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Global South perspectives: a curriculum analysis of a global North comparative international education graduate program

Perspectivas del sur global: un análisis curricular de un programa de posgrado en educación internacional comparativa del norte global

Mariana Casellato*

*Mariana Casellato: tiene un máster en Desarrollo y Educación Internacional por Teachers College, Columbia University. Su experiencia se centra en la promoción de educación ambiental y de ciudadanía con jóvenes en iniciativas de educación no formal en Brasil, su país de origen, en proyectos gubernamentales y no gubernamentales. Sus temas de investigación incluyen descolonización en la educación, educación ambiental y del cambio climático, participación de niños y jóvenes y educomunicación. **Datos de contacto**: E-mail: mc4743@tc.columbia.edu

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Abstract

The field of Comparative International Education trains new professionals every year who engage in work in diverse countries around the world, especially global South countries, influencing policy decisions. At the same time, the decolonization framework points out the epistemic dominance of the North, which faces the 'other' as an object of study rather than a subject capable of also producing knowledge. This study aims to use the framework of modernity/coloniality/decoloniality to understand the profile diversity of the authors used within the training of Comparative International Education (CIE) professionals in the Global North. It presents a bibliometric analysis of the syllabi of three offerings of the basic requirement course of the International Educational Development program at Teachers College Columbia University for the academic year of 2019-2020, evaluating the presence of Global South authors. Using basic descriptive statistics and social network analysis, this study investigates the geographic representation of the canons in the field by tracing the authorship of course readings. The findings demonstrate that research produced within the Global North is dominant in the basic training of CIE students, whereas Global South authors are present almost five times less than their Global North counterparts.

Keywords: decolonization; decoloniality; higher education; curriculum analysis; comparative international education

Resumen

El campo de la Educación Internacional Comparada capacita a cada año a nuevos profesionales que se dedican a trabajar en diversos países del mundo, especialmente en los países del Sur global, influyendo en las decisiones políticas. Al mismo tiempo, el marco de la descolonización señala el dominio epistémico del Norte, que mira al «otro» como un objeto de estudio más que como un sujeto capaz también de producir conocimiento. Este estudio tiene como objetivo utilizar el marco de modernidad/colonialidad/decolonialidad para comprender la diversidad de perfiles de los autores utilizados dentro de la formación de profesionales de la Educación Internacional Comparada (CIE) en el Norte Global. Presenta un análisis bibliométrico de los planes de estudio de tres ofertas del curso de requisito básico del programa de Desarrollo y Educación Internacional en Teachers College Columbia University para el año académico 2019-2020, evaluando la presencia de autores del Sur Global. Usando estadísticas descriptivas básicas y análisis de redes sociales, este estudio investiga la representación geográfica de los cánones en el campo rastreando la autoría de las lecturas del curso. Los hallazgos demuestran que la investigación producida dentro del Norte Global es dominante en la formación básica de los estudiantes del CIE, mientras que los autores del Sur Global están presentes casi cinco veces menos que sus contrapartes del Norte Global.

Palabras clave: descolonización; decolonialidad; enseñanza superior; análisis curricular; educación internacional comparada

1. Introduction

Decolonization is currently a hot topic that has been used widely by initiatives aimed at reacting to, opposing, deconstructing, and rejecting the structures laid by the colonial process that continues to shape our lives. Occasional expressions of decolonization initiatives date back to the sixteenth century, but the root of a more systematic framework arose after World War II, materialized in the 1955 Bandung Conference, in which formerly colonized countries from Asia and Africa got together to plan a cooperation against imperialist neocolonial powers, acknowledging the negative influence rich countries had over poor countries and making a strong ideological stand against colonialism and racism (Dirlik, 2007; Mignolo, 2011). This pivotal event was followed by more initiatives, with echoes in the recent decolonization movements gaining visibility in higher education like the initiative "Rhodes must fall" in 2015, in which students demanded the removal of Cecil Rhodes' statues from the grounds of the University of Cape Town, giving start to a wave that took hold in South Africa, and later, other countries in the world.

In the U.S., decolonization as a topic has also been gaining space in universities following a global trend. At the International Education Development program at Teachers College (TC), an elite Ivy League school from Columbia University, decolonization first left its place as a subtopic of a course to become the main curriculum topic of a class in the academic year of 2019-2020. In that same year, the Decolonization Study Group (DSG) was created, gathering alumni, faculty, and students in weekly meetings to take an in-depth look into decolonial authors, discussions, and practices, and to envision ways of implementing some of those perspectives at the university. In a short period, the group was invited to present their views to faculty, and later organized their first event gathering students, faculty, and staff to discuss pathways to decolonize TC, with an expressive number of participants from different departments. The level of rapid engagement and growth reveals that this is a topic of interest that needs to be further addressed. As a member of the Teachers College DSG, one of my goals with this paper is to collaborate with that process.

As part of the five areas of action towards decolonization listed in the DSG memo, step 2 focuses on "curriculum review, including course development, content, and structure" (DSG, 2020, p.3), which encompasses mapping and reviewing the course canons and readings to make it more culturally and linguistically diverse in a collaborative effort among students and faculty. That particular aspect resonated with me as an international student. Before my time at TC, I had the opportunity to get in contact with theories related to development and education in my own country, Brazil, many of which were written by Latin American authors. As this university is perceived to offer one of the most recognized professional trainings in the world, I hoped to be presented to diverse theories and perspectives from different countries and contexts, in a fruitful intercultural exchange. While cutting-edge knowledge at the institution does exist, I felt a lack of presence of the equally advanced knowledge I learned about in Latin America, and diverse knowledge produced in countries other than the US and the UK. I perceived firsthand that the missing authors from Latin America would surely restrain a foreigner's capability of accurately interpreting the Brazilian context. Beyond that, the international debate itself could have been enriched by those missing perspectives. I could not help but wonder if the same would be true for many other countries.

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Despite the importance of global South authors in analyzing their own reality as well as the global context, knowledge originating in global South countries does not necessarily make its way to the curriculum in global North countries. However, research in the latter remain the primary reference of academic excellence, knowledge production, and validation, attracting thousands of students from all over the world, setting the trends of mainstream knowledge references. The field of Comparative International Education (CIE) is committed to learning about and addressing educational issues across countries focused on mitigating inequalities and development gaps. Given this mission-driven focus, it would be expected from this field a great level of awareness towards identifying and addressing colonial remnants. There has certainly been concern around such issues, but even so, scholars agree that the colonial entanglements of knowledge in this field are rarely acknowledged and much still needs to change (Cortina & Earl, 2019; Takayama, 2020; Takayama *et al.*, 2017). One trait that seems concerning, for example, is the fact that the field is marked by a flow of professionals trained in the global North, where supposedly the most recognized training is located, to the global South, where the majority of educational issues seem to be identified.

