



Compare in Contrast: A 50 Year Retrospective Examination of Compare

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Abstract

The 50-year anniversary of Compare is a particular moment to pause and reflect on the trends and status of the journal itself and where it is situated in the field of comparative and international education. This article presents a multifaceted examination of editorials and articles published by Compare in order to consider how the contents have reflected editorial leadership as well as trends and changes in comparative education and international education development. Comparative and international education (CIE) as a field, has long been the subject of significant scholarly debate, with Compare bearing witness to these ongoing discussions. This report presents the results of a qualitative time-series analysis of the articles and editorials published in Compare over the past five decades. These results highlight the trends, patterns, and milestone events in 50 years of published content. Historically, articles published in Compare have been dominated by authors affiliated with institutions from the Global North, however there has been an increasing focus in the articles themselves on countries from the Global South. There has been some growth in the percentage of authors affiliated with institutions in the Global South. Although the majority of articles have been single country studies, there are numerous other ways for articles to be comparative, an idea the editorial staff has addressed for years. Qualitative articles have occupied the majority of articles throughout Compare's history. In addition to these findings, this article presents a more nuanced view of the history of Compare's article publications and its situation in the broader field of comparative and international education.

Introduction

The field of comparative and international education (CIE) has been the subject of much debate since its inception--so much so that even the details regarding the field's beginning are debated among scholars (Kandel, 1936; Passow, 1982). While CIE has evolved alongside trends in research and education, one thing has remained constant: ongoing debates about what comprises "comparative and international education" (Bereday, 1967; Elfert & Monaghan, 2019). These debates have occurred in a variety of venues and across different platforms, including international conferences and scholarly publications, but, as one of the longest-running and most recognised journals focusing on CIE, many have directly and indirectly played out in the pages of *Compare*.

Compare, as a newsletter, was launched in 1968¹ by the British Section of the Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE) (Bray, 2010). The British Section changed its name to the British Comparative Education Society (BCES) in 1979, and added International in 1983, becoming the British Comparative and International Education Society (BCIES) (Bray, 2010). In 1997, BCIES consolidated with the British Association of Teachers and Researchers in Overseas Education, and subsequently changed its name to the British Association for International and Comparative Education (BAICE) (Bray, 2010).

As a journal, *Compare* is situated between UK-based journals *Comparative Education* and *International Journal of Educational Development* and has developed a distinctive identity by bridging the field of comparative education and education for international development (Evans & Robinson-Pant, 2010). The development of the journal has been guided by its editors and their aspirations, catering to shifting audiences ranging from teachers of comparative education in Europe to specialists and to the international community of scholars worldwide (Boucher, 1977; Evans & Robinson-Pant, 2010). Since the 1970s,¹ the journal, which started as a biannual newsletter, has grown to eight issues each year, and reflects not only world-wide changes, but also the development of the CIE field (Higginson, 1999).

This study examines articles published throughout *Compare*'s 50-year history to highlight historical trends and future prospects for both the journal itself and for the field of comparative and international education. This study explores the extent to which *Compare* is situated at the intersection of comparative, international, and development studies of education (Evans & Robinson-Pant, 2010). We begin by examining historical understandings of the field to define the growth and development of comparative and international education. This examination builds on understandings put forth by *Compare*'s editors as well as articles from *Compare* and other sources. We then turn our attention to an empirical examination of articles found within the journal's pages to highlight similarities and differences between conceptualisations and understandings of CIE. We conclude with an evidence-based reflection on the intersection between the historical development and impact of CIE at large and content published in *Compare*.

Evolution of Comparative and International Education

Although some comparativists have argued that a lack of a standard, universally agreed-upon definition limits the development of CIE (Halls, 1990), others acknowledge the benefits of its amorphous nature (Wolhuter, 2008) and recognise that research can be merged with or supported by different academic backgrounds (Bray, 2015). For example, Phillips and Schweisfurth (2014)

¹ The journal was formally established in 1973 (Higginson, 1999). However, the previous newsletters starting from 1968 were combined into volumes one and two, thereby setting the launch of the journal as 1970 (Bray, 2010).

assert that educational comparativists should have a strong base in a parent discipline, and that one strength of CIE is that scholars represent great diversity among a variety of theories and methods, as well as a variety of educational experiences from around the world. This diversity allows CIE scholars and practitioners alike the ability to construct their own unique definitions and apply their own specialisations to comparisons of education.

Perhaps as a result of this amorphous nature of the field, scholars continue to challenge the existing understanding and continue to propose new directions for the field. Some have advocated for the reconceptualisation of the field in order to more effectively contribute to improvements in education policy development worldwide. Calls such as this are frequently accompanied by related ones for more attention to theoretical studies focusing on education and the social sciences (Crossley, 1999; Manzon, 2018) or for new definitions of “comparative” and “international” in relation to education (Jacob et al., 2019; Assié-Lumumba, 2017), including the significance of whether comparative modifies international or whether international modifies comparative (Epstein, 2016).

Examinations of the field of CIE. The development and evolution of comparative and international education has been documented and debated for more than a century (Passow, 1982, Wiseman & Matherly, 2016); however, measurable observations and systematic data collection on the field have been regularly documented since the 1950s with the establishment of professional societies and journals (Wilson, 2006; Wiseman & Matherly, 2009; Wiseman, et al., 2015). In addition, recorded debates about the field’s status, position, and understanding within the social sciences have occurred at conferences and on the pages of scholarly journals for more than seventy years (Bereday, 1967; Epstein, 1994; Manzon, 2011; Olivera, 1988; Ragin, 1989). Despite ongoing attempts to arrive at a standard definition of the field or systematic approach to research methodologies, this goal remains elusive (Wiseman & Anderson, 2013; Epstein, 2016; Bray, Adamson, Mason, 2014).

Stages of CIE. Throughout its history, scholarship on CIE has highlighted several important stages of development of the field itself, which has encouraged self-reflection to critically examine development as a field. Several key constructs have been repeatedly examined, including CIE for self-improvement, rationalisation, postmodernism, and contextualisation, and uses of comparison in education. Just as it is impossible to definitively distinguish between the comparative and international aspects of CIE, these key constructs also overlap, as the next sections will reveal.

CIE for Self-Improvement. The first stage of comparative education, or the period of ‘travellers’ tales’, (Noah & Eckstein, 1969, p. 5) can be characterised as CIE for self-improvement (Phillips, 2005). During this time, education professionals and academics would visit educational institutions outside of their own with the goals of learning about ways to improve their own systems of education (Phillips, 2005). This stage resulted in observations of formal education alongside some initial investigation of social patterns and communities--the context--that produced “foreign” educational systems (Kubow & Fossum, 2007). Data collection and knowledge dissemination was pioneered by early comparativist Marc Antoine Julienne, whose work was guided not only by the motivation to collect data, but also to share knowledge of educational innovation. This period was described by Bereday (1967) and Noah & Eckstein (1966) as the “borrowing phase” because comparison was for direct transplantation from one system to another more than for nuanced and situated understanding (Marshall, 2014, p. 7). In other words, comparativists during this period focused on analysing forces shaping foreign systems in order to improve their own systems (Kubow & Fossum, 2007).

A hallmark of the CIE for self-improvement phase is that comparative examinations were to provide information about other education systems in order to both deconstruct those systems as well as to build models or templates for new ones (Carey, 1966). Conceptually, comparativists, such as Kandel, understood the role of comparative education as a means to appreciate and understand other countries as well as one's own (Dede & Baskan, 2011). Nicholas Hans, who developed a framework for comparative analysis, saw comparative education as a means to solve national problems (Tretheway, 1976)

Rationalisation of CIE. Next came a focus on rationalisation, followed by a contrasting movement towards contextualisation. The rationalisation of CIE was an attempt to “scientise” the field (Wiseman et al., 2016) and was marked by a schism primarily focused on how research should be conducted (Marshall, 2014). During this phase, comparativists, including Noah and Eckstein (1966), supported the use of quantitative methods to align with comparative education as a tool for education planning (Marshall, 2014). There was a distinct attempt to incorporate comparative education with scientific rigour leading to causal estimates of the effect of education on society (Crossley & Watson, 2003; Marshall, 2014). During this phase, Bray and Thomas (1995) proposed focusing on intra-national comparisons for more holistic and multifaceted analyses, rather than cross-national comparisons of educational phenomena.

Postmodernism in CIE. In his 1991 presidential address for the Comparative and International Education Society, Val D. Rust argued that it was necessary to challenge existing frameworks, and for postmodernism to become a “central concept in our comparative education discourse” (p. 610). This argument for a postmodernist approach was an acknowledgement of the need to recognise the ‘Others,’ while also more clearly defining, and even challenging the metanarratives which have contributed to the development of the field (Rust, 1991). This perspective, which focused on recognising different views and perspectives, was largely responsible for the expansion of the use of multiple paradigms including dependency theories, critical ethnographies, and human capital theory (Wolhuter, 2017).

Contextualisation of CIE. Although quantitative methods have been used throughout CIE’s history (Aguilar, 2017), scholars argue that researchers and professionals in CIE should increasingly shift the focus to contextualisation throughout the entirety of the project (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2013). Kandel and Hans greatly influenced the development of comparative education, specifically, in how they identified political, social, economic, and cultural factors, which they and others claimed led to educational structures, pedagogical activities, student outcomes, and eventually to individual and national effects (Epstein, 1994; Kazamias, 2009). This allowed them to show that “national systems of education were the outcome of particular and ‘unique’ constellations of social, political, economic and cultural forces, factors and tradition,” (Kazamias, 2009, p. 40).

Wolhuter (2015) argues that one of the primary purposes of the academic study of comparative education is to develop an understanding of the world of education. This understanding of education systems and communities can only be achieved through an understanding of the contextual forces which have influenced them (Wolhuter, 2015, 2017). Units of analysis and comparison in CIE can be disaggregated into political, economic, social and cultural contexts (Sobe, et al., 2013). The need for a deeper contextualisation is extensive in studies with both qualitative and quantitative approaches requiring substantial contextual awareness for the comparisons to be legitimate. Contextualisation gives space for CIE researchers to conduct single-country studies while maintaining comparative and international lenses (Bekele, 2017; Crossley, 2009). The evolution of key constructs throughout CIE’s history have shaped the current theoretical and methodological perspectives in the field.

