

Profile of a Comparative and International Education Leader: Mark Bray¹

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Mark Bray's profile is a biographical sketch of his contributions to the field of comparative and international education (CIE). This profile also documents his distinguished career in which he rose to senior leadership positions in higher education and international development organizations including UNESCO. Mark served as President of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (2004-2007), Director of UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (2006-2010), and as President of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong (CESHK) and the US-based Comparative and International Education Society (CIES). The article is based on multiple data gathering techniques and oral interviews. Highlights include a review of some of Mark's key career milestones, leadership positions and accomplishments, as well as several publications that have helped shape and impact CIE worldwide.

Keywords: Mark Bray, Comparative and International Education, CESHK, CIES, Shadow Education, UNESCO, Comparative Education Methodology, WCCES

يوثق هذا الملف (CIE) تمثل هذه النبذة عن حياة مارك براي رسماً بيوغرافياً لمساهماته في مجال التعليم المقارن والدولي الشخصي أيضاً مسيرته البارزة التي ارتقى فيها إلى مناصب قيادية رفيعة في التعليم العالي ومنظمات التنمية الدولية بما في شغل مارك منصب رئيس المجلس العالمي لجمعيات التربية المقارنة (2004-2007)، ومدير المعهد الدولي. ذلك اليونسكو كذلك مجتمع و (CESHK) للتخطيط التربوي التابع لليونسكو (2006-2010)، ورئيساً لجمعية التعليم المقارن بهونغ كونغ المقارن مقره الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، ويستند المقال على تقنيات جمع البيانات المتعددة (CIES) التعليم الدولي تتضمن النقاط البارزة مراجعة لبعض المعالم المهنية الرئيسية لمارك ومواقفه القيادية وإنجازاته، والمقابلات الشفوية في جميع أنحاء العالم CIE بالإضافة إلى العديد من المنشورات التي ساعدت في تشكيل وتأثير.

马克·布雷 (Mark Bray) 的简介以传记的形式记录了他在比较与国际教育 (CIE) 领域中的贡献。这份简介描述了他的杰出职业生涯，讲述了他在高等教育领域的高级管理职位和对包括世界银行和联合国教科文组织 (UNESCO) 在内的国际发展组织作出的领导贡献。马克曾担任世界比较教育学会理事会主席 (2004-2007)、教科文组织国际教育规划研究所所长 (2006-2010)、香港比较教育学会 (CESHK) 会长和美国比较和国际教育协会 (CIES) 的主席。本文基于多种数据收集技术和口头访谈的方法，重点回顾了马克的职业里程碑、领导职位和关键成就，梳理了他的若干著作，这些作品都帮助塑造和影响了全球范围内的比较与国际教育的发展。本文是基于多种数据收集技术和口头访谈。重点包括回顾马克的一些关键职业里程碑、领导职位和成就，以及帮助

¹ This profile draws on interviews conducted by the author with Mark Bray on 13 March 2014, 30 September 2014, and 7 November 2018. All the uncited direct quotes in this profile derive from these interviews.

塑造和影响全球 CIE 的若干出版物。

Le profil de Mark Bray est une esquisse biographique de ses contributions au domaine de l'éducation comparée et internationale (ECI). Ce profil témoigne également de sa brillante carrière au cours de laquelle il a occupé des postes de direction dans l'enseignement supérieur et les organisations de développement international, y compris l'UNESCO. Mark a été Président du Conseil mondial des associations d'éducation comparée (2004-2007), Directeur de l'Institut international de planification de l'éducation de l'UNESCO (2006-2010) et Président de l'Association d'éducation comparée de Hong Kong et l'Association Américaine d'éducation comparée et internationale. L'article est basé sur de multiples techniques de collecte de données et d'entretiens oraux. Les points saillants comprennent un examen de certaines des étapes clés de la carrière, des postes de direction et des réalisations de Mark, ainsi que de plusieurs publications qui ont contribué à transformer et à étendre l'ECI dans le monde entier.

Профиль Марка Брея представляет собой биографический очерк его вклада в области сравнительного и международного образования (СМО). Этот профиль также документирует его выдающуюся карьеру, в которой он поднялся на высшие руководящие должности в высшем образовании и международных организациях по развитию, включая ЮНЕСКО. Марк служил в качестве президента Всемирного совета обществ сравнительного образования (2004-2007), директора Международного института ЮНЕСКО по планированию образования (2006-2010), а также в качестве президента Общества сравнительного образования Гонконга (CESHK) и Американского общества сравнительного и международного образования (CIES). Статья основана на многочисленных методах сбора данных и устных интервью. Основные моменты включают в себя обзор некоторых ключевых этапов карьеры Марка, его руководящих должностей и достижений, а также несколько публикаций, которые помогли сформировать и влияние СМО во всем мире.