Professional training in CIE provides students with the canon theories and frameworks of the field that create the context in which the interpretation of different countries' educational issues takes place, and present main theories and strategies to tackle these issues. The field has long understood the importance of learning about a country's context when planning and conducting assessments and external interventions, promoting respect for others, and moving away from a Eurocentric perspective. The question remains, however, to what extent these soon-to-be professionals are getting in contact with perspectives, knowledge, and even solutions already being produced by the countries they are bound to work in, global South countries?

Considering these ongoing dynamics in theory and in practice, this study seeks to understand to what extent global South perspectives (GSP) are being incorporated in a reference international university of a global North country. This analysis aims to shed light on the influence those perspectives have on the mainstream international education debate and praxis, a context that still lacks empirical support. The research will focus on the case of the International Education Development (IED) program of the International and Transcultural Studies Department (ITS) of Teachers College Columbia University (TC), which offers masters and doctorate graduate programs in the field.

This research is a descriptive study of the particular case cited above in the form of a curriculum analysis of the syllabi of a foundational course offered within one academic year of the IED program, looking for the presence of literature references produced by global South authors. It intends to add to the knowledge base already being developed in the area of decolonization in higher education, specifically in the CIE field. Even though much has been discussed theoretically regarding how the colonial legacy is present in the area of production of knowledge, there are few empirical studies focused on measuring the actual presence of GSP in global North higher education institutions. This research aims to collaborate in addressing this gap. It will provide material for understanding how the CIE field has been dialoguing with decolonizing trends. Additionally, the findings of this research will collaborate with the decolonization efforts already underway at TC, which might serve as a reference to other institutions in conducting curricular revisions. Using those strategies, the study will seek to answer the following questions:

•To what extent are GSP present in the base of the CIE professional training offered by the IED program at TC?

o To what extent is that presence related to individual faculty choices?

This paper also aims to contribute to clarifying and detailing one of the theoretical frameworks used in current decolonization debates. With the spread use of the term 'decolonization', it seems foundational to delineate and define the conceptual backbone of the discussion and analysis advanced in this piece, which is the Latin American Decolonial school of thought and its modernity/coloniality/decoloniality framework. As such, this research aims to provide insightful contribution to the debate and thought exercise proposed by the DSG.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Modernity/Coloniality/Decoloniality

As a somewhat novice field deeply connected to praxis, decolonization encompasses different views, definitions, and theoretical backgrounds. In this section I intend to elaborate on one of the many perspectives within this debate, the framework and definitions discussed by Latin American Decolonial thinkers, mainly the Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano, and the Argentinian semiotician Walter Mignolo in partnership with intellectual-militant Catherine Walsh. The concept of modernity/coloniality/decoloniality advanced by their work is the framework this study relies on. The three words come together for a reason. Quijano first creates the dyad modernity/coloniality due to the ontological interconnection he identifies between the terms. Later, Mignolo adds decoloniality to that system as the only viable alternative, whose existence is conditioned to the existence of the other two concepts, as it will be shown. Additionally, the idea of South Epistemologies and Ecology of knowledge, conceptualized by the Portuguese scholar Boaventura de Sousa Santos is used to focus the discussion into the realm of knowledge production and will be detailed in the following section.

2.1.1. Modernity

Colonialism refers to an exploitation structure in which political, production, and labor control are dominated by an alien party of a different identity located in another territory (Quijano, 2010). Beginning in the fifteenth century, European colonizers conquered the societies and cultures inhabiting that land while also establishing a massive trade of enslaved African people over the Atlantic, in a movement so massive that it triggered the constitution of the new world order that we know today (Quijano, 2009).

This specific case of Eurocentric colonialism was constituted by systematic repression of dominated peoples' culture, knowledge, ways of knowing, imaginary and beliefs as well as their agriculture and natural resources related technologies. This system of repression was reinforced by the imposition of the colonizer's culture aimed at impeding the cultural production of the dominated as well as a means of social and cultural control (Quijano, 2009, 2010). To consolidate this process, Europe created a categorization of race, distinguishing colonizers as biologically and structurally superior to the colonized. The colony was considered the territory of savagery, of the non-human, the unruled, the un-rational, while the metropole, the central territory of a colonial empire, represented

the order, the organization, reason, humanity, civility. That racial classification gained a global scale within the following centuries. First, racial identities were created based on phenotypic attributes - white, black, yellow, brown - later, based on those distinctions the world was categorized by geocultural identities: American, European, Asian, African, and Oceanians (Quijano, 2009). Control also included gender, sexuality, economy, authority knowledge and subjectivity.

The European rationale created a narrative describing themselves as a separated and contrasting entity from the colonized peoples. That way, they centered themselves as the reference, the ruler, the "subject", bearer of reason, implicating the colonized as being of a different nature, the "object", the other, the savage, nature itself. On such pillars of dominance and control is where the idea of modernity is forged. European rationality, its universal paradigm of knowledge and science, was constituted having this dominance system as its base, as did modernity. The intersubjective universe created by the European colonial control was organized and elaborated as an exclusively European product and a universal paradigm of knowledge that was spread to the rest of the world as the only possible and viable one. Modernity can be defined as that set of narratives that positions Europe as the center, celebrating its achievements, leveraging them as the goal all societies should aim for, thus creating the Western world (Quijano, 2009, 2010). According to Mignolo (2011), modernity can be understood as a shiny concept associated with ideas that nations have learned to desire and pursue like economic wealth, development, industrialization, scientific reasoning, democracy, human rights. Throughout the years, modernity became a synonym of progress.

2.1.2. Coloniality

In the late 80s, Aníbal Quijano crafted the concept of 'coloniality'. Quijano suggests that the European structure of dominance over colonized peoples can be defined as the coloniality of power. From within this structure, modernity was forged, and within that framework, capitalism was founded. That structural relation, named coloniality of power by Quijano, or simply coloniality, is the element sine qua non for the existence of modernity.