Current Trends and Understandings of Comparison

Given the history of and debates about the field of comparative and international education, the definition of comparison for understanding and systemic analysis at the individual, local, regional, national, and international levels remains contested. Several key points of debate persist. These factors include questions about the Western bias of CIE research and practice (Yang, 2019), which are fundamentally questions of contextual diversity. They include questions about whether CIE requires multi-national comparison to be “international” or whether single country case studies are sufficient for comparison to exist. Additional key factors include questions about the validity of comparing dissimilar units. These key factors also include questions of contextual nesting, where individuals are nested in schools, which are nested in broader communities, which are nested in educational systems, and so forth. Questions persist about the positionality of comparative investigators and whether their cultural, racial, ethnic, and linguistic origins matter as much as their institutional affiliation when seeking contextual diversity. The usefulness of comparative frameworks and the primacy of theory in developing and implementing those frameworks in both scholarship and practice is continuously challenged.

Single vs. Multi-Unit Comparisons. Discussions about what constitutes comparison have been central to debates about the field. Although comparison is often cited as a natural and inherent component of social science research (Olivera, 1988; Ragin, 1989), what counts as comparison is debated, not only in the field of CIE, but across other comparative social sciences as well (Bloemraad, 2013; Rust et al., 2009; Skocpol & Somers, 1980). Comparison has been defined by boundary crossing, and in CIE these boundaries may be of geographical or physical locations, or they may include any number of variables, including time, space, culture, or other invisible or undefined differences (Davidson et al., 2019; Ragin, 1989). Additional points of comparison include individual, classroom, school, district, state/provincial, national, world region, or international (Bray & Thomas, 1995).

Different understandings of comparison have sometimes devolved into debates about methods, where macro-level research is seen as relying on cross-national, quantitative data, while micro-level studies examine educational phenomena in one or a small number of contexts. Throughout CIE’s history, scholars have defined comparison differently, with some arguing that comparative research should include cross-sectional data from at least two contexts, which can include case studies or system-level variables (Ragin, 1989) while others state that the roots of comparative education lie in qualitative and theoretical research (Arnone, 2013). However, studies can be comparative through an implied comparison to a researcher’s own country in cases where two contexts are not explicitly under examination (Ragin, 1989).

Comparing Dissimilar Units. Comparisons are predicated on boundaries, however just because a boundary exists, physically or metaphorically, does not mean that a comparison is an appropriate tool for analysis. Comparison also necessitates similarities (Olivera, 1988; Ragin, 1989), and therefore both similarities and differences within each context should be described. Rust et al., (2009) argue that although there is no fundamental difference between comparative education studies and social sciences, and, in general, the challenge of comparative education is to study units that are not similar. While education systems look increasingly similar around the world, as articulated by world culture theorists including Meyer (1977), it is essential to provide context, especially when making comparisons between education in dissimilar locations.

Contextual Nesting. Although contextual details may be described differently depending on the type of research being conducted, comparativists of education widely recognize Sadler’s guiding adage, that “the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools”

(Bereday, 1964, p. 310). Because education reflects the sociocultural systems in which they are located, it is essential to address these components when creating comparisons (Arnove, 2007). While Sobe argues for more emphasis on context, Bekele (2017) claims that the issue of context has been prominent in the field for some time, but practical research lacks in-depth context analysis. As a result, CIE as a field may not be able to provide a foundation for education policy-making and practices (Bekele, 2017). Bekele suggests that in order to combat superficial contextualisations, and produce improved contextualised knowledge, comparativists need to better harmonise global and local realities.

Positionality in Comparison. An examination of researcher positionalities is critical to develop an understanding of the potential impact of backgrounds and affiliations on authors' perspectives (Srivastava, 2006). This insider/outsider position in research (Merton, 1972) can create challenges in terms of power dynamics and appropriate use of research methodologies (Johnson, 2018). Milligan (2016) argues that this relatively new attention to positionality in comparative and international education is necessary and points to the need to re-examine the meaning of insider/outsider in the context of comparative research. As new studies suggest (Katyal & King, 2011; Milligan, 2016) one is neither fully inside nor outside while conducting research.

Objectives of Comparison. CIE scholars, researchers, and practitioners continue to debate the primary objectives of comparison, with the locus of debate hinging on whether the purpose should be "compare-to" or "compare-for." Compare-to proponents aim to use the comparisons to improve teaching and learning practices in school systems and to increase students' competencies, setting them for success in the international job market (Heyneman, 2013; Wiliam, 2010). These scholars and practitioners may work on large scale international assessment tests and are oriented on creating more universal, generalisable standards and measurements, which sometimes result in an immense improvement in the quality of education (Tobin, 2005). Compare-for supporters, on the other hand, aim to deconstruct, localise and introduce counter-narratives to existing cultural practices (Alexander, 2008; Tobin, 2005). They seek to identify conceptual flaws and political dangers when dominant cultures infringe upon local diversities and question the legitimacy of the existing standards and measurements (Alexander, 2008; Tobin, 2005). CIE accommodates both perspectives and calls for critical examinations of each approach.

Elusiveness of Shared Comparative Framework. Comparative and international education researchers have called for a consistent, systematic, and shared framework (Wiseman & Anderson, 2013). Despite a resurgence in research focusing on reflection of the development of the field, few systematic studies exist (Bekele, 2017; Davidson et al., 2018, 2019; Wiseman, et al 2016). Such a shared comparative framework would allow CIE scholars and professionals to identify the unique and important aspects of the field, including comparisons of both the large-scale cross-national examinations of institutional educational characteristics of schooling and contextually-situated, single-country case studies. This lack of shared comparative framework not only inhibits the ability of scholars to address critiques including the stagnation of the field (Stromquist, 2005), but also challenges assumptions of its professionalisation (Wiseman & Matherly, 2009; 2016). Without a stable, consistent framework, comparativists are unable to distinguish themselves from more established academic fields (Wiseman & Matherly, 2009).

Understandings of Global Dichotomies in Comparative and International Education. Comparativists have long recognized the imbalance of authors from diverse regions of the world, particularly the Global South (Higginson, 1999). Research and theoretical developments have drawn from authors predominantly from the Global North, and overwhelmingly from anglophone countries (Wolhuter, 2008). Historically, one of the criticisms and challenges of CIE studies is that they were generally limited to comparative analyses of Western states, and these comparisons

restricted the resulting observations and interpretations to a Western perspective. Further compounding this bias is the overwhelming use of Western research methodologies and the dominance of the English language in scholarship and publications (Ng, 2012; Yang, 2006; Yang 2019). Evans and Robinson-Pant (2010) recognised the importance of broadening the scope of *Compare* to include a greater non-Western contextual focus, and to give voice to these marginalised scholars, “countering the dominance of Western modes of thinking and conceptualising” (p. 1). Providing a forum for and encouraging contributions from scholars from the Global South allows for enhanced dialogue and exchange of new and diverse theories and research methodologies, while also presenting the opportunity to counter “global hegemonic structures” (Wolhuter, 2017) in comparative and international education research.

Methods

This study represents a qualitative time-series analysis of a bounded case study of editorials and articles published in *Compare* over its 50 year history. In 2010, Evans and Robinson-Pant argued that *Compare* should sit at the intersection of development studies, comparative education, and international education. The methods outlined here lead to an examination of this intersection as published in *Compare* since its first issue in modern journal format in 1975. Qualitative time-series analysis was chosen for this research process for its iterative and inductive approach to examining text over a period of time, allowing for a systematic examination to synthesise and describe the meaning of both *Compare*’s editorials and articles (Kuckartz, 2014; Schreier, 2012).

To examine journal articles, the research team collected information through a coding process, which drew from methods previously used for journal article data collection (Davidson, et al., 2018, 2019; Wiseman, et al., 2015; Wiseman, Davidson, & Taylor, 2017). This approach allowed the research team to code more than 1,000 articles for the following data points for each article: publication date, title, author(s), author’s institutional affiliations and countries, number of authors, collaborations between authors, country or topic areas of focus, and research methods. These data points were collected for all journal articles available through the Taylor & Francis *Compare* platform, including those labelled as articles, research reports, and international educational initiatives. This information did not include study group reports, news, book reviews, obituaries, announcements, or forums. Additionally, this data set begins in 1975 with Volume 5, as prior to that, *Compare* was a 'newsletter' which later developed into a printed 'house journal' which is how it is still known today (Boucher, 1977, p.1).

While the majority of information was collected directly from each article, the research team established a framework to further classify country of author institutional affiliation and articles’ countries of focus by Global South and Global North. Because distinctions between the Global North and South are based on economics (Bauman, 2018) and politics (Freeman, 2017), the framework used for this research sought to meld classifications from both the United Nations and the World Bank. In combining multiple classifications, there were numerous countries which appeared on one list and not the other. To account for these discrepancies, countries which were not definitively on the combined list of Global South countries were labelled as “Debated.” These countries labelled as debated included special administrative regions of China as well as many Gulf Cooperation Council and post-Soviet countries. The full list of countries included in this data set can be found in Appendix A.

When coding an article’s contextual focus, the researchers indicated the context as stated in the article, including countries, regions, or other descriptions of a place-based focus. Researchers relied on current understandings of geographical boundaries for analysis which, in some cases, may have changed over the last 50 years. For example, articles which focused on East or West

Germany were coded as such, however during analysis, these two countries were consolidated to Germany. These cases were of a limited number, which allowed the research team to examine them on an individual basis.

An additional aspect of influence on coding from the research team came in the classification of an article's methodology. Articles were coded as quantitative, qualitative, or mixed methods when they included an explicit acknowledgement or outline about their research strategies. The review category developed through iterative processes and an initial "Other" coding category. Upon closer examination, articles initially coded as "Other" were found to consist predominantly of historical perspectives, theoretical developments or debates, policy reviews and analysis, literature reviews, and descriptions of systems and facets of education in a particular context. Articles which were positioned as think pieces or which presented broad reviews of education policy or the history of education in a particular place were coded as review. Review articles were broadly characterised by descriptive analysis. One of the challenges of this approach is that understandings and expectations of research have changed over time. However, all aspects of the research presented here are from current definitions.

Data analysis consists of a three-prong approach, including descriptive, spectral, and explanative analyses. The descriptive component of the coded data outlines the data over the course of the journal's publication history. This data includes the number of articles published, the number of single and co-authored articles, and the research methods used in each article. The descriptive analysis provides an entire picture of *Compare*'s article publication history. The spectral analysis examines the data by decade and allows for a closer examination of the publication trends. Spectral analyses are used to examine cycles within a larger dataset (Moreno, 2004). In adhering to *Compare*'s tradition of reflecting on the journal's status in the field every ten years, this study applied a decennial cycle to data analysis, presenting the data by decade. This analysis reveals changes to the worlds of international educational development and comparative and international education as they played out in the pages of *Compare*. The explanative analysis looks at the data and trends as revealed in both the descriptive and spectral analyses to situate the journal in the larger field of comparative and international education.