El perfil de Mark Bray es un bosquejo biográfico de sus contribuciones a la educación internacional comparada (Comparative and International Education - CIE). Este perfil también documenta su distinguida carrera, en la que ascendió a posiciones de liderazgo en educación superior y en organizaciones internacionales de desarrollo, incluyendo la UNESCO. Mark ocupó los cargos de Presidente del Consejo Mundial de Sociedades de Educación Comparada (2004-2007), Director del Instituto Internacional de Planificación Educativa de la UNESCO (2006-2010), y Presidente de la Sociedad de Educación Comparada de Hong Kong (CESHK) y de la Sociedad de Educación Internacional Comparada (CEIS), con sede en Estados Unidos. El artículo se basa en múltiples técnicas de recolección de datos y entrevistas orales. Como puntos destacados del artículo se incluyen una revisión de algunos de los principales hitos de la carrera de Mark, las posiciones de liderazgo y los logros obtenidos, así como varias publicaciones clave que han ayudado a moldear al CIE y a darle impacto en todo el mundo.

Mark Bray's influence as a leader in the field of comparative and international education is inspirational. After childhood and youth in southern England, Mark turned toward a life in international education after graduating from secondary school. He held significant positions at a young age, and maintained leadership roles throughout his distinguished career. Mark bridged the divide between scholar and practitioner by working both *in* and *from* several flagship universities (namely the Universities of Edinburgh, London, Papua New Guinea, Hong Kong, and most recently East China Normal University). From these academic locations Mark also worked in prominent international development organizations including UNESCO. He also held significant leadership positions in professional bodies including Presidency of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES). This biographical narrative of an individual's career path may bring wider understanding of the contexts for development of the field of comparative and international education (CIE).

Background of Early Years in England

Mark Bray grew up in post-War England in the 1950s and 1960s. He was born in 1952 in the south of the country, and was the third of four siblings. He recalls a frugal existence. “I remember getting hand-me-downs from my older brothers, which was normal; and families commonly reknitted jumpers as the children got bigger.” Nevertheless, the environment was culturally rich, and during the economically-easing 1960s his family could even afford some vacation travel in Europe through which he gained some international exposure.

Today, Mark’s siblings all live in different countries. “Our family became highly international,” Mark recounts. From a monolingual culture mostly focused on England, Mark’s generation has become multilingual and global. Such generational shifts are of course far from unique; but the contrast between Mark’s intercultural and international focus and that of his parents struck Mark strongly when he reflected on it during the interviews. All of Mark’s own schooling was undertaken in England, but almost all his career has been abroad.

Charting a Course in CIE

Immediately following his secondary schooling, Mark took a break from full-time education and at the age of 17 went to Kenya as a Youth Service Abroad volunteer teacher in a rural *harambee* (self-help) secondary school. One of his elder brothers had followed this route, and encouraged Mark to do the same. The time in Kenya exposed Mark to a very different culture, and was not only a distinct formative experience but also a springboard to a lifelong career in comparative and international education (CIE). “My experiences in Kenya profoundly changed my perspectives on the world,” he recalled.

Mark then studied economics at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, receiving his BA in 1973. His main social group was with international students alongside British counterparts who like him had first-hand and deep experience of other countries. By that time, Mark had been “bitten by the travel bug.” He used his summer vacations for travel in North and Sub-Saharan Africa, exploring further cultures and “learning through comparing.”

In 1973, Mark returned to Africa for a two-year posting, this time with Voluntary Service Overseas, as a community secondary school teacher in Kwara State, Nigeria. Because he already had experience in East Africa, Mark wanted to work in West Africa. He was among the staff that launched this rural school, teaching English, economics and various other subjects as the need arose (which was frequent). Mark recalled the deep immersion in the Nigerian culture as often challenging but very meaningful. As in Kenya, the school was in a remote location with rough roads and no electricity. The pair of experiences helped to give Mark a sense of what it was like to be a minority in other cultures and contexts.



Mark Bray (third left, front) with other teachers in Kwara State, Nigeria, 1974. Photo courtesy of Mark Bray.

