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THIS PAPER ON COMPARATIVE ADULT EDUCATION BEGINS BY DISCUSSING COMPARATIVE METHODS IN THE ABSTRACT. IT THEN PRESENTS TWO MODELS, AS PROPOUNDED BY A LAYMAN IN THE FIELD OF ADULT EDUCATION, AND CONCLUDES WITH A FEW SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS AS TO PROCEDURE. CURRICULUM ANALYSIS AND INPUT OUTPUT ANALYSIS ARE THE PROCESSES REPRESENTED IN THE PRINCIPAL MODELS. INCLUDED IS A SELECTED LIST OF TOPIC FOR CROSS CULTURAL AND INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS. THIS PAPER WAS PRESENTED ON APRIL 10, 1968, AT A SEMINAR ORGANIZED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION OF THE ONTARIO INSTITUTE FOR STUDIES IN EDUCATION. (LY)
COMPARATIVE STUDIES AND ADULT EDUCATION

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COMPARATIVE STUDIES AND ADULT EDUCATION

Many of the courses in comparative education (more properly, comparative studies in education) that have proliferated in universities in recent years would be better described as studies in contemporary socio-cultural history or the contemporary history of ideas. A growing realisation of this has been in part responsible for the splintering off from comparative education itself of new courses designated as 'developmental education', which may be defined as the application of educational theories and practice to the less-advanced countries, and which have already proved of great practical worth. Yet another splinter group has been formed by those who profess courses designated as 'international education', which is understood to mean the study of international educational institutions and their work in promoting educational understanding between nations. Again, the practical value of such courses is immediately apparent. The result has been the 'residue' of comparative education, (of which a most recent definition has been that of 'a confrontation of different educational systems in order to delineate the differences and resemblances between their structures') has come in for some hard criticism on the grounds that it has nothing of practical value to offer the educator. One may agree with Lord Acton's dictum that 'our studies ought to be all but purposeless', yet hope from them that something of worth may emerge. One object of this paper, is, in fact, to demonstrate that comparative studies in education, even in the 'residual' sense, if properly conceived, do yield something of use. Why some have despaired of this is because the methodology of cross-cultural and cross-national comparisons is inherently difficult. This paper will therefore begin by discussing comparative methods in the abstract. It will then present two models, as propounded by a layman in the field of adult education, that may be helpful as illustrations of how the comparative method might be used in this field. It will conclude by offering a few specific suggestions as to procedure.

The first comparative educationists - the generation of 'enquirers' - such as Mann and Barnard in North America, Arnold and Sadler in Britain, and Cousin in France, studied the educational systems of other countries with avowedly meliorist aims in view. They sought to use what they had learned on

the Continent to improve the American university, the English secondary school, or the French primary school. As men intimately concerned with the day-to-day administration and organisation of education, their studies of the foreign scene were empirical and practical: they sought to discern elsewhere principles and usages capable of domestic application. By contrast, the generation of comparative educationists that followed them were academics: Kandel, Ulich, Schneider and Hans sought to make theoretical systematizations of educational systems, to discover the Triebskräfte - 'determining forces' - that underlie them. As such they dealt with macro-factors and large abstractions. Their great merit was that they provided outline 'maps' of the field, a general framework within which to operate. But detail was lacking. About 1955, however, the climate of comparative studies began to change, and indeed to revert in part to the older tradition. Comparative education, it was held, might prove a useful instrument for educational reform. Thus there has been recently a revival of interest in smaller empirical studies. The purpose of such studies is not intrinsically normative - the only prescriptive statements in education are made by the politicians! - but they can at least point the way for the policy-makers. It was hoped that comparative education, like other branches of the educational field, might delineate the means by which ends could be achieved and indicate the consequences of following one policy rather than another.