Analysis of Editorials

To borrow from the ship analogy set forth by Beattie and Brock in an editorial from 1994, a journal's editors have been perceived as "captains of the ship" in the past. As such, their background knowledge and understanding of the field of comparative and international education have influenced which content was included, and also rejected, in *Compare*. But even this conceptualisation has changed over time, with increasing discretion over content shifting to editorial boards and external reviewers. Though some editors, such as Beattie & Brock, had years of consecutive editorial tenureship, others served for less time. Due to this variation in editorial leadership and because of *Compare*'s habit of reflecting on its status and CIE at ten year increments, we use a decennary approach to shape the time series analysis. It is important to note, however, that the role of current editors has evolved since the journal's founding. Editors now serve perhaps less as captains, and more as navigators (Brock & Beattie, 1994), with reviewers, the editorial board, and the publisher playing a larger role in the decision-making process.

In their forty-year reflection on the field, Evans and Robinson-Pant (2010) relied on qualitative examinations and descriptions of editorials to trace the development of *Compare*, and before that, Higginson (1999) examined editorials and other content to trace the journal's changes and growth. However, while Evans and Robinson-Pant (2010) characterised contributions from former editors

of the journal, and Higginson (1999) outlined and described the tenure of the journal's editors during *Compare*'s first thirty years, our approach seeks to trace the development of comparative and international education through *Compare*'s editors' descriptions of the field in their editorial comments. While many editorials, especially in the journal's first few decades, simply outlined the issues' contents or described editorial changes, the editors often used the introductory editorials to reveal their understanding and reflections on the field of CIE. Therefore, editorials which directly described or defined the field and *Compare*'s positioning in the international, development, and comparative paradigm were used to construct a thematic framework, tracing understandings of key conceptual pillars throughout the journal's history. These themes included appealing to a wide audience and foci on diversity, comparison, and contextuality.

Many themes that can be traced through the history of comparative and international education can also be found in the content of *Compare*'s editorials (Bray, 2010). The following section outlines key aspects of *Compare* which both distinguish it from other journals and also position it within the field of comparative and international education.

Appeal to a Wide Audience. From *Compare*'s outset, editorial teams have sought to appeal to a wide range of readers, including teachers of comparative and international education and professionals beyond academia. Even within academia, editors have welcomed readers and contributors from beyond the field of CIE to include educational and social scientists alike (Leach & Preston, 2000). Boucher (1977) situated *Compare* as a venue for relevant and rigorous material for use in the classroom and invited students, teachers, and members of professional societies to contribute articles that are interesting, relevant, and accurate. McLean (1988) pointed out that although there was a decline of comparative and international courses in teacher education, there was an increase in the international perspectives of educational policy makers and researchers, which coincided with a readership shift from undergraduate institutions to research centres and think tanks. The addition of PhD dissertation briefs and article responses in the early 2000s was an innovative practice to include additional perspectives in the journal's publications (Dyer & Preston, 2001). Evans and Robinson-Pant (2010) sought to ensure that voices from practitioners working in NGOs and policy makers working in international organisations were also included in the publication. *Compare* has sought to publish original research from outside the university setting, which is a mission that has continued throughout *Compare*'s tenure (Beattie & Brock, 1995; Dyer & Preston, 2002; McLean, 1988).

Centrality of Diversity. As indicated by the inclusion of diverse perspectives and the purposeful appeal to a broader audience, diversity has been a central pillar of *Compare*'s identity throughout its history. Beattie & Brock (1995) state that in-depth, long term, single-context studies are important contributions to *Compare*, as are pieces that are comparative in their frameworks, by applying theories and exploring phenomena from outside their typical contexts, thus highlighting that *Compare* should represent a variety of theoretical, methodological, and conceptual approaches. Brock & Aedo-Richmond (1996) acknowledged that the numerous perspectives included in *Compare* highlight the diversity and richness of international and comparative education as a field. Leach and Preston (2000) further define and expand understandings of diversity, writing that *Compare* purposefully seeks to "address different educational and methodological issues, refer to different parts of the world, and [the articles] are written by women and men expressing different interests in research, teaching and administration" (Leach & Preston, 2000, p. 4), sentiments that have been echoed in subsequent editorials (Morris, Rao, & Sayed, 2015b). These perspectives contribute to an evolving understanding of comparative and international education to include articles representing authors who collaborate across national boundaries, studies which examine multiple countries, and researchers writing about contexts outside of their own institutional locations.

Centrality of Comparison. Throughout *Compare*'s history, numerous editorials have been dedicated to defining and understanding what comparison means to the field. In the early 1980s, Raggatt situated quantitative studies as central to the field of comparative education, arguing that cross-national observations and testing and generalisability of studies and programmes will provide "more sophisticated understandings of educational and social processes" (1981, p. 3). While Raggatt argued that single-country studies could not be comparative, subsequent editorials outlined that comparative does not only refer to explicit comparisons between countries, but also opens other dimensions of comparison (Robinson-Pant & Evans, 2007b, 2009). Robinson-Pant & Evans (2007b) argue that comparison transcends country to country comparisons and can include cross-cultural learning experiences, intercultural education, historical comparisons, or international influence on educational policy. These comparisons can occur across institutional levels, from the global to the local (Rao, Morris, & Sayed, 2011a) or examine both similarities and differences across and within education systems (Morris, Rao, & Sayed, 2014).

Centrality of Contextualisation. While the comparative aspect of the journal has been ever present, the importance of contextualisation appeared as a central tenet since the early 1990s, with acknowledgments of the importance of small scale contextualised studies and globalisation and localisation (Beatie & Brock, 1994). This balance between local and national character and diversity with global forces is a theme that has continued across decades (Rao, Morris & Sayed, 2013). This balance acknowledges that no national policies are without influence from the global level, making policy studies inherently comparative and international, however, in maintaining a focus on contextualisation, policies must also be adjusted and adapted to meet the needs of local contexts (Rao, Morris, & Sayed, 2011b).

Analysis of Articles

Data was collected on the content published in every issue of *Compare* since its first modern issue in 1975 until the last issue of 2019. First, overall descriptive data is presented for the entirety of *Compare*, followed by a spectral examination of the data based on decade divisions, culminating in an examination and discussion of the extent to which *Compare* exists at the intersection of comparative, international, and development studies of education.

Table 1

<i>Summary data of journal articles, Compare 1975-2019</i>		
	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Total number of articles	1083	
Focus of article		
Single country	592	54.7%
Two or more countries	226	20.9%
Regional	66	6.1%
Topic-focused	199	18.4%

Contextual focus of articles		
Focuses on Global North countries	283	26.1%
Focuses on Global South countries	369	34.1%
Focuses on both GN & GS countries	45	4.2%
Includes debated countries	115	10.6%
Includes global data	4	0.03%
Methods used in articles		
Qualitative	462	42.7%
Quantitative	108	9.9%
Mixed methods	59	5.4%
Review	454	41.9%

Descriptive Table 1 presents a cumulative snapshot of journal articles over the course of *Compare*'s history. A total of 1,083 articles make up the data set. Regarding the articles' areas of focus, single country studies constituted just over half of the total number of articles, at 54.7% ($n = 592$). There were 226 articles focusing on 2 or more countries (20.9%), 66 articles focusing on world regions (6.1%), and 199 articles (18.4%) which were topic-focused, meaning they did not have a geographical area of focus. Such articles included articles focused on theory building, establishing new methods, as well as broad discussions of the field of comparative and international education.

When considering the countries studied in each article, Global South countries were included a total of 557 times (46.5%) and Global North mentions totalled 509 countries (42.5%) in the Global North. Country-focused articles were classified as focusing on the Global North, Global South, both North and South, as well as articles which included a debated context or examined global data sets. This information can be seen in Table 1. Over *Compare*'s history, articles which focused on countries in the Global South ($n = 369$, 34.1%) occurred more often than those which focused on countries in the Global North ($n = 283$, 26.1%). Only 45 articles (4.2%) focused on countries in both the Global North and the Global South, and 115 articles included countries whose positioning in the Global North or South were debated. There were slightly more articles relying on qualitative research methods ($n = 462$, 42.7%) than any other approaches, however review articles, which included any articles without explicit methods sections, consisted of 41.9% of the dataset ($n = 454$). Quantitative methods only took up 9.9% of the total, with 108 articles.

Table 2

<i>Countries included in 20 or more articles, Compare 1975-2019</i>	
<u>Context</u>	<u>Number of Articles</u>
UK	129
China	65
Germany	47
India	44
USA	38
South Africa	43
Hong Kong	29
Canada	27
Japan	22
Israel	22
Australia	21
France	20
Kenya	20

Table 2 reveals the contexts on which articles published in *Compare* most frequently focused. These results included articles focused on a single country and multiple countries. These 13 countries had 20 or more articles throughout *Compare*'s fifty-year history. While the UK consistently resides at the top of lists of contextual focus, collapsing Scotland, England, Wales, and Northern Ireland into one larger category results in UK-focused articles ($n = 129$) representing more than double the next most frequently cited country, China, with 58 articles. Across these 13 contexts, seven countries in the Global North contexts are listed: the UK, Germany, the USA, Canada, Japan, Australia, France, and Israel, as well as the four countries from the Global South: China, India, South Africa, and Kenya. Hong Kong is also on the list, with 29 articles including a focus on this Special Administrative Region of China. At first glance, this data may look to contradict the results presented in Table 1. However, this list highlights that articles including Global North countries tend to focus on similar countries and that there are more potential countries that may be included in the Global South.

Table 3

<i>Summary data of article authors, Compare 1975-2019</i>		
	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Total number of articles	1083	
Single author	694	64.1%
Co-authors	389	35.9%
Co-authors with institutional affiliations in the same country	223	20.6%
Co-authors with institutional affiliations from different countries	172	15.9%

As outlined in Table 3, the majority of articles written by single authors ($n = 694$, 64.1%). There were 389 co-authored articles, constituting 35.9%. Co-authored articles include those written by two authors ($n = 241$), up to ten authors ($n = 1$). Within co-authored articles, the majority represented scholars working together from the same contexts ($n = 223$), although 172 articles (15.9%) were written by scholars who collaborated across boundaries.