During his second year in Nigeria, Mark applied for an interdisciplinary Masters program in the Centre of African Studies at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. There he met Kenneth King, who later became his doctoral advisor. “During the program my focus shifted from

economics to education because of Kenneth King,” Mark reflected. “He was a very active and inspirational, with remarkable knowledge of Africa and the wider development community.”²

Having written a Masters dissertation about preparation of Nigeria’s Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme which was launched in 1976, Mark desired to extend the work in doctoral study. Kenneth King encouraged this, and Mark became his first PhD student. They decided that the best vantage point to observe the unfolding UPE scheme would be through return to Nigeria for a teaching position. Thus, Mark’s second extended stay in Nigeria was as an economics teacher at the Federal Government College, Kano, while simultaneously enrolled as a doctoral student at the University of Edinburgh. In Kano, Mark was responsible for School Certificate and Higher School Certificate classes in economics.



Mark (second right) with his advisor, Kenneth King (center), and students/colleagues at the University of Edinburgh, 1978. Photo courtesy of Mark Bray.

Returning to the UK in 1977, Mark learned that his mentor would go on leave for two years (which later became three and a half) to work for the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Canada. Kenneth suggested that Mark might apply for the position that he would temporarily vacate at the University of Edinburgh. Mark was surprised at this suggestion, and recalls telling Kenneth that he was much too junior. Kenneth encouraged Mark to apply anyway.

Mark did apply, was interviewed, and informed that he did not get the job having ranked third among the three interviewees. He

accepted the logic of this decision—and then about two weeks later found his balance challenged by the news that the first two candidates had declined the offer and therefore that it fell to him. Still pursuing his doctorate and in his mid-20s, he felt somewhat out of his depth. “Whereas I had been the student just months before, all of the sudden I was put in the prestigious position of being a university lecturer for the same courses I had recently taken myself,” Mark recalled. He taught courses about education in less developed countries at the MEd, MSc, and postgraduate diploma levels.

Mark rose to the challenge, and especially after the first year found confidence in what he was doing. Alongside, he continued work on his doctoral thesis which he submitted in 1979. Having done so and needing a break, he rewarded himself with a diversifying travel experience, this time to India where his younger brother was following Mark’s tracks as a volunteer teacher after university graduation. After revisions, the thesis was approved in 1980 and published the next year with the title *Universal Primary Education in Nigeria: A Study of Kano State*. Thus appeared Mark’s first book, today placed chronologically on his shelf alongside 57 others.

When Kenneth King did in due course return to his post at the University of Edinburgh, Mark continued his geographic and cultural diversification first with a three-months assignment in Pakistan and then with a three-years appointment at the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG). Pakistan had transitioned from the colonial era in the immediate post-war era, but the colonial transition in Papua New Guinea was much more recent. In Papua New Guinea Mark noted greater similarities with Sub-Saharan Africa in the nature and levels of development.

The post at UPNG was funded through a World Bank project and provided close links with the National Department [Ministry] of Education and with provincial governments. Mark’s main

² For a collection of Kenneth King’s published works, with a Foreword by Mark Bray, see King (2019).

role was in-service training of provincial education planners – for which he characteristically took every opportunity to travel in order to see the country and understand local conditions. Within his first year he had visited all 19 provinces, many of them several times and extensively. He also took every opportunity to visit neighboring countries. During his tenure in Papua New Guinea, Mark also served as an Education Planning Adviser for two specific provinces (East New Britain and North Solomons), and continued his writing and research. His second book (1984) was entitled *Educational Planning in a Decentralised System: The Papua New Guinean Experience*. It made an impact far beyond Papua New Guinea itself, in part because it was well grounded in practical realities and also because it was an early contributor to wider discussion of decentralization when it became a major theme on international development agendas.

Mark returned to England in 1984 as a Lecturer at the University of London Institute of Education. He was employed in what was initially called the Department of Education in Developing Countries (EDC) and then, after a reorganization, the Department of International and Comparative Education (DICE).



Allan Sail (first left – a colleague in the educational planning team) and Mark Bray (second left) with local villagers, visiting remote Papua New Guinea schools, 1982. Photo courtesy of Mark Bray.

However, Mark stayed in London for only a year and a bit. In 1981 he had visited Hong Kong, accompanying a colleague from the University of Edinburgh who was conducting research there. Mark had met Ora Kwo, who taught in the Department of Professional Studies in Education at the University of Hong Kong. When they decided to get married in 1986, Mark moved to Hong Kong for his next (lengthy) period of immersion in a different culture. For a while, Mark was a househusband and took a Cantonese language course while he explored job possibilities and also took intermittent consultancies in countries as diverse as China, Malta, Indonesia, New Zealand and Sudan. In 1987 he considered himself extremely fortunate to secure a post in the Department of Education at the University of Hong Kong.