Coloniality, in that sense, represents the inherent evil side of modernity, the underlying logic behind the foundation and current state of the Western world. Hidden behind the aforementioned ideas of modernity is an underside that is fundamental for those modern ideals to thrive: the structural violent dominance over subaltern groups and societies that have been forced into that position since and because of the coloniality of power. "Coloniality names the un(intended) consequences of modernity" (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p.139). In that sense, modernity only exists due to coloniality, and affirming the ideals of modernity is to sustain a colonial legacy that dispossesses subaltern, formerly colonized groups.

Because of that intricate connection between these two phenomena, Quijano conceptualized it as the modernity/coloniality dyad (Quijano, 2009, 2010).

2.1.3. Decoloniality

Finally, to understand the last term in the triad modernity/coloniality/decoloniality, it is necessary to focus first on decolonization. The original use of decolonization refers to the process of political independence of nation-states from their former colonizers. The end of the de facto domination of the colonized people, however, was not necessarily accompanied by the end of the extremely unequal structure and relations it had created.

Colonialism continued and continues in the form of the coloniality of power, under the rhetoric of modernity (Quijano, 2009; Santos & Meneses, 2010). The dyad modernity/coloniality originates from that process, as the Cold War ended and the Third World imaginary changed to that of the Global South. (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018). The Bandung Conference in 1955, in which Asian and African countries got together to affirm their independence and refuse any kind of submission to the former colonizer countries, led to the Non-Aligned Countries group, established in 1961, a coalition of countries that were aligned with neither the First nor the Second world during the Cold War period. The idea of an alliance among those countries, that could drive them to liberation, was being conceived in that process as well as diverse critical perspectives against the Eurocentric model. The concept of decoloniality emerged in that same period. Different from the independence decolonization movements that were focused on nation-states' political liberation, the idea behind decoloniality is to unveil the mechanisms of the modernity/coloniality process, to de-link practices, habits, thinking, and being from the hegemonic history and tradition of Western civilization.

According to Mignolo and Walsh, decoloniality:

> "is not a concept created in Europe or in the US academy. The concept was born out of theoretical-political struggles in South America, at the intersection between academic and the public spheres. Driven by local criticism of development, the coloniality matrix of power bears the impulse of liberation theology and emerged out of the limits of dependence theory in the 70s". (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p. 141)

According to Mignolo (2006), decoloniality, as it is framed in its origins, differentiates from postmodern and postcolonial perspectives in the sense that however critical they are to the European colonial system and as important as they have been to enrich and criticize the understanding of that system, those are framed from within that same system. Decoloniality, on the other hand, is conceived outside of that system and aims towards a delink from the hegemony of Western thought. In other words, decoloniality thinking is focused on identifying, understanding, and making visible the underlying coloniality logic behind the rhetoric of modernity, aiming at overcoming it (Mignolo, 2006; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018).

2.2. Epistemicide, Abyssal thinking and the Ecology of Knowledge

With that context as a background, Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2012) sheds light on how the modernity/coloniality dyad is expressed in the current global epistemic hierarchy. According to him, as a result of the colonial process the West created a model of knowledge from their perspective and called it universal while it only depicts the Western perspective. At the same time, diverse ways of knowing from subaltern parts of the world have been systematically erased, in what he calls an epistemicide. Santos *et al.* advocate that "there is no global justice without cognitive justice" (Santos *et al.*, 2007, p. XIX), suggesting that such a monopoly of narratives needs to be substituted by an ecology of knowledge, or the coexistence of diverse and limitless perspectives. Only then will society be able to address the complex array of issues it faces. This section takes an in-depth look into those concepts.

According to Santos and Meneses, "epistemology is any notion or idea, either reflected upon or not, about the conditions in which something counts as valid knowledge" (Santos

& Meneses, 2010, p.15). A group of people in a given time and context establish a set of criteria to define what counts as valid knowledge for them, whether that is a conscious decision or not. However, the mainstream epistemological notion that prevails since colonial times is rarely accompanied by a reflection on the political and cultural contexts that defined its production and reproduction of knowledge. (Santos & Meneses, 2010).

> "The European paradigm of rational knowledge was not only elaborated in the context of, but as part of, a power structure that involved the European colonial domination over the rest of the world. This paradigm expresses, in a demonstrable sense, the coloniality of power". (Quijano, 2009)

The colonizing endeavor homogenized the world by erasing cultural differences and substituting them with the Eurocentric cultural framework. (Santos & Meneses, 2010). Colonized knowledge that survived was framed as local, contextualized, and inferior, either seen as exotic or as an object of study to the Eurocentric scientific gaze (Santos & Meneses, 2010).

The European epistemic dominance was built with the creation and imposition of an ideal of universality that was advanced by Western Science. This epistemic paradigm conferred to science the status of exclusivity in the production of valid science, translated into an institutional structure composed of universities, research centers, and academic degrees, that have aparted the dialogue between that and alternative ways of knowing (Santos & Meneses, 2010).

Based on that logic, Santos and Meneses (2010) suggest that the modern way of thinking can be perceived as abyssal thinking. For them, an invisible line is drawn as a result of the colonial process that still exists, dividing our society into two worlds: "this side the line", or the world of the colonizer, and "that side of the line", or the world of the colonized. Everything on that side of the line is completely disregarded, deemed invisible, inexistent, completely irrelevant. On this side of the line is where science lies, its facts, truths, methods, and reasoning. Likewise, legality, social regulation, and emancipation are here. On that side of the line, other knowledge exists that do not fit the rules of science: popular beliefs, peasant and indigenous knowledge. Instead of emancipation, lawlessness, appropriation, and violence are the norm at that side of the line. That divide generates a modern sub-humanity. The sacrifice of that portion of humanity is what sustains the other portion of humanity and their universal rhetoric (Santos & Meneses, 2010). The colonial hierarchical divide is maintained. The line is not static, though, it moves. The decolonization process of nation-states, for example, moved the line, but it did not erase it.

Santos and Meneses (2010) suggest that the end of abyssal thinking can be achieved by an epistemic resistance. As cited before, social justice is dependent on cognitive justice. The post-abyssal thinking is that which envisions alternatives, in a gathering of movements, initiatives, networks, and organizations positioned against the economic, social and cultural dominance, opened to the idea that there are infinite non-Western ways of knowing that cannot be encapsulated in a single epistemology. South epistemologies are the epistemological interventions that make evident the epistemological erasure process set in motion by colonialism. It identifies, denounces, and aims at moving the abyssal line, valuing knowledge that has resisted that historical dominance, while promoting a horizontal dialogue among different knowledge perspectives (Santos & Meneses, 2010).