Table 4

Top author affiliations by country, according to institutional affiliation, Compare 1975-2019

<u>Country</u>	<u>Number of authors</u>
UK	430
USA	140
Canada	53
Australia	43
Hong Kong	32
Germany	30
South Africa	27
The Netherlands	23

Table 4 highlights author affiliation by country, according to institutional affiliation. In line with our findings on top article contexts, the UK (including Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland) also ranks first in author affiliation, with 430 authors. Next, the United States, with 140; Canada with 53; and Australia, 43. The remaining countries with frequently occurring author affiliation include Hong Kong with 32 authors, Germany with 30 authors, South Africa with 27 authors, and finally, The Netherlands with 23 authors. Of note is that of these 8 countries, all except Germany and

The Netherlands, have an historical or colonial relationship with the UK. This table provides a snapshot of author affiliations which is further explored by decade in Table 10 below.

Table 5

<i>Regional affiliation of authors by institutions and authorship, Compare 1975-2019</i>		
	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>
All authors with first affiliations at Global North institutions	1,294	76.5%
All authors with first affiliations at Global South institutions	258	15.2%
All authors with first affiliations at Debated institutions	129	7.6%
All authors with no affiliation listed	11	0.7%
First authors with affiliations at Global North institutions	869	56.6%
First authors with affiliations at Global South institutions	138	15.2%
Second authors with affiliations at Global North institutions	277	7.6%
Second authors with affiliations at Global South institutions	67	0.7%

When examined by region, overall, the Global North dominates author affiliation. As Table 5 shows, the vast majority of all authors were affiliated with institutions located in the Global North ($n = 1,294$, 76.5%), while 258 authors (15.2%) were affiliated with Global South institutions. Another 129 authors (7.6%) were from institutions whose country contexts were debated. A closer examination of first and second author affiliation shows that 869 first authors (56.6%) are affiliated with institutions in the Global North, while only 138 first authors (15.2%) hail from the Global South. This trend remains consistent when the analysis is extended to second author affiliation; 277 second authors come from the Global North, with 67 second authors affiliated with an institution in the Global South. A spectral analysis will follow, highlighting shifts in authorship affiliation trends by decade.

Table 6

<i>Most frequently occurring words in titles, Compare 1975-2019</i>		
<u>Rank</u>	<u>Words</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
1	School	172
2	Case study	73
3	Higher education	67
4	International	66

5	Policy	65
6	Learning	59
7	Development	56
8	Teacher	51
9	Research	49
10	Secondary	44

Table 6 illustrates the most frequently used words in article titles for all 50 years. A breakdown of these words in decades will be presented later, however, a quick glance at the words shows the thematic interest priorities, and the overall direction of the journal. While these broad data points reveal the overall breakdown of *Compare*'s publication history, they do not highlight the growth between decades and at crucial moments in the field and the journal's history. The next section will highlight ten-year trends in the journal.

Spectral While a consideration of the data reflecting *Compare*'s history is important at this critical juncture in the journal's lifespan, a disaggregated examination of article publications by decade allows for a more complete picture of the history and development of both the journal, and its place as a reflection on the field of comparative and international education. What follows, then, is an examination of the development of the field in ten-year increments in order to identify when changes occurred.

Table 7

<i>Number of issues and articles by decade</i>		
<u>Decade</u>	<u>Number of issues</u>	<u>Number of articles</u>
1970s	10	63
1980s	20	141
1990s	28	173
2000s	41	278
2010s	60	428
Total	159	1083

Although *Compare* started with two issues per year, it has expanded to include eight issues each year. Table 7 outlines this growth by stating how many issues were published and coded for each decade. In 1993, the journal expanded from two issues to a total of three, which it maintained for

the following 10 years. In 2003, a fourth issue per volume was added just four years later, in 2004, followed quickly by the addition of a fifth issue in 2007 and a sixth issue in 2009. Since the addition of the sixth issue, *Compare*'s publication calendar remained stable, until 2020, when two more issues have been added to a total of eight issues each year. This rapid expansion in a relatively short amount of time--doubling the number of issues between 2003 and 2009, is indicative of the journal's relevance and contributions to the field. The expansion of *Compare*, and its focus on education development, follow the establishment of international educational goals, such as Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals, and the subsequent expansion of international development organisations (Boli & Thomas, 1991).

Table 8

<i>Single and co-authored articles by decade, Compare 1975-2019</i>					
<u>Decade</u>	<u>Single Author</u>		<u>Co-Authored</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	
1970s	60	95.2%	3	4.8%	63
1980s	126	89.4%	15	10.6%	141
1990s	134	77.5%	39	22.5%	173
2000s	179	64.4%	99	35.6%	278
2010s	195	45.6%	233	54.4%	428
Total	694	64.1%	389	35.9%	1083

While Table 8 highlights *Compare*'s growth over the last 50 years, publishing 63 authors in 2 issues of each volume in its first ten years to publishing 428 authors in 6 issues of each volume in the last 10 years, it also indicates that the number of co-authored pieces has grown, from 3.2% in the 1970s to 54.5% percent in the 2010s, with much of this change happening in the last 10 years. The cooperation between the authors has been steadily increasing, which could be evidence of more opportunities for comparative discussions happening not only within the journal, but in the CIE field overall. Undoubtedly, the ease of technology could be a facilitating factor in this process, as well as the global political and economic developments around the world. Higher numbers of cooperative cases among authors can also influence the number of cross-country collaborations, making the journal simultaneously more comparative and international. These numbers indicate an increasingly collaborative field. However, they do not reveal if authors are collaborating across contextual borders or if they are collaborating within their own institutions or contexts, which is what we will turn to next.

Table 9

<i>Author collaboration by decade, Compare, 1975-2019</i>					
	<u>Same Country</u>		<u>Different Countries or Combination</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	
1970s	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3
1980s	11	73.3%	4	26.7%	15
1990s	21	52.5%	19	47.5%	40
2000s	49	48.0%	53	51.9%	102
2010s	140	60.1%	93	39.9%	233
Total	224	56.6%	169	43.4%	393

Table 9 examines data for all co-authored articles ($n = 393$). Those articles coded as “same” represent multiple authors working at institutions within the same countries, while the different column represents authors who are collaborating across countries. This includes both authors who each represent a different context as well as author teams which include those from both similar and different locations. Interestingly, while there has been growth in cross-boundary collaborations, there is not a distinct trend, with the greatest percentage of these collaborations occurring in the 2000s ($n = 53$, 51.9%). However, the raw number of collaborations has increased, growing from 53 in the 2000s, to 92 in the 2010s, revealing that *Compare* increasingly publishes articles from collaborative and contextual boundary-crossing teams.

Table 10

<i>Location of author institutional affiliation, countries by decade, Compare 1975-2019</i>											
	<u>Global North</u>		<u>Global South</u>		<u>Debated</u>		<u>None Listed</u>		<u>Both</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Count</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Count</u>
1970s	61	92.4%	5	7.6%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	66
1980s	143	90.5%	11	7.0%	1	0.6%	3	1.9%	0	0%	158
1990s	184	81.4%	30	13.3%	12	5.3%	0	0%	0	0%	226

2000s	309	73.0 %	70	16.5%	36	8.5%	8	1.9%	0	0%	423
2010s	594	72.0 %	145	17.6%	81	9.8%	0	0%	5	0.6%	825
Total	1291	76.0 %	261	15.4%	130	7.7%	11	0.6%	5	0.3%	1698

Table 10 outlines the location of authors' institutional affiliations, which were then classified as Global North, Global South, or debated. This data includes all listed institutional affiliations of all authors, with 5 authors in the 2010s listing both Global North and South institutions. There were a limited number of authors ($n = 11$) who did not include information about institutional affiliation. The vast majority of authors have published from institutions located in the Global North, starting with 92.4% ($n = 61$) of authors in the 1970s, to 72.0% ($n = 594$) of authors in the 2010s. However, there is a growing presence of authors affiliated with institutions in the Global South, moving from 7.6% ($n = 5$) in the 1970s to 17.6% ($n = 145$) in the 2010s.

Table 11

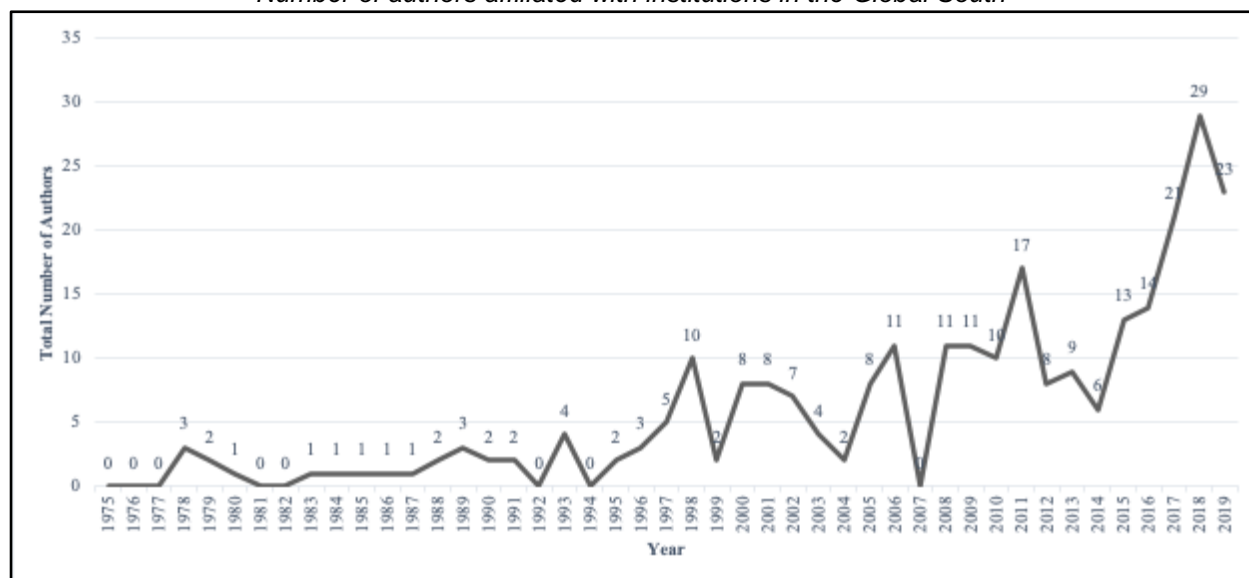
<i>Author location and article context, Compare, 1975-2019</i>					
	<u>Same Country</u>		<u>Different Countries or Combination</u>		<u>Total*</u>
	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	
1970s	19	30.1%	31	49%	63
1980s	33	23.4%	75	53.2%	141
1990s	35	20.2%	102	59.0%	173
2000s	47	16.9%	165	59.4%	278
2010s	111	25.9%	267	62.4%	428
Total	245	22.6%	640	59.1%	1083

*Not included in the total are articles which did not examine a particular context, such as topic oriented articles.

