

**Seventy-five years of education
partnerships with developing countries**

Angela W. Little

*Paper written for the 75th anniversary of the Institute of
Education's work with developing countries, celebrated on 23
November 2002*

Revised January 2004

Contents

The origins	1
1927–1952: The Colonial Department	4
Staff, students and courses	
Research and publications	
1952–1973: The Department of Education in Tropical Areas (ETA)	13
Staff	
The role of ETA	
ETA and Comparative Education	
ETA under Professor John Lewis	
1973–1985: The Department of Education in Developing Counties (EDC)	21
Staff, students and courses	
Shifting contexts	
Priorities	
1985–1995: The Department of International and Comparative Education (DICE)	26
Staff, students and courses	
Research and publications	
1995–2001: Education and International Development (EID)	26
Staff, students and courses	
Research and publications	
2002: The School of Lifelong Education and International Development (LEID)	37
Centralised support for international work	38
Towards the future	40

This paper was prepared for the 75th anniversary celebrations of educational partnerships between the Institute of Education and developing countries. It charts the work from its origins, in 1927, to the present day.

The origins

Let us start at the beginning. In 1920 the Phelps-Stokes trustees, based in the US, sent an Education Commission to West, South and Equatorial Africa, and in 1924 to East, Central and South Africa. The Trust, established by the will of Miss Caroline Phelps-Stokes, was intended to support, *inter alia*, 'the education of Negroes both in Africa and the United States' (Jones, 1925). The British Government's member of the 1924 Commission was Major Hanns Vischer, secretary and member of the British Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa and a former Director of Education in Northern Nigeria. On completion of the work of the two missions the President of the Phelps-Stokes Fund concluded:

A great educational revival is about to take place in the interest of the Native Africans. ... it is earnestly to be hoped that an increasingly large group of thoroughly well-trained educational leaders for government and mission schools will go to the African continent in the near future ... if, following the best precedents of the past, they bear in mind that their main object is to develop an indigenous educational system which in a few decades should become largely self-sustaining and self-perpetuating, with a large degree of Native leadership.

(Anson Phelps Stokes, xxviii, in Jones, 1925)

In the same year (1925) the Colonial Office's Advisory Committee issued a White Paper on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa. This anticipated a greater role for colonial government in the direction of policy and practice, increased collaboration with the voluntary efforts of missionary societies in education and the development of a 'capable and enthusiastic' educational

service of administrators and teachers to implement policy and oversee the expansion of education systems.

Dr Percy Nunn¹ was the Institute of Education's second director. He was a member of the British Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa and its successor, the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies . In 1927 he was invited by the Colonial Office to establish at the Institute a course for 'probationers' as preparation for their work in Africa as education service officers. In the same year the Institute responded to proposals to establish a course for missionaries preparing for their work as principals of teacher training colleges in Tanganyika (Tanzania).



Percy Nunn

And so, in 1927, the Colonial Department of the Institute was born, a product of its time. Naturally, the orientation of the work of the Department, its students, and its sources of funding would change over the next 75 years, as would its title. In 1952 it became the Department of Education in Tropical Areas; in 1973, the Department of Education in Developing Countries; in 1985 it merged with the Department of Comparative Education to become the Department of International and Comparative Education. In 1995, when the Institute was re-structured, it became the Education and International Development (EID) Academic Group. And in 2002 EID merged with the Academic group, Lifelong Learning, to form the School of Lifelong Education and International Development (LEID).

On the occasion of the 75th anniversary celebrations of the Institute's work with developing countries, it was fitting that we met in the Bedford Way building in the hall named after the very man who made it happen – Percy Nunn.



Participants at the 75th Anniversary celebration

The following sections present a brief overview of the staff, courses and students, of research and the emergent field of study of the successive Departments. The account draws from a wide range of archival material written by staff and on the historical reviews of the period 1927–56 by Cox (1952), Jeffery (1952) and Whitehead (1988). Commentary on aspects of the field of study of education in developing countries is drawn from course titles and content and successive inaugural professorial lectures. A list of staff appointed to the successive departments since 1927 is presented as Annex 1. Unfortunately it has proved impossible to locate in a consistent way the names of the several thousands of students who have studied education in developing countries at the Institute since 1927.²

The accompanying CD presents a wealth of complementary material. Section 1 – Histories – includes the reviews by Cox (1952), Jeffery (1952) and Whitehead (1988). Student perspectives, from the 1930s to the start of the new millennium, are presented in Section 2. Significant continuities and shifts in the content of the field of study may be gleaned from the professorial inaugural lectures presented in Section 3 and the bibliographies of staff publications and doctoral theses in Section 4. Most of the work for this piece was undertaken in the summer of 2002 prior to the publication in October

¹Formal academic titles, where known, will be used in initial references to persons. Thereafter, persons will be referred to by family name, without title, excepting where quoted by others.

² All students, past and present are encouraged to join (no subscription) the Institute's Alumni Association

2002 of Professor Richard Aldrich's (2002) excellent centenary history of the Institute, to which the reader interested in exploring the development of the Departments' work in relation to the Institute as a whole is referred.

1927–1952 The Colonial Department

Staff, students and courses

The first director of the course for missionaries (1927) and the course for probationers (1928) was James Fairgrieve, a geographer. By 1934 he was supported in his work by Dr W. Bryant Mumford and Dr Laurence Faucett. Mumford, a former teacher and superintendent of education in Tanganyika succeeded Fairgrieve in the 'colonial' work while Faucett, a Carnegie fellow, undertook research and part-time teaching on courses on 'the teaching of English as a foreign language'.



James Fairgrieve

In 1934 courses were designated 'diploma' or 'advanced'. The diploma, part of an Institute-wide diploma course, was for persons preparing for teaching and educational administration in the colonies. The advanced-level courses were for students, 'including experienced teachers and administrators from the colonial education services' (AR, 1934). These students generally registered on an MA, PhD course or a 'refresher' course.

The aims of the diploma training course were

- (A) to give a sound knowledge of the general theory of education and the principles of teaching, together with sufficient practice to lay the foundations of professional competence, and (B) to give instruction in

subjects which have a special bearing upon the student's work and responsibilities.

(AR, 1934)

Figure 1 sets out the core and 'additional' curriculum for the diploma course and, under the additional courses, lists the names of the tutors. Note the inclusion in the 'core' subjects of psychology, history and comparative education, and, under the 'additional' subjects, phonetics, tropical hygiene, teaching English to non-Europeans and anthropology. Note also the courses led by tutors from sister colleges of the University (notably Professor Malinowski of the London School of Economics and Professor Lloyd James of the School of Oriental and African Studies).

Over time, the content of the diploma curriculum would change, as would the institutional and departmental composition of tutors. In part this was due to the gradual subject and departmental specialisation within the Institute and the increasing autonomy and separation of the institutions of the Federal University.

Figure 1 Curriculum for Diploma course, Colonial Department, 1934

A: Core Diploma Subjects	B: Additional Subjects chosen to fit the student's likely destination (examples of courses undertaken by those going to 'inter-tropical Africa')
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Principles of education • Teaching methods • Elementary educational psychology • Hygiene • The present educational system of England and its recent history • Practical training in teaching • Options (students chose 1): Further educational psychology, History of education, Comparative education and administration. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History of African education (Mr Fairgrieve and Major Hanns Vischer) • Comparative education of primitive peoples (Dr Mumford) • Phonetics (Professor Lloyd-James, SOAS) • Tropical hygiene (Dr S. H. Daukes, Wellcome Museum) • Practical course in biology (Miss C. von Wyss) • General approach to anthropology (Professor Malinowski, LSE) • Psychology of primitive peoples • Teaching arithmetic and other fundamental subjects to primitive peoples (Mr Arthur Mayhew, Mr C. Rivers-Smith) • Scout Training (Camp Chief at Gilwell Park) • Teaching English to non-Europeans (Dr Faucett) • Growing points in African Education (Dr Mumford and Mr Fairgrieve) • Anthropology, general administration and education (Professor Malinowski, LSE) • Seminars to discuss issues related to African education

Source:AR 1934.

By 1934/5 there were 24 students, including, for the first time, women (just two) and an African male student (from Achimota in the Gold Coast). In the 1930s students were not only members of the Department and the Institute.

They were also members of the Institute's 'Oversea Division'. The Oversea Division was an entity larger than the Colonial Department. It has no parallel in the Institute's current structure. Essentially a division of students, it included students who travelled from 'over the sea' to the Institute for their studies and those destined on graduation from the Institute to travel 'over the sea' to pursue their future careers. Though not named as such, all other students – those from Britain who were destined to work in Britain – were, *de facto*, the 'home division' students.

The creation of the Oversea Division and its staffing was made possible by a grant from a fund bequeathed by Andrew Carnegie for 'the furtherance of educational and cultural interests in the British Dominions and Colonies' (Jeffery, 1952: 102). As Dr George Jeffery, the Institute's fourth director, would note some years later, the 'wise and far-seeing' President of the Carnegie Fund, Dr F.P. Keppel,

was quick to see the opportunities of the Institute as explained with the expansive enthusiasm of Nunn. After negotiations remarkable for their amity and celerity, the (Carnegie) Corporation made a grant of 67,500 dollars to establish an Oversea Division within the Institute and to cover its cost for 3 years.