That such empirical studies have proved more difficult to bring to a successful conclusion than had been anticipated can be ascribed to the lack of a methodology. Since it is assumed that it is these empirical studies, 2 The most successful of these studies to date has been that of the I.E.A. group. The first published results appeared in: Torsten Husén (ed.), An International Study of Achievement in Mathematics - A Comparison of Twelve Countries, 2 Vols., John Wiley, New York, 1967. This study used traditional methods of educational research in curriculum evaluation and measurement. A number of hypotheses were set up, and various 'input variables' were established. Very tentative conclusions concerning mathematical achievement in a number of countries were arrived at. It is interesting that the majority of the researchers involved were psychometricians, although some had strong international orientations. Their results have been criticized because they tended to equate in over-simplified fashion national educational systems, comparing what was not in fact comparable. Nevertheless, this study represents the most significant advance in the comparative study of an educational phenomenon in industrialised countries.
of practical application, that are of most interest to the specialist in adult education, some discussion of methods is therefore inevitable. Before considering these in detail, a few general strictures are essential. The first, which is put forward as an axiom, is that the comparativist cannot limit himself to a rigid theoretical framework, but must vary it constantly. Depending on the nature of the problem studied, and the stage that his investigations have reached, he must be eclectic both in theory and method: the large hypothesis originally formulated will constantly have to be whittled down and refined, the modus operandi changed to suit the circumstances.

Yet if no fixed, pre-determined method can be employed, there are guidelines that must be adhered to if a comparison is to be valid. Roselló⁴ has stated them as follows:

(a) The subject of the comparison: what is being compared must be defined with precision.
(b) The extent of the comparison: the geographical and, where appropriate, the historical areas of comparison must be stated with great specificity.
(c) The nature of the comparison: the educational facts being compared must be expressed with exactness, and related to relevant political, sociological and economic data.
(d) The angle of the comparison: the comparison required may be situational ('static') showing as it were a snapshot in time, or indicative of trends ('dynamic'), showing as it were a three-dimensional motion picture.

If these criteria are adhered to the comparison that will emerge will be first descriptive, but ultimately explanatory and policy-influencing.

Second, the total and precise analysis of the factors involved must be accompanied by an attempt to quantify wherever possible. Quantitative studies, as in comparative sociology, have been the most difficult to accomplish. Yet vagueness and subjectivity, as exemplified in the indiscriminate use of words like 'few' and 'many', must be avoided like the plague. Nevertheless, the totality of analysis signifies that all kinds of evidence, including subjective

evidence, must be taken into account. When, speaking of foreign schools, Sir Michael Sadler advanced the question: How far can we learn something of practical worth from the study of foreign educational systems? He answered it by declaring:

'...we must not fix our gaze only upon the stones and mortar of the buildings, or only upon the teachers and pupils: we must also go out into the streets and into the homes of the people and try and find out what is the intangible, imperceptible spiritual strength which, in the case of a successful school system, really sustains the schools and is responsible for their practical effectiveness.'

Thirdly, caution must be exercised in at least two respects. Lord Chesterfield said that the only person who did not suffer by translation was a bishop. Indeed, tradutore tradittore might well be the watchword of the comparative educationist. Not only must he be very careful in translating, but he must have very exact knowledge in order to interpret terminology: German Hochschule may be literally translated as 'high school', but in fact designates a para-university institution; German Hohere Schule means literally 'higher school', but is more akin to a 'high school' in the American sense. Another cautionary note must be struck in regard to statistics (of which it has been said: There are lies, damned lies, and statistics!). In particular, international educational statistics are probably as unreliable as the Bank of England's monthly statement of gold and dollar reserves.

Fourthly, - and probably most important - functional comparisons should not normally be attempted unless the phenomena to be compared are as similar as possible. This, in effect, would restrict such comparisons to countries at roughly the same stage of industrial and economic development. Such 'close' comparisons are desirable because the referent data can be matched as to dimension, cultural background and social significance. Once similarities have been identified, the immediate objective of the comparison is to pinpoint differences, which must then be explained in contextual or structural ways, or otherwise, depending on the circumstances. In such functional comparisons, however, care must be taken to avoid vague generalities as explanations, such as those in terms of so-called 'ethnic differences' or 'national character'.

