

FRED CLARKE AND THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF STUDIES AND
RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

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Abstract

Fred Clarke (1880-1952) was a key figure in the internationalisation of educational studies and research in the first half of the twentieth century. Clarke aimed to heighten the ideals and develop the practices of educational studies and research through promoting mutual influences in different countries around the world. He envisaged the Institute of Education at the University of London, England, as having a leading role, and was the director of the Institute from 1936 until 1945. His notion of internationalisation was reciprocal and transnational in nature, with aspirations for partnership within a common tradition. This built on the ideal of a 'Commonwealth' that was current in the interwar years, and emphasised the affinities between the dominion nations and in particular Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. It also drew on the financial support and cultural influence of the Carnegie Corporation in New York. Two specific projects taken forward by Clarke to put these ideas into practice were his 'World Tour' of 1935 and his role as the 'Adviser to Oversea Students' at the Institute of Education. These initiatives helped to convert strategic visions and policies into social practices, and to shape the subject of Education in higher education as a multi-disciplinary field in the generation after the Second World War.

Keywords: multi-disciplinarity, educational research, educational studies, internationalisation, higher education

Introduction

Fred Clarke (1880-1952) is perhaps best known for his work as the director of the Institute of Education, University of London (IOE), from 1936 to 1945, for his subsequent position as the chairman of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), for his contributions to educational reform especially in English secondary education, and for his elaboration of the 'English tradition' of education in his book Education and Social Change: An English Interpretation.¹ According to Richard Glotzer, 'The central theme of Fred Clarke's career was his commitment to British cultural ideas and institutions, articulated through educational ideas and practice.'² Yet Clarke was a key figure in internationalisation in education, no less than in his assiduous pursuit of national ideals and reforms. He had a wide range of international experience, especially during his time as Professor of Education at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, from 1911 to 1929, and at McGill University, Montreal in Canada from 1929 to 1934. He was also actively involved both formally and informally in international associations for forty years, from before the First World War through to the period after the Second World War.³

Clarke's approach to educational studies and research was an important aspect of his contribution as a whole, but has not as yet received full recognition from historians. Already known for his forthright views in this area by the early 1920s,⁴ Clarke took part in the efforts of the British Association for the Advancement of Science to help to promote this field, and helped lead to the establishment of the National Foundation for Educational Research and the Standing Conference on Studies in Education.⁵ His short book The Study of Education in England is a key document in the history of educational studies and research.⁶ He was indeed a key

figure in 'discipline building' in this domain of knowledge in higher education, as for example George Sarton was during the same period for the discipline of the history of science, but on an international as well as a national stage.⁷

Clarke was particularly concerned to internationalise educational studies and research. He perceived the IOE as a significant international centre for the study of education, and also drew on the experiences of other countries in assessing prospects for the future. His 'world tour' of 1935, which he undertook just before his appointment as the IOE's director, had a significant bearing on his ideas about educational studies and research. The archive of Fred Clarke, held at the IOE, provides detailed insights into the development of his ideas about educational studies and research, and the nature of his engagement with groups and individuals based in different countries. This is also well reflected in the archives of other research organisations around the world, including the Carnegie Corporation, the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, and the Australian Council for Educational Research, each of which had substantial involvement with Clarke. These sources permit insights into the views of contemporary educationists in different countries on Clarke and his activities. This paper will appraise these ideas and contacts in detail to discern the ways in which Clarke contributed to internationalisation in educational studies and research during these years.

Nearly thirty years ago, Goodenow and Cowen called for much greater historical and comparative attention to be given to the international relationships of institutes and schools of education.⁸ Research on the history of educational studies and research has developed strongly over the past two decades with respect to a number of national contexts such as the USA, Scotland, Switzerland and Australia.⁹ Historical understanding of the processes by which educational studies and research became

institutionalised in different countries has also been much enhanced. As Hofstetter and Schneuwly have discussed, these processes characteristically involve the creation of academic chairs, textbooks, institutions and posts for educational research, publications in specialised journals, and public discourses on education.¹⁰ Historians have also begun to explore the international dynamics involved in the history of educational studies and research,¹¹ and it is clear that the field has developed in different ways in different contexts,¹² but much more detailed research is required in order to develop the theme of internationalisation in this area in depth.