(Jeffery, 1952: 102)

The grant provided for the appointment of an Adviser to Oversea students and a series of Carnegie Fellows. The first incumbent of the post of Adviser to Oversea students was Professor Fred Clarke. A young professor at the University of Southampton, he would move to the Universities of Cape Town in South Africa and McGill in Canada before assuming his Institute post in 1935.

Shortly thereafter, when Clarke became Institute's third director in 1936, the stage was set for a flourishing of reflection, research and writing on the problems of education in the colonies. Of Clarke, Sir Christopher Cox wrote:

there was no-one more keenly alive to the immense importance of this side of the Institute's work ... the prophet of critical self awareness in educational thinking, the exposé of 'the unconscious universalising of what is distinctively English' ... would need no initiation into those major problems which preoccupied the successive heads of the Colonial Department.

(Cox 1952: 66)

Co-operation between the British Government's Colonial Office and the Institute's Colonial Department was strengthened when Clarke was re-appointed to sit on the Colonial Office's Advisory Committee on Education in 1938. No longer sitting in his personal capacity, he was now 'officially representing the Institute' (AR 1938/9).

Up to and throughout the years of the Second World War, the work of the Department was largely oriented to the needs of British nationals about to serve, or already serving, in the Colonies. During the 1930s small numbers of students from the Gold Coast, Hong Kong, Malaya and the Sudan and the Gold Coast began to follow studies in the Department alongside their British counterparts and would set a trend that would change the orientation of the Department in the post-war years.

During the Second World War much of the Institute relocated to Nottingham. At the launch of his centenary history of the Institute, Aldrich described how, had the German invasion succeeded, Hitler planned to use the University's Senate House building, in which the Department and the Institute were then housed, as his headquarters. Among the small number of students who remained in the Colonial Department, some moved to Nottingham; others stayed in London or visited London for short periods of time.

The anthropologist Dr Margaret Read joined the Colonial Department as its acting head at the beginning of the war years, moving from the London School of Economics, where she had worked for many years with Malinowski. A small group of students followed a 'wartime scheme of work'. In her Annual

Report for 1941/2 Read records how four students followed the full-time diploma course in Nottingham: two women and two men. Their respective destinations on graduation reflected the uncertainties of war. One woman had intended to marry an administrative officer in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. As he had been taken as a prisoner of war she took up 'for the time being' the headship of a small village school in Devonshire. A second took a post in a residential school in England, hoping 'eventually' to join the Colonial Education Service. The two men were sponsored by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. One was destined for Sarawak, which was by now in Japanese hands, and would travel instead to South Africa and a post as English master in the Cathedral School in Cape Town. The other would go on to train village teachers in Chota Nagpur in India (AR 1941/2).

In the post-war years student numbers mushroomed. In 1938/9, the academic year before the outbreak of war, there had been 57 students in the Department. By 1949/50 there were 162, including 25 education officers, 32 educational missionaries and six private students. Ninety-nine students, a considerable majority, were 'teachers from Colonial territories' (AR 1949/50), representing a major shift in the composition of the student body. Most students from Colonial territories were from British colonial territories in Africa – but not all. The following list indicates the range of students' country of origin in 1949/50.

Basutoland, British Guiana, British West Indies, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Eire, Ethiopia, Fiji, French Togoland, Gambia, Gold Coast, Holland, Hong Kong, Kenya, Libya, Malaya, Mauritius, Nigeria, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, South Africa, Sudan, Uganda, USA, Zanzibar.

Staff numbers, too, had expanded. In 1949/50 there were nine academic staff, one research assistant, one administrative secretary, a librarian and assistant librarian and as assistant editor of the Departmental magazine, *The Colonial Review*. In addition, several American colleagues would visit the Department to teach and study under a renewed scheme of financial support

from the Carnegie Foundation. Throughout the 25 years of the Colonial Department, relations with the British Government's Colonial Office were extremely close and many of those intimately involved in the design and implementation of colonial policy gave occasional lectures to students in the department.³

Research and publications

Although the diploma and advanced courses had provided the initial *raison d'être* for Department, research and publications would also become an important element of the work of staff.

During the 1930s Mumford's research was supported by a trust fund created by his wife, the May Esther Bedford fund. Among the many publications Mumford contributed to the emerging field of comparative education was *Africans Learn to be French* (Mumford, 1935). The fund was used to create a department library to support research on what Cox described as the central problem in the Institute's Colonial work at that time: 'the peculiar difficulties that result from introducing western schooling into the fabric of wholly different cultures' (Cox, 1952: 63).

During the 1940s research students were becoming gradually more important in the work of the Department. In 1941/2 Dr Read supervised the work of four female research students jointly with Dr Raymond Firth and Professor Karl Mannheim from the LSE. Girls' education was a prominent research theme. Miss Holding, from the Methodist Mission in Kenya, studied girls' initiation rites. Miss Pitt, a former teacher in Southern Nigeria, undertook research on the impact of girls' boarding schools on future careers and marriage. Miss Ruth Trouton undertook a comparative study of the relationship between education and social development in Northern Rhodesia and the Dutch East Indies, while Miss Isabel Brown, 'recently returned from China and a graduate of Toronto in psychology and anthropology' studied educational problems in

³ Whitehead (2003) provides biographies of several, including Cox, Gwilliam, Mayhew, Vischer and Ward.

rural Szechuan (AR 1941/2). This early emphasis on gender, education and development would re-emerge as a major theme of the Department's work some 50 years later.

The Department's research and information function that had developed gradually from the mid-1920s assumed a particular importance during the war years. Already a centre of professional study for colonial education it became a centre and clearing house of information on colonial matters more generally. Cox explains:

It was in line with the Colonial Department's special interest in comparative education in Mumford's time that the Department should use to the full its strange wartime opportunities to establish close touch with representatives of the Allied governments then exiled in London and should both give help and receive it. Most dramatic was the rapid improvisation by the Colonial Department, acting jointly with the School of Oriental and African studies, of special courses, given in French... for French men or women going out to Colonial territories that had declared for the free French. Lord Lugard and, I need hardly say, Sir Hanns Vischer⁴ were prominent among those who helped to launch these courses.... Free French, Dutch and Belgian Government Departments all helped the Department in its own Colonial Lecture Courses, and in their turn drew freely on the material in the library.

(Cox, 1952: 69)

During the war government officials in the Colonial Office reviewed education policy in the colonial territories. Read and the Institute's Director, Jeffery, were actively engaged in this dialogue. It was 'a time of active preparation for

⁴ Formerly Major Hanns Vischer, member of the Phelps-Stokes African Education Commission and secretary and member of the British Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa in the 1920s

the future' (Cox, 1952: 70). Post-war policies on mass education, on community education and higher education were in the offing.

In recognition of the Department's growing research and knowledge base the University of London established a Chair in Education with special reference to Colonial Areas. Read,⁵ who had joined the Institute in 1940 and been appointed to a readership in 1945 was the first incumbent. In her inaugural professorial lecture, *Education and Cultural Tradition*, delivered in 1950, Read focused on the reciprocal relations between the school and the home in British-dependent territories, especially those in Africa (Read, 1950). The cultural contact between local traditions and English life and thought, expressed through schools, created challenges for the policy and practice of colonial educational policy, in matters of curriculum, language and values. The challenge was all the greater since colonial policy more generally had 'been against assimilation both in the political and cultural sense' (Read, 1950: 6). While colonial education policy in Africa espoused the principle of adapting education to native life, Read suggested that few teachers in the colonial service had tried to implement the policy. The inspired few who attempted to translate the principle into experimental practice walked up blind alleys. While an understanding (through systematic study) of the cultural interaction between the traditions of the home and the school was important in every society, Read argued that it assumed greater importance in those



John Lewis &
Margaret Read

societies to which the English cultural tradition had been exported consciously or otherwise. Under these conditions the gap between the home and the school became exaggerated. In outlining her hopes for the development of field of study Read called for more studies of indigenous learning traditions on the one hand, and more studies of the English cultural tradition on the other. She concluded that the systematic and academic study of both sides of the interaction needed to be combined with 'an informed

⁵ For a full account of the life and work of Margaret Read see Chapter 12 in Whitehead (2003); also see her obituary in *The Independent*, 31 May 1991

confidence in our own cultural tradition which is certain of the contribution it has to give' (Read, 1950: 24).

Read's allusions to confidence and certainty foreshadowed much deliberation about the Department's role in the post-war years. This needs to be seen in the context of changing geo-political relations worldwide. While the former Spanish and Portuguese colonies of Latin America gained political independence during the nineteenth century, the de-colonisation of the British, French and other European territories began in earnest only after the end of Second World War. Burma (Myanmar), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India and Pakistan were among the first to gain independence. Some, for example Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), would wait much longer. Simultaneously, various international organisations were established and declarations on education proclaimed. The United Nations Organisation for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO), established in 1945, carried the international mandate to develop basic education and literacy. The 1948 United Nations Declaration of Human Rights posited education, *inter alia*, as a basic human right. The actions of international organisations would have implications for educational policy and practice in developing countries and for the study of them.