Lastly, some amplification of the statement that such comparative studies are not normative is required. Comparisons are made so as to indicate
precisely the consequences that flow from the adoption of any set of alternatives. An example may clarify this. It concerns the science syllabus of the top academic secondary level in Sweden and England. Analysis shows that in Sweden, under the new dispensation, two main themes, the nature of energy and atomic theory, are highlighted. By contrast, topics that still figure with some prominence in English programmes - such as head and sound - are only cursorily touched upon. In such a context the mission of the comparative educationist might be to indicate to policymakers in England the modifications that would ensue from a change of syllabuses to the Swedish pattern, in terms of general approach to the subject, number of lesson hours required, methodology, teacher training, etc. With such data at his command, based upon Swedish practice, the policymaker could effect the switch with a maximum of forward planning and a minimum of disruption. Granted that there is already much national cross-fertilization of curriculum data in this way, it is only the expert with detailed knowledge of both systems (and not just the expert in the physical sciences, although of course he is indispensable) who can sustain the comparison and recommend how changes can be implemented. This is perhaps to say no more than that the wholesale implantation of educational phenomena in an alien environment is an operation that must be carried out with great expertise. But the failure of the British to endow their former African possessions with educational systems appropriate to indigenous cultures exemplifies how little care has been devoted in the past to such transplantations.

With such general conditions in mind, we may now pass to the consideration of method. What relationship should method bear to theory? It has been rightly said that methodology is arid without practice. So, likewise, is theory. The fault of the first generation of 'academic' comparativists was that they attempted to theorize too rapidly. They examined whole education systems, and sought to distinguish underlying factors, rather than concentrating on a number of smaller phenomena common to two or three systems in order to make comparisons at the micro level. Yet advances in the natural sciences clearly demonstrate that theorizing is improved when one proceeds from the lesser to the greater generality, embodying in a new theoretical framework the methodological discoveries of one's predecessors. Andrewski, a comparative sociologist, has gone on record as saying:  

4 S. Andrewski, Elements of Comparative Sociology, p. 25.
"...the history of the natural sciences shows that no advances were made by people who tried to apply conceptual frameworks: the great discoverers were interested in how and why things happen, and in order to find out they had recourse to any helpful ideas or techniques which they knew. The conceptual frameworks of the sciences grew by accumulation and ordering of correct solutions of definite problems."

In other words, to seek to 'force' frameworks of reference or to apply conceptual systems which patently do not fit the educational data would be nothing but a 'sterile logomachy'.

This dialectic of educational theory and practice is at the heart of the comparative method. Educational usages must ultimately be grounded on some theory of education, whether this is spelled out precisely or sub-consciously understood. A precedence of practice over theory might broadly be said to characterize the English educational system. Alternatively, educational theories may be formulated in abstracto, and then applied. This absolute formulation is not entirely true of any educational system but certainly the French have a tendency to proceed from first principles rather than empirically. The comparative educationist is interested in the interplay of theory and practice in two or more systems. The crude model which is given below may serve to illustrate the 'lines of force' that may actually or potentially (through the act of comparison) exist or be set up between two educational systems. (A three-dimensional model may of course also be constructed showing the interactions between three or more systems).
The comparativist is interested not only in the actual connexities that exist between systems, but also in the potential ones which he may help to realise. Not shown on the diagram above are of course the 'mediating agencies' between theory and practice. These can be very disparate, from formal institutions such as school boards to informal pressure groups such as public opinion; they may also establish direct 'lines of force' - connexities - between themselves and theory and practice in an exogamous system.

It has been pointed out that the only comparative method intrinsic to comparative education (although even so it leans heavily on other more firmly established comparative disciplines) is that elaborated by Hilker and improved by Bereday. The exposition that follows is an attempt to refine even further. It consists essentially of a four-stage exercise, which begins after initial hypotheses have been established. The first stage consists of the assembling of data; the description of these data must be more than expository: it must also be informative and exhaustive. It is followed by an 'interpretative' stage: this can be defined as the translation of data into terms that are appropriate to one's 'base system' - usually the educational system that one knows best, - and the discarding of data which, on further consideration, appear to be irrelevant to the hypotheses one intends to test. The third stage is the arrangement - the 'collocation' (or, to use Bereday's term, the 'juxtaposition') - of the material for comparison. The arrangement should ideally be classificatory,