According to Ulrich Teichler, processes of internationalisation in higher education entail border-crossing activities between national systems, while globalisation denotes border-crossing activities of blurred national systems which reflect world-wide trends and growing global competition.¹³ In relation to internationalisation, Teichler identifies different dimensions of this process in terms of the movement of knowledge across borders, the validation and recognition of teaching, learning and research results, issues of international homogeneity, the scope of actors' policies, and higher education steering as a whole. The last of these involves strategic action, in recent times promoted most clearly by national governments and international agencies.¹⁴ In the 1920s and 1930s, individuals and national organisations had key roles in this general process, and the development of educational studies and research provides a significant example of this. The activities of Clarke and his colleagues at the IOE and elsewhere also highlight the extent of international mobility to support these developments, and of changing practices within a specific higher education institution involving students, courses, curriculum and staff.

It is also most important to consider these issues in relation to their broader social and political contexts, especially as these impinged on the international arena of the time. These included the growing financial and cultural influence of the USA, the shift from the British Empire to a British Commonwealth and its legacy of colonialism, and the growing international conflicts of the 1930s leading to the Second World War. Higher education institutions, philanthropic foundations and professors of education operated within these broad configurations and addressed immense challenges as they conspired and competed to change their world.

An Empire of influence?

Clarke's general vision of educational studies and research was already well developed by the First World War. The fundamental purpose of university departments of education, according to Clarke, was as 'centres for the study of education'.¹⁵ This would mean the appointment of staff who would be able to specialise in particular aspects of education, such as history and organisation, methods of instruction and training, and the philosophy and psychology of education, and to engage in research in these areas.¹⁶ Under the beneficent influence of such tutors, he concluded, the training of teachers would also be greatly elevated and improved.¹⁷ It was these objectives that Clarke was determined to pursue further in the 1930s. In Clarke's view, a key means of promoting these aims was the internationalisation of educational studies and research. Through mutual influence in different countries around the world, Clarke aimed to heighten the ideals and develop the practices of educational studies and research in a number of ways. He hoped that at least some of the traditions of education in England might be adapted for use in other countries. At the same time, he argued that the educational ideas of other countries might also have a significant bearing on the changes that were taking

place in the English context, and also that there should be an international market of students and staff to help to build up an enlarged role for educational studies and research in England as well as elsewhere. In all of these developments, Clarke saw the IOE as potentially having a crucial and leading role to play.

Clarke's notion of internationalisation was therefore reciprocal and transnational in nature, as opposed to proposing simply a uni-directional flow from 'centre' to 'periphery'.¹⁸ Clarke's ideas retained what the American historian of education Lawrence Cremin typified as 'metropolitanism', involving the export of the culture and civilisation of a metropolitan nation to other nations and regions of the world.¹⁹ Nevertheless, they were also symptomatic of a trend away from classical doctrines of the British Empire towards what were, in the context of the 1930s, more forward-looking and in some respects liberal internationalist ideals in the shape of the British Commonwealth.

The notion of a 'Commonwealth' was central to the Statute of Westminster of December 1931. This built on the agreements of earlier conferences and the Balfour report of 1926 to recognise that the dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Ireland and Newfoundland should control their own domestic and foreign affairs, establish their own diplomatic corps, and be represented separately at the League of Nations. This effectively loosened the political bonds of the erstwhile British Empire, but highlighted the issues of how to retain effective collaboration and the nature of the common values that united the dominions with the metropolitan homeland. John Darwin has argued that these developments helped to create a constitutional compromise that bound the Dominions to Britain in a new form of 'imperial nationhood'. He concludes that this implied the continued

dominance of the Mother Country, 'as the "Britishness" of their culture and institutions was reinforced by the modernisation of their political and economic life'.²⁰