Table 11 illustrates the change in author location and article context through decades. If authors wrote about the country context where their institutional affiliation is located, they were coded as the same, while authors writing about different contexts than their location of institutional affiliation were coded as different. The combination category includes authors with multiple affiliation institutions, including both areas examined and not examined in the article. Additionally, author collaborations that include authors from within and outside of the contextual area of focus were coded as combination. The numbers outlined above indicate that the balance of authors writing about their country of institutional affiliation has remained far less than authors writing about

places beyond their institutional affiliations. This information indicates that *Compare*'s authors frequently write about places beyond which they are currently located.

Figure 1.
Number of authors affiliated with institutions in the Global South



In order to further explore this data, the number of authors affiliated with Global South institutions is charted in Figure 1. This figure reveals the growth in the number of authors across *Compare*'s history, but especially starting in the late 1990s. There has also been growth in recent years, with more than twenty authors representing Global South institutions since 2017. These results echo *Compare*'s focus on including diverse perspectives, a narrative which has increased throughout the journal's lifespan. While these results do highlight that the overwhelming majority of authors have been affiliated with Global North institutions and that authors from Global South institutions are a growing cohort, they do not reveal authors' home country, place of citizenship, or the country or region where they obtained their degrees. However, this does indicate that while Global North institutions have had more of a presence in *Compare*'s pages, publications from the Global South are on the rise. The rise in the number of authors from the Global South can partly be accounted for *Compare*'s deliberate efforts to address inequalities in academic publishing. In 2007, the *Compare* editorial board and BAICE executive initiated a writing for publication programme for authors who were based in the Global South with the aim to support publications of under-researched and under-represented contexts (Lillis, Magyar, & Robinson-Pant, 2010). According to Lillis, Magyar and Robinson-Pant (2010), the four-month mentorship programme was successful, however recruiting experienced researchers in the South remained the biggest challenge. The number of authors affiliated with institutions located in the Global South has continued to increase since 2010, perhaps suggesting that these efforts continue to be effective.

Table 12

<i>Methods used by decade, Compare 1975-2019</i>									
<u>Qualitative</u>		<u>Quantitative</u>		<u>Mixed Methods</u>		<u>Review</u>		<u>Total</u>	
<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>	

1970s	14	22.2%	1	1.6%	0	0%	48	76.2%	63
1980s	9	6.4%	6	4.3%	0	0%	126	89.4%	141
1990s	47	27.2%	13	7.5%	6	3.5%	107	61.8%	173
2000s	156	56.1%	32	11.5%	13	4.7%	77	27.7%%	278
2010s	236	55.1%	55	12.9%	41	9.6%	96	22.4%	428
Total	462	42.7%	107	9.9%	59	5.4%	453	41.9%	1083

Table 12 disaggregates the data by method and decade. Articles with explicitly stated strategies for data collection and analysis were coded as qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods. Articles coded as topic included reviews and bibliographies as well as theory building as well as those articles without an identifiable methodology. As with other coding categories, methods were coded based on published text, with as little researcher interference as possible.

The 1970s were widely characterised by review articles ($n = 48$, 76.2%), with only one quantitative (1.6%) and 14 qualitative articles (22.2%). The 1980s reflected a similar pattern, with 89.4% of articles described as reviews ($n = 126$), nine qualitative (6.4%), and six qualitative (4.3%) articles. In the 1990s however, there was a shift to more emphasis on explicitly stated methods, as evidenced by the decreased number of review articles and increased quantities of qualitative and quantitative articles. Additionally, articles relying on a mixed methods approach ($n = 6$, 3.5%) made their first appearance in *Compare* the 1990s.

The 2000s was the first-time articles using qualitative research methods ($n = 157$, 56.1%) occupied the majority of publications. Review articles fell to just 27.1% ($n = 76$). While they increased in number, quantitative ($n = 33$, 7.5%) and mixed methods ($n = 13$, 4.6%) articles remained fairly consistent percentages of the yearly totals. In the 2010s, more than half of the articles relied on qualitative methods ($n = 236$, 55.1%). There were 55 quantitative articles (12.9%), 41 mixed methods articles (9.6%). Review methods constituted 22.4% of the articles published in the 2010s, which is the lowest proportion of review articles across *Compare*'s history.

Although *Compare*'s editors in the early 1980s described quantitative studies as central to comparative education, the publication data does not echo these sentiments, in the 1980s or the subsequent decades, as across the published articles, quantitative articles make up, at most, 12% of those published (2010s). This focus on qualitative methods does echo editorial teams' call for contextualisation, a refrain which became even more central to editors since 2000. This data highlights that *Compare*, and the field of comparative and international education, is becoming increasingly scientised. The steady decline of review articles and the increase of both qualitative and quantitative articles suggests that there is a push for all research, regardless of methodology, to clearly state the strategies used for data collection and analysis. This trend could be reflective of both the postmodernist influence promoting a diversity of methodologies (Paulston, 1999), as well as the growing scientisation and professionalisation of the field (Davidson, et al., 2018, 2019). Rather than debating the value of one method over another, this data highlights the importance of moving forward as a united field to produce valid and rigorous research which contributes to a larger body of knowledge.

Table 13

<i>Contextual areas of focus by decade, Compare 1975-2019</i>									
	<u>1 Country</u>		<u>2 or More Countries</u>		<u>Regional</u>		<u>Topic</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>
1970s	38	60.3%	4	6.3%	5	7.9%	16	25.4%	63
1980s	84	59.6%	14	9.9%	11	7.8%	32	22.7%	141
1990s	92	53.2%	32	18.5%	14	8.1%	35	20.2%	173
2000s	133	47.8%	59	21.2%	18	6.5%	68	24.5%	278
2010s	245	57.2%	117	27.3%	18	4.2%	48	11.2%	428
Total	592	54.7%	226	20.9%	66	6.1%	199	18.4%	1083

Table 13 outlines articles' contextual foci by decade. These numbers reveal that single country studies have consistently dominated those published in *Compare*. Throughout the journal's history, with the exception of the 2000s, when only 48% of articles focused on single countries, such studies have occupied more than half of the articles published. These numbers reveal the highly contextualised nature of *Compare* and the field of comparative and international education. In the 1980s, some editors called for an increase in cross-national studies, a trend which can be seen in Table 12. However, two or more country and regionally-focused articles have continued to increase in percent since the journal's first modern publication in 1975. This growth may be a larger reflection on the field of CIE rather than a specific reaction to editorial steering.

Table 14

<i>Number of different contexts by decade, Compare 1975-2019</i>	
<u>Decade</u>	<u>Number of different contexts</u>
1970s	30
1980s	61
1990s	67
2000s	94
2010s	136
TOTAL	187

Table 14 totals the number of different contexts (including both countries and regions) throughout *Compare's* history. There have been 187 different contexts included in articles published in *Compare* since 1975. As is to be anticipated with the increase of issues, the contexts examined

quadrupled, starting with 30 contexts in the 1970s to 136 contexts in the 2010s. These numbers reveal that the expansion to more articles has allowed an examination of additional contexts, although there may be other factors which have contributed to this growth.

Table 15
Most frequently examined countries by decade, Compare 1975-2019

	<u>1970s</u>	<u>1980s</u>	<u>1990s</u>	<u>2000s</u>	<u>2010s</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Australia	1.4%	1.7%	0%	2.2%	2.2%	1.5%
Canada	11.4%	1.1%	0.9%	1.1%	1.9%	1.9%
China	1.4%	2.3%	7.4%	2.5%	4.8%	4.1%
France	2.9%	2.3%	2.3%	1.1%	0.9%	1.4%
Germany	7.1%	7.3%	4.1%	2.5%	1.7%	3.3%
Ghana	0%	1.7%	0.5%	1.7%	1.4%	1.3%
Hong Kong	1.4%	0%	3.2%	3.1%	1.7%	2.1%
India	0%	1.1%	0.9%	5.0%	3.8%	3.1%
Ireland	1.4%	0%	1.4%	1.7%	1.0%	1.1%
Israel	0%	1.7%	1.4%	1.4%	1.5%	1.4%
Japan	0%	1.7%	3.2%	1.4%	1.2%	1.6%
Kenya	0%	1.1%	0.9%	0.8%	2.2%	1.4%
Malawi	0%	0%	0%	2.0%	0.4%	0.9%
Nigeria	4.3%	2.3%	1.4%	0.3%	0.2%	0.9%
Papua New Guinea	0%	1.7%	1.8%	0%	0%	0.5%
Russia	1.4%	1.7%	1.8%	0.6%	0.5%	0.9%
South Africa	0%	0.6%	2.8%	3.6%	3.1%	2.7%
Sweden	1.4%	0.5%	0%	0.3%	0.2%	1.1%
Taiwan	0%	0%	0%	1.4%	0.9%	0.7%
Tanzania	0%	1.1%	0.9%	1.4%	0.9%	1.0%

The Netherlands	0%	0.6%	1.4%	1.8%	1.4%	0.9%
UK	10%	10.7%	12.9%	7.0%	8.5%	9.2%
USA	8.6%	0.6%	0.3%	0.4%	1.1%	2.8%

Table 15 tracks the most frequently examined countries by decade. Because these most frequent countries are not consistent across the decades, once one was mentioned, it remained in the list, leading to a total of 14 countries. The number of countries for each decade was identified based on breaking points in the data. When countries began to repeat at the same number ad nauseum, this is where the top contexts lists ended. For example, in the 1990s, there were three countries which were examined in four articles each and ten contexts which were examined in three articles. In the 1990s, all countries with more than one article were included. Therefore, for this data set, the breaking point was identified as four articles. These cut-off numbers are indicated in the first row of the table.

Tracking the countries by rank order reveals which areas were most frequently examined in each decade. Unsurprisingly, the UK tops the list for the duration of the publication, which may be because it is UK-based and best known among UK-based academics. However, the UK was only included in 28 single-country focused articles. The other 112 times the UK is included as a comparative foil in articles comparing two or more countries, which contrasts from the inclusion of China in 65 articles, of which 42 were single country studies. This UK-centricity could also be reflective of the often-criticized UK hegemonic academy as well as a reflection of its post-colonial legacy on higher education (Boidin, et al, 2012). Reassuringly, efforts have been made to create a more inclusive journal with broader representation, as indicated by the increasing number of authors affiliated with the Global South.