Far from reducing its significance, changing international political relations, the creation of international organisations and the political independence of governments and Ministries of Education, would give the Colonial Department new impetus and direction.

1952–1973: The Department of Education in Tropical Areas (ETA)

In 1952 the Colonial Department changed its name to the Department of Education in Tropical Areas (ETA). Read was to note that

The change of name puts it in line with other Departments of the Institute which in their titles describe what is studied and taught in them ... the new title makes it clear that this Department has something to offer to all students of educational problems in tropical areas, where, apart from political relationships, there are common elements in the economic and social conditions which are the background of educational advance.

(AR 1951/2).

Staff

In 1955 C.G. Sollis was appointed as acting head of ETA and was succeeded as head and Professor of ETA in 1956 by Professor Lionel Elvin. Elvin moved to the Institute from UNESCO headquarters in Paris, where, since 1950, he had been Director of the Department of Education. On his appointment as the Institute's fifth Director in 1958 he was succeeded as Head of ETA by Professor John Lewis, a position Lewis would hold until 1972/3.

In their pursuit of courses students were supported in their work not only by academic staff but also by the 'student secretary' and other non-academic staff. Miss Redington filled this important position between 1947 and 1952/3. She was succeeded by Margaret Richards,⁶ who went on to serve the Department and its students for 30 years (and the Institute for 33 years). On Richards' retirement in 1982 and her award of an MBE, Professor Peter Williams noted that not only did Margaret 'run' the Department, but 'in a sense she was the Department' (AR 1981/2).

The Role of ETA

Elvin's inaugural lecture was titled *Education and the End of Empire* (Elvin, 1956). Where Read had promoted a cultural analysis of education in colonial areas, Elvin would emphasise the political. Where Read had recognised 'our

⁶ Margaret Richards died just a few days before our 75th anniversary. Fittingly, Bill Dodd opened the 75th anniversary proceedings with a moving tribute to her life and work.

terms of reference' as 'the peoples and areas of non-autonomous territories within the Commonwealth' and the 'cultural policy of the United Kingdom', Elvin would wonder how the new terms of reference should be defined.

It is not enough now for us to know what the aims of our educational policy in the overseas territories should be. For the policy is ceasing to be *ours to make*. In the period ahead we shall have increasingly to ask ourselves a different question: given this loss of power and the continuance of an educational relationship, what is the role that we should play? (Elvin, 1956: 15, my emphasis)

Reviewing progress towards independence in all corners of the British Empire – from the Caribbean to the Gold Coast, India, Burma and Malaya – Elvin recognised that colonial policies on education (whether well- or ill-conceived, effective or ineffective) would no longer have a place in the development of education in former colonies. But a diminution of the political did not necessarily imply a severing of the cultural and education relationship. Elvin predicted that educational relationships with the former colonies would increase rather than decrease, not least because of the expansion in education at all levels, but especially in higher education. Elvin predicted that more, rather than fewer, students and teachers would travel from afar to the Institute for part of their education and training. They would wish to see schools, universities and educational methods in England and would be attracted to pursue their training as teachers and educational officers in a university 'well endowed for comparative studies' (Elvin, 1956: 24). Elvin saw the role of the Department of Education in Tropical Areas as that of providing a 'bridge' between significant educational experience in England and tropical regions. The bridge would be framed by

comparative study that can add a whole dimension to intellectual grasp.... Educational problems are the same everywhere; and they are always different, because the context is different ... for our compatriots who are going overseas those who teach here will need to continue to emphasise the relation between their work and its tropical context. For

those who come to us from overseas we shall continue to give the best introduction we can to English education and to encourage them to see comparatively the problems that concern them at home. But more important still, it will be our privilege to try to share with both the heritage of educational wisdom of many civilisations and to do what we can to justify the hope that this may be a little enriched by what the British people have done when our colonial empire shall finally – I will not say have reached, but achieved its end.

(Elvin, 1956: 278)

On the change of the Department's title, and that of his Chair, from education (with special reference to colonial areas) to education (with special reference to education in tropical areas) Elvin commented wryly:

this escape from history into geography may sound a little odd, but no doubt it was felt that lines of latitude were marked in a more permanent colour on the globe than the once supposedly indelible imperial red.

(Elvin, 1956: 3)



I-r: Peter Williams, Lionel Elvin, Angela Little

When I met Lionel, aged 97, in October 2002,⁷ he said the Department's new title – Education in Tropical Areas – was probably a misnomer. It should more properly have been renamed the Department of Post-Colonial Education. I was unsure whether he was aware of the

growth of Departments of post-colonial studies in American and European universities during the 1990s. If he was not he could not have been more prescient.

⁷ In the company of Prof. Peter Williams, Head of Dept. of Ed. in Developing Countries, 1978-84. Professor Elvin died on June 14th 2005, just two months before his 100th birthday.

ETA and Comparative Education

The implementation of Elvin's sensible academic position – that the study of education in developing countries should be framed by 'comparative study' – would be compromised by the subsequent separation of ETA and 'comparative' interests through the creation of a new Department of Comparative Education. As early as 1934 'comparative education' had appeared in the Institute-wide diploma course content (see Figure 1) and was a key theme in Mumford's appointment in 1934 to a lectureship in the 'education of primitive peoples'. In 1937/8 Dr Reinhold Schairer, who according to Aldrich (2002) was suspected by some people of having been a German spy, was appointed as a lecturer in comparative education. But it was Dr Joseph Lauwerys,⁸ appointed to the Institute in 1932 as a lecturer in physical sciences, who would, over time, establish and develop the separate identity of Comparative Education within the Institute. After promotion to a readership in 1941/2 his 'energies would be increasingly devoted to comparative education' (Aldrich 2002: 118, McLean, 1981). In 1947 he was appointed to a University Chair in Comparative Education. The creation of a separate Department of Comparative Education in 1956, in the year that Elvin gave his inaugural lecture, institutionalised the separation of Comparative Education and Education in Tropical Areas. By 1964/5 the Institute was re-organised into six divisions, one of which was the Division of Comparative Education. The division had two Departments – Comparative Education and Education in Tropical Areas. As we shall see later the two Departments eventually merged in 1985, for a period of ten years (1985–95). In many UK universities interests in international and comparative education grew from the 1960s (as they did also in the United States and elsewhere). Comparative education, international education and education in developing countries were viewed by many academics contributing to the research literature as compatible, complementary and sometimes identical.⁹ The institutionalised

⁸ For a full account of the work of Lauwerys, see McLean, M. (1981) *Joseph Lauwerys: a festschrift*, London, University of London Institute of Education Library.

⁹ This paper traces the work of the Institute on education in developing countries. It does not trace the related but separate story of comparative education. The reader interested in tracing the development of

separation of comparative education from education in developing countries was, to many London 'outsiders', puzzling.

ETA under Professor John Lewis

Lewis succeeded Elvin as Professor and Head of Education in Tropical Areas in 1958. In his inaugural lecture *Partnership in Oversea Education*, Lewis outlined the priorities for educators from the colonies/former colonies and in the development of education in the 'new nations' or the 'emergent nations'. Sharing the same policy springboard as Read – the *1925 White Paper on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa* – Lewis explored one of its fundamental guiding principles, the concept of partnership, in its various institutional forms. Since 1925 these had included the partnership between the Colonial government, the Advisory Boards of Education established in each dependency and the Christian mission organisations, as well as the sharing in the Colonial Department of the Institute of facilities for the training and study by government and mission recruits and 'small but significant numbers of students from the dependent territories' (Lewis, 1959: 4). Newer forms of partnership were those in support of higher education in the colonies, such as the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies and the 'special relationship' between colonial university institutions and the University of London, whereby students were awarded London degrees for work on syllabuses adjusted to local conditions and taught by staff in sister institutions. Noting that many of the partnerships of the previous decades must 'of necessity largely disappear', Lewis saw the ETA department as providing facilities for senior members (men and women) of local education services

responsible for providing advice to their political masters and responsible for interpreting in a satisfactory professional fashion the education aspirations of the people they serve.

(Lewis, 1959: 11)

these two fields of study more generally is referred to two special numbers of the journal *Comparative*

The equipping of these educational leaders of the new nations would require the re-examination of the content and methodology of education

in the circumstances of the new nations, with the most careful attention to the current social, political and economic facts against the authentic heritage of their own past as well as those elements of our own heritage which they choose to integrate into their own future tradition.

(Lewis, 1959: 13)

Having mapped considerations of the place and purpose of the teaching of languages, science, religion, the arts and social studies, Lewis turned his attention to the need for sociological and psychological research on the individual in relation to society, as an underpinning for all pedagogy.

To record that such social and psychological instruction as is provided in the teacher training colleges in the territories we are concerned with is still almost entirely an imported product, frequently without even the misleading but superficially satisfying coating of local illustration of the accepted British or American exposition of theory, is but to say that the necessary research and investigations have not yet been carried out

.....

(Lewis, 1959: 20)

The research could be carried out through partnerships between ETA and the institutes and departments of new universities in Africa. Alongside partnership in research the Institute had a 'special duty ... that of a clearing house of information and as a central exchange of opinion and ideas' (Lewis, 1959: 21).