These were key concerns in the shift from the former London Day Training College (LDTC) to the establishment of the IOE at the University of London in the 1930s.²¹

For example, in July 1931 a British Commonwealth Education Conference took place at Bedford College, London, to discuss the nature of education in a changing Commonwealth under the auspices of the New Education Fellowship. Sir Percy Nunn, then the principal of the LDTC, used this conference to outline his aspirations for an IOE.²² He proposed that there should be developed a permanent, strongly organised centre for continued discussion and enquiry into all educational problems that affected the welfare of the British Commonwealth, based on the provisions of the Statute of Westminster. Such an IOE, Nunn concluded, would be based in a university, and would provide a place for discussion and inquiry in which, he expressed it, 'we stand to learn from you at least as much, probably much more than we can possibly teach', to facilitate 'a mutual affair, in which we learn from each other'.²³ These ideas were met favourably by the University of London, whose principal, Edwin Deller, recognised that while the LDTC was already the most important and largest centre in England for advanced study and research in education, its position outside the university had 'stood in the way of its development as an imperial and international centre for higher study and research, which is emphatically the business of a university though not of a municipality to promote and encourage'.²⁴

The Carnegie Corporation and the Institute of Education

In the United States, Isaac Kandell of Teachers College at Columbia University in New York also noted with interest that the establishment of such a centre for the advanced study of education in England would be a highly positive development internationally, 'first, because it will give the subject itself a position which it has not hitherto enjoyed, and, secondly, because it may make the English articulate about the strength of their system and contribute to the progress of education generally'.²⁵

Nunn was able to pursue this substantial shared agenda with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which was active during this time in giving financial aid to educational research initiatives in different countries.²⁶ During 1934, Nunn negotiated a substantial grant from the Carnegie Corporation with the aim of developing what he called 'the imperial and international, as distinguished from the domestic, side of the Institute'.²⁷ He pointed out in private correspondence with Frederick Keppel, the president of the Carnegie Corporation, that these 'imperial activities' would help to foster a common understanding among educational workers in England and in the self-governing Dominions, while also supporting the training of workers for the educational field in the colonies, provision of advanced and refresher courses for mature workers, and research in the problems of colonial education.²⁸

Under the terms of its charter, the Carnegie Corporation was not able to provide financial support directly to promoting education in England, but it could support initiatives in other part of the world, including the British Dominions. It was this provision that it set out to exploit. Contacts between the Carnegie Corporation and the University of London thus began to be fostered in the early 1930s, in anticipation of the establishment of the IOE, with both Keppel and Kandell proving pivotal in

promoting these.²⁹ Kandel expressed strong support for a development of this kind, arguing in a letter to Keppel that, 'Any new institution of this type will strengthen our own work'.³⁰ Clarke, at this time a professor of education at McGill University in Canada but forging a close relationship with Nunn, was enthusiastic about the 'cultural possibilities of the English-founded lands', and emphasised that 'without USA participation in its activities I feel that such an Institute cannot hope to be complete'.³¹ Kandel suggested that the most acceptable form of support for the IOE's further development would be in the form of fellowship grants for the dominions and colonies, with supplementary support for travel in England. The introduction of a professorship in comparative education was an additional proposal.³² At a further meeting in January 1933, Clarke urged that there should be a greater international exchange of ideas, with the USA providing an important role in this and the IOE fitting into such a plan.³³ Letters and telephone contact ensued between the Corporation and the IOE, with a number of visits between them.