The post that Mark secured at HKU was at the Lecturer level. After two years he was promoted to Senior Lecturer and then a year later to Reader. Subsequent posts included Head of the Department of Education (1991-1995), Professor (1996-1999), Chair Professor in Comparative Education (1999-2012), Dean of the Faculty of Education (2002-2006), and UNESCO Chair in Comparative Education (2012-2018).

Since 2018, the status of Emeritus Professor at HKU has permitted Mark to take on other roles. Most prominent among them has been Distinguished Chair Professor at East China Normal University, Shanghai. “China is in an exciting stage of internationalization,” Mark explained. “It is a pleasure to work there with a very dynamic team.” He added that Shanghai has about a dozen graduates from his doctoral and masters supervision; and, reflecting on the past, observed that Shanghai is a very different city from the time of his first visit with Ora in 1983.

Institutional Roles and CIE

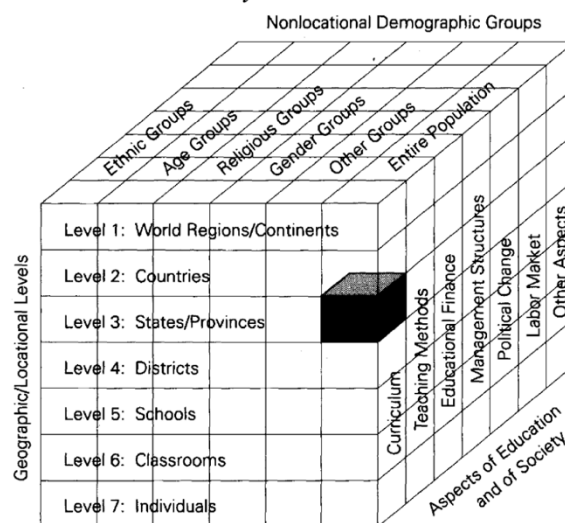
During the early stages of his career, Mark considered himself more focused on development studies and what would commonly be called international (or foreign) education than on comparative education. Later Mark shifted towards explicit comparisons and to leadership with professional bodies associated with the field of comparative education.

Among Mark's major achievements has been the establishment and development of the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) at HKU. The Centre is well known in the international community, especially because of its publications and projects and also because of contributions to multiple generations of postgraduate students.

CERC was established in 1994 during the time that Mark was Head of the HKU Department of Education. Mark worked closely with a colleague, Lee Wing On, who himself had comparative interests demonstrated in recent publication of a book based on his doctoral thesis from Durham University in England (Lee 1991). They decided that Wing On would become the founding Director, with Mark and others providing strong support.³ Mark took over the Directorship in 1996, having by that time handed over the Headship of the Department of Education to a colleague, and remained Director until the beginning of 2002 when he was again called to major Departmental administrative duties.

A major driving force for CERC was Hong Kong's political environment during the 1990s. The timetable had been set for the departure of the British colonial administration and the resumption of Chinese sovereignty on 1 July 1997, and a major question concerned what could be learned from experiences elsewhere. Thus the first two volumes in the CERC Studies in Comparative Education, which became a prestigious series in the field, focused on this theme (Lee and Bray 1997; Bray and Lee 1997). The theme was explored further in 1999 when Macau underwent its political transition from Portuguese to Chinese administration (Bray and Koo 1999). Through these and other publications, CERC sought to provide an Asian flavor and indeed provided another center of gravity for the field which had hitherto been dominated by North America and Western Europe.

*Figure 1: A Framework for Comparative Education Analyses:
The Bray and Thomas Cube*



Source: Bray and Thomas (1995), p. 475.

Also worth mentioning during this period was Mark's paper co-authored with R. Murray Thomas and published in the *Harvard Education Review*, which included what is now widely known as the Bray and Thomas Cube (Figure 1). The article commenced (Bray and Thomas 1995, p. 472) by observing that:

³ For a history of CERC, including its leadership, structure, role, and impact, see Manzon (2015).

Comparison is the basis of almost all forms of inquiry. However, the field of educational studies known as comparative education has historically been defined in a somewhat limited way.... [The] chief focus in comparative education literature has been on countries and world regions, and ... this has tended to lead to unbalanced and incomplete perspectives. On the other side of the coin, ... much research in other fields of education has been undesirably localized in focus. In many of these studies, unbalanced and incomplete perspectives have resulted from the lack of an international dimension.