The ecology of knowledge is the new necessary counter-epistemology that encompasses that spirit. It acknowledges the profound diversity of ways of knowing and the importance of all of them to coexist, including the Western scientific knowledge, that should not maintain its universal epistemological place, but show itself as one among many ways of knowing. In this pluriversal model, knowledge is as good as its intervention in reality (Santos & Meneses, 2010). It builds and is built of destabilizing subjects.

2.3. Decoloniality in Higher Education

Our current institutionalized higher education model is Western, male, and white-centered, and sees the other as an object of study, rather than a subject capable of also producing knowledge (Grosfoguel, 2012). The destruction of people was connected to the destruction of their knowledge, substituted by a so-called universal paradigm, of European origin. In other words, the dictum "I think, therefore I am" is only possible due to the other axiom "I conquer, therefore I am" (Grosfoguel, 2016).

According to Grosfoguel, a Puerto Rican sociologist, through the coloniality of power, Europe was able to turn what could be considered a provincial knowledge production, produced by so few countries, into what came to be known as universal, or applicable to the analysis of any given context. That model relies on the pretension that the knowledge production of those few men from those few countries can be magically seen as universal as if the theories created by them, based on their own local and specific experiences and problems could be used to explain the problems of a completely different region. This results in an institutional system in which until this day "any critical thinking or social scientific development produced by and from a non-Westernized perspective/epistemic location is inferiorized, received with suspicion and considered as not serious or not worthy of being read in the Westernized university" (Grosfoguel, 2012, p.83).

This model of knowledge dominance of the West has been defied throughout the years - the abyssal line has moved - mainly triggered by those more violently affected by that logic. The civil rights movement in the U.S., for example, generated a new sphere of knowledge, a new breadth of theories and perspectives that were not only contrary to the dominant system but were authored and spearheaded by those considered the "other", the "object", the historically dispossessed populations, those at "that" side of the line. They brought their perspectives, memories, and experiences around race, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality creating knowledge that served their own liberation (Mignolo, 2006; Stein, 2017). Stein (2017) suggests, however, that given the modernity/coloniality system being so ingrained in our society, even that defiant knowledge has been co-opted by the dominant episteme. Those new "areas" of study or defiant concepts such as racism and even decoloniality are integrated into the Western vocabulary, featured even in development-focused projects that use the terms but are in fact aimed at helping the non-Western world to "catch up" to the Western progress and humanity ideals, maintaining the structures that cause those problems in the first place.

Drawing from Santos and Meneses' (2010) idea of the invisibility that those at "that" side of the abyssal line are bound to, Akenahow suggests that to reestablish the epistemic balance is necessary to make "what is invisible noticeably absent so that it can be remembered and missed" (Akenahow, 2016, as cited in Stein, 2017, p.S32) and once the absent is identified and acknowledged, it is then necessary to make what is absent, present. In order to effectively do that, internal critique is required from individuals and institutions, which can be challenging:

"challenges arise in efforts to balance the need to take practical, immediate action with the need for a persistent, reflexive critique of the impact (and limits) of these actions with the need to attend to diverse and sometimes-conflicting responsibilities to students, administrators, governments, and various other communities. There are also questions about the extent to which it is possible to know, imagine, and be "otherwise" from within institutions that are so tightly oriented and organized around a particular (Western) form of knowing and funded by particular interests (of state and capital) that are also deeply invested in naturalizing that way of knowing" (Stein, 2017, p.S32).

Relying on that, it might be helpful to share some pitfalls that have been identified in the literature, one of them being the depth of diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) efforts. Such initiatives have promoted important advancements; however, they can categorized under what Stein (2017) calls "thin inclusion", or Andreotti *et al.* (2015) calls, "soft reform". The issue with DEI is that the Western epistemic violence can be understood to be the result of a lack of inclusion of other perspectives instead of an unequal structural knowledge production model. In that sense, "thin inclusion" would be to merely add diverse authors in curricula without addressing structural and policy changes that could really impact what kind of knowledge is valid and rewarded at an institutional level (Stein, 2017). Andreotti *et al.*, add that in that perspective, no attention is given to structural power relations or how to diversify measurement of success on modes of knowing and being (Andreotti *et al.*, 2015). Contrarily, a "thick inclusion" or "radical-reform" model, would look into modernity/coloniality systemic violence, acknowledging the unequal relations of knowledge production and its consequences (Andreotti *et al.*, 2015, Stein, 2017). In that scenario, more questions are asked about the hierarchies of knowledge production, about the implicit universalism of theoretical canons, and about not only who is missing but about what ways of knowing are missing. That should be followed by an engagement with restructuring knowledge relations in multiple levels (Andreotti *et al.*, 2015, Stein, 2017).

2.4. Decoloniality in the CIE Field

The Comparative International Education Society was created in 1956, giving form to a field in which international education and comparative education studies converged (Wiseman & Matherly, 2009). The field is committed to a "cross-cultural study of national education systems both to describe and understand the relationship of schooling to society and to use comparative studies to inform policies and practices within such systems" (Cortina & Earl, 2019, p.1). Wilson entertains a definition that focuses on the "application of descriptions, analyses and insights learned in one or more nations to the problems of developing educational systems and institutions in other countries" (Wilson, 2003, p.18). This last definition emphasizes the theoretical perspective of modernization and human capital theory that dominate the field, concerned with improving what it considers to be underdeveloped systems, usually in global South countries, aiming at reaching a predetermined developed stage, mirrored in global North countries. According to Cortina & Earl, this tendency may lead to unpredicted consequences, since "ethnic, racial, and intellectual heterogeneity of the world's non-dominant or subaltern peoples and regions has often been suppressed by the expansion of modern school systems" (Cortina & Earl, 2019, p.1).

This critique is revealing of how the CIE field is not free from engaging in colonizing patterns observed across the dominant model of the Western knowledge paradigm that originated in colonial times. As much as the field has had a long withstanding commitment of respect for others and attention not to be Eurocentric (Cortina & Earl, 2019), there has been an unchallenged engagement with the "other" in CIE research. The uneven power dynamics present in the differences between researched and researcher, and between the country where data is being collected versus the country where data is being analyzed follow the modernity/coloniality patterns and are still left for the field to address (Takayama *et al.*, 2017). Notwithstanding, decolonization is commonly present in CIE graduate programs as an area study, not a structural reflection underlining foundational disciplines, theories, and concepts of the field (Takayama *et al.*, 2017).