Clarke was admirably suited to liaising between the Carnegie Corporation and the IOE, and took his opportunity with vigour. He took his cue from Nunn in promoting international cooperation, and indeed was privately critical of Nunn and his generation for being 'too little aware of the change that has come over the scene since 1919'.³⁴ In an article for the journal Oversea Education in April 1932, when he was still based in Canada, he had set out what he described as 'a Dominion view' of 'an Education Institute for the Empire'.³⁵ This pointed out the need for a more modern conception of empire than had been present before the First World War and at the height of the British Empire in the diamond jubilee of 1897. He argued that this should be encouraged through ideas that promoted the spirit of British institutions, channelled by a permanent organisation based in London. Such an

'informing spirit', according to Clarke, should now be 'concentrated at a central power-station and distributed by the transmitting lines of education for distant peoples to use according to their need'.³⁶ By the same token, however, it was no less important for the old institutions rooting themselves in 'new' societies now to be part of 'a return movement from them to enrich the ancient sources'.³⁷ This would motivate 'a great back-and-forth movement of organised mental power and cultural achievement, contributing to mutual enrichment, and furthering both the separate integration of the members and the fruitful harmony of the whole group'.³⁸ It would also complement the growing cultural influence of the United States, which should play a key part in any new educational scheme through agencies such as the Carnegie Corporation.

Clarke's later published thoughts on these international developments, after he succeeded Nunn as the director of the IOE, took these ideas further to champion the prospect of being, in his terms, 'British' with a small 'b'.³⁹ According to Clarke, the new Commonwealth would constitute 'not so much a unitary political structure as that whole philosophy of life and culture and social order which, with its roots and historical origins in these islands, has now re-rooted itself and grown to maturity in distant lands'.⁴⁰ Returning to England after many years of working in the Dominions, he suggested that there was a striking set of changes going on in British relations with the rest of the world. The previous supremacy of sovereign power, he proposed, was giving way to influence through the communication of ideas, which would depend on education to be effective: 'We have, in short, to take full account of the conditions that have been produced by popular education, by the wide dissemination of news and knowledge, and by facilities of communication which mean that men can now converse freely across the world'.⁴¹ If a centre based in

London could be organised, he contended that 'a great temple of the common faith may result, in which the universal philosophy of Res Britannica can be formulated so as to become the potent sceptre of the new Empire of Influence'.⁴²

At the same time, Clarke found that the Carnegie Corporation was a useful source of educational ideas. For example, he congratulated Keppel for his Carnegie Centenary address in the journal School and Society at the end of 1935.⁴³ Clarke insisted to Keppel that 'The case both for tightening the bonds of co-operation and, if possible, for extending our range grows stronger every day, and as you are right in the centre of the organism, nothing is more important than adequate understandings between yourself and those who are working with you.'⁴⁴ By now, Clarke was able to consolidate his close relationship with the Carnegie Corporation in his new position as the director of the IOE, and he was presented with a medal by the Corporation at this time.⁴⁵ At a meeting between Keppel and Clarke in London in July 1936, Keppel assured Clarke of further Corporation grants for the IOE, while Clarke for his part proposed that a small leadership team should be developed, including Kandel.⁴⁶ Carnegie's financial support had given Clarke a firm basis for extending activities and promoting the IOE's international profile.

The broad experience acquired as a professor of education in South Africa and Canada, as well as in England, led Clarke to be regarded as a leading authority on international issues in education, and especially on the nations of the new Commonwealth, by the time of his return to England. This was reflected for instance in an invitation from the Board of Education's consultative committee, during its preparation of a report on secondary education, to contribute an Appendix to its Report on aspects affecting secondary curricula in the Dominions.⁴⁷ He also gave

active support to the Year Book of Education, which was taken over by the IOE in the later 1930s under his guidance, and provided a lead in helping to understand the common and differing problems of education in the Dominions and the USA, including through active participation in the international conferences of the New Education Fellowship.⁴⁸

In the later 1930s, as the international situation grew increasingly fraught, it also encouraged thoughts of an increasingly explicit political nature, with the USA and Britain tied together in bonds of common traditions and values against the threat posed by the fascist dictators in Europe. Clarke proposed that they should combine to develop a democratic philosophy of education.⁴⁹ After the start of the Second World War, he returned to this theme.⁵⁰ Keppel was cautious but sympathetic, envisaging that 'the union of this country and yours' would not disappear after the War, and that 'post-war problems will, by their very nature, bring about an even stronger spirit of cooperation'.⁵¹

