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For 200 Years the Track Laying Vehicle: The Continuing Relevance of Marc-Antoine Jullien for Comparative and International Education

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ABSTRACT

This year marks the 200th anniversary of the publication of Jullien's *Plan,* in which he coined the word Comparative Education, and on strength of which he is hailed as the "father of Comparative Education". After two centuries a stock-taking of developments of the field against the blueprint set by Jullien is apt, as is a re-evaluation of the field and drawing from the vision of Jullien. For at least a century after Jullien, the field sadly did not heed to Jullien's vision, for which the world eventually paid a dear price. Currently an impressive global education expansion project, with lofty goals and ideals are taking shape, in the new world of the twenty-first century the opportunity exists for Comparative Education, now metamorphosising into Comparative and International Education, to rise to the ocassion, to, in line with the vision of Jullien, guide this project to create a more humane world.

KEYWORDS

Comparative Education; Incheon Declaration; International Education; Jullien.

Introduction

It is this year, 2016, exactly 200 years ago that Marc-Antoine Jullien, widely hailed as the "father of Comparative Education" published his *Plan* in which he coined the term "Comparative Education" and in which he set out his vision for this scholarly field, for education and

for a more congenial world. After two centuries a stock-taking of developments of the field against the blueprint set by Jullien is apt, as is a re-evaluation of the field and drawing from the vision of Jullien. This article first focuses on the world of Jullien, and on his view of the role of education and of the scholarly field of Comparative Education in changing that world. Subsequently developments the past two hundred years in the world, in education and in Comparative Education will be surveyed. In the final section the new world and society taking shape will be sketched, and the role of education and of Comparative Education, and the value and relevance of the ideals of Jullien in providing a beacon for steering the development of the field of Comparative Education will be assessed.

Marc-Antoine Jullien (1775-1848)

The World of Jullien

The world in which Jullien lived was — although with the advantage of hindsight two hundred years later moments and trends of progress of humanity could be identified — one of turmoil, violence, atrocities and bloodshed. Jullien's Europe was one just emerging from the Seven Years War, the socio-political misery in the run-up to the French Revolution, the French Revolution and its discontents, the Napoleonic Wars, the 1815 restoration (for any progressive or Enlightened individual of the day or ever since a major reversal) and eventually, another round of socio-political turmoil and revolution (1830 and 1848, the year of Jullien's death). During the Reign of Terror (1793-1794), for example, it is estimated that in Paris alone some 5 000 people were executed by the guillotine (Hayes *et al.*, 1967: 541).

While Jullien's world (in his writings and mental frame of reference) remained largely limited to Europe, the situation in the rest of the world was not better. North America has just emerged from the American War of Independence, while the nations of South America were in the convulsions of wars of independence wrestling itself loose from colonial rule and from slavery. Slavery was still accepted and practised, being a very salient part of social and economic life in the Western Hemisphere and in Africa. The colonisation of Asia and Oceania (taking on at places brutal forms) continued apace, and began

slowly in Sub-Saharan Africa. Here the example of the Opium Wars in China (the first Opium War took place 1839-1842) could be cited. In rare instances where colonial encroachment could be resisted, such as Japan — an equally undesirable or inhuman dispensation such as the Edu regime (1603-1868) took hold.

Education in Jullien's day

Education during the age of Jullien, was still, particularly at secondary and higher education levels, very much elite education, the privilege of a very tiny section of the population, namely the sons of the aristocracy and those destined to become part of the upper clergy. While the Reformation leaders already two centuries before Jullien set the ideal of universal elementary education, two reservations should immediately be added. Firstly the exclusive purpose of this education was to make the populace literate, so that they could read and interpret the Bible, each person for him/herself. Secondly, while this ideal had resulted in the creation of state supplied systems of public elementary education, the 1648 Gotha Plan in the German state of Gotha being the archtypical example, attendance was neither compulsory nor universal. In Russia (admittedly educationally a backwater in early nineteenth century Europe, but a major player in the political and military play of forces), the literacy rates among male peasants (the majority section of the population) convicted between 1837 and 1845, was but 8.4 percent (Mironov, 1991: 235). National, state provided systems of primary education slowly came into being with the consolidation of nation-states in most of the strongest states of Western Europe, though, at least if Cohen's (1970) interpretation could be accepted, with the narrow and objectionable goal to bludgeon the populace into a blind loyalty to the nation state.