Under Lewis's leadership, from 1958 to 1973, the Department attained a remarkable peak of international fame and influence and a focal point for the

Education, vol. 13, no.2 and vol 36, no.3, and also to Little (2000) and Crossley and Watson (2003).

study of education in developing countries and for those involved in it. The 1960s were exciting times, politically and educationally, as colony after colony gained independence. Lewis was a strong and firm leader, a teacher and administrator rather than an academic and a redoubtable disciplinarian.¹⁰ He was in a position to appoint a strong team of staff to work with him. Without exception all had enjoyed distinguished careers in education in the colonies; among them were John Wilson (Gold Coast), Jack Wilson (Sarawak), Peter Tregear (Northern Rhodesia and Sierra Leone), Dr P.C.C. (Nick) Evans (Caribbean and Kenya), John Loveridge (Gold Coast), John Cameron (Tanganyika), Dr Reg Batten (Uganda), Bill Dodd¹¹ (Tanganyika/Tanzania), Hugh Hawes (Uganda), Helen Coppen (Southern Rhodesia) and Lewis himself (Nigeria and Gold Coast).

During this period the ETA team extended the network of institutional links built over a long period of time. These included links with the Department for Technical Cooperation (later ODA and later still DFID), the British Council, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Inter-University Council, Oxford University Press, the Centre for Education Overseas (CEDO, later CREDO) and institutes in other universities. Abroad the links were many indeed, including UNESCO and most of the new universities in the newly independent countries. But the key international link was the Anglo-Afro-American Programme which, with funding from the Carnegie Trust, brought together Teachers' College in Columbia University, New York, the Institute of Education in London and institutes of education throughout anglophone Africa. This programme included many exchanges of staff, with those from London (John Wilson, Jack Wilson, Cameron and Dodd) teaching in New York, lecturers from Teachers' College (Professors Al Thompson, David Scanlon, James Sheffield) teaching in London, and staff from African institutes of education (in Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Sierra Leone and Nigeria) teaching or studying in London or New York. Political independence also led to many requests for staff to serve as

¹⁰ I am very grateful to Bill Dodd for drafting material about the work of John Lewis and his team. Bill was a key member of the committee that organised the 75th anniversary celebrations. Sadly, he died in January 2004 before the work on this celebratory CD was completed.

consultants and advisers (Lewis in Tanganyika, Hawes in Nigeria, Tregear in Fiji, Cameron in Malta and Kenya and Dodd in Malawi).

And these links meant that there was rarely a week when at coffee time in the Department's own common room at 25 Woburn Square the staff were not joined by visitors from the Department for Technical Cooperation or the British Council, or an African Vice-Chancellor or Professor Karl Bigelow from Columbia University (Dodd, personal communication).

Student numbers and courses continued to flourish. By 1962/3 students followed seven types of course: the Post Graduate Certificate of Education, the Certificate course, the Associateship course, various short courses, the Community Development course, the Academic Diploma and a small MA course, with just five students. There were no research students in 1962/3. Students originated from around 30 countries including Nigeria (23 students), Kenya (13 students), Sudan (15 students) and the UK (17 students). The contrast between the students in post- and the pre-second-world-war years was great. The trend in student recruitment noted already, away from British educators serving *in* the colonies and towards educators *from* the colonies and former colonies, continued.

1973–1985: Education in Developing Countries (EDC)¹²

Staff, students and courses

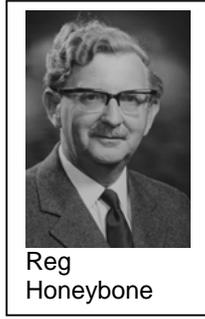
Lewis retired as Head and Professor of the Department in 1972/3. In 1973/4 the Department would experience its second name change, from Education in Tropical Areas (ETA) to Education in Developing Countries (EDC). Jack

¹¹ An account of Bill Dodd's work is presented in Whitehead (2003)

¹² For an additional account of the work of EDC see Peter William's contribution to the Reminiscences 1973-1985, in Section 2 of the CD

Wilson became the acting head and Richards continued as the Administrator, supported by Marjorie Taylor, Alice Henfield, Vicky Gardner and Gundi Bock.

The next Heads of Department were Visiting Professor (subsequently Professor) Reg Honeybone¹³ and Professor Peter Williams, from 1974–8 and



1978–84 respectively. New lecturers/tutors appointed during this period included A.W. Bartran, Audrey Aarons, Dr Linda Ankrah-Dove, Professor Roger Bone, John Bowers, Dr Mark Bray, Dr Trevor Coombe, Roy Gardner, Dr Brian Garvey, Jeremy Greenland, Dr Paul Hurst, Dr Jon Lauglo, Dr Kevin Lillis, Lawrence Lockhart, Mr Raymond Lyons, Michael McRory, H.L.B. Moody, Dr Elwyn Thomas, Jack Thornton,

Dr David Stephens, Susie Rodwell, Bob Smith, Dr Carew Treffgarne, and P. Watson.

Shortly before Honeybone took over the Department, an Institute-wide review recommended that 'the future development of the Department will entail expanding and broadening its teaching programme at advanced level, linking research with these programmes and maintaining and strengthening overseas links' (AR 1973/4). Honeybone began the implementation of these recommendations. He was also a key player in the Department's 50th anniversary celebrations in 1977.

Williams would see the implementation of these recommendations mature. The PGCE work was gradually phased out, staff were redeployed to work with advanced and research students, and student enrolments increased at the Diploma, MA, MPhil and PhD Level. The diploma and MA were modified by introducing professional training at advanced level in educational administration and planning, curriculum development, teacher education, language and communication.

¹³ Professor Honeybone died in July 2002, aged 88, a few months before the 75th anniversary. A tribute to his work was written by Professor Norman Graves, former Pro Director for Initial Training and published in *Geography*, 2002

Institutional academic links were developed with Ahmadu Bello University in Nigeria, the Institute of Educational Research in Bangladesh, the University of Malaya, Kenyatta University College in Kenya and the Institute of Education, Hamburg. In the UK academic links were established with the International Extension College in Cambridge and the Institute of Ismaili Studies. The Overseas Development Administration funded the Department's involvement in large education development projects in Andhra Pradesh in India and in Indonesia. The annual pilgrimage of students and staff to development institutions based in Paris (e.g. IIEP and UNESCO) started and continues to the present (2004). Relations were maintained with the World Bank and the Commonwealth Secretariat.

Not for the first time the Department would face a crisis of student funding. Late in 1979 the government announced its intention to introduce full-cost fees for overseas students from October 1980. Williams wrote: 'The announcement of the full-cost fees ... was truly dismaying to a Department such as ours' (AR 1980: 4). The Department prepared a submission to and appeared before the Overseas Development Sub-Committee of the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee. Williams also worked with the Overseas Students Trust, editing a book entitled *The Overseas Student Question* (Williams, 1984). Government relented and modified the full-cost scheme – but only slightly. In practice the number of overseas students would grow after the increase in fees (Dodd, personal communication). Williams continued to be a champion of overseas students and quite recently, working with Professor Lalage Bown and others, produced *Student Mobility on the Map* (CEC/UKCOSA 2000).

Shifting contexts

The international political context in which Honeybone, Williams and colleagues would work contrasted markedly with the colonial and transitional contexts addressed by Read, Elvin and Lewis. By the late 1970s to mid-1980s most countries were politically independent. Countries were interconnected via a complex web of political, economic, social and cultural relations. Most subscribed to the workings of various inter-governmental (or

supra-national) organisations such as UNESCO. UNESCO maintained a high profile of influence on educational policy well into the 1970s. The 1960s had been the United Nations first 'development decade', during which time many European and North American agencies for development, including educational development, were created and became influential in the international arena. By the 1970s financial co-operation was extended to the poorer countries of the South via a complex array of loans and grants, extended multi- and bi-laterally, regionally and internationally. Substantial external funding for education in many of the former colonies raised uncomfortable questions over the effective control of education policy. In principle, newly independent countries controlled the formulation of educational policy. In practice, many forms of 'external' agency would also play their part. A new set of cultural, as well as economic, interactions would be played out in relation to new political configurations and myriad education policies. No longer would a professor of *education with reference to developing countries* be able to invoke the British Government's 1925 vision of education for Africa as the sole, or even main, point of reference for educational policy in a particular country. And no longer would London retain its relative monopoly within British higher education over the study of education in developing countries. The Universities of Bristol, Sussex, Leeds, Manchester, Moray House (Edinburgh), Newcastle, Reading and Birmingham were becoming key providers of postgraduate and other courses in education in developing countries. And alongside staff in these universities, those at specialist research centres, such as the Institute of Development (Sussex) and the Centre for African Studies (Edinburgh), were developing the ever-expanding research base.

Priorities

In *African Education under Siege* Williams' (1986) gaze fell on sub-Saharan Africa. Williams' main argument was that 'the crisis' in African education was 'largely one of physical and economic difficulty in meeting the level of educational demands, and of closing the gap between population and resources' (Williams, 1986: 93).

High population growth rates, low and declining income per head, and high unit costs of education combined with very high levels of social demand for education at all levels conspired to place the continent under siege. Williams asserted, 'Africa must identify appropriate strategies to cope with this siege (Williams, 1986: 99).