There were limits to this relationship. Despite repeated requests from the IOE, Carnegie declined to provide financial support for the Year Book of Education, or to invest in its distribution across the USA. Another rather grandiose proposal from Clarke for an international inquiry into how to control and limit post-war change also failed to win support. He argued that 'If the ends and values towards which, with the Corporation's generous help, we have been working, win out in this context, I hope that the return of peace will find us much more effectively linked up with many forces of reconstruction which have been stirred into activity by the shock.'⁵² To this end, a memo by Clarke in January 1940 argued that the 'imposing of intelligent control' would be necessary in order to avoid losing 'essential values'.⁵³ Keppel and Walter

Jessup of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching discussed Clarke's scheme and could find nothing in it that could be supported,⁵⁴ and even Keppel felt obliged to tell Clarke that it was 'premature'.⁵⁵

Internationalisation abroad and at home

Two key projects that Clarke did take forward were outcomes of the agenda that Nunn had initiated and which with the support of the Carnegie Corporation he was able to bring to fruition. The first was what he described as his 'World Tour', in practice restricted to western Canada, Australia and New Zealand in 1935, which was also made possible through substantial financial assistance from the Carnegie Corporation for his travelling expenses and those of his daughter Mary who accompanied him. The second was his role as Adviser to Oversea Students, to which Nunn appointed him in 1934.

Clarke's 'World Tour' through a succession of journeys by ship and train lasted for 16 weeks, from May to September 1935. He considered that he already had sufficient experience of South Africa and eastern Canada, so concentrated his effort on western Canada, New Zealand and Australia. His initial purpose, as he confided to K.S. Cunningham of the Australian Council for Educational Research, was to 'discover precisely what services a Central Institute in London might perform for students of Education from the Dominions, and in what form these services might best be discharged'.⁵⁶ It was also an opportunity to develop personal contacts with key individuals such as C.E. Beeby in New Zealand and Frank Tate in Australia. As he commented, 'More and more do I realise the importance of the two-way traffic of intercourse and especially that the key people should know one another personally.'⁵⁷

Clarke's discussions with Beeby, who had become Executive Officer of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research in November 1934 and later went on to be a long-serving director of education in New Zealand, highlighted the nature of this 'two-way traffic of intercourse'.⁵⁸ After his visit to New Zealand and having met with Beeby, Clarke raised serious concerns with him over some aspects of New Zealand education, including what he considered an excessive reliance on the State and loyalty to outdated English traditions.⁵⁹ Beeby acknowledged these difficulties, and suggested that in addressing them Clarke might develop his 'considered opinion' as a 'Royal command to the Dominions', becoming indeed 'a much-needed Valuer-General'. More specifically, Beeby argued, Clarke could help to 'coordinate research in different parts of the Empire', with the support of his 'arch-priests in London'.⁶⁰ Clarke, however, preferred the idea of 'translating' institutions and into different national environments rather than simply transplanting them, following a thorough study in each country of their own situations and problems.⁶¹

During his tour, Clarke interviewed the authorities of state departments of education, universities, teachers, leading citizens, and others interested in education. He also made public addresses in Winnipeg, Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, Brisbane, Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth, had discussions with informed groups in almost every centre that he visited, and gave interviews to newspapers in nearly every town along his route. He concluded in his formal report on the tour that there was an agreed need for considerable development of facilities in London for 'advanced' cooperative studies, and also that priority should be given to mid-career men and women who showed promise to shape educational policy. He considered that the number of advanced students should be kept at a small size at present, while at the same time the Institute of Education should appoint a few men as

professors with outstanding attainment and reputation in selected specialised areas, in particular educational philosophy, comparative education, history of education, and the economics of education.⁶²