Jullien's Plan

Jullien suggested education as a way out of the uncongenial political and social environment of his day, to a better world. In 1816/1817 Jullien published his book *Esquisse et vues preliminaires d'un ouvrage sur l'éducation comparée* (Plan and preliminary views for a work on Comparative Education). Jullien's book consisted of two parts (*cf.* Fraser, 1964). The first part proposed and motivated the establishment of an international commission on education to collect data on the

education of many countries, by means of a questionnaire. Such a committee would also analyse and classify and publish these data, and on the basis thereof make recommendations as to how to improve education. The second part of Jullien's book presents an extensive example of such a questionnaire. Jullien believed that ignorance led to the conflict and turmoil of his age and he saw a solution in education. Jullien has been credited as the "Father of Comparative Education", as he was the first to use the term "Comparative Education". The year 1817 is commonly taken as Year 1 of the science of Comparative Education (earlier traces of Comparative Education, such as travellers writing on education practices in foreign societies, or government officials studying foreign education systems with the intention to borrow best practices to improve their own education systems, were pre-scientific phases in the development of the field, *cf.* Noah & Eckstein, 1969: 8-40). Moreover, Jullien's vision of the field was one of a field of scholarship serving a noble, humane, altruistic, universally ameliorative motive: Comparative Education to serve the interest of humanity, to improve the fate of humanity and to make better the quality of life of all humans.

Two centuries since Jullien

The World

Unfortunately, in spite of technological, economic and scientific advances, the world did not become more peaceful or (at least unqualifiedly) humane in the two centuries after Jullien. Historians calculate that since 3600 BC, there have been only 292 years of peace (Anon., 2006: 18). Some 14 531 wars have been waged in which 3.5 billion people have been killed (*Ibid.*). The nineteenth and twentieth century saw more than a small share of this. In fact the technological progress made possible the construction of weaponry and the consolidation of power in the hands of tyrants at the helm of nation-states, which could unleash violence and atrocities on a scale never witnessed before. The historian Stéphane Courtois (1997) has calculated that in Soviet Russia, Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin were responsible for the deaths of 85 million people, while historian Rudolph J. Rummel (1994) has estimated that 38 million people died because of the contrived famine in China during the rule of Mao

Zedong, when even cannibalism occurred. Rummel (as cited by Kobayashi, 2007: 261-2) has researched death by governments in the twentieth century, and came to the astonishing global total of 168 198 000 victims.

In May 1977 the government of Angola mercilessly surpressed a failed *coup d'etat*, killing at least 25 000 people in the process (Pawson, 2014).

Education

In contrast to the political and social history of the two centuries after Jullien, in education there were spectacular developments during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The nineteenth century saw the institution of national systems of public primary education in Western Europe and North America. In the twentieth century this was followed up by the universalisation of secondary education in the Global North, while the creation of national systems of public primary education took place in the Global South, to be followed soon after, towards the end of the twentieth century, by the massification of secondary education in these parts of the world too. An analysis of the causes of this creation of national systems of public education, which became conspicuous as from the nineteenth century, is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, one dominant interpretation (*cf.* Fägerlind & Saha, 1984: 1-3) is that of anthropologist Yehudi Cohen (1970), who views the creation of these systems in the context of the rise of and consolidation of the power of nation-states in the modern world, and these states (or their governments) using education as a means of nurturing a loyalty (by the citizenry) towards and an identification with the nation-state, a way of training a civil service, and a way to legitimise or rationalise the existence of the nation-state and its government (*cf.* Idenburg, 1975); i.e. decidedly narrow national goals, far from the vision of Jullien.

It was, however, in the decades after the Second World War that a real global education expansion project gained momentum. The extent of this global education expansion drive is clear from the growth in enrolments and gross enrolment ratios, presented in respectively tables 1 and 2.

Table 1 Growth in Enrolments Worldwide (x 000), 1950-2010

Level Year	Primary education	Secondary education	Higher education
1950	177 145	38 040	6 317
1960	243 487	68 926	11 174
1970	411 304	169 227	28 084
1980	541 556	264 379	51 037
1990	596 853	315 008	88 613
2000	654 722	450 397	99 511
2010	695 204	543 488	180 207

(Sources of data: UNESCO, 1971, 1977, 1999, 2016).

