizenship education, and will specifically be of interest to policymakers, curriculum developers, education scholars and researchers, social workers, and teachers.

Education and Decentralization:
A Case Study of India's Kerala State
M. V. Mukundan
Shenyang, China: Liaoning People's Publishing House (2004)
ISBN: 7-205-05817-1; 293pp.
RMB 38

Worldwide, recent decades have brought numerous examples of political and administrative reforms. The majority of these reforms bear the label of decentralization. In most cases, the political elites being the policy designers and implementers justify the intents of these changes by exemplifying and reifying isolated examples of successes. This book addresses this topic and provides insightful evidence gained from empirical research conducted in the form of a cross-district comparative case study within a multilevel comparative framework. Delving into the political and developmental linkages of the 1996 decentralization initiative introduced in the Indian state, Kerala, the book exposes the contradictions of decentralization and the gap that may exist between policy and practice.

In Search of an Identity: The Politics of History as a School Subject in Hong Kong, 1996-2002
Edward Vickers
Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre,
The University of Hong Kong
ISBN 962-8093-38-X; 332 pp.
HK$200 or US$32

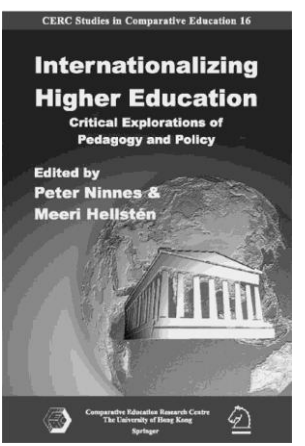


In most societies the school subject of History reflects and reinforces a sense of collective identity. However, in Hong Kong this has emphatically not been the case. Official and popular ambivalence towards 'the nation' in the shape of the People's Republic of China, and the sensitivity of Hong Kong's own political and cultural status, have meant that the question of local identity has until recently been largely sidestepped in school curricula and textbooks. In this

groundbreaking study, Edward Vickers sets out to reexamine some of the myths concerning colonialism and schooling under the British, while showing how in postcolonial Hong Kong these myths have been deployed to legitimise a programme of nationalistic re-education. In a new Afterword, he emphasises that it is Hong Kong's fundamentally un-democratic political context that has thwarted – and continues to thwart – efforts to make history education a vehicle for fostering a liberal, democratic sense of regional and national citizenship.

CERC STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, No.16

Internationalizing Higher Education: Critical Explorations of Pedagogy and Policy
Peter Ninnes and Meeri Hellstén, Editors
Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre,
The University of Hong Kong and Dordrecht: Springer (2005)
ISBN 962-8093-37-1; 231 pp.
HK$200 or US$32



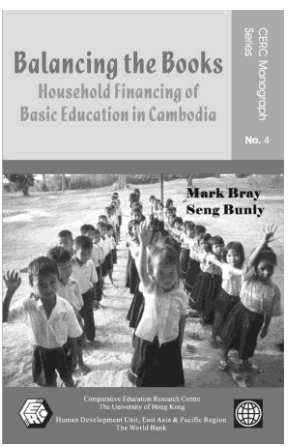
Globalization is a multifaceted phenomenon, and one of its major components is the internationalization of education. The increasing pace and complexity of global knowledge flows, and the accelerating exchange of educational ideas, practices and policies, are important drivers of globalization. Higher education is a key site for these flows and exchanges. This book casts a critical eye on the internationalization of higher education. It peels back taken-for-granted practices and beliefs, explores the gaps and silences in current pedagogy and practices, and addresses the ambiguities, tensions and contradictions in internationalization. In this volume, scholars from a range of disciplines and regions critically examine the commodification of higher education, teaching and support for international students, international

partnerships for aid and trade, and the impacts on academics' work.

CERC MONOGRAPH No.4

Balancing the Books: Household Financing of Basic Education in Cambodia

Mark Bray and Seng Bunly
Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong, in collaboration with Human Development Unit, East Asia and Pacific Region, The World Bank (2005)
ISBN 962-8093-39-8; 113 pp.
HK$100 or US$16



Especially in less-developed countries, governments face great difficulties in financing education systems. Households commonly have to make major contributions of resources in order to bridge the gaps.

Cambodia is among the countries in which government capacity has been particularly constrained, and in which the household costs of schooling have been especially high. This situation has created a major burden for poor families, and has exacerbated social inequalities. The Cambodian authorities in conjunction with donor agencies have devised policies to address the problem. They have had some significant successes, though many challenges remain.

This book presents empirical data on the household costs of primary and lower secondary schooling. It builds on previous research which received considerable attention both nationally and internationally, and shows changes over time. The book has wide conceptual and policy significance, not only within Cambodia but also internationally.

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