Strategies to reduce rates of population growth and re-vitalise the economy were non-educational but vital to resolving the crisis in African education. The educational strategies were threefold: 'sit-out', 'break-out' and 'work-out'. 'Sit-out' amounted to responsive adjustment to pressure. 'Break-out' was like a besieged army trying 'to rush through the encircling forces' (Williams, 1986: 100) – radical approaches and solutions, redesigns of schools, of curriculum and examinations. 'Work-out' offered a midway position and was Williams' preferred option. Williams suggested 'purposeful education renewal' along a number of dimensions: professional commitment and the restoration of morale, teacher accountability at local level, strengthening independent learning, cost reduction, improved planning and management and particular forms of external assistance. But technically derived prescriptions of remedies for the benefit of all would count for little if societal and political commitment to the 'public good' was undermined by deep-rooted webs of particularistic obligations to kin, tribe, clan, community and neighbours. Even greater than the educational challenge was the political.

During the 1970s the field of study was influenced by theoretical perspectives on the relationship between education and 'development', by a gradual questioning of the economic concept of development held by many in the development agencies and by a range of conceptual models of innovation and change in education, with particular reference to externally, or 'aid' – induced change (e.g. see Hurst, 1983)

Towards the end of the EDC period a system of elected rather than appointed Chairmanship was introduced across the Institute. Williams was the first elected Chairman. In mid-1984 he was appointed to the Directorship of the

Education Programme of the Commonwealth Secretariat and was succeeded, temporarily, by Hawes, as Chairman. This was to be another period of transition.

1985–1995: The Department of International and Comparative Education (DICE)

During the 1960s there had been several proposals for a closer integration of the work of the departments of Education in Developing Countries (EDC), Comparative Education, and English as a Foreign Language. Eventually, in 1985, the departments of Comparative Education and EDC, but not English as a Foreign Language, merged. The merger led to a third change of name. EDC merged with Comparative Education to become the Department of International and Comparative Education (DICE).

Staff, students and courses

Although Departmental Chairmen became Chairpersons, all the chairpersons of DICE would be men. The first elected chairperson was Hurst,¹⁴ succeeded by Dr Robert Cowen, Thomas and Crispin Jones. In January 1986 Guy Neave succeeded Brian Holmes as Professor of Comparative Education and in June 1986 I was appointed to succeed Williams as Professor of Education (with reference to developing countries), taking up the appointment from a Fellowship at the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex in 1987. Kazim Bacchus, an alumnus of the Department and still a regular visitor spent a fruitful period in the Department as Visiting Professor in 1985/6 and Roy Carr-Hill joined as a Visiting Professor in 1992.

Student numbers were buoyant and their countries of origin very diverse. In the mid-1980s over 200 students followed education in developing countries courses. Enrolments from Asia were increasing, so that there were roughly

equal numbers of students from Africa and Asia. Of the 200 approximately 40 were registered for Masters degrees, 30 for research degrees, 30 for diplomas and 100 were following advanced short courses (in Supervision and Inspection, Curriculum Planning, Educational Planning and Distance Teaching).

In the academic year 1990/1 the largest single country of origin of students was the UK, with 63 students. The largest numbers of overseas students came from India and Indonesia on short courses in connection with major development projects. Others came from (in alphabetical order) Australia, the Bahamas, Bangladesh, Egypt, Ethiopia, Hong Kong, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mexico, Montserrat, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, the Netherlands, Nigeria, , Pakistan, Palestine, Poland, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Taiwan, Tanzania, Turkey, Uganda, USA, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

The anticipated decline in overseas student numbers a decade earlier in 1980 did not materialise. The immediate challenge posed by full-cost fees was met in part by the expansion of the short and special non-accredited course programme. As noted above, by the mid-1980s this programme attracted around 100 students. The programme attracted students to the Institute for short periods of professional upgrading and was funded by a wide range of sources: aid programmes, governments, NGOs and private individuals. Several of these courses were directly linked with country-specific primary education development programmes. Hawes, Gardner and John Breakell were particularly active in major ODA-funded programmes in Indonesia and the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh, the training components of which generated the students reflected in the country statistics from India and Indonesia above.

¹⁴ Paul Hurst died in May 2002, a few months after the 75th anniversary.

In line with the Institute recommendations of the mid-1970s the MA and PhD programmes continued to expand. The Masters course was re-modelled into a Masters *programme*, in which students followed common and optional courses, leading to degree awards that emphasised areas of professional specialisation. Specialised professional MA degrees were available in educational planning, educational management, curriculum development, teacher education and distance education. Coombe, Lauglo, Hurst, Lillis, Little, Treffgarne, Thomas, Allan Sail, Stephens, Dr Fiona Leach and others, including colleagues in the International Extension College (IEC), brought their specialised professional education skills to these degrees. It was a large programme, attracting 35 to 45 students per year.

In 1990 the Department launched a new diploma/MA in Distance Education with the International Extension College, a non-governmental organisation. This innovative programme – about distance education – was studied *through* distance education by students worldwide using the media of print and audio. Chris Yates, Janet Jenkins, Tony Dodds and John Thomas, who for many years had run short courses on distance education in collaboration with the department, would be key players in this collaboration, administered by the External Programme of the Federal University and directed academically by DICE and the Institute of Education. Today (2002/3) the programme has been retitled MA in Open and Distance Learning, employs the new digital medium alongside the conventional media of print and audio, and shares its core module *Learning, Education and Development: concepts and issues* with the Institute's MA in Education and International Development. This module is available through face-to-face and online delivery in the Institute's MA in Education and International Development, and online through the External Programme's MA in Open and Distance Learning.

A second collaboration with a UK-based NGO involved the Child-to-Child programme, headed by Dr Hugh Hawes and Professor David Morley of the Institute of Child Health and run by Christine Scotchmer. For many years the Child-to-Child programme has run short courses at the Institute. These courses have brought together experienced practitioners from around the

world to share experience of using the approach to involve children as active partners in health education and development.

While research students had been an important part of the profile of activity during the war years, their proportionate numbers would decline in the post-war years. By the 1980s more staff had gained their PhDs and were in a position to supervise the research of others. In 1984 there were, in EDC, 26 students registered for research degrees.

Although a few courses and seminars were shared between the programmes of the two former departments, it would be fair to say that much of the work of the previous departments remained separate.

Research and publications

Large, externally-funded research grants for work on education in developing countries were relatively few in the early 1980s. Notable exceptions were the ODA-funded research on training for educational management run by Hurst and Rodwell and the SIDA-funded research on industrial education programmes in Kenyan secondary schools run by Lauglo.

During the late 1980s and through the 1990s the British government raised new expectations for accountability in higher education. Universities were required to produce detailed accounts for how they spent government money on time spent by staff on research. Peer-reviewed publications, externally funded research grants, active (as distinct from inactive) research students and the impact of research on policy and practice became *the* indicators of research activity. Like every other member of academic staff working at a British university the staff of the Department of International and Comparative Education became accountable to government, through the Institute and the University under the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE).

Many notable articles had -been written and published in house journals and monographs over the decades,¹⁵ many of them the fruit of discussion and debate within the respective departments. What mattered now was that all publications should be in the broader public domain, scrutinised by peers ('peer reviewed') beyond the department or university in which they were produced. Staff focused their research publications energy on 'out-of-house' rather than 'in-house' publications.

The field of research on education in developing countries had made significant strides over the previous 60 years. More and more staff in university departments worldwide contributed to an expanding research base and more and more publications were available in the public domain, internationally. In the UK the RAE reinforced the role of staff as active researchers and writers, as well as teachers and advisers.

During the 60th anniversary celebrations, held in March 1988 I delivered my inaugural lecture. Entitled *Learning from Developing Countries* the lecture emphasised the need for mutuality between researchers, policymakers and practitioners based in the countries of the North and the South. I emphasised the need for those domiciled in the North but who worked in and with the South to *learn from* the educational realities of developing countries. In certain respects the political message could not have been more different from that which gave rise to the Department some 60 years earlier when Britain was still the centre of Empire. Posing a partial answer to the political question posed by Lionel Elvin some 30 years earlier about 'our role' I emphasised our aim is to

Help students from developing countries to value their own country's experience and further the development of endogenous and national models of education. The existence and recognition of endogenous models in turn provide the conditions necessary for the collective

¹⁵ See Section 4 of the CD for a bibliography of staff publications since 1927

creation of international knowledge and international models of education.

(Little, 1988: 20)

Margaret Read had emphasised the two-sided nature of cultural interaction between the African home and the colonial school and was concerned about the ambiguity and indeed absence of a clear cultural policy on the part of the British government with respect to education in Africa. Forty years on and in a post-colonial world I remained concerned with cultural interaction. But my focus was on interaction between the producers of knowledge *about education* in the North and in the South and the cultural conditions necessary for the generation of knowledge about education that could claim to be truly international in its origin and application.