Table 2 Growth in Gross Education Enrolment Ratios, 1950-2010 (Percentages)

Education level Year	Primary education	Secondary education	Higher education
1950	59	13	5
1960	62	40	8
1970	89	36	9
1980	96	46	12
1990	99	52	14
2000	99	60	19
2010	107*	70	30

(Sources of data: UNESCO, 1971, 1977 1999, 2016) (1950 figures imputed from best available data on demographics and enrolments)

*Over 100 percent due to the large number of over-aged students in primary schools.

At the same time it cannot be denied that there was also a causal vector of more altruistic and noble intentions behind this expansion of education. This is closely connected to the rising Creed of Human Rights, of the post-Second World War era. Education (at least basic

education) is widely considered as one of these inalienable, basic Human Rights, as is formulated in for example article 26 of the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 2016) — the prototype of Human Right Manifestos. The Creation of UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation) and its commendable work ever since has been inspired by a vision of the supply of education serving as instrument to ensure global peace. UNESCO started an initiative to eradicate illiteracy in the world by the year 2000. The Jomtien Declaration and the Dakar Framework and the Millennium Developmental Goals all testify of a global movement to expand education for the sake of the improvement of the condition of humanity.

Comparative Education

Jullien, sadly, had no influence in his day. In fact, his *Plan* disappeared in obscurity till 1935 when Francois Kemény, a student from Budapest in Paris, bought a stack of books while he was wandering along the banks of the river Seine. In this stack he found the *Plan* of Jullien. Kemény made the book available to the *Bureau International d'Education* (IBE) in Geneva and dr Pedro Rosello of the *Bureau* then re-published parts of the book (Stone, 1983: 9). Thus the book came to the attention of the Comparative Education scholarly community.

The first course in Comparative Education was taught from 1900 by James Russell, at Columbia University. In the first half of the Twentieth Century the teaching of Comparative Education got underway at several American and Canadian Universities, as well as universities in Western Europe, Japan and China (*cf.* Wolhuter *et al.*, eds, 2013). This teaching, as well as scholarship in the field, took place oblivious of the views and ideals of Jullien. In fact, the teaching and research were informed by the "factors and forces" paradigm of which the groundwork was laid by Michael Sadler in his 1900 Guilford Lecture (*cf.* Noah and Eckstein, 1969), and in as far as a political motive was present, the practising of Comparative Education tied in with the nationalistic project of the consolidation of nation states at the time. The 'factors and forces" stage, which attained its zenith in the inter-war decades (1919-1939) was succeeded by a social science phase

(*cf.* Noah and Eckstein) and two phases of fixation of paradigms (*cf.* Paulston, 1997), none of these were inspired by the ideas of Jullien.

Yet in the second half of the twentieth century, a line of development in the field driven by the vision of Jullien can be detected. International cooperation in the building up of a scholarly field of Comparative Education has commenced. This cooperation takes on various forms. These include International Organisations (such as UNESCO), International Institutes of Education Research (such as Institute of Education, University of London, or the Ontario Institute of Studies in Education, OISE, University of Toronto), professional Comparative Education societies, conferences and journals, and studies international in scope (such as those of the International Association of Education Achievement, IEA). However encouraging, the scholarly field still stands somewhat aloof and disconnected from initiatives such as the Education for All Movement, the (education components of) or the Millennium Development Goals.

Twenty-first century world

The World

A forceful world-scale process of democratisation commenced in the 1990s, sweeping conspicuously through the countries of the erstwhile East Bloc, followed by the countries of the Southern Continents. Fourty of the 49 African states now regularly have multiparty elections, compared to only 3 in the 1970s (Mills & Herbst, 2012). Concomitant to this process of democratisation, the culture of Human Rights, and particularly the endorsement of Human Rights in international conventions and national constitutions and acts, has become more firmly entrenched. Heartening as these developments are, the latest Annual Report of Human Rights Watch still makes it clear how many threats there are to universal Human Rights (Human Right Watch, 2016).