The cube showed ways in which perspectives could complement each other in multilevel analysis. Bray and Thomas recognized that it could not cover every category of comparison, but the cube became a classic in the field of comparative education. Moreover, the article has been widely utilized in other fields (see e.g., Ballantine 2001), and in 1996 received the award from the American Educational Research Association (AERA) as the “Outstanding International Study of the Year.”⁴ Bray explored further the value and limitations of the cube in his book *Comparative Education Research: Approaches and Methods*, which was co-edited with two colleagues who became CERC Directors after he had stepped down in 2002. The book has so far appeared in two editions (Bray, Adamson and Mason 2007/2014) and 10 languages,⁵ and is a core text for university courses in many countries.

Returning to the theme of Mark’s institutional career trajectory, in 2006 he moved to Paris as Director of the UNESCO’s International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP). The IIEP had been founded in 1963 by Philip H. Coombs,⁶ and is the oldest and most prestigious of UNESCO’s institutes in the education sector. Mark was only the eighth person to serve as Director. He was granted leave of absence from HKU, initially for three years and then for one more to complete a four-year term. The IIEP provides research and training worldwide within the UNESCO framework.

Mark observed that because the IIEP has its own Governing Board, it is to some extent protected from the more politicized UNESCO dynamics in UNESCO. He enjoyed the IIEP work, seizing the opportunities to interact with government policy makers and planners across the globe. Whereas his previous academic appointments had mainly afforded relationships with counterparts in universities, the IIEP’s primary partnerships were with ministries of education.

While at the IIEP, Mark developed his work on the so-called shadow education system of private supplementary tutoring. Several years earlier, the IIEP had published his booklet in the prestigious series “Fundamentals of Educational Planning” entitled *The Shadow Education System: Private Tutoring and its Implications for Planners* (Bray 1999b). The metaphor of the shadow was used because the supplementary sector to a large extent mimics



Mark Bray (left) with Raymond Wanner (right), Chair of the IIEP Governing Board, 2007. Centre: photo of Philip H. Coombs, founding IIEP Director. Occasion: naming of Coombs Room in IIEP. Photo courtesy of Mark Bray.

⁴ The award followed nomination by the International Studies Special Interest Group.

⁵ The languages are Chinese, English, Farsi, French, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish.

⁶ Coombs was a significant a visionary in the field of education, especially known in academic circles for his book *The World Educational Crisis* (Coombs 1968).

the mainstream: as the curriculum in the mainstream changes, so does that of the shadow. That book was the first global study of the phenomenon, and is a foundation item in what is now a considerable literature. “I did not invent the term ‘shadow education,’” Mark recalls, “having encountered it in Japan, Malaysia and Singapore. But I did play a major role in popularizing it.” Indeed the vocabulary is now widespread, not only from that 1999 book but also, among others, from sequels in Mark’s work.

In 2007 Mark organized an IIEP Policy Forum which led to a volume entitled *Confronting the Shadow Education System: What Government Policies for What Private Tutoring?* (Bray 2009). That book had even greater impact than the first. Mark observed that:

Back in 1999, many people had responded along the lines of “That’s interesting, but it is not us: it is you people over there, in Hong Kong, Japan, Korea and elsewhere in East Asia.” But a decade later, people responded that that *is* us. Shadow education had more obviously become a global phenomenon. And the comparative analysis was valuable to policy makers and planners who had previously felt isolated as if the phenomenon only existed in their countries.

An indicator of the extent to which the work was valued is provided in the number of translations. The 1999 book was published in six languages, but the 2009 book appeared in 20. In most cases the translations reflected demand in the countries themselves rather than the provision by UNESCO, and some of the languages are relatively uncommon for such international comparative work.⁷

During his tenure, Mark also gave keynote addresses in every major global region on topics that included good governance, research methods, and financing of education. “It was very stimulating to be at UNESCO,” Mark recalled, “and exciting to operate on the global stage.” IIEP further broadened Mark’s international network and influence. Mark helped to monitor and further shape UNESCO’s Education for All (EFA) agenda. He also contributed actively to



⁷ The 1999 book has been published in Azeri, Chinese, English, Farsi, French and Japanese. The 2009 book has been published in Arabic, Armenian, Azeri, Bangla, Chinese, Farsi, French, Georgian, Hindi, Kannada, Korean, Mongolian, Nepali, Polish, Portuguese, Sinhala, Spanish, Urdu and Uzbek.