Takayama points out that "the colonial and imperial realities of the twentieth century were read as constitutively significant to the early formation of the field" (Takayama, 2018, p.462). He continues highlighting that there is an unbalanced knowledge relationship in the CIE global field that results in reduced opportunities for the community to learn from the critical and alternative perspectives being generated in its invisible peripheries (Takayama, 2020). The dominance of the English language and lack of representativeness of global South countries in journal review boards are examples of the unequal knowledge relation in CIE. Another area where this dominance manifests is in the foundational textbooks used for training new professionals. From four main textbooks analyzed by Takayama *et al.*, all present the same foundational history and references, and only one of them recognizes non-English language CIE production and questions the field's Eurocentric foundational history (Takayama *et al.*, 2017). Little attention is given to other ways of thinking and approaching CIE research in both the foundational references of the field as well as current ones.

This discussion is directly connected to the training of new CIE professionals. Decolonization discussions, whether using the Latin American Decolonial thinking or other paradigms should be a fundamental element of the training of new professionals. The transversal understandings promoted by an understanding of coloniality allows for gender, racial, poverty, and environmental issues to also be effectively addressed, instead of being siloed to "area" initiatives.

3.Methodology

3.1. Bibliometric Analysis

With the representation of diverse perspectives in mind, this study uses bibliometric curricular analysis of secondary data present in the program syllabi of a fundamental requirement course offered by the IED program at TC, to assess the presence of global South authors. Bibliometric analysis refers to the statistical study of books, articles, or other publications (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2014); more specifically, it defines the study of data on publications, mostly citations, to examine and identify patterns of influence in knowledge production employing quantitative analysis. This is a commonly used method in Western Science to understand the output of authors, institutions, or countries, as it is the case in this study, as a way to map the development of a field of study (Menashy & Read, 2016).

3.2. Data

Due to feasibility, the analysis for this study was narrowed to the syllabi of the IED basic requirement course "4090 - Issues and institutions in International Education Development", for the academic year 2019-2020. This is a course mandated to all students of the program. As a foundational course, it introduces the canons of CIE, as well as the main concepts of the field, preparing the base for students to specialize in their different areas of interest. It is among the few courses all students will have to complete mandatorily, so whatever knowledge is shared in this class will reach the full cohort.

This isolation of "diversity topics" into their own programs can increase the rejection and separation of these areas of study among themselves and from the western-white-male model that continues to be the main reference as if it were natural for that to be the mainstream knowledge, while perspectives outside that pattern are seen as "diverse", contributing to maintain colonial institutional hierarchies of knowledge (Andreotti *et al.*, 2015; Grosfoguel, 2012; Pratt, 1991; Santos & Meneses, 2010; Stein, 2017). Academic programs should, rather, aim for an epistemic shift, resulting in a horizontal knowledge production hierarchy, in which different cultures coexist in the same level with space for mutual exchange and acknowledgment, with all the conflict that such an encounter may surface. In that sense, even though specialized courses in Latin America, Africa, or Asia might show more diversity among referenced authors in their syllabi, the foundational course in the IED program should illustrate the commitment to a diversified scholarship, since that is the course addressing all students.

3.3. Quantitative Analysis

In the 2019-2020 academic year, the 4090 course was offered by three different faculty members who have been anonymized to Professors A, B, and C. The three different versions of the syllabus were considered for this study. All authors of the required and suggested readings for each syllabus composed the dataset for analysis. Data collection occurred in two phases. First, the list of readings in each syllabus was organized, cleaned, and disaggregated in order to separate key pieces of data, specifically the authors listed in each reference. The data was, then, rechecked for inconsistencies in how each name was listed. Authors listed as organizations, podcasts and websites were removed. Duplicates were also removed. The final data set was composed of 183 single authors.

The second step of data collection was around collecting and coding authorship attributes, which was conducted with systematic internet research. Data was collected on the authors' gender, the institution of their highest degree, and country of origin, among other categories not used in the final analysis. Gender identities were based on visual conclusions from online profile pictures. University of the highest degree was collected from online CV information, which was most often a Ph.D. degree. Country of origin either refers to nationality when that information was available, or the country where the author obtained their undergraduate degree. Stata was used to produce descriptive statistics about the dataset.

3.4. Social Network Analysis

Social network analysis enables the study of the origin, nature, and structure of a network and the relationship among its actors. A social network is defined by a set of relations that connect a given set of actors (Prell, 2012). Beyond looking at actors' sole attributes,

social network analysis focuses on actors' shared attributes in relation to their positions in a network and what that might reveal (Grunspan *et al.*, 2014). In this case, a social network analysis was conducted to understand if authors are being cited by the three different faculty. Additionally, this visualization allows for the identification of the most cited authors. Using Ucinet 6.713 (Borgatti *et al.*, 2002) and NetDraw (Borgatti, 2002) an analysis was conducted of a two-mode, undirected network relating authors to their presence in each of the three syllabi examined. Two-mode networks look at how actors, or nodes, are affiliated to events. In this case, our nodes are each of the authors cited and the events are each of the three syllabi. The network is undirected because there is no direction in which the connection is established.

3.5. Global North/South Categorization

The analysis in this study is focused on identifying the presence of global South countries in the TC IED curricula. In order to do that, it is necessary to first categorize which countries belong to that group. Even though the global North/South divide has been used extensively, there is no standardized categorization for it.

The terminology North/South was first identified in the Brandt Commission Reports in the 80s. The popularization of the term "global South" escalated with the 2003 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report "Forging the Global South". The term was largely equivalent to what was known as Third World countries during the Cold War period. Forged by Alfred Sauvy in 1952, the Third World denomination referred to the formerly colonized countries that seemed to strive to achieve the development of their capitalist and socialist counterparts (Dirlik, 2007). At the same time, "Third World" could refer to a third path, an alternative to modernity, as it was envisioned by the 24 African and Asian countries that signed the Final Communiqué of the Bandung Conference (Asian-African Conference, 1955; Dirlik, 2007). The UNDP report of 2003 connected that same liberation idea to the global South terminology, suggesting a South-South cooperation that could generate a development autonomy of that group (Dirlik, 2007).