Lionel Elvin had emphasised that educational policy for Africa was, increasingly, no longer 'ours' to make. 'Our' new role was to enable people to study educational experiences in different contexts, comparatively – to provide a bridge for those from Africa and other developing nations to study what was significant in the English context in comparison with their own context. Thirty years on and the notion of a 'bridge' was central to my theme also. But I emphasised the need for those in the North to cross the bridge and to take active steps to *learn from the South*. Those from the North who, notwithstanding political independence, continued to claim some modest influence on policy and practice in the South, needed to learn as much as they could about specific contexts in the South before presuming to offer advice drawn from the experience of Northern education contexts.

All previous professors of the Department, bar Margaret Read, who at that time was 98, joined the 60th anniversary celebrations.



The 60th Anniversary Celebration: Back (l-r): John Lewis, Reg Honeybone, Angela Little, Paul Hurst, Peter Williams, Kazim Bacchus
Front: (l-r) Lionel Elvin, Edward D. "Robbie" Roberts, Peter Holwell, John Ellis, Dennis Lawton

1995–2001: Education and International Development (EID)

By 1995 the ninth Director of the Institute, Professor Peter Mortimore, had announced a radical restructuring of the Institute along two axes. The first axis was the programme area (Research, Professional Development, Initial Teacher Education and New Initiatives) headed by Deans. The second was the Academic Groups (some 20 groups in 2000), headed by senior academic staff. In contrast to the previous decade, in which 'Chairpersons' of departments were elected by the academic staff that comprised them, now heads of academic groups were appointed by the Director. It was a time of re-grouping and re-alignment. Education and International Development emerged to take forward the work on education in developing countries, headed by myself.

Staff, students and courses

Administratively, the 1995 restructuring dealt us a particularly cruel blow. Like Richards before her, Mrs Rajee Rajagopalan, had, during the days of DICE, not only run the Department, but to students and staff alike, she was the Department. With the centralisation of all administrative staff in the 1995 restructuring Rajagopalan moved to work in the International Development Unit (IDU) based in the Registry. Despite the move to the central administration she maintained strong informal links with EID, as well as



Rajee Rajagopalan

with former staff and students. Her appointment as the Institute's alumni officer facilitated her formal links with all former students of the Institute and not only those in EID and her predecessor departments. The loss of senior administrative support for the work only served to underline the complexity of the group's work worldwide. The gap was filled by pairs of secretarial staff who took on more and more complex administrative roles (Penny Admiraal, Michael Broderick, Jane Crinnion, Mary Griffin, Adrienne Critcher, Kamela Usmani, Susan Kearney, Anne Rowlands, Louise Sing and Sharon Wilson).

The contrast between EID and each of her predecessors, in terms of numbers and roles of departmental-level support staff, its separate identity and its autonomous status within the Institute could not have been greater. No longer the separate departmental common room, no longer a senior administrator with specialised knowledge of international networks, no longer a 'resources' room, no longer a separate librarian and library. The 'semi-autonomous' status of the Colonial Department within the Institute which, back in the late 1940s, had been viewed by Jeffery 'with considerable concern' (Aldrich, 2002: 136) would no longer be a major pre-occupation of the management of the Institute of the 1990s. By this time the structure of EID, the expectations of its staff, in terms of teaching and research, its relations with central management, the integration of its students into Institute-wide programmes were on a par with every other academic group. Full-scale integration

however had its price. The semi-autonomous status of predecessor departments had arisen for good reason. The challenges of working with students from many contexts worldwide, of conducting research in contexts far beyond British shores, and of providing advice to many external agencies worldwide were complex indeed and required a type and level of administrative support different from that needed by departments working mainly with British students in British schools.

The MA in Education and International Development was revised and integrated into the Institute-wide 120 credit modular system. Its core module became more theory-focused, drawing on the inter-disciplinary base of development studies and contributions from all members of staff. Supporting modules retained the professional themes established in the 1970s: educational planning policy and management (Dr Abby Riddell, Carr-Hill, Dr Chris Williams, Dr Jim Ackers); teacher education and curriculum development (Thomas, Dr Sheila Aikman, Dr Elaine Unterhalter, Dr Pat Pridmore); distance education (Yates and IEC colleagues). The themes of health and gender – so important during Read's leadership – were revived. Separate MA degree awards were introduced in Health Promotion (under the leadership of Pridmore) and Gender (under the leadership of Unterhalter). In all modules students were encouraged to compare professional experience across country contexts and to draw from single-country and comparative research studies. The field of literature, drawn variously from international and comparative education, development studies and other social science disciplines was vast and growing, especially in comparison with the texts available to students back in the 1950s. Student recruitment was strong. Digital communication technology was influencing the ways we delivered courses and communicated with students. Email and internet-based modules were introduced at MA level – and more and more contact with research students overseas on fieldwork began to be mediated via the internet rather than paper and the postal service. Large-scale teaching programmes were run in Mozambique (Dr Roger Flavell, Ronnie Micaloff, Dr Beate Poole and Ms Pru Russell). Short-term programmes were run for educational managers and university academics from Sri Lanka. PhD research student recruitment

remained strong. The regular non-accredited short-course programme, established in the early 1980s, ceased to be run from EID. The pressure on staff to run Masters courses, supervise research students, run research projects, produce high quality publications, and work overseas in myriad collaborations, combined with the loss of administrative support, rendered the maintenance and the development of the short-course programme problematic. However, elements of the earlier programme were maintained by one or two staff, notably Gardner and Breakell, in other sections of the Institute.

Like the RAE before it, 'Subject Review' was introduced by the UK government to monitor the quality of teaching in universities at the MA level. The first review of education departments was held in 2001. EID staff contributed actively to this exercise and received a commendation in the final report.

Research and publications

With the continued demands placed on staff by the RAE, efforts were made to raise external funding for research, increase the numbers of research staff, and to publish high quality research in the peer-reviewed public domain. In line with its commitment to the matrix structure and the integration of its work across the Institute, EID staff became active members of Institute-wide research centres, including the International Centre for Research on Assessment (ICRA), the International School Improvement and Effectiveness Centre (ISEIC), the Centre for Research on Education and Gender (CREG) and the International Centre for Inter-cultural Education (ICICE).

In 1996 the group launched *The EID Review*, which reached a circulation of about 2000 printed copies annually worldwide. And, as a sign of the technological revolution, the review became available in digital form (see section 4 of this CD).

Over the years the orientation of the work of the successive departments would change. Major changes reflected shifts in international political relations and the political independence of former colonies, the creation of inter-governmental bodies, global movements for education and the increasing complexity of funding education in many developing countries. But there would be significant continuities too. These revolved around the commitment to education for all, expressed variously over the years as mass education, basic education, universal primary education and Education for All (EFA), to education and work and to education and health.

EID launched a number of externally-funded research projects, several funded by the ODA (becoming the Department for International Development (DFID)) and involving sister universities and research centres in developing countries. These included large-scale research projects on multigrade teaching (www.ioe.ac.uk/multigrade), on globalisation, livelihoods and qualifications (www.ioe.ac.uk/leid/gql) and on issues related to the growing HIV/AIDs pandemic. A number of research staff were employed on specific projects (Jane Evans, Dr Chris Berry, Dr Eleanore Hargreaves, Edwina Peart, Dominic Furlong, Dr John Lowe). Staff published prolifically in the public domain. By the time of the RAE exercise in 2000 EID received an excellent assessment of the quality and impact of its research.

Alongside their teaching and research commitments, EID staff continued to be involved in a wide range of roles with international agencies and overseas



Education for All: African Regional Conference, Johannesburg, Dec. 1999
l-r: Gerahtu Mebrahtu, Nomso Mjijima, Glory Makwati.

governments, NGOs and universities in many countries including Bangladesh, China, India, Jordan, Kenya, Mexico, Mozambique, Namibia, Peru, Sri Lanka, South Africa and Thailand. Several staff and former staff were involved in the preparations for the Education for All (EFA) World Education Forum, held in Dakar 2000. Even more significant was the involvement of large numbers of former students of EDC and

DICE, now working in senior education policy positions in Africa and Asia.

2002: The School of Lifelong Education and International Development (LEID)

Between 2002 and 2003 two changes in the Institute's internal structure would frame subsequent developments of our work with developing countries. In January 2002, the Institute's tenth Director, Professor Geoff Whitty, established a new academic structure organised around eight large schools and four units/centres. EID merged with the Lifelong Learning academic group to form the School of Lifelong Education and International Development (LEID). Significantly, the new school brought together the EID group with 'comparativists' (notably Professors Andy Green and Karen Evans) from the lifelong learning group to form the *International and Comparative Education Programme* within LEID (www.ioe.ac.uk/leid). Cowen and the MA in Comparative Education moved from the School of Culture, Languages and Communication to LEID at the beginning of the centenary year. Student recruitment to EID courses within the new school remained strong, with some



MA EID students.

79 students registered at Masters and Doctoral level (2002/3). The geographical composition of students had changed significantly since the days of the Colonial Department, ETA, EDC and DICE. Of the 79, the largest groups came from the UK (23), Japan (16) and Sri Lanka (15). Between one and three students came from each of Austria, China, Denmark, Eire, France, Germany, Ghana, Guatemala, the Netherlands, India, Kenya, Malta, Mexico,

Pakistan, Peru, Romania, Singapore, Tanzania, Vietnam and Yemen. With women in the majority, the gender composition of the students could not have been more different from those earlier days.