5  F. Hilker, Vergleichende Pädagogik, Max Hüber-Verlag, München, 1962.
so as to make easy the perception of regularities or irregularities. Any classification arrived at must have adequate categories and sub-categories. These must also have an internal coherence, a logicality or 'connexity' which is in accordance with the objective of the comparison. The ultimate stage then consists of the simultaneous comparison proper: this is a balanced matching of the facts, their causes and effects in two or more countries, and finally, arriving at a conclusion which may consist of the sustaining of the initial hypotheses or the induction of some principle or 'law.'

The other main method used in comparative education is the 'problem approach'. About this much mystification has been made, but it is not in effect basically different from its use in the sciences, or as a method commonly employed in other branches of educational research. In comparative education it consists of the identification of a number of educational problems in different countries to see what forms they take and how they are (or might be) resolved. How the method is applied is open to some variation. A number of hypotheses may be set up regarding a problem, which may then be tested cross-culturally. Thus one might, for example, hypothesize that an efficient system of adult education postulates resources beyond

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7 Andrews (op. cit.) has this to say about classifications:
'A good simple classification must satisfy the minimum formal requirements of exhaustiveness and exclusiveness - which means that every item which belongs to a category must fall into one of its sub-categories, and that no item should fall into two sub-categories at once, although with classifications which concern reality there are bound to be borderline cases. This means that at each stage the principle of classification must be the same. A compound classification ought to consist of simple classifications which comply with these requirements.' (p. 26)

the capacity of local educational authorities, but which can only be supplied regionally or nationally, and then proceed to examine a number of national cases. Since, however, it is usually simple to find eclectically examples that support a particular hypothesis, this method needs refinement. One procedure would be to select cases which are significant, some of which confirm, and others refute, the original hypothesis. A detailed study of the examples leads, as in a judicial process, to a summing-up and hence to a verdict. Yet another procedural device is to examine as many cases as possible at random, testing out finally one’s hypothesis on the 'hardest cases'. Or one may take a leaf from the book of the social scientist by drawing up a survey questionnaire containing standardised questions which must be answered with great accuracy and attention to detail; again a judicial procedure of examination of evidence, summing up and pronouncing a verdict is employed. Another approach has been termed 'thematological', and unlike the others, must be qualitative rather than quantitative: it consists of taking a number of themes (for example, 'polytechnization' in Soviet adult education) and examining what forms these may take in other cultures. Such a method has affinities with the macro-factor type of investigations used by the early academic comparative educationists.

There is no intrinsic reason why methods used in other disciplines should not be employed, mutatis mutandis, in comparative investigations. Thus Maurice Debesse uses the method that has been designated as 'the history and geography' of comparison. Kazamias9 has developed a form of sociological

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functionalism which, in this writer's opinion, has many resemblances to Eisenstadt's 'sociological correlates'. The variables in an institutional structure common to a number of countries are isolated, and a relationship between them is postulated. A method of covariance is then employed. If variable A moves in direction X, how does variable B move? Whether it moves in direction X or Y, the task is to furnish an explanation and to predict the consequences.

One must, however, end as one began, by stating that, although the methods outlined have been used in the past by comparative educationists, each new study, particularly in the field of adult education, where no comparative studies have as yet taken place, requires its own method. It is in the light of this that the concluding part of this paper, which deals specifically - but from a lay viewpoint - with adult education, is concerned.

The first task is obviously one of definition: one must discover very precisely what significance is attached to the term 'adult education' in individual countries. Here it is essential to know that adult education, for example, is much more advanced in England than it is in Federal Germany or France, and to realise that Erwachsenenbildung in German and éducation des adultes (or éducation permanente) in French do not have the same connotation. In each country adult education has a four-fold content: additional general secondary education, professional or vocational education, general cultural courses, post-school preparation for higher education; but the stress on each of these aspects varies greatly from one to another. (And in some countries such as Italy, it can also mean post-school primary education, as part of a drive to end illiteracy). Doubtless some initial survey of the meanings
to be attached to adult education has already been made. This would require amplification so that there may be designated those problems of adult education that the industrialized countries find most pressing. (See Appendix A). It is suggested that, using an international questionnaire as the instrument, a preliminary classification of such problems (under headings which would doubtless be the usual political, social, economic, psychological and pedagogical ones) be drawn up. A rank order of problems, according to their urgency, might be made, and, according to the degree of concordance, it would then be possible to decide which countries should fall within the purview of an initial comparison. (As will be mentioned later, a start might well be made with the English-speaking countries alone).