Throughout those debates, however, there was never a formal list of which countries fit that category. Scholars use vague classifications like 'Africa, the Arab nations, developing Asia and Latin America' (Allen & Galiano, 2017, as cited in Bunnell, 2017, p.10), or 'Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania' (Dados & Connell, 2012, as cited in Bunnell, 2017, p.10). The lack of clarity may be, in part, due to the fact that for some scholars the global South is conceived metaphorically, as the epistemic space of the oppressed, focused on addressing the historical impacts of colonialism (Santos & Meneses, 2010). This conception does overlap with the geographical South, where most of the countries colonized by the European domain are located. However, in this logic, the metaphorical South is also present in the geographical North, in the oppressed communities within global North countries. Likewise, the metaphorical global North is also present in global South countries, personalized in the elites that have historically benefited from colonial rule (Santos & Meneses, 2010; Quijano, 2010). That seems a most appropriate concept, and global South has to be acknowledged as a term in dispute. Ultimately, a plain geographical divide – North and South – wouldn't suffice in this case, because of countries like New Zealand and Australia which are below the equatorial line but while they have had a colonial past, they have managed to achieve the global North development pattern. For Tarc & Tarc global South is used "as a short form to refer to economically struggling countries, often former colonies of European power, where large numbers of the

population are surviving with below-poverty wages and where elites typically send their children to private schools as opposed to the low-funded public-sector schools" (Tarc & Tarc, 2015, as cited in Bunnell, 2017, p.10). Another definition comes from Fung: "it is not a fixed, homogenous entity; rather it is a term that captures states with different economic and political systems, drawn together by their experiences of power disparity with the global elite" (Fung, 2016, as cited in Bunnell, 2017, p.10). Such definitions demonstrate the range of definitions provided for the global South, which further complicates the use of the term.

In pragmatic terms, different scholars have adapted different criteria. Bunnell (2017) suggested using the participation on the United Nations 'Group of the G77', that is by each country's choice and represents a non-alignment with the Global North. Another parameter for global South countries, used by Steiner-Khamsi (2019), was the list of countries which receive official development assistance (ODA) – or financial aid - from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). In both cases, by applying these criteria Mexico, Colombia, and Zambia, for example, would not be categorized as global South countries, which does not seem appropriate for this analysis since all three have been under European colonial rule. Therefore, the option that seemed more pertinent in this context, building on Steiner-Khamsi's alternative (2019), was to categorize global North countries based on their participation in the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC). The DAC is a forum aimed at discussing issues around aid, poverty reduction, and development, responsible for organizing and funding the ODA. It is composed of thirty countries, among which, 'the largest providers of aid' (OECD, 2021) and reflect the patterns of historically dominant countries holding colonial, epistemological, and narrative powers. All other countries fell under the category of global South countries. Table 1 shows the group of countries in each category. This option does not exhaust or solve this quandary, since some countries categorization can still be questioned, like Greece and Israel. In fact, this attempt of categorization evinces a complex debate around framing global South countries, specially using geographical and administrative parameters defined by Eurocentric colonial rule. Nevertheless, such categorizations are still necessary for Western Scientific production.

3.6. Limitations and positionality

It is important to highlight some limitations of this study. First, as extensively debated, there is not a standardized criterion to define global North and South countries. Using different frameworks would impact the results, although, given the predominance of authors from the U.S. and Canada as shown in figure 3, disparities should not be extreme. The second point of consideration is the online collection of data on each author utilizing internet search engines. That process can be flawed since many countries do not count on a standardized database of academic professionals. Finding origin information on authors, given that context, was challenging. The most common information available that could be connected to an earlier stage in life was the individual's undergraduate institution of study. Other options such as direct contact with each author were not possible due to resource limitations of this study. Moreover, results may also be influenced by the researcher's bias. Due to that, there might be occasional discrepancies in the data collected. For the authors who did not have online information available on country of origin, the use of their country of undergraduate institution might not match the author's accurate origin but it was the earlier information available on their geographical location.

In terms of gender, that was assumed based on how the authors present themselves in institutional pictures, limiting the options to male and female. Due to that, the study does not use gender as a main element of analysis, but as a contextual reference.

In terms of positionality, it is important to highlight that the researcher implication in the context of this research, as an international student from a global South country in the IED program and a participant of the TC DSG.

4. Findings

This study aimed at understanding the characteristics of the IED knowledge base introduced to students in order to examine the degree to which the program makes use of North and South-based knowledge framework. It aimed to do that by analyzing cited authorship characteristics.

The data set was composed of 183 single authors, from 36 countries in all five regions. Table 1 shows the list of countries divided by their DAC membership (or global North/ South) category, indicating the number of authors for each country. It is worth observing that the four countries with more authors cited are English-speaking countries. From the 183 authors, 62.84% were male, while 37.16% were female. In terms of countries represented, 84.7% or 155 authors come from DAC member countries, or global North countries, while only 15.3%, or 28, come from the global South, as shown in Figure 1. Figure 2 shows the number of authors by region. Overall results showed a majority of male, global North authors among the readings used in the IED basic course with over five times more global North authors present than global South authors. When divided by region, the US, Canada, and Europe are the origin of the vast majority of authors. Other regions are equally represented.

Table 1.
Number of cited authors in the syllabi per country and DAC membership (n=183)

DAC member countries / Global North countries		Non-DAC member countries/ Global South countries	
Country	# of authors cited	Country	# of authors cited
United States	93	India	4
United Kingdom	21	Brazil	3
Australia	8	South Africa	3
Canada	8	Zambia	2
Germany	4	Argentina	2
Italy	4	Botswana	1
Belgium	3	Chile	1
France	3	Cyprus	1
Austria	2	Colombia	1
Switzerland	2	Ghana	1
Denmark	1	Israel	1
Finland	1	Kazakhstan	1
Greece	1	Kenya	1
Japan	1	Latvia	1
Netherlands	1	Mexico	1
New Zealand	1	Peru	1
Spain	1	Philippines	1
		Rwanda	1
		Turkey	1
Totals	155		28