Centralised Support for International Work, 1927–2002

The focus of this paper has been the origins and development of the Institute's work on education in developing countries over the past 75 years. Necessarily it has charted, albeit briefly, the development of that work through the successive departments whose *primary focus* was education in developing countries.

But the Institute has long supported international work in developing and developed countries centrally and in a way that has seen gradually more staff in gradually more departments involved in various ways in international work. The extent to which the Institute's successive directors have emphasised the Institute's (as distinct from its specialised departments') international roles has varied. In the early years, Nunn, Clarke, Jeffery and Elvin were particularly renowned for their active interests in education beyond England and in the contributions that the Institute could make to education worldwide (Aldrich, 2002).

Though long, the nature of centralised support for international work has meandered. One might trace its origins to the appointment in 1935 of Clarke as the Adviser of Oversea Students. Clarke performed this function even as Director of the Institute, after his retirement and until his death. As Director he was supported in this role by three staff, with responsibilities for specific countries – A.S. Harrison (India), A. Fielding Clarke (Nigeria) and D.T. Dussek (Malaysia). For a short period in 1947/8 the Oversea Student Adviser post was filled by Percival Gurrey, After Clarke's death in 1952 the post was successively filled by Sir James Shelley (1952), Harrison (1953–60), Dr Worsley (1960–4), Mary Carr (1965–70), Derek Hollingworth (1970–91) and

Jo Cairns (1991–4). The post ceased to exist in 1994 and international student affairs were handled by a range of persons in the Registry, in the Student Union and in groups/schools. The focus of the work of these successive oversea(s) student advisers was students and teaching.

Dodd, who had worked as a lecturer in ETA from 1965 to 1970, retired from his position as Chief Education Adviser to the Overseas Development Administration, and returned to the Institute in 1983 as Consultant for Overseas Initiatives. 'Overseas initiatives' included but went beyond overseas students. Dodd held a particular brief to stimulate and co-ordinate the 'consultancy' services of Institute staff to various agencies for work overseas.

After Dodd's retirement in 1991, Dr James Porter became the Head of the Institute's newly created International Development Office (IDO) and subsequently the Acting Dean of New Initiatives and Head of International Affairs (this was one of the four 'programme' areas established in the restructuring of the mid-1990s. 'New initiatives' was a broad term encompassing a range of functions, only one of which was new 'international' initiatives. Porter was succeeded in his role as Dean of New Initiatives by Professor Michael Barber (1995–7) and Toni Griffiths (1997–8), after which time the New Initiatives programme area lapsed. Meanwhile the IDO had been renamed the International Development Unit (IDU), headed by Breakell (1993–9). In 1999 it was located in the Registry with Dr Loreto Loughran, who adopted the twin roles of Registrar and head of the International Development Unit (later to be renamed the International Development Section).

During the 1990s the IDO/IDU section served the international work of many departments and groups. It had several functions. It supported proposals for teaching contracts that involved international students and/or staff working overseas. It supported proposals for contracts for staff to work internationally in a consultancy capacity. It served as a focal point for visits to the Institute of international delegations.

During the Institute's centenary year the Institute created a new position – Pro-Director International – to develop the Institute's internationalisation strategy. In a sense, the appointment, at professorial level, had come full circle, with the pro-director working at a level similar to that held by Clarke as Oversea Student Adviser. But there was also a major difference. Where Clarke's role had focused on the teaching programme and overseas students, mine would cut across each of the Institute's programme areas – research, consultancy and teaching – and would embrace the work of staff as well as students. A second Institute position – the international learning and teaching co-ordinator – was also created in 2003. Held by Dr Ann Gold, this role is designed to support the internationalisation of the curriculum and pedagogical work of staff and students across the Institute.

Towards the future

The Institute's mission has extended greatly since the 1930s – so, too, has the global world of higher education and international relations. It is the era of economic, political and cultural globalisation, the era of cultural difference and similarity, the era of cultural interactions and 'bridges' between the local, the national and the global. It is the era of the World Trade Organisation and the General Agreement on Trade in Services, of the European Higher Education Area, and of increasing international competition for the world's students of higher education and its financial contracts for research and consultancy. It is the era of technological change in which courses and staff can (in principle) travel to students in their homes, wherever they are in the world. As the website of the University of London's external programme exclaims: *if you can't come to London to study then London can come to you* (www.londonexternal.ac.uk).

Over time the Institute as a whole has become more international in its overall orientation, its research interests and its student body. It has undergone a major transformation from its inception as the London Day Training College,

when its mission was to train teachers to serve in London schools. It is now an academic Institute dedicated to the pursuit of excellence in education and related areas of social science and professional practice. While this includes excellence in the training of teachers it also includes major programmes of professional upgrading and research. With its recent commitment to the internationalisation of the curriculum and pedagogy of all of its accredited courses (PGCE, MA and doctoral) and the development of global and regional strategies for all of its research and teaching activities in all its schools and units, the Institute is set to contribute to the study and practice of education worldwide with renewed force and energy. It is guided by a concern for truth and excellence and seeks to make a positive contribution to the development of individuals, institutions and societies.

The Institute's students will discover ever more varied ways to undertake their studies. They will choose to travel to the Institute for all, part or none of their studies through 'face-to-face', 'mixed-mode' and 'distance' delivery. The studies of *all* the Institute's students will gradually become more international in curriculum and pedagogic orientation. Although it will be possible in principle for students to study courses entirely at a distance, the Institute should encourage students to continue to travel to the Institute for at least part of their studies – not least to experience its international learning environment, to meet and learn alongside students from all over the world face-to-face and to experience London, one of the most international capitals of the world.

In 1988 I set out a vision for the study of education in developing countries. I argued for recognition of a two-way traffic of ideas and practices between 'developed' and 'developing' countries. I urged caution against the uprooting of educational ideas, policies and practices from one context to another for material gain. I promoted the creation of learning environments in higher education in which effective educational ideas from one context could be valued alongside those from another. Much of that hope remains today, as the Institute as a whole becomes more and more involved in the interchange of educational ideas across and within national, cultural and ethnic

boundaries whether in developing countries or elsewhere. As Lionel Elvin said:

Educational problems are the same everywhere; and they are always different, because the context is different

Understanding the contexts under which they are the same and different is our continuing intellectual challenge. This understanding underpins an overriding intellectual objective for our future work on education in developing countries, and indeed for the work of the Institute as a whole which may be described as: the generation and dissemination of excellent knowledge (about education and related areas) that acknowledges the diversity of its contexts of origin and application.

References

Aldrich, R. (2002) *The Institute of Education 1902–2002 A centenary history*. London: Institute of Education, University of London.

Annual Reports of the Department, various years.

CEC/UKCOSA (2000) *Student Mobility on the Map* (2000) Report of the Joint Working group of The Council for Education in the Commonwealth and UKCOSA, London.

Comparative Education (1977) *Comparative Education – its present state and future prospects*, Special number vol 13, no 2.

Comparative Education (2000) *Comparative Education for the Twenty First Century*, Special number vol 36, no 3.

Crossley, M and Watson, K. (2003) *Comparative and International Research in Education: Globalisation, context and difference*. London and New York: Routledge Falmer.

Cox, C (1952) *The Development of the Institute in Relation to the Colonies*. In the Jubilee Lectures delivered ... during the spring term, 1952, in celebration of the foundation of the Institute as the London Day Training College on 6 October, 1902. London: Evans Brothers for the Institute of Education.

Dixon, C. W. (1986) *The Institute: A personal account of the history of the University of London Institute of Education, 1932–1972*. London: Institute of Education, University of London.

Elvin, L. (1956) *Education and the End of Empire*, an inaugural lecture delivered at the University of London Institute of Education, Studies in Education no. 8. London: Evans Brothers Ltd for the Institute of Education.

Hurst, P. (1983) *Implementing Educational Change: A critical review of the literature*. London: University of London Institute of Education, Department of Education in Developing Countries, EDC occasional papers, no.5.

Jeffery, G.B. (1952) *The Institute of Education and Oversea Students*. In the Jubilee Lectures delivered ... during the spring term, 1952, in celebration of the foundation of the Institute as the London Day Training College on 6 October, 1902. London: Evans Brothers for the Institute of Education.

Jones, T.J. (1925) *Education in East Africa: A study of East, Central and South Africa* by the second African Education Commission under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in cooperation with the International Education Board. London: Edinburgh House Press.

Lewis, L.J. (1959) 'Higher Education in the Overseas Territories 1948–1958'. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 8.

Little, A.W. (1988) *Learning from Developing Countries*. A professorial inaugural lecture delivered 15 March 1988, Institute of Education, University of London

Little, A.W. (2000) 'Development Studies and Comparative Education: context, content, comparison and contributors', Special number, Comparative Education for the twenty first century. *Comparative Education*, 36, 3, August.

McLean, M. (ed.) (1981) *Joseph A. Lauwerys: A festschrift*, London: University of London Institute of Education Library.