UNESCO's priorities for Small Island Developing States (SIDS), including through a 2009 IIEP Policy Forum in conjunction with UNESCO's World Conference on Higher Education (see Martin and Bray 2011).

Returning to HKU after IIEP brought Mark back to the frontier of university teaching. Further, Mark's experience at UNESCO added prestige to HKU. Most obvious was the creation of the UNESCO Chair in Comparative Education, approved in November 2011 and officially launched in May 2012 in the presence at HKU of Tang Qian, UNESCO's Assistant Director-General for Education, and other senior colleagues. The model had been created in 1992 as a bridge between UNESCO and the academic world, and the network of "critical friends" enabled UNESCO to secure independent expertise from the research community and elsewhere. The Chairs existed in all domains of UNESCO work (i.e., Education, Science and Culture), but this was the first to be labeled a UNESCO Chair in Comparative Education.

Mark's expanded and deepened network and experiences also strengthened other CIE aspects within the Faculty of Education, including in the Comparative Education Research Centre of which Mark resumed the Directorship following his return from Paris. New thrusts included not only the UNESCO foci but also an expanded Master of Education (MEd) program in Comparative and Global Studies in Education and Development (CGSED) which attracted a multinational and dynamic annual intake. Mark also built up a Special Interest Group in shadow education. PhD students during the next eight years focused on Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, Eritrea, Georgia, Hong Kong, India, and Myanmar, and Postdoctoral Fellows focused on China, Cambodia, Dubai, Iran, Japan and Taiwan. Many MEd students also focused on shadow education in their dissertations, adding for example Azerbaijan, Uganda, and Uzbekistan.

Among the specific events during this period was a celebration of CERC's 20th anniversary. The five Directors to date attended,⁸ and Maria Manzon, whose doctoral thesis had become an influential conceptual book (Manzon 2011), prepared an institutional history of CERC to show its leadership and evolution in changing environments (Manzon 2015). The cake-cutting component was led by CERC's capable secretaries: Emily Mang who had faithfully served CERC and its mission for 17 years, and Zhang Wei who had taken over from her.



Twentieth Anniversary Year of the Comparative Education Research Centre at the University of Hong Kong, 2015. From left: Maria Manzon, Zhang Wei, Lee Wing On, Mark Bray, Bob Adamson, Mark Mason, Yang Rui, and Emily Mang. Photo courtesy of Mark Bray.

Work with Comparative Education Societies and the World Council

Mark attended his first WCCES Congress in Prague, Czechoslovakia, in 1992. During the Congress Mark met then WCCES President Wolfgang Mitter, Secretary-General Raymond Ryba, and other prominent leaders. Raymond Ryba needed an Assistant Secretary-General to help manage the World Council affairs, and invited Mark to take this role. One reason why Raymond Ryba needed help was that his health was precarious, and his death in 1996 left a major gap. Mark did not feel ready at that stage to move into the Secretary-General position, and like many colleagues was glad that Vandra Masemann was willing to do so (Monks and Jacob 2018). Mark continued as Assistant Secretary-General for four years, and then in 2000

⁸ They were Lee Wing On (1994-1996), Mark Bray (1996-2002), Bob Adamson (2002), Mark Mason (2002-2008), Yang Rui (2008-2010), and again Mark Bray from 2010 onwards.

took over from her. In this role he supported David Wilson as President of the WCCES and then, from the time of the 2001 World Congress in Korea, Anne Hickling Hudson (Jacob 2017). From the Korean Congress he edited a special double issue of the *International Review of Education* that was then republished as a book and translated into nine languages (Bray 2003).⁹ Such dissemination helped the WCCES indeed to see itself as a World Body with participation from scholars in some of the relatively minor language groups as well as the major ones.

Anne Hickling Hudson's presidency lasted from the 2001 Congress in Korea to the 2004 Congress in Cuba. Mark was nominated as her successor, and then elected—by that time having a dozen years of intimate knowledge of WCCES procedures and history. Since the WCCES was unable to appoint a replacement Secretary-General at such short notice, Mark proceeded with both roles until 2005 when Christine Fox was appointed to the position. The term of the Presidency was again for three years until the 2007 Congress in Bosnia and Herzegovina, at which point Mark handed over to Crain Soudien but remained a member of the Executive Committee for a further three years in the role of Past-President. Subsequently Mark became the WCCES-UNESCO Liaison Representative, and only in 2016 concluded his service on the WCCES Executive Committee after a period exceeding two decades. Thus, Mark was indeed a major figure in the WCCES development, part of which was chronicled alongside the roles of others in the book of histories that he co-edited with Vandra Masemann and Maria Manzon (Masemann et al. 2007).