Number of Authors per DAC Country Group by Sex

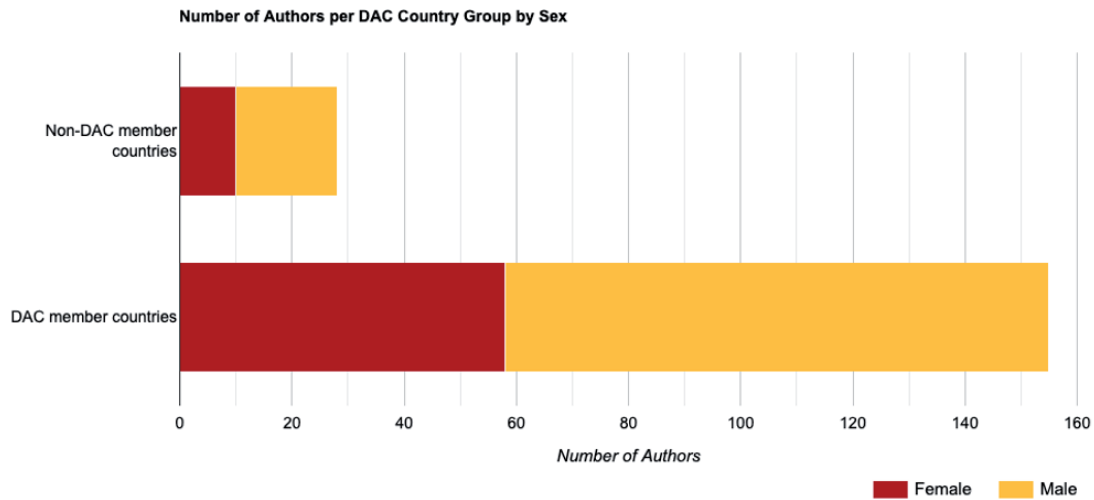*Figure 1*. Distribution of authors by country based on DAC membership and by sex

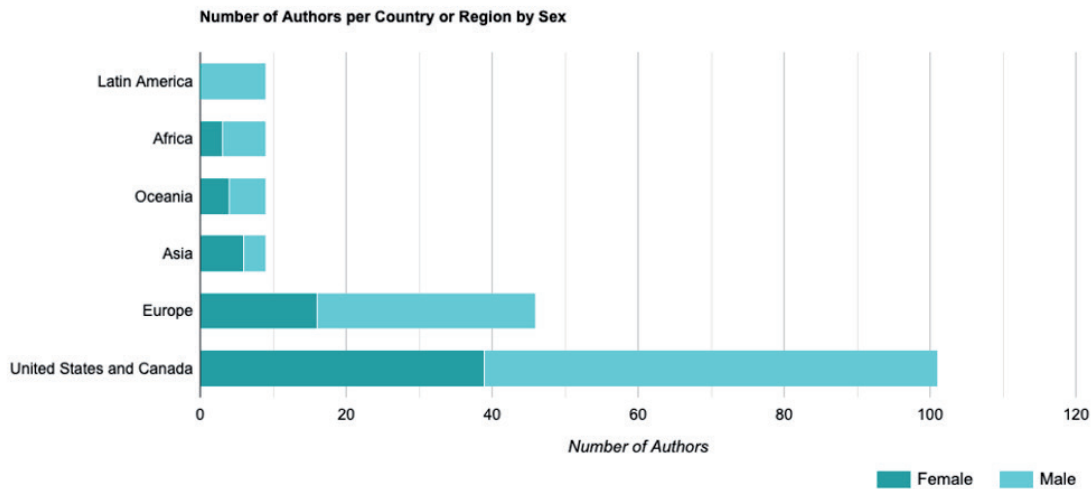**Number of Authors per Country or Region by Sex**

Figure 2. Distribution of authors per countries/regions and by sex

Figure 3 shows a graph representing the social network for this data. The dark blue squares – A, B, and C – represent each of the three syllabi for the 4090 course. The other nodes represent each of the authors. The edges, or lines, connect them to the syllabi in which they were cited. Triangles represent male authors, while circles represent female authors. Blue nodes represent authors from DAC member countries, while yellow nodes represent authors from global South countries, or non-DAC members. The size of the nodes represents the number of times they were cited throughout the three syllabi. The bigger the node, the more that author has been cited in the syllabi.

The central nodes represent the authors that all three faculty use in their syllabus, or that all students of the program are necessarily in contact with. As the colors make evident, the majority of them are from the global North. Only five come from other countries. The peripheral nodes, those with only one edge connected to them, are the ones that are being used in only one of the courses. There seems to be more diversity among those than among the central authors. Professors B and C seem to bring more single

contributions to their syllabus, while Professor A relies on readings that are being used in other offerings of the course, especially in relation to Professor C. From the authors used individually by each faculty, that group shows the most variety between Professors B and C in terms of their origin.
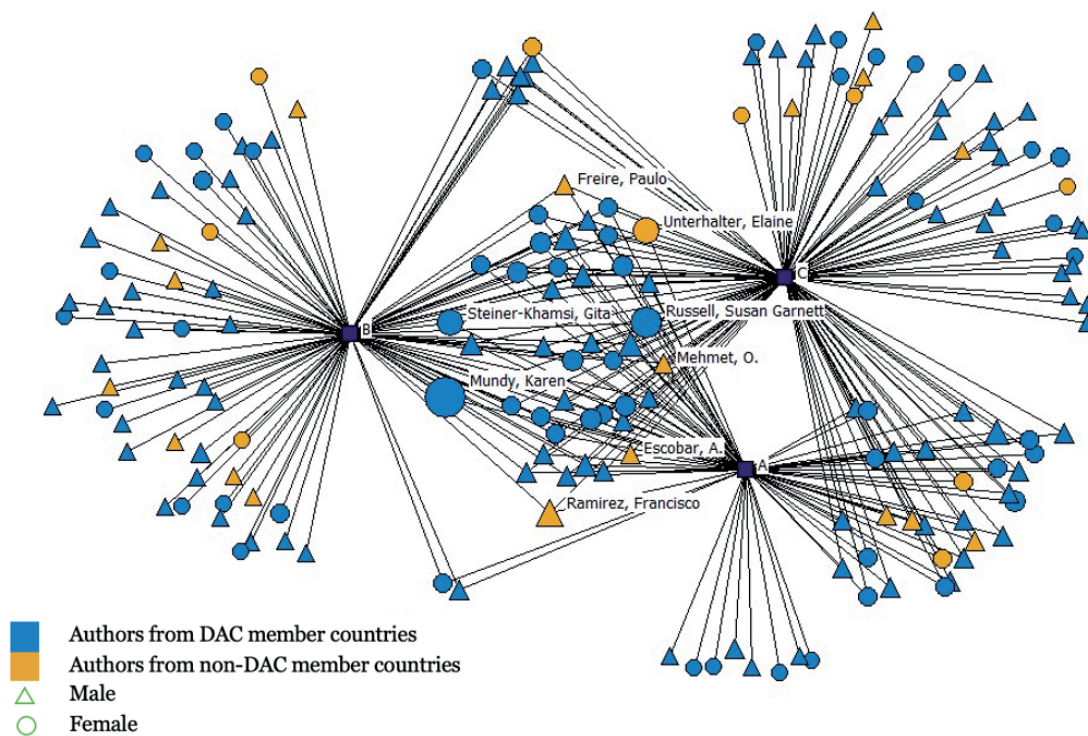

