THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION AT UBC, 1957-1985

by

ERIC JOHN DAMER

B.A., The University of Victoria, 1989

Diploma in Education, The University of British Columbia, 1992

M.A., The University of British Columbia, 1996

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(Department of Educational Studies)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September 2000

ABSTRACT

In 1957, The University of British Columbia launched Canada's first degree-granting program in adult education. It subsequently grew to be one of the largest departments in the Faculty of Education, and recognized internationally for its work. As it grew, however, the program lost its initial administrative privilege. This study asks why UBC had the honour of this Canadian "first," and how the program flowed and ebbed. It shows the relations between the department's administrative and intellectual activities, and how the program fit British Columbia's social development more generally. The study concludes that the successes were largely opportunistic, as the program profited from the changing face of higher education more generally and privileges secured under an early administrative regime. The program's failure was that it did not create a stable identity independent of these opportunities: it failed to gain recognition from academic outsiders as the home of distinct adult education research and knowledge, and it failed to become the gatekeeper of a controlled profession.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables

Preface

Writing this history has presented me with a welcome opportunity to answer questions from my own history. I hold a diploma and magistral degree in adult education from the University of British Columbia, and many of the people in my study are my former instructors or professional colleagues. Most are alive and well, and it was not my intention to scrutinize and publicize their private lives. At the same time, I sought academically satisfying answers to some persistent questions. I had noticed a strong difference between the academic culture where I had studied philosophy and the academic culture in the adult education program. Who were these people among whom I found myself? My early explorations into the program's history began to answer this question, but raised others.

The result has been a study of certain aspects of the adult education "department." In chapters one and two, I investigate the department's administrative history, and how a network of individuals was able to initiate and sustain an academic program in adult education. I trace this administrative development and its social antecedents from before 1957, when the program officially began, to 1985. In chapter three, I examine the intellectual history of the program's professors as revealed in their research and teaching, their students' research, and how they defined adult education as both a social practice and a field of academic inquiry. Finally, in chapter four, I place the adult education department in a wider social context by investigating the relationship between the department and the clientele it was purported to serve.

Missing from this account are attempts to trace the lives of professors, administrators, or students. Psychological or biographical accounts of individual actors remain for future researchers. I also do not attempt to measure the social impact of department activities, although many adult education promoters certainly wished to reform society. I introduce aspects of British Columbia's social history only to the extent that it helps to answer my central questions,

rather than to explain more fully the interaction of local politics and the department. Studies such as these would add to the present study.

A Note on Sources

This study is based on archival collections held mainly at the University of British Columbia. UBC Special Collections houses large institutional collections for the Board of Governors, Senate, Faculty of Graduate Studies, and Department of Extension, as well as smaller collections pertaining to other administrative units at the university. The Faculty of Education itself maintains documents pertaining specifically to its own affairs, and the Coolie Verner Memorial Reading Room contains boxes of papers generated by the adult education department. Although extremely useful in chronicling dates or official resolutions, institutional collections often provide little of the debate that surrounded decision-making. As could be expected, minutes from these sources are often "sanitized" to decrease the likelihood of propagating controversy. On the other hand, minutes not intended for public circulation do, at times, reveal much about the internal politics.

Other UBC collections are personal papers, like those of Coolie Verner, Norman MacKenzie, Harry Hawthorne and Neville Scarfe. These collections often present candid accounts of the personal relationships between actors and how they thought about and did their work. The published and unpublished research of professors and students also provide glimpses into their thoughts, attitudes, and practices. Secondary sources become primary documents when they indicate what their authors were doing or thinking in the past.

Beyond UBC, the collections at the Vancouver Archives were useful. Institutional fonds of the Vancouver Public Library or the Arts, Historical, and Scientific Association have strengths and weaknesses similar to UBC's institutional records, whereas personal collections like the Pearl Steen fonds offer more candid information.

To supplement the written record, I spoke with many current and former UBC professors and former adult education students. Subsequent correspondence helped to establish minor

historical facts (such as biographical information), to suggest sources, or raise alternative explanations for my consideration.

Secondary sources for this study were chiefly of three sorts. UBC has been the subject of some historical work, resulting in a few books, articles, theses and dissertations important to this study. I also consulted university history concerning Canada, the United States, Britain and elsewhere. Some of these accounts are marred by an overly descriptive or celebratory orientation, and few offered much help in providing an historiographical model useful to my study.