Mumford, W.B. (1935) *Africans learn to be French: a review of educational activities in the seven federated colonies of French West Africa*. London

Read, M. (1950) *Education and Cultural Tradition*. An inaugural lecture delivered at the University of London Institute of Education, Studies in Education no 2. London: Evans Brothers for the Institute of Education.

Whitehead, C. (1988) *Not Wanted on the Voyage*, DICE occasional papers no. 11, pp 1–20.

Whitehead, C. (2003) *Colonial Educators, the British Indian and Colonial Education Service 1858–1983*, London/New York, I.B.Taurus.

Williams, P. (1981) *The Overseas student question: studies for a policy*, London: Heinemann for the Overseas Student Trust

Williams, P. (1986) *African Education Under Siege*. In H. Hawes and T. Coombe (eds) *Education Priorities and Aid Responses in Sub-Saharan Africa*. London: HMSO books (for ODA and ULIE).

Annex 1 List of staff, 1927-2002

Lists of Academic and Administrative Staff

These lists of academic and administrative staff and their year of appointment are gleaned from department annual reports. The list of academic staff includes some visiting and short-term academic appointments. There are many other academics who visited, gave occasional lectures or were involved in various types of exchange programmes, but were not taken on formally as members of staff. These are therefore not included. There were also many staff, particularly in the early years, who contributed much to the teaching in the department but were employed at other institutions, such as SOAS or the Wellcome Museum, or who worked in other departments in the IOE. These staff have also not been listed. However, the list does include those working more recently with the department from the International Extension College.

Some academic staff listed were already employed by the Institute of Education in different departments, such as Comparative Education, which joined with EDC in 1985. The date of appointment for these staff therefore refers to the year they became part of EID and its predecessor departments.

The list of administrative staff includes secretaries, administrators and department librarians.

Every effort has been made to produce accurate lists. However, there may be omissions or inaccuracies, particularly from the early years, as reports were not always completed. Those that were completed did not always discuss staffing or indicate clearly whether a person was a member of staff or a visitor. Where the year of appointment is unclear the first year in which staff are mentioned in the annual reports is indicated. All efforts have been made to provide first names or initials. Where this is not possible, a title is indicated. Please send any corrections or further information to a.little@ioe.ac.uk or c.bentall@ioe.ac.uk.

List of Academic Staff

First Name(s)/ Initial	Surname	Year of initial appointment
James	Fairgrieve	1927
Lawrence W	Faucett	1934
W Bryant	Mumford	1934
B N	Parker	1935
Miss	Gwynne	1936
Margaret	Punett	1936
R W B	Jackson	1937
G E D	Lewis	1937
A Fielding	Clarke	1939
O T	Dussek	1939
Mrs	Brendall (previously Kennedy)	1940
Ruth	Jones	1940
Mrs	Mathews	1940
Margaret	Read	1940
H S	Scott	1940
V B V	Powell	1941
Janet	Welch	1941
A S	Harrison	1943
Joanna	Mackenzie	1943
Leonard John	Lewis	1944
Doris I	Baggott	1945
Elsbeth	Beveridge	1945
E L	Mort	1946
Stanley	Vivian	1946
J L Blair	Buck	1947
Isle	Bunbury	1947
P C C (Nick)	Evans	1947
H G A	Hughes	1947
Jo	Ansel	1948
T Reginald	Batten	1948
J L	Pretorius	1948
T A	Beetham	1949
Roland	Day	1949
T S C (Madge)	Gill – (Batten)	1949
J G	Speer	1950
D F	Anderson	1951
Colin	King	1951
Alex	Rorer	1951
Stanley	Milburn	1952
J D	Clarke	1953
W S	de G Rankin	1953
Edward	Clunies-Ross	1954
S H H	Wright	1954
L	Boucher	1955

Clifford G	Sollis	1955
Peter S	Tregear	1955
H Lionel	Elvin	1956
Jack M	Wilson	1958
A. John	Loveridge	1960
John	Wilson	1962
Isabel	Druce	1963
Jacqueline	Portal	1963
Simon	Pratt	1963
Robert	Sell	1963
John	Cameron	1964
A Robert	Thompson	1964
William A	Dodd	1965
Elsa	Walters	1965
John B	Bowers	1966
Kenneth R	Cripwell	1967
Jack	Greig	1967
Hugh W R	Hawes	1967
A William	Wood	1967
Peter H	Canham	1970
Douglas M	Smith	1970
Hugh	Shelley	1971
AL	Tibawi	1971
Roger	Bone	1972
Reginald C	Honeybone	1972
Paula	Edwards	1973
Roy	Gardner	1973
Jeremy	Greenland	1973
Peter RC	Williams	1973
Elwyn	Thomas	1974
HLB	Moody	1975
Linda	Ankrah-Dove	1976
AW	Bartran	1976
John	Norrish	1976
J Anthony	Dodds	1977
Janet	Jenkins	1977
Hilary	Perraton	1977
Robert L	Smith	1977
Brian	Garvey	1978
Jack EC	Thornton	1978
Noel	Vanzetti	1978
P	Watson	1978
Paul	Hurst	1979
Jon	Lauglo	1979
Carew	Treffgarne	1979
Clive	Whitehead	1979
Audrey	Aarons	1980
M Kazim	Bacchus	1980
Trevor	Coombe	1980
Kevin	Lillis	1980

Jim	Welsh	1980
Paul	Chang Min Phang	1981
Solomon	Inquai	1981
Lawrence	Lockhart	1981
Michael	McRory	1981
H C Anthony	Somerset	1981
Cream	Wright	1981
Raymond F	Lyons	1982
David	Stephens	1982
Marie	Thourson-Jones	1982
Maureen	Woodhall	1982
Philip	Coombs	1983
Maggie	Smales	1983
Mark	Bray	1984
Diana	Clayton	1984
Celia	Capanema	1985
Robert	Cowen	1985
Alfredo	Faria	1985
Crispin	Jones	1985
Martin	McLean	1985
Susie	Rodwell	1985
Ghulam N	Saqeb	1985
Janusz	Tomiak	1985
David	Turner	1985
David	Warr	1985
Richard	White	1985
Guy	Neave	1986
John	Breakell	1987
Angela	Little	1987
Pat	Wilton (Pridmore)	1989
Elaine	Chase	1991
Patricia	Harman	1991
Fiona	Leach	1991
Roy	Carr-Hill	1992
Allan	Sail	1993
Gill	Gordon	1994
Steve	Passingham	1994
Abby	Riddell	1994
Sheila	Aikman	1995
Dominic	Furlong	1995
John	Lowe	1995
Elaine	Unterhalter	1995
Jane	Evans	1998
Felicity	Rawlings	1998
Chris	Williams	1998
Chris	Berry	1999
Roger	Flavell	1999
Eleanor	Hargreaves	1999
Ronnie	Micallef	1999
Beate	Poole	1999

Chris	Yates	1999
Carol	Fermor	2000
Edwina	Peart	2001
Anil	Khamis	2002

List of Administrative Staff

Mrs	Haines	1939
Mrs	Brendall (formerly Kennedy)	1940
Miss	Knogle	1940
Miss	Laver	1940
Mrs	Isherwood	1944
Miss	Mackenzie	1944
Miss	Senior	1945
Miss	M Nunnerley	1946
Miss	Carter	1947
Miss	E Redington	1947
Miss	Geraldine de Montmorency	1947
Miss	H Bouman	1947
Miss	Margaret E Couch	1949
Miss	Margaret Richards	1949
Mr	M G Hewson	1956
Mr	D J Foskett	1957
Miss	Deere-Jones	1957
Miss	Valerie Service	1957
Miss	Helen Roe	1960
Miss	Hilary Paddon	1960
Miss	Pat Shelley	1960
Miss	Alice Henfield	1962
Mrs	Isabel Druce	1963
Miss	Jacqueline Portal	1963
Mrs	Shirley Clunies-Ross	1963
Mrs	Iris Ovendon	1964
Miss	Rock Gundi	1972
Miss	Marjorie Taylor	1973
Miss	Gardner Vicky	1974
Miss	Stephanie Black	1974
Miss	Barbara Helm	1976
Miss	Helen Furness	1977
Miss	Ay Lan Ng	1978
Miss	Christine Scotchmer	1978
Miss	Hayley Pope	1979
Miss	Jane Jarvis	1979
Miss	Phyllis Dali	1982
Mrs	Rajee Rajagopalan	1982
Mr	Ron Morgan	1982

Ms	Gill Lawrence	1983
Mrs	Jane Sharp	1983
Mr	Justin Connolly	1989
Mr	Richard Arnold	1989
Mrs	Mary Griffin	1990
Ms	Yana Krizka	1991
Ms	Jane Jarvis	1992
Mr	Jonathan Deer	1994
Ms	Penny Admiraal	1996
Ms	Andrea Critcher	1997
Ms	Jane Crinnion	1997
Ms	Maureen Linney	1997
Ms	Kamela Usmani	1998
Ms	Susan Kearney	1998
Ms	Maggie Matheson	1999
Ms	Sharon Wilson	1999
Ms	Anne Rowlands	2001
Ms	Emily Glass	2001
Ms	Jane Furlong	2001
Ms	Louise Sing	2001
Mr	Michael Broderick	2001
Ms	Pru Russell	2001