Similarly the world of today of one of growing affluence. Whereas from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth the per capita Gross National Product in Western Europe increased at a rate of approximately 15 percent per year (in 1990US$

from 774 in 1500 to 894 in 1600 to 1 024 in 1700 to 1 232 in 1820), it increased almost threefold in the nineteenth century to reach 3 473 in 1913, to be followed by a 400 percent surge in the twentieth century to reach 17 921 in 1998 (Maddison, 2001: 264). This momentum was even accelerated, in 2013 the per capita Gross National Product in the European Area came to US$39 350 (World Bank, 2015: 26). In the twenty year period 2005 till 2015, the global annual global economic output has more than doubled from US$29.6 trillion to US$76.1 trillion (*Ibid.*). Yet despite the growing affluence, wide spread poverty remains, albeit it is diminishing. Eight hundred and thirty six million people in the world survive on less than US$1.25 per day (down from 1.923 billion in 1990) (World Bank, 2015).

It seems also that is it is, mercifully, a more peaceful world. The number of people in the world dying deaths from violence is declining each year (*cf.* Harari, 2014: 366-367). In the year 2000, wars caused the deaths of 310 000 in the world, while violent crime killed another 520 000, i.e. a total of 830 000 victims of human violence (World Health Organization, 2002). Out of the 57 million deaths of 2002, 172 000 died in war and 569 000 died of violent crime, i.e. 741 000 victims of human violence (*Ibid.*). Military casualties per million population in England, France, Russia and Austria-Hungary rose from 2 303 in the twelfth century, to 3 802 in the thirteenth century, 6 669 in the fourteenth century, to 8 143 in the fifteenth century, to 12 734 in the sixteenth century, to 45 403 and to 52 943 in the 1901-1925 period. Compared to these, the global figures above translate to 44 per million in 2000 and 24 per million in 2002 (Sorokin, 1943).

Education

Parallel to the world trend trends regarding politics, affluence and peace, the world education expansion project, which took off in all force after the middle of the twentieth century, is surging ahead, as can be seen from the figures in tables 1 and 2. At least junior secondary education has now come to be added to primary education, to be seen as the minimum education all should receive (idea of nine years basic education, central in Jomtien Declaration). Many countries of the Global North have reached the stage of Universal Higher Education (defined as having Gross Higher Education Enrolment

Ratios of more than 50 percent), while many countries of the Global South have broken through the upper limit of Elite Higher Education (i.e. higher education systems with Gross Higher Education Enrolment Ratios of 15 percent and less) to reach the stage of Mass Higher Education (Gross Higher Education Enrolment Ratio of 15 percent plus to 50 percent).

However encouraging, large numbers of people still fall outside the school net of the world. The Global Adult Literacy Rate has slowly inched upwards from 81.91 percent in 2000 at the beginning of the twenty-first century, to 86.30 percent in 2015 (UNESCO, 2016). However, 739 099 009 (2015 figure) adults in the world are still illiterate (albeit marginally down from 788 256 205 in 2000) (UNESCO, 2016). There are still 59.3 million children of primary school age in the world who are outside schools (2013 figure), although down from 76.0 million in 2004 (source of data: UNESCO, 2016).

Further than the quantitative dimension of expanding education and literacy to all, the qualitative and equality dimensions are in need of attention. All four components of quality — input quality, process quality, output quality and product quality (*cf.* Bergmann, 1999; Wolhuter, 2014) are in varying degrees posing serious challenges to the global education project all over the world; not only in deficiencies, but also in uneven patterns; which brings to the fore the next set of challenges, namely equality. Gross inequalities remain at all levels identified by Farrell (1982) — access to education, survival in the education system, certification and output; along a number of dimensions (*cf.* Wolhuter, 1993): gender, socio-economic descent, racial/ethnic status, geography and age.