Mark also played major roles in other societies. One was the Comparative Education Society of Asia (CESA), which had been founded during CERC's inaugural symposium in 1995 (Mochida 2007). Mark had been part of the 1994 planning meeting convened in Japan, and was a member of the Board of Directors from 1995 to 2001 and again from 2012 to 2017. He was also a loyal participant in the CESA biennial conferences, presenting keynote addresses in 1998 (Mainland China), 2001 (Taiwan), 2003 (Indonesia), 2005 (Malaysia), 2007 (Hong Kong), and 2012 (Thailand).

Secondly, Mark has always been an active member of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong (CESHK), of which he was President from 1998 to 2000. The CESHK had been founded in 1989, and for much of its history CERC has been the Secretariat. The CESHK Constitution declared the society's objectives to be:

- to promote the study of comparative education in Hong Kong;
- to disseminate ideas and information, through seminars and publications and other means, on recent developments, in Hong Kong and abroad, of comparative education scholarship; and
- to liaise with other scholarly associations of comparative education and of other areas of educational research, in Hong Kong and abroad.

In their account of the CESHK history, Wong and Fairbrother (2007, p. 251) noted that:

The fifth President of the society, Mark Bray (1998-2000), at that time Director of the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) at the University of Hong Kong, revitalised attention to these objectives. Bray had a distinct mission of taking the CESHK further beyond the local context, which was partly achieved through the links with the WCCES. Bray's address at the CESHK's 10th anniversary conference (Bray 1999a) highlighted the impressive output of Hong Kong scholars in the prominent English-language and Chinese-language journals of the field.... Hong Kong scholars, Bray pointed out, were doing much to promote the visibility of Hong Kong itself, and also mainland China, Macao

⁹ The original book was in English, and the translations were in Bosnian, Bulgarian, Chinese, Farsi, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Russian and Spanish.

and Taiwan, in the international literature. He added that they had particular strengths in being able to publish in Chinese-language as well as English-language journals.

However, Wong and Fairbrother added, Bray also underscored the need for stronger attention to methodology and urged CESHK scholars to reach further beyond local case study research into the broader conceptual arena. During his presidency, the CESHK began its tradition of holding conferences on a regular annual basis rather than on a somewhat *ad hoc* pattern.

The third WCCES member in which Mark has played a major leadership role is the US-based Comparative and International Education Society (CIES). This is the oldest and largest of the WCCES member societies, having been established in 1956 (Epstein 2016; Swing 2007). With only one gap, Mark has attended every CIES annual conference since 1987 and has found these events invaluable for networking and professional development. The Bray and Thomas cube was one product, since the seed for the idea had been sown during a CIES conference.¹⁰

Mark was been approached several times over the years to stand for election for the CIES Presidency, and always refused because of other commitments. Finally, in 2014 he did agree to stand, and was elected. The CIES had previously had Presidents based in Canada as well as the US, but had not had a President outside North America. Since Mark was not a US citizen, he also was not linked by nationality. In these respects, therefore, his election brought a departure from traditions. Fortunately, in the internet era it was still possible to convene Skype meetings with the Executive Committee and Board of Directors, albeit at inconvenient hours for some of them; and colleagues familiar with US and politics advised him on those dimensions.

The CIES system is for the elected candidate to proceed in a four-year sequence from Vice-President to President-Elect, President and then Past-President. One of the greatest tasks for the President-Elect is organization of the annual conference. For Mark the event fell in 2016, which was the Society's 60th anniversary year and thus set the theme of "Taking Stock and Looking Forward." To achieve geographic balance with immediate predecessor conferences, Mark initially wanted the event to be on the West Coast of the US. However, no appropriate venue was available, and he therefore decided on Vancouver, Canada. A 60th Anniversary book of histories edited by Erwin H. Epstein was commissioned for the CERC-Springer series and given to each of the 2,700 conference participants. The conference indeed reflected meaningfully on the nature and evolution of the CIE field, at least as viewed from North America.