Figure 3. Graph of a two-mode undirected network of the distribution of authors among the course offerings by three different faculty

The names of all five global South authors present in the center of the graph, along with the most cited global North nodes, have been labeled. Among the South authors are Paulo Freire, a Brazilian philosopher and educator; and Elaine Unterhalter, an international education professor at the University of London, born in South Africa. Among the most cited global North authors are Gita Steiner-Khamsi and Susan Garnett Russel, both faculty members at Teachers College.

This data shows that global South authors have little presence in the basic course for the IED program at TC. It might be interesting to look more closely at the information on the most used global South authors. Paulo Freire, for example, is a major name in international education known for his pedagogical innovation with a critical perspective. It would be interesting to understand how his work is being utilized and interpreted in this context, to what extent are his ideas and ways of knowing being considered on a structural level in contrast to a tokenistic use of a renowned international reference (Stein, 2017). Elaine Unterhalter raises a different question. As a renowned international scholar from South Africa based in the UK, it might be interesting to further understand the relevance of global South authors in relation to where they are based and where they received their education. It is also worth noting that Arturo Escobar, the Colombian-American anthropologist, features among the core authors. His work focuses on decolonial perspectives, which means that the decolonial framework is being presented to

students. Further analysis could look at the balance between the more conventional global North perspectives in relation to global South approaches in the program, such as the weight given to theories like the human capital theory in relation to decolonial theories in international education.

Comparing the central to the peripherical nodes, it can be said that the core of the program is less diverse since there is a clear overwhelming choice for global North authors. Different factors can contribute to this, the language of publication being one of them. However, faculty individually exert influence on overcoming this lack, as there is more diversity within their individual contributions. The presence of global South authors, therefore, appears to fall within each faculty's discretion. Nevertheless, they represent one-fifth of the overall foundational authors. There is no threshold to be used as a reference in terms of how diverse a curriculum must be and, again, disparities in knowledge production will not merely be addressed by a higher number of global South authors in the curriculum. Even so, this is an interesting picture to inform the current state of the curriculum, which has large intra-variation among professors.

This is an initial study that could be followed by further investigation. Some options would be to conduct a similar bibliometric analysis in the curriculum of the whole program, collect qualitative data to understand faculty, students, and leadership perspectives on the need for decolonization, and even, run similar analysis in other CIE programs, from different parts of the world including global South countries, to do a comparative analysis of curriculum. It would also be interesting to see how the ideas of global South authors are taught and taken up by students in terms of the link between their presence and actual decolonial perspective shifts among students. Another interesting path is the investigation of the extent to which ideas of global South authors are included as illustrative examples, or instead as theoretical heavyweights in counterpart to global North canon ideas used in the field.

5. Discussion

This paper aimed at trying to learn empirically if the perception of the absence of knowledge produced in the global South was valid while also improving the understanding of the theoretical framework behind the decolonization discussion. Theoretical efforts were focused on informing the initiatives that are being advanced at the college by providing scientific data and in-depth information on Latin American Decolonial thinking.

The choice for utilizing global North and South as categories of analysis constituted a challenge given that there is no scientific agreement in what defines this categorization. Even so, the option in this case was for maintaining this framework since these are the most current used terms in public debate, bringing to light this contradiction. It is controversial whether this category should be created since global North/South can be such abstract ideas. Economic, social, and historical elements would have to be considered and maybe even self-categorization, instead of an external gaze. Discussing decolonization from within the scientific Western context presents the contradiction of having to use the scientific rigor while also aiming to promote other ways of knowledge.

The low representation of global South perspectives in this specific case of a CIE training program converses with the idea that Western science, created within the colonial context, values the European, white, male-centered knowledge, deeming less important, valuable, or credible the knowledge produced by its counterpart. Results strengthens

the claims of those who do not feel represented and should trigger curricular changes that can improve the system. That shift can produce even better professionals with more diverse perspectives who will be able to connect more deeply to local contexts and better contribute to improving them systemically. A broader range of perspectives means more resources to tackle development problems and finding viable solutions to them. An ecology of knowledge can be key to solving wicked social problems that Western science alone is not able to. In this regard, it must be pointed out that this study is framed specifically around Latin American Decolonial thinking and focuses on global South diversity in terms of authors from global South countries. However, echoing Santos and Meneses (2010), the global South is a metaphor that includes all subaltern populations. In that sense, critical race, black feminist, intersectionality, and standpoint theories as well as indigenous ways of knowing are but some frameworks that should also be present if the goal is to achieve a more balanced and fairer epistemic environment.

Mignolo recognizes that it is not in the academic production that decoloniality will come to life, but in the actions led by social movements, what he calls the "global political society" (Mignolo, 2011, p.10). There are numerous initiatives and resources discussing how to decolonize the higher education space, the DSG memo is an example (DSG, 2020). Revision of curriculum, pedagogies and syllabi, focus on scholarship from different populations and regions of the world, ongoing discussion of this topic adopting a participatory approach, involving staff, faculty and other community members, those are all examples of ways to find paths while also shifting the academic hierarchical relationship dynamics. There are as many possibilities as the different contexts of higher education institutions and programs. These paths can and must be imagined, As Ursula Le Guin puts it "we live in capitalism, its power seems inescapable. So did the divine right of kings. Any human power can be resisted and changed by human beings." (American Masters PBS, 2019).

It has been over 65 years that the CIE field has dedicated efforts to improving the quality and access to education in order to enhance the quality of life of students, families, and communities. Many of the great educational and development issues we continue to face are the same we were facing 65 years ago, and they seem to have a geographical pattern. Maybe it's time to shift perspectives. Maybe it's time to recognize the colonial legacy of the field and embrace new ways of knowing.

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