However lofty and inspiring and however heartening much progress, when 2015 came not one of the Eight Millennium Development Goals set by the global community for date — neither the one directly addressing education: universal primary education, nor the other seven, each of which hinges heavy on education : eradicating extreme poverty and hunger; gender equality and empowering women; reducing child mortality; improving maternal health; combating aids, malaria and other diseases; ensuring

environmental sustainability; and developing a global partnership for development; were met (*cf.* United Nations, 2015). In 2015 the international community has formulated the Incheon Declaration, spelling out a vision for the development of education the next fifteen years to 2030 (UNESCO, 2015). This vision is summarised in the title of the Declaration, namely the development of inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning for all. This vision is once again inspired by altruistic motives as to the benefits of education in terms of creating a peaceful, congenial world:

> It is inspired by a humanistic vision of education and development based on human rights and dignity; social justice; inclusion; protection; cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity; and shared responsibility and accountability. We reaffirm that education is a public good, a fundamental human right and a basis for guaranteeing the realization of other rights. It is essential for peace, tolerance, human fulfilment and sustainable development. We recognize education as key to achieving full employment and poverty eradication
> (UNESCO, 2015: 6, 7)

The Declaration reaffirms the drive of Education for All, as set out in 1990 in Jomtien and 2000 in Dakar as well as the Millennium Development Goals (UNESCO, 2015: 5). The Declaration puts as goal twelve years of free public education for all, as well as one year pre-primary education (*Ibid.*, 2015: 7). Equitable, quality education should be available to all, and Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship Education is highlighted (UNESCO, 2015: 7-8).

Comparative and International Education

While by the end of the twentieth century the field of Comparative Education has, as shown above, built up an impressive network in international network in structures such as professional societies and journals, and research centres and international research projects, and while the field has a presence at universities in terms of professional comparativists and a place in university programmes (albeit by no means universal and in many places this presence is precarious and its future by no means secured), a number of features of the field prevent it from making its maximum potential contribution to the global education expansion effort. The first is the tendency of practitioners of the field the past thirty years to become fixated on paradigms; so much so that this proliferation of paradigms has become the signature feature of the field since the late 1980s (*cf.* Paulston, 1997). In the time spirit of postmodernism, this accommodative and even appreciative attitude to paradigms, has resulted in the field losing its moral compass (Welch, 2013: 40). Secondly the fixation on paradigms distract attention from the actual subject study of the field, namely education in the world. It may be one reason why comparativists, individually as well as collectively, have been absent or at least not very visibly-prominent, at fora such as Jomtien (1990), Dakar (2000), and Incheon (2015), where the Global Education Agenda has been drafted. A further feature of the field which prevents it from playing its part in global education development, is that scholars have not placed the societal outcomes of education (e.g. how education does and can promote peace) on the research agenda in the field (*cf.* Wolhuter, 2008: 340).

One positive development in the field is the movement that the field should metamorphosed from Comparative Education to Comparative and International Education. While the term International Education has a long history, with many meanings attached to it (*cf.* Wilson, 1994), it is used here as defined by International Education" is here used as explained by Phillips & Schweisfurth (2014: 60), namely that International Education refers to scholarship studying education through a lens bringing an international perspective. Comparative studies (i.e. comparisons between two or more education systems or institutions, or even single unit studies), will then constitute a scaffold

from which a scholarly edifice of International Education be built. Such a development bodes well for the future development of the field, to a state where it can make a positive contribution to the investigation, critique and guidance of the global education expansion and improvement project.

Conclusion: The vision of Jullien for taking the field of Comparative and International Education into the Twenty-First Century

While Jullien coined the term "Comparative Education", and while he laid the basis for a science of Comparative Education, his lofty vision for the field, enabling a more congenial, humane world to take shape, was side-tracked and for long the field was practised in a paradigm — though not entirely devoid of merits — standing in the service of narrowly national interests more than serving humanity. In a twenty-first century globalised world of economic changes, rising affluence, the rise of knowledge economies, democratisation and individualisation, the rise of the Creed of Human Rights, wide-ranging social changes and ecological challenges, a global education expansion project is taking form, as a response to these challenges. It is in this context that the field of Comparative and International Education, shooting like a supernova out of Comparative Education, is currently appearing, and with the vision of Jullien, can be a field of scholarship informing an international education project which will rise to the occassion, to guide the rolling out of quality, lifelong education for everyone, making possible the realisation of the capabilities of every one of the seven billion people on the globe, and the use of those capabilities both as acts of freedom, creating opportunities such as those envisaged by Amartya Sen (1999) and Martha Nussbaum ( ), and at the same time guiding the educated to use to utilise those capablilities to the benefit of the world and humankind.

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