These recommendations suggested a clear linkage being made between the creation of an international pool of researchers and fellows in educational studies, and the formation of a multi-disciplinary approach to the field as a whole that could draw on specialist expertise in a wide range of disciplines such as history, philosophy, sociology and comparative education. Indeed, in private, Clarke made this precise point when writing to Frank Tate in Australia, emphasising the importance of first, creating two or three chairs for key people, and second, the increase and tightening of permanent bonds with people overseas which would establish a demand from overseas for advanced studies.⁶³ At the same time, he argued that although the staff at the Institute should include individuals from around the world, it should not be selected on a territorial basis, 'a sort of Joseph's coat, to include a patch for each land concerned in the scheme', but rather should be 'constituted to represent diverse interests in education in general, different lines of approach to the problems'.⁶⁴

Clarke's public pronouncements during this tour revealed much about his priorities. For example, in a radio broadcast in Wellington, New Zealand, in July 1935, he noted his intention to help develop a 'Higher School for the study of educational problems throughout the Empire and Commonwealth'. This would focus especially on questions of 'educational statesmanship', and on 'the study of the bearings of educational organisation and methods on the maintenance and enrichment of our common British citizenship through all the diversities of form and expression that it assumes in the variegated whole to which we belong'. He expressed hope that there

would be organised in London 'a well-equipped centre where men and women of weight and promise in their own educational world may assemble from all over the Empire and pursue common and co-operative studies of the common problems on a basis of complete equality and freedom'. Moreover, each nation involved would provide a distinctive contribution to this global vision, drawing on its own cultural and political traditions.⁶⁵

This tour also provided opportunities for Clarke to prepare for his new position as the adviser to overseas students at the IOE. He began in this role from February 1935, and before embarking on his tour in May he organised a weekly seminar, had frequent discussions with individual students, and also arranged for visits by a number of students to schools outside London which offered useful features for them to observe.⁶⁶ In collaboration with Nunn, he instituted an 'Oversea Division', with Clarke assuming a general responsibility for all students in this after he returned from his overseas visits for the academic year 1935-36. There were about 17 students in the Colonial Department of the Division and eight Carnegie Fellows recruited from the Dominions, together with several senior students engaged in special studies or registered for MA or PhD degrees. One of the Carnegie Fellows began a PhD course while another began a Teacher's Diploma course.⁶⁷

After Clarke took over as director of the IOE, he decided to retain his position as adviser to overseas students as a mark of the importance that he attached to this role.⁶⁸ Overseas students were encouraged to spend their first few terms in London and then to travel so that they could acquire what Clarke regarded as 'a real understanding of the general spirit and structure of English life and education'.⁶⁹ By the end of the 1936-37 academic session there were 107 overseas students from all countries registered at the Institute, including 24 from India taking teacher's diploma

courses.⁷⁰ Lengthy absences due to ill health obliged Clarke to pass further responsibility to others.⁷¹ Nevertheless, further expansion of overseas provision was provided in the late 1930s, for example through the establishment of the Associateship of the IOE, which was open to any experienced senior student for a full session of relevant study. According to Clarke, the Associateship did not involve a set course, but would be based on individual students' own interests, although he insisted that work towards this would be carried out with 'whole-hearted thoroughness' and that there would be 'no rewards for joy-riders'.⁷² In 1939, the British Council also began to support overseas students from Europe.

Clarke's continued role as adviser to overseas students, combined with his position as director, also helped him to identify potential areas of specialist expertise that would require senior staff appointments. One such area was English as a foreign language, and once again he enlisted the support of the Carnegie Corporation to help to take this forward.⁷³ Such assistance was envisaged as 'getting the beginnings established in permanent form with good guarantees of growth and continuity'.⁷⁴ Also in 1939, the IOE was rehoused in new buildings. This allowed provision of a special common room for overseas students which promoted academic and social involvement, as well as separate tutorial rooms for all of the tutors in the Oversea Division which allowed more scope for personal discussions with students from overseas.⁷⁵ Clarke reported that the presence of students from Egypt, India, Africa and elsewhere assisted in the development of a 'healthy form of colour blindness'.⁷⁶ The internationalisation of educational studies and research thus began to be reflected in everyday experience no less than in ideology and policy.