Within the dual framework of problems and countries the first need is for the systematic collection of data that are relevant, statistically reliable and comparable. If the machinery for the storage and retrieval of such information regarding adult education does not already exist, it should be a first priority. The second step must be to provide tentative conceptual frameworks within which problems may be analysed and resolved. It must be recognised, as previously stated, that such theoretical constructs are only provisional, and may well have to be modified as the particular study proceeds. What follows is an attempt to illustrate how such models may be drawn: one example is put forward of general applicability, and the other is more suitable for a specific comparison.

The general example of a conceptual framework consists of a cyclical systems analysis of inputs and outputs.\textsuperscript{10} It demonstrates how the flow of

\textsuperscript{10} This model is adapted from one originally propounded by Dr. Cheale, of the University of Alberta, who presented it in a paper given at the Comparative Education Society (Eastern Region) meeting held in Montreal in May 1966.
resources, both human and material, into adult education (or into a specific segment of the field) is converted into a 'know-how' which may ultimately be converted into increased productivity within the economic system and thus into a growth in national per capita income:

**Input-Output Analysis**

The top half of the schema represents the 'investment' aspect of the cycle, and the bottom the return on investment. Such a model is capable of an infinite number of variations, but clearly applicable only to comparisons between advanced economies, such as between the various Canadian provinces or between nations at an approximately similar level of industrial and educational development. Every phase of the cycle would require close statistical investigation. Such a model might prove useful for investigating comparatively some hypothesis such as: "the higher the stage of economic development of a nation the more profitable it is to use full-time vocational training rather than factory-based training, whether formally in apprenticeship or informally 'on the job'." Such a cross-national comparison, with its three-dimensional aspect, would be of great value in determining cost effectiveness of alternative training methods.

If the model above is applicable only to macro-comparisons, the second, concerning curriculum research in adult education, is more simple in application. There is urgent need in all branches of education for comparative curriculum research, and particularly so in adult education, where 'wastage' presents considerable problems. In the Common Market countries, for example, the Treaty of Rome provides that by 1970 there shall be free movement for all professions and occupations within the borders of the Six. This means therefore that an
Italian lawyer trained in Milan will be able to establish himself without further ado in Bonn and practise law in West Germany; likewise the Dutch engineer, trained in Delft, will be able to take up employment supervising the building of dams on the Rhone. Whereas political agreement on the equivalence of professional diplomas has thus been reached already (unlike agreement for the equivalence of academic diplomas), the educational consequences of this have not yet been faced. Unrestricted movement across frontiers in this way must eventually lead to a standardization of professional and occupational training within the countries involved. Or one may take an example even more cogent. European doctors emigrating to Canada may be required to take at least one year's further study here before being allowed to practise. This is wasteful not only to the individual but also to a country which welcomes immigrants because it has need of their competencies. But, so long as no detailed comparison of medical training as between European countries and Canada has been made, this is probably a wise precaution. Yet, rather than proceed by hunches and subjective impressions of those who have had experience of European medical standards, it would surely be advantageous to test (if necessary literally) what differences and similarities exist between preparation for different professions and occupations as between emigrant and host countries. A five-stage model for this might be:

Stage I. The elaboration of initial hypotheses.

Stage II. (a) Analysis of cognitive and affective aims in the training programmes of countries concerned. To each individual goal a 'coefficient of importance' is to be assigned.