The history of adult education provided another important aspect of my study. Such America scholarship as Kett's The Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties allowed me to link Canadian developments to those in the United States in new ways. Regrettably, no comparable scholarly works exist for Canada, where the few systematic studies are confined to narrow regions or specific institutions. However, Selman and Dampier's broad The Foundations of Adult Education in Canada and Selman's chronicles on adult education in British Columbia provided a useful opportunity to contribute conceptually and empirically to the discussion on the professionalization of the field.[1] Accepting Michael Welton's admonition "to stop celebrating and start analyzing" (as Faris did in his inquiry into the Canadian Association for Adult Education), this study has obliquely challenged the whiggish tendency to identify great

---

[1] Robert A. Carlson, "Professionalization of Adult Education: An Historical-Philosophical Analysis," Adult Education 28 (Fall 1977): 53-63.

moments in adult education.[2] This study supersedes, in part, earlier attempts to write histories
of graduate studies in adult education.[3]

Finally, historical studies of Canada and British Columbia were valuable secondary sources
for this research. The increasing amount of good social history about the province has indirectly
touched on the educational activities of adults. As Canadian social history has become a
dominant form of historical argument, the history of education has attracted new practitioners
and readers.

The net result is a body of primary and secondary sources that permit and invite a study
of a university department, in several perspectives and multiple contexts.

---

[2] Michael Welton, "Reclaiming Our Past: Memories, Traditions, Kindling Hope" in Knowledge for the People ed. Michael Welton (Toronto: OISE Press, 1987), 7; Ron Faris, The Passionate Educators (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1975); James A. Draper, "Introduction to the Canadian Chronology" The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/La Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes 12, no. 2 (November/novembre 1998): 33-43; James A. Draper and Jane Carere, "Selected Chronology of Adult Education in Canada" The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/La Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes 12, no. 2 (November/novembre 1998): 44-76.

[3] Gwenna Moss, "A Brief History of the Development of Graduate Studies in Adult Education in Canada," Papers Presented to a Conference on Research in Adult Education (Vancouver: CAAE, 1980).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank Dr. William Bruneau for his exceptional guidance in the scholarly, political, and emotional aspects of writing this thesis. I should also thank Dr. Jean Barman for her support and inspiration, while Dr. Daniel Pratt has provided valuable service in ways he may not entirely realize. I could not have worked with better people.

My family—old and new—has been characteristically supportive, as have my various friends and colleagues. To them all I also give a heartfelt thanks.

Additional thanks go to those who gave me their time and materials that made this thesis possible. Any errors in fact or interpretation that remain are my own responsibility.

Chapter 1: Launching the Program, 1957

In 1957, the University of British Columbia (UBC) opened Canada's first degree program in adult education. Director of Extension John Friesen proposed it, President Norman A. "Larry" MacKenzie (and his deputy, Dean Geoffery Andrew) blessed it, Dean of Education Neville Scarfe hosted it, and new recruit Allan Thomas organized it. A pilot course, "Administration of Adult Education Programs," taught by Canadian Association of Adult Education Director Roby Kidd in the summer of 1956, had confirmed local demand. It was no accident that these several university men—and they were all men—found themselves cooperating. They were old friends who had played, and still played, significant roles in large affairs of Canadian society and state. They had run schools, national educational organizations, government information services, universities, and Royal Commissions. They shared a belief in managed social change through public institutions, and now promoted applied social science research in universities. Their cooperation sealed a lengthy pattern of private endeavour, and launched a wider campaign to create a "professional community" of adult educators.

Although these men were directly responsible for the new adult education program at UBC, working to gain support from university administrators, academic colleagues and prospective students, they were aided by wider social forces. As post-war Canadian and British Columbian governments increased funding for social services, those working in the new "helping professions" scrambled for credentials to support and differentiate their new occupational hierarchies. UBC was quick to provide those credentials by hiring American-trained social scientists who would then become willing allies of Friesen, MacKenzie, Scarfe, and Thomas. Meanwhile, outside the academy, industrialists and politicians came to see close links between economic prosperity and education, thus providing yet another reason to employ adult educators in Vancouver, British Columbia, and across Canada. Members of the Canadian Association of Adult Education (CAAE), notably its Director, Roby Kidd, encouraged all these developments, and particularly UBC's role in them.