During the 1970s, five of the six countries most frequently examined are part of what is now referred to the Global North. Nigeria, with three articles, is the only context from the Global South which is examined in more than one article. Articles examining China present an interesting case for tracking the field's focus. In the 1970s, there was one article focusing on China, which grew to 4 articles in the 1980s, making it the fifth most frequently explored context. In the 1990s, China occupied the second place, with 16 articles. In the 2000s, China fell to fifth place with 9 articles, however it experienced a resurgence of article focus in the 2010s, occupying second place again, with 28 articles. While Hong Kong has remained a separate coding context, it is notable that combining these two contexts would consistently rank China as the second most studied context over the last thirty years. India has been a top area of focus since the 2000s, which aligns with the projected growth of BRIC countries at the turn of the century. Germany, which was in the top five contexts examined for the first 40 years of the journal, has fallen to ninth in the last decade. As researchers we speculate that this may be because of *Compare's* increased focus on development which shifts attention to other contexts as well as the relatively stable educational environment when compared to the earlier decades, which included the reunification of East and West Germany.

However, moving beyond totals to a consideration of the percentage each country occupied within the decades provides a different perspective of *Compare's* publications. While the UK and USA frequently appear at the top of these lists in quantity, they occupy, at most, 12.9% (UK) and 8.6% (USA) of the total contexts under examination for that decade. This shift in perspective highlights

the diversity of the field, where even the countries which are examined the most frequently do not occupy a majority of articles at any point in *Compare*'s history.

Table 16 <i>Focus on Global North or Global South countries by decade, Compare 1975-2019</i>									
	<u>Global North</u>		<u>Global South</u>		<u>GN & GS</u>		<u>Debated</u>		<u>Total*</u>
	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>
1970s	32	50.8%	6	9.5%	1	1.6%	3	4.76%	63
1980s	54	38.3%	36	25.5%	4	2.8%	4	2.8%	141
1990s	44	25.4%	53	30.6%	7	4.1%	20	11.6%	173
2000s	55	19.8%	98	35.3%	9	3.2%	30	10.8%	278
2010s	98	22.9%	176	41.1%	24	5.6%	58	13.6%	422
Total*	283	26.1%	369	34.1%	45	4.1%	115	10.6%	812

*Percentages are calculated from the total number of articles, which includes articles not focused on particular countries.

Table 16 presents an analysis of trends in publication by region, specifically examining articles by decade according to their focus on the Global North or Global South. This examination of the percentage of articles focusing on regional contexts has demonstrated an interesting trend in the field. In the 1970s, the Global North represented 50.8% of all countries included in studies. The 1980s highlighted growth in the inclusion of countries from the Global South ($n = 36$, 25.5%), and 38.3% ($n = 54$) of all countries were from the Global North. This trend continued in the 1990s, with 25.4% of all countries in the Global North. In the 2000s, 22.9% of all articles included a focus on countries from the Global North. The final decade analysed (2010s) shows that the publication trend of focusing on the Global South has continued, with only 22.9% of countries from the Global North. This shift could be attributed to several factors, including the increasing focus on international organisations and development with the advent of Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals, both movements which place a focus on promoting education in countries in the Global South. Since the early 1990s, debated contexts have hovered around 11%, with a 10.6% average over the course of *Compare*'s history.

Table 17

<i>Most frequently occurring words in article titles, Compare 1970-2010</i>									
1970s		1980s		1990s		2000s		2010s	
<u>Word</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Count</u>
Higher Education	2	School	15	School	33	School	50	Higher Education	35
Minority	2	Curriculum	11	China	12	Learning	32	Global	34
Reform	2	Reform	10	International	10	Teacher	26	International	31
School	2	Policy	7	Development	9	Development	23	Policy	29
		Development	6	England	9	Policy	21	Teacher	25

		Research	6	Higher education	9	Knowledge	21	Students	24
		East	5	Primary education	9	International	20	Research	23
		England	5	Language	9	South Africa	18	Gender	22
		International	5	Policy	8	Higher education	18	Learning	22

Table 17 portrays the most frequently occurring words in the article titles. Because the keywords were not included for journal articles, the research team counted the frequency of the words in the titles. Articles, conjunctions, and prepositions, such as the, and, of, for, were removed from the data prior to analysis. In order to see a pattern, we combined these words according to the decades to see how they explain or illustrate major decennary trends. Some words that might attract readers' attention are *reform* in the 1970s, *development* in the 1980s, *policy* in the 1990s, *teacher* in the 2000s, and *global* in 2010s. These words appear uniquely in each decade and reappear in the next. The two words that appeared in every decade as the most frequently used ones were *education* and *comparative*. We did not include them in the table, because they seem redundant for a journal like *Compare*. These trends echo the Evans and Robinson-Pant (2010) article where the authors describe articles pre 1990s mostly focusing on education policy and reforms, while after the 2000s the focus shifted to the effects of globalisation. This shift is interpreted as evidence of the overlap of the fields of comparative education and development studies (Colclough, 2010).

The qualitative analysis of editorials revealed a focus on the teaching of comparative education during the 1970s, which was complemented by the frequency of the term "higher education" in article titles. As comparative education, in the past, was more frequently taught in higher education settings, specifically for future educators, these results align both between the editorial guidance, publication record, and larger CIE community, where the importance and relevance of CIE to pre- and in- service teachers at the undergraduate and graduate levels resides (Kubow & Blosser, 2015).

Explanative: Situating *Compare* in the Field

The examination of editorials and articles culminates in an explanative exploration of how they represent the intersection of the comparative, the international, and the developmental, a goal of the journal outlined by Evans and Robinson-Pant (2010). We acknowledge these distinctions as messy, however for the purposes of examining the historical development of CIE through the pages of *Compare*, we have developed a framework which highlights the continuum between comparative, international, and development studies. We relied on definitions and understandings of each term from editorials because of the challenge set forth ten years ago by Evans and Robinson-Pant (2010). Therefore, the self-referential nature of this framework is not only acknowledged but was also purposefully designed. In echoing some of the previous editors' conceptualisations of the field, we want to affirm that these three categories are highly overlapping in both practice and publication. The framework that follows, therefore, is one which is established to apply systematically and consistently across the collected data to engage in further discussions and reflections on *Compare's* position in the field and with other journals.

Each article was categorised on a two-point scale for each variable described below, with one set of variables focusing on the content of the article itself and the other examining the authors' contexts, as seen in Table 18. These categories were selected because they represent the myriad of ways that an article can fit within *Compare*'s comparative, international, and development spectrum. This scale does not classify an article as purely comparative, or international, or development, rather it allows each article to represent all--or none--of these categories. Articles were coded this way for data analysis purposes, and we recognize the nuances and dualities between the categories.

Table 18
Explanative

	Comparative	International	Development
Article-Focused	examines two or more contexts	single country, outside of UK	topic articles focused on organizations
Author-Focused	authors examining countries outside of where their institutions are affiliated	international co-author relationships (authors from different countries)	organizational institutional affiliation

Comparative. While the current editors of *Compare* describe their understanding of the term comparative in the “widest” sense, editors throughout the journal’s history have outlined their more specific understanding of the term. Drawing on Raggatt’s (1981) understanding of cross-national and Evans-Robinson & Pant’s (2010) reference to cross-cultural at the institutional and individual level, we operationalise comparative articles as those which examine two or more contexts as the contents of their article. In alignment with understandings of comparisons that occur by authors who examine contexts outside of the location of their institutions, an additional indicator of comparative articles are authors who write about places other than where their institutions are located. What this perspective leaves out, then, is articles which focus on a single-country but include other possibilities for comparison, including across time and institutional levels. Articles received a comparative categorisation when they were coded as regional or two or more countries or when authors wrote about places outside of their institutional affiliation.

International. In discussions of comparative and international education that have occurred both on and off the pages of *Compare*, definitions of international have not been central themes, with editors and scholars more frequently focusing on understandings of comparison or diversity. Therefore, defining international for this aspect of the project was less concrete. International articles include single-country studies which focus on contexts outside of the UK, as highlighting “the other” was cited as a goal of *Compare* (Beattie & Brock, 1995, p. 3). Articles which included the UK in addition to another context were coded as international as they represent explorations beyond the location of the journal. An additional indicator for international articles were those which represent co-author relationships across contextual boundaries, as this demonstrates international collaborations. Such collaborations have experienced a steady increase throughout the history of *Compare*.

Development. Interestingly, while editors frequently reflect on what it means to be ‘comparative’ or ‘international’, less attention is paid to understandings of development, although critiques of development, broadly speaking, permeate editorials throughout *Compare*’s history. It seems, therefore, that understandings of development are mostly taken for granted to refer to any work which promotes capacity building in what is often called the Global South (Crossley, 1999).

Development articles were therefore characterised by topic articles focused on international organisations (Leach & Preston, 1999). These were identified by examining topic focused articles for a focus on development projects or organisations. An additional development indicator is an author whose institutional affiliation is organisational, rather than academic.

Table 19

<i>Compare articles as comparative, international, and development</i>			
	<u>Comparative</u>	<u>International</u>	<u>Development</u>
Number of articles	644	838	126
Percentage of articles	59.5%	77.4%	11.6%