Following the tradition, towards the end of the Vancouver conference Mark transitioned from President-Elect to President. Major duties during the months that followed included appointment of a new team to the professional secretariat. Of course many other routine matters demanded considerable attention in a body as large as the CIES. Mark was glad to hand over the baton during the 2017 conference in Atlanta, USA, during which he presented his Presidential Address. Building on parts of his work over the decades, commencing with his PhD thesis about UPE in Nigeria and then turning to the research on shadow education, his address was entitled "Schooling and its Supplements: Changing Global Patterns and Implications for Comparative Education" (Bray 2017).

Alongside CESA, CESHK and CIES, Mark has assisted many other societies. For example, he has delivered keynote addresses for conferences of the:

- Association Francophone d'Éducation Comparée (AFEC),
- Australian and New Zealand Comparative Education Society (ANZCIES),
- Bulgarian Comparative Education Society (BCES),

¹⁰ R. Murray Thomas was also a regular participant of CIES conferences, and had been CIES President in 1985/86.

- China Comparative Education Society (CCES),
- Comparative Education Society of the Philippines (CESP),
- Czech Pedagogical Society – Comparative Education Section (CPS-CES),
- Gulf Comparative Education Society (GCES),
- Indian Ocean Comparative Education Society (IOCES),
- International Society for Comparative Adult Education (ISCAE),
- Japan Comparative Education Society (JCES),
- Sociedad Argentina de Estudios Comparados en Educación (SAECE), and
- Sociedade Brasileira de Educação Comparada (SBEC).

Once again, this list underlines his global role in developing the field.

Conclusion

Throughout his academic career, Mark has considered the universities that employed him not only to be excellent places to work *in* but also excellent places to work *from*. As indicated, over the decades he undertook multiple short-term assignments for such bodies as the Asian Development Bank, Commonwealth Secretariat, UNESCO, UNICEF, and the World Bank. Mark also worked with many national governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Recalling a phrase used by David Wilson, a predecessor President both of the WCCES and of the CIES, Mark felt that “this has given me an academic-practitioner perspective in which I have worked on both sides of the road. I have been able to cross the road between conceptualization through academic writing and the world of government ministries and to some extent schools.” He added that the grounding of his early career in rural Africa had been invaluable for understanding of developmental contexts away from cities and centers of administration.

Mark has also carried far-reaching impact through the professional bodies in the field. During his decades as Assistant Secretary-General and then Secretary-General and President of the WCCES, he helped to plant and watered seeds for societies that grew and flourished. Among them was the Turkish Comparative Education Society (TÜKED), which hosted the World Congress in 2010. During that event Fatma Gök, the Congress organizer and WCCES Vice-President, was among people who paid tribute to Mark and his role. Equally, as noted, he played a foundational role for CESA, and then helped it to grow and develop. Similarly, when he took over the CESHK helm he set traditions that have been sustained during subsequent decades. The CIES is a much older and larger body with many dedicated contributors over the decades, and so the nature of Mark’s CIES leadership was somewhat different but again of lasting significance as the Society proceeds through its seventh decade. And alongside these bodies, Mark has helped other societies as reflected in the long list above.



WCCES Congress in Istanbul, 2010. From left: an interviewer from the press, Mark Bray, Fatma Gök (WCCES Vice-President and Congress organizer), and Susan Robertson (University of Bristol, UK). Photo courtesy of Mark Bray.

A different, albeit related, side of Mark's impact has been through his scholarly publications. To date he has published 58 books, among which translations have appeared in 28 languages. He has also (co-)authored over 160 peer-reviewed journal articles, and 120 book chapters; and the *CERC Studies in Comparative Education* series has 36 volumes to date.

Looking back at his career, Mark felt very fortunate to have had many great opportunities and the energy to seize them. The world has greatly changed since the 1970s, not only through technology but also through geopolitical shifts. Combining continued links with HKU as an Emeritus Professor and a new role in Shanghai as a Distinguished Chair Professor at East China Normal University, Mark feels at the forefront of some of these shifts in what has been widely called the Asian Century (e.g., Johnson et al. 2015).

Answering a question about opportunities for younger generations, Mark responded: "I see huge opportunities, but they may be very different from what they looked like when I embarked on my career." CIE opportunities differ depending on each country. There has been a major shift in recent years in the international influence from the West toward the East. "For instance, when I travel to China and to other countries I can see the differences." Where there was once strong funding and support for CIE in traditional strongholds like the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, and much of Europe, East Asian countries such as China, Japan, Korea and Singapore have are now exerting leadership. Mark has been glad to have been part of this shift, especially in Hong Kong but also elsewhere.

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