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11 This model has been adapted from the one used in the Oxford/Council of Europe Study for the Evaluation of the Academic Secondary Curriculum. This project is concerned with acceptability of secondary leaving diplomas for university entrance. Curriculum analysis has been made of 'common core' and 'specific' elements in the programmes of member countries of the Council of Europe. This might eventually form the basis for constructing a 'Council of Europe Baccalaureat Examination,' which would entitle holders of its diplomas to enter universities of countries that had agreed to accept it. In connection with the Study, a series entitled European Curriculum Studies is to appear published by the Council for Cultural Cooperation on behalf of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, in English and French. No. 1 in the series is by W.D. Halls and Doreen Humphreys, Mathematics in the Academic Secondary School, and is already in the press. Other volumes on Latin and Physics are in the process of completion. The study is at present actively concerned with the programmes in modern languages, chemistry and biology.
(b) Analysis of contentual knowledge required. To each individual topic a 'coefficient of importance' is to be assigned.
(c) Identification of 'common core' aims and topics, and of aims and topics specific to the countries concerned.
(d) Identification of dependent (or 'input') variables, e.g., initial level of general education, length of training, etc.

Stage III
(a) Drawing of sample populations from experimental group (immigrants) and control group (Canadians).
(b) Construction of test items to deal with both the 'common core' and 'specific' aspects.

Stage IV
Administration of tests and evaluation of results, using regression analysis for 'input' variables.

Stage V
Follow-up: Political action? Supplementary courses? Professional action?

The aim would be to draw up a profile of achievement for each immigrant-producing country. Such a 'profile' would then be submitted to the competent authorities who could judge whether the immigrant could practise his profession or occupation immediately, or whether additional training would be required. Whilst it is recognized that there can be no absolute equivalence of diplomas and qualifications between nations of widely differing cultural traditions, there can be mutual recognition on a basis of 'acceptability'.

There is, in fact, no area of educational theory and practice which does not lend itself to comparative studies - they can be carried out 'across the board'. It would follow therefore that research in comparative education must largely be a cooperative enterprise, at least as concerns empirical studies dealing with detailed educational phenomena. For adult education a research team might include: (a) a specialist in the area of adult education under review, who will probably have to familiarize himself to some extent with the corresponding area of adult education in the foreign countries selected for comparison, (b) a specialist in comparative education, who is not a general expert on his indigenous educational system (the 'base system'), but also on the educational systems of the foreign countries as a whole, and who has some general knowledge of the cultural, historical, political, social and economic forces that shape those systems, (c) social scientists, where required.

A fruitful field for beginning such comparative studies in adult education might be the English-speaking countries. There is (let us be bold!) no language barrier, and since one quarter of Canada's yearly influx of immigrants are still
of English-speaking origin, it is obviously a geographical area where comparisons may be of great practical utility. The natural extension to this would be to draw in the French-speaking countries. (It must not be forgotten that a command of French and English throws open to us for study the educational system of one third of the population of the globe).

This paper has been able to do no more than open up the field. It is hoped, however, that it may stimulate others to develop other ideas. At a time when adult education, whether in the form of remedying formal educational deficiencies, or as part of the initial or continuing process of occupational training, - or even as education for leisure - is the last and logically the next, great field of educational expansion, it is obvious that the nations have much to learn from each other. And that surely, in the strictly utilitarian sense, is what comparative education is about.

Toronto,
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APPENDIX A.

A SELECTED LIST OF TOPICS IN ADULT EDUCATION FOR CROSS-CULTURAL AND CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISONS.

The order is a random one. The list comprises topics that the present writer, in the course of his research in comparative education, has noted as of interest: it lays no claim to completeness.

Financial and budgetary aspects
Administration, e.g. centralization v. decentralization.
Private educational institutions.
Planning of adult education.
Relationship between general and specialized (vocational or professional) education.

Relationship between business and industry and adult education.
Teacher training for vocational and professional education.
Syllabuses and programmes
Apprenticeship
'Drop-out'.
Methodology of the teaching of adults.
Examination procedures.
Modes of entry to professional and other occupations.
Professional and vocational guidance.
Textbooks in adult education.
Alternative routes to higher education (cf. 'Deuxième voie de formation', 'Zweiter Bildungsweg')

Professional and occupational equivalences.