Figure 2

Venn diagram of comparative, international, and development articles, Part I

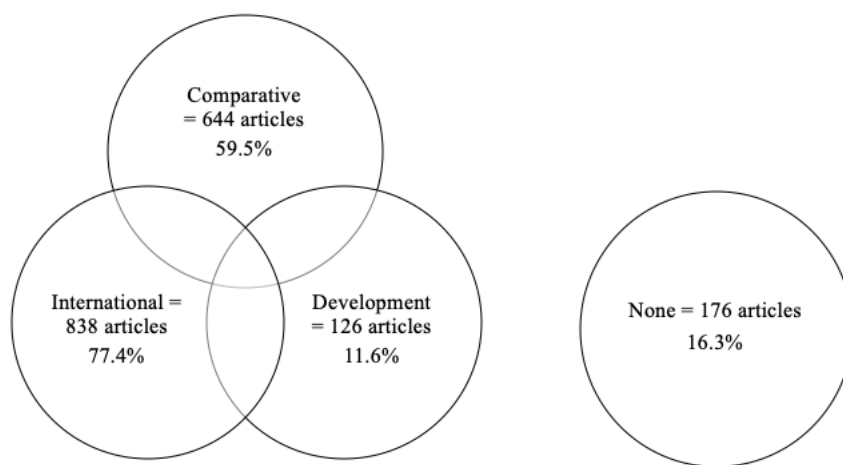
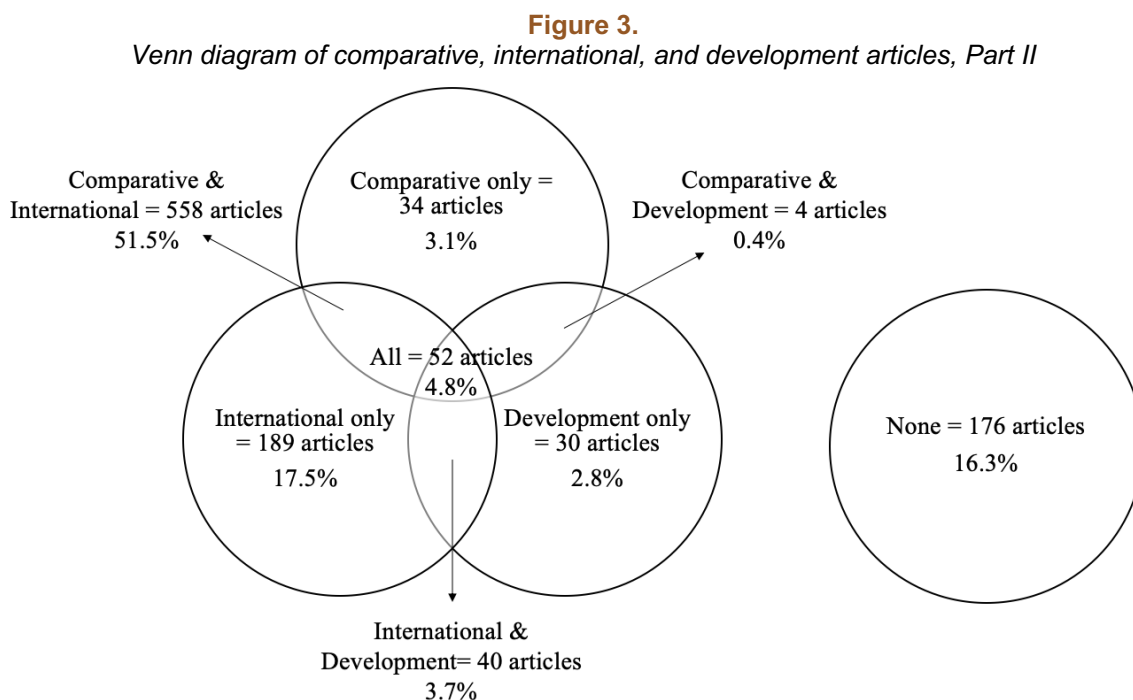


Table 19 and Figure 2 represent the results of this analysis, indicating that, under the previously described conditions, 59.5% of all articles published in *Compare* count as comparative, 77.4% of all articles count as international, and 11.6% count as development. This signifies that the greatest overlap is between international and comparison, while there is less intersection with development, facets of which will be explored in more detail in the next section. The low percentage of development articles may be due to challenges with identifying such articles as such, as well as the more recent focus on development by *Compare* and its editors. These articles may represent implied comparisons or those which rely on other types of boundary crossing, such as single-country historical examinations (Ragan, 1989). Again, we do not present these results as singular or definitive, rather they provide a point for discussion and examination of the articles across *Compare*'s history.

We want to address the 176 articles (16.3%) which did not have characteristics which aligned them with any of these categories. This article, for example, would fall under the “non” category as it is topic-focused and does not examine an international organization. Additionally, while the authors are in and from different places, our institutional affiliations are all in the U.S. This example highlights a limitation of this coding scheme, namely that while topic-oriented articles may be relevant to discussions of education in comparative, international, or development contexts, some may be missed by this coding scheme.



Examining this further, we are able to identify where each of these categories overlaps, as shown in Figure 3. This reveals that the majority of articles were categorized as both comparative and international ($n = 558$, 51.5%). Articles in this category include singly country studies outside of the UK and multiple country studies, as well as collaborations or articles that cross-national boundaries. While this may be indicative of the coding scheme, it also aligns with *Compare*'s purpose throughout its publication history, with a focus on development only appearing in the last few decades. Articles meeting the comparative and development criteria are the least frequently occurring ($n = 4$, 0.4%), which makes sense as most development projects are not comparative. These sign-posts may inform the future of *Compare* as it continues to move forward in the comparative and international, as well as development, realms.

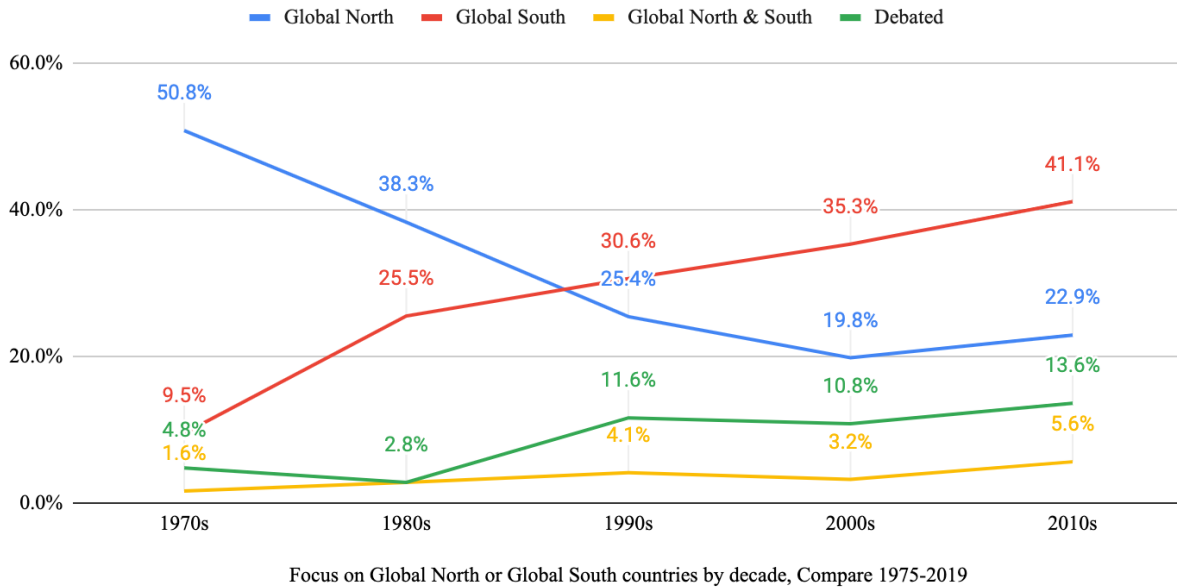
Discussion

While the roles of *Compare*'s editors and the editorials have evolved over the journal's history, there are several themes that have prevailed across time. These themes include a focus on diversity, comparison, and contextualisation. Understandings of each of these central pillars has evolved over time and can be reflected in much of the data examined in the previous sections. Particularly, however, we examine diversity through articles about Global South or Global North countries, comparison through the number of countries in each article, and contextualisation through the methods used in the articles.

Figure 4

Centrality of diversity: Focus on Global North or South countries by decade, 1975-2019

**Centrality of Diversity:
Global North, Global South, Both, Debated by Decade**

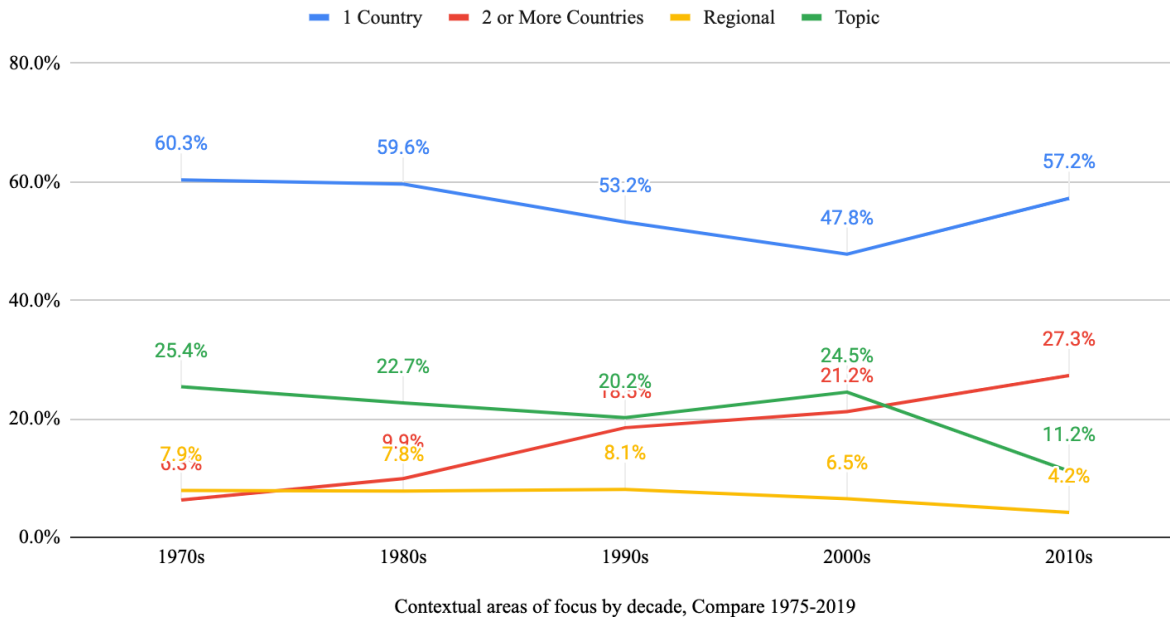


Centrality of Diversity. While Compare always sought to appeal to diverse audiences, specific pushes toward including diverse voices really came out in the 1990s. Diversity was described as including diverse methodological, theoretical, and conceptual approaches, as well as highlighting different parts of the world, and including voices that have been historically neglected from academic publishing. While there are many aspects of this data set which could be used to measure the centrality of diversity, for this discussion we will focus on the inclusion of countries from the Global North, Global South, both the Global North and South, and from debated countries. This information, found both in Figure 4 and Table 16, highlights the diversity of contexts and shifts in contextual focus throughout *Compare*'s history. This figure highlights the shift in focus from countries in the Global North in the 1970s and 1980s to countries in the Global South starting in the 1990s. There has been a steady increase, approximately 5% per decade throughout *Compare*'s history. This figure demonstrates *Compare*'s focus on diversity through the inclusion of articles from both the Global North and the Global South.