At the start of the Second World War, the IOE was temporarily relocated to the University College Nottingham, and this combined with wartime conditions hampered

overseas work to some extent. However, there continued to be 'a considerable and varied oversea contingent, quite enough to maintain our character' in Clarke's view,⁷⁷ and by the end of the first term in 1939-40, numbers of overseas students at the Institute's temporary home reached 47. The buildings of the University College were crowded with the influx of staff and students from London and elsewhere, but the ground floor of a large house nearby was rented for the use of overseas students. According to Clarke's report to the Carnegie Corporation for 1939-40, this helped to encourage among overseas students 'a corporate spirit and a common-room camaraderie which was most marked'.⁷⁸ An oversea library was also gradually developed over this time, including official reports and a number of standard historical works to introduce students from different backgrounds and courses to systems of education around the world.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, growing interest in comparative education led to the USA and British Dominions being included in a well attended optional course in the teacher's diploma, led by tutors with first-hand experience of education in different countries.⁸⁰

In 1945, Clarke resigned from the directorship of the IOE in order to take up a national role as the first chairman of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), but such was his continuing interest that he was invited to resume the part-time position that he had initially held as the adviser for oversea students. In the early postwar years, moreover, the number of overseas students at the Institute reached new levels, due to the further development of British Council studentships from around the world, an increase in the number of students from India (from 24 in 1939 to 50 in 1946-47), and a large number of students from Africa. Weekly seminars were held involving students from a number of nationalities and addressing postwar problems in different countries, and also to 'describe and explain the

different aspects and institutions of English education', with the help of outside speakers.⁸¹ Clarke noted with evident satisfaction that a high number of overseas students were taking higher degrees towards an MA or a PhD qualification, and that these were being catered for by seven full-time professors of education at the University of London who specialised in different areas: philosophy, psychology, sociology, history (at King's College London), comparative education, education in the colonies, and English as a foreign language.⁸²

Conclusions

Internationalisation was clearly a key theme for Fred Clarke, and he made use of his wide range of international experience and expertise to provide the basis for the emergence of a new Institute of Education located in London, comparable in its international stature and reputation to the Teachers College in Columbia University, New York, and the International Bureau of Education in Geneva. These are the long-term origins of the IOE's long-term institutional strategy for internationalisation that was to be maintained and developed further in changing circumstances into the twenty-first century.⁸³ It was indeed Clarke's approach to internationalisation that helped to create the conditions for his contribution to what Thackray and Merton describe as 'discipline building'.⁸⁴ In the case of educational studies and research, it was perhaps a multi-disciplinary field of study rather than a discipline as such that Clarke helped to build at the IOE, with its emphasis on specialisation in particular disciplines such as philosophy, history, sociology, psychology and comparative studies applied to the critical study of educational problems. This was to provide a dominant model for the social organisation of educational studies in Britain in the generation after the Second World War.⁸⁵

In Teichler's terms, the internationalisation or border-crossing activities between national systems that developed in the interwar years was on this evidence highly strategic in nature, based as it was on the cooperation of well-placed individuals and institutions in pursuit on common strategic goals. The financial support of the Carnegie Corporation, the opportunities offered by the transition to the British Commonwealth, the new role of the IOE in London, all of these were instrumental in the rapid institutionalisation of educational studies and research. Clarke's own ability to liaise with such figures as Keppel, Kandel, Beeby and Tate, taken further as it was by his 'world tour' of 1935, promoted the movement of ideas across international borders, the mobility of students and staff, and the establishment of new courses. These resulted also in novel interactions within specific institutions, in this case the IOE, as the introduction of students and staff from different countries began to encourage new educational and social practices. In the period before national governments and international agencies came to occupy a central and decisive position in internationalisation and globalisation, these individuals and institutions were already providing significant impetus to these continuing processes.⁸⁶ Their work also had broader social and political significance, as they promoted on the one hand a leading place for Britain in a post-imperial context and a changing world order, and on the other hand common traditions and values against the international threat posed by fascism and war.

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