Figure 5
Centrality of comparison: Single country, multiple country, regional, and topic articles by decade, 1975-2019

Centrality of Comparison:

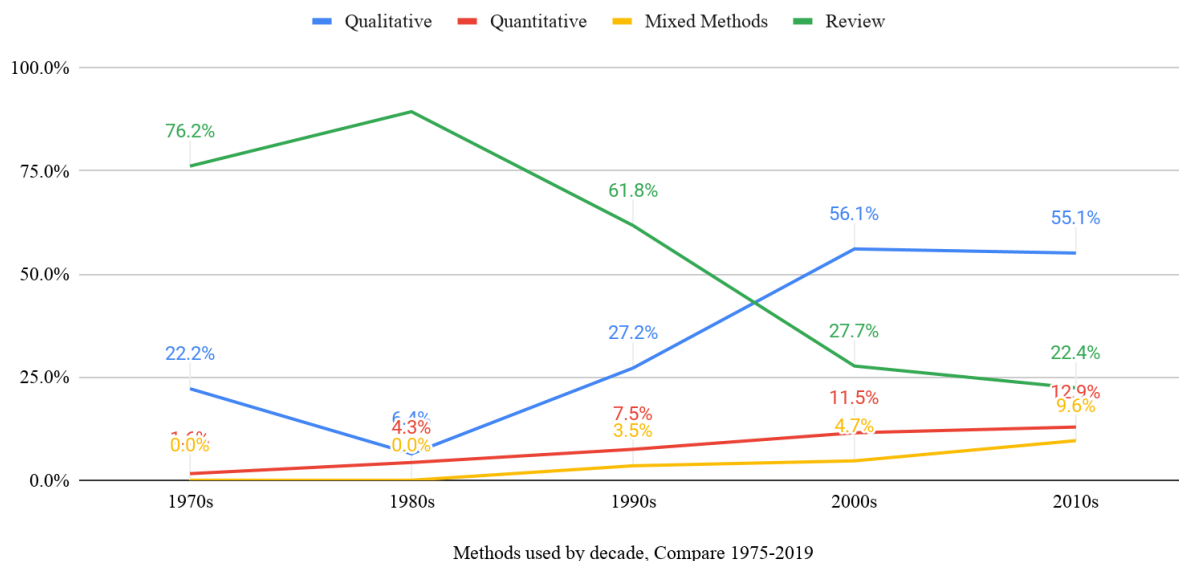
1 Country, 2 or More Countries, Regional and Topic by Decade



Centrality of Comparison. Comparison is clearly a central tenet of *Compare*’s mission, however understandings of comparison have evolved throughout the journal’s history. In the 1980s, comparison was referenced particularly in relation to large-scale quantitative studies, however since then understandings of comparison have expanded to include contextualized single country studies based outside of an author’s context. Although single-country studies have prevailed throughout *Compare*’s history, as indicated in Figure 5, this does not mean that they are not comparative, as comparison can include within country studies or those that take place across time or organizational and policy levels. Multiple-country studies have increased over the last 50 years, and topic-focused articles have generally declined, especially in the last 10 years. These trends indicate that more articles are focusing on specific countries, which is also linked to the centrality of contextuality which will be discussed in the next section.

Figure 5
Centrality of contextuality: Qualitative, quantitative, mixed methods, and review articles by decade, 1975-2019

Centrality of Contextualisation:
 Qualitative, Quantitative, Mixed Methods and Review by Decade



Centrality of Contextualisation. While describing the situation outside of schools and education systems has been central to the field of comparative and international education, it became especially important as discussions of globalisation and localisation increased in *Compare* during the 1990s. The importance of small-scale contextualised studies and positioning them in both national and international contexts is a theme that has continued through the 2010s. For this discussion, we link contextualisation with the methods, with qualitative articles generally having more space to explore a place with some depth. As evidenced in Figure 5 and Table 12, qualitative articles increased greatly leading up to the 2000s, and have stayed relatively stable over the last ten years. As previously mentioned, review articles included those without an explicit research method or strategy, such as descriptive articles or expert explanations of policy development. Therefore, the significant decline in review articles over the years may be due, in part, to the increasing scientisation of social sciences.

A closer examination of these three trends reveals that there were shifts in the direction or focus of the journal in the 1990s. These changes are especially reflected in the data from the 2000s, with percentages staying mostly stable in the 2010s. They highlight the journal's commitment to including a diversity of authors, methods, and contextual areas of focus. As the journal continues to expand, there are more opportunities to continue the current trends or to shift focus on enhancing another area of publication.

Conclusion

The history of the field of comparative and international education can be examined through the pages of *Compare*. An examination and analysis of both editorial contents and articles provides one narrative reflecting trends in the field. Neither CIE nor *Compare* were exempt from the postmodernist approaches that became increasingly dominant around the turn of the century. This postmodern influence may be seen in editors' calls for contextualisation and diversity and in an increase in articles relying on qualitative methods. An additional counter narrative, however, is that alongside postmodernism, an increase in scientised approaches to research were also expanding, as more articles included explicit explanations of their data collection and analysis methods.

Within *Compare's* editorials, understandings of the comparative range from highly contextualised and postmodern approaches to single-country studies to quantitative examinations of multi-national data sets. While both of these approaches can be found in the articles published in *Compare*, there has been more focus on contextualisation since the 1990s, which can be seen in the increase in articles relying on qualitative methods, which jumped from 27.2% in the 1990s to 56.1% and 55.1% in the 2000s and 2010s, respectively. This emphasis on qualitative methods cannot be solely attributed to editors' comments, as there were larger academic movements occurring during these decades, with the move away from the rationalisation of the 1960s to 1980s and the move toward postmodern perspectives in the 1990s and beyond.

Trends in methods used in articles throughout *Compare's* history reflect postmodern and scientised trends in comparative and international education. Throughout *Compare's* first three decades, review articles--those lacking explicit methods or data collection and analysis and strategies--represented more than half of the articles published. However, the turn of the century represented a shift in methods, with the majority of articles drawing on qualitative approaches. Quantitative and mixed methods studies also increased, but they have remained less prevalent in *Compare's* articles, increasing to around 12% and 10%, respectively. The rapid increase of qualitative articles, doubling in percent from the 1990s to the 2000s, are indicative of postmodern approaches to comparative and international education, which focus on deconstructing educational phenomena for understanding. However, scientisation can also be considered as a contributing factor for these numbers, as articles had to include how data was collected or analysed--facets of research which tie back to the scientific method--in order to be coded as something other than review. This increased inclusion of a methods section may be attributed to scientisation movements within CIE and across the social sciences.

Discussions about what it means to be comparative have provided justifications for single-country studies and included examinations of large-scale, cross-national data sets. These discussions have occurred in the broader field of comparative and international education as well as on the pages of *Compare*. Despite a continual debate on meanings of comparison, single-country studies have dominated the field, ranging from 48% in the 2000s to 60% in the 1970s, with all other decades hovering between those numbers. Just over half of all articles published in *Compare* are single country studies. This focus on single-country studies may highlight postmodern approaches which seek depth in a particular context. Questions and understandings of comparison will continue to expand and play out in the articles published in *Compare*.

While issues of diversity and bias have been central to discussions about comparative and international education, they also appeared frequently in *Compare's* editorials, with editors seeking to appeal to an audience outside of the traditional academia and include authors representing a variety of institutions and organizations. While it is impossible to causally link the

editors' comments with an increase in diversity, *Compare* has grown increasingly diverse in a number of ways, including growth in the number of countries from the Global South included in articles, from 0.2% in the 1970s to 48.7% in the 2010s, as well as an increase in the number of authors affiliated with institutions located in the Global South, which increased from 7.6% in the 1970s to 17.6% in the 2010s. The growth in authors from Global South institutions may be linked with frequent calls from editors for contextualisation and inclusion around this time. While these numbers have increased, there is still room for substantial growth in the inclusion of authors affiliated with institutions from the Global South. Additionally, what this data does not and cannot reveal is authors' country of origin, which may highlight scholars from Global South countries living and working at Global North institutions.

Although the editorial team at *Compare* has discontinued the commentary and reflective component of the editorials, the research team hopes that they find alternative ways to provide their professional reflections and insights on the status of the journal and the field of comparative and international education as a whole. In addition to empirical articles examining the field, these reflective moments, where the editors connect sometimes very disparate article contents in an issue provide a foundation on which to move forward and shape the future of comparative and international education. Rather than dwelling on the differences or dichotomising the field between methods and theories, such statements and articles move to unite the field.

This research represents the only longitudinal empirical study of published articles in comparative and international education. In conceptualising this paper, we relied heavily on *Compare*'s former editorial teams and those scholars whose contributions have shaped the field of comparative and international education. The data presented here sets a foundation for future research, and we are excited to see critiques and extensions of this research in future issues of *Compare* from future generations of scholars.

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Appendix A
Categorization of Global South Countries Included in Data Set

Countries listed by both the UN & World Bank	Countries only listed by the World Bank	Countries only listed by the UN
Argentina Bangladesh Bolivia (Plurinational State of) Bosnia and Herzegovina Botswana Brazil Cambodia Cameroon Chile China Colombia Costa Rica Cuba Democratic People's Republic of Korea Democratic Republic of the Congo Dominican Republic Ecuador Egypt Eritrea Eswatini (Formerly Swaziland) Ethiopia Fiji Gambia Ghana Grenada Guatemala Guinea Guinea-Bissau Haiti India Indonesia Iran (Islamic Republic of) Jamaica Jordan Kenya Kuwait Lao People's Democratic Republic Lebanon Lesotho Madagascar Malawi Malaysia	American Samoa Azerbaijan Georgia Kazakhstan Kosovo Mexico Moldova Montenegro North Macedonia Romania Russian Federation Turkey Ukraine	Bahrain Barbados Brunei Darussalam Qatar Saudi Arabia Singapore State of Palestine Trinidad and Tobago United Arab Emirates

Maldives		
Mali		
Mauritius		
Mongolia		
Morocco		
Mozambique		
Myanmar		
Namibia		
Nepal		
Nicaragua		
Nigeria		
Pakistan		
Papua New Guinea		
Peru		
Philippines		
Rwanda		
Saint Lucia		
Samoa		
Sao Tome and Principe		
Senegal		
Sierra Leone		
Solomon Islands		
Somalia		
South Africa		
South Sudan		
Sri Lanka		
Sudan		
Suriname		
Syrian Arab Republic		
Thailand		
Timor-Leste		
Tunisia		
Uganda		
United Republic of Tanzania		
Vanuatu		
Venezuela, (Bolivarian Republic of)		
Viet Nam		
Yemen		
Zambia		
Zimbabwe		