1

That there was a social practice called "adult education" in Canada at all owed much to developments in other countries, particularly Britain and the United States.[1] Britain had a long history of mutual edification and literacy societies, adult schools, Mechanics Institutes, university extension, working-class organizations, and other organized forms of education for adults. Such activities gained new prominence in 1919 when the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction recommended increased government support for adult educational services. "Adult education" became a well regarded term in British educational thought, and British universities boosted their provision of extra-mural adult services. By 1923, The University of Nottingham had the nation's first Professor of Adult Education.[2]

American developments influenced Canada even more than the British. Like Britain, the United States had a long history of mutual-edification societies, adult schools, libraries, public education services, university extension, and countless other educational forums for adults. In 1926, the Carnegie Foundation began funding various adult education projects, and created the American Association of Adult Education.[3] Carnegie funding, AAAE propaganda, and the first American university department of adult education at Columbia University in 1930 contributed to greater recognition of "adult education" as a distinct field of practice and academic study. Canadians followed the American lead, using Carnegie money to launch the Canadian Association of Adult Education in 1935 (with its own publication Adult Learning, replaced by Food For Thought) and those interested in credentials or research looked to Columbia University for intellectual leadership.[4]

[1] Gordon Selman and Paul Dampier, eds., "The Canadian Movement in Context," chap. in The Foundations of Adult Education in Canada (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 1991).

[2] Thomas Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain 3rd edition (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), 267-271.

[3] Joseph F. Kett, The Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties (Stanford: The Stanford University Press, 1994).

[4] Selman and Dampier, The Foundations of Adult Education in Canada, 231.

By the 1950s, "adult education" was a well recognized if loosely defined term for an eclectic field of practice in Canada. As demand for adult education increased, boosters began looking to Canadian universities for specialized studies in the field. UBC, as it turned out, was particularly well suited to initiate a degree program in adult education, owing in part to the nature of the university, its personnel, and its location.

If one person had to be identified as "founder" of the UBC program, it would be John Friesen.[5] Born in Manitoba in 1912, Friesen was raised in the spirit of Mennonite self-help and cooperativism as the son of a successful general store owner.[6] After completing a bachelor degree, he began an education career as a teacher and school principal. This led to educational work with the Manitoba government, United Church, Farm Radio Forum and other adult institutions. After serving in the Second World War as a flight navigator, he earned a doctorate in adult education at Columbia University and became Director of Public Relations for the Manitoba Pool Elevators. In 1954, he was offered the job as Director of UBC's burgeoning Department of Extension.

Friesen, like many of his adult education colleagues, had mixed motives for encouraging institutionalized adult education and university education. Friesen obviously saw adult education as a career, both for himself and for others.[7] When offered the UBC post, he immediately inquired about salary.[8] He was appointed at an annual salary of $7,500.00 (raised to $7,700.00 shortly thereafter), a figure comparable to the pay levels of other UBC directors

---

[5] Alan Thomas, "Adventures in Scarfeland: An irreverent and neurotic memoir," in Pioneering a Profession (Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre, UBC, 1973), xxi. Note that not all editions of Pioneering a Profession include Thomas' piece.

[6] Katherine Kennedy, "John Friesen: Mentor, Humanitarian, Adult Educator" (unpublished M.A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1992).

[7] Gordon Selman, A Decade of Transition: The Extension Department of The University of British Columbia 1960 to 1970, Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 10 (Vancouver: The Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1975), 9.

[8] UBC Department of University Extension Fonds, Box 3-44, 18 April 1953, Friesen to Shrum. (Hereafter "Extension Fonds.")

and full professors.[9] His salary continued to advance.[10] He was well aware of the growing demand for adult education in both public and private sector enterprises, and supported specialized training for adult educators. He saw adult education as a profession, believed in the value of "the professional man" to develop the economic and social resources of the province, and valued research in adult education.[11]

If Friesen saw adult education as a career, he also saw its "professional ideal" to provide a socially valuable service.[12] His Mennonite roots and involvement in the United Church suggest a religious influence.[13] Many CAAE members shared a commitment to a sort of "Christian socialism," voiced often in the organization's journal Food For Thought.[14] Friesen shared these values with Kidd, MacKenzie, Thomas, and Scarfe, to varying degrees.[15] Having studied adult education with "ex-preachers," Friesen and his colleagues sought professional leadership guided by moral principles.[16] Friesen also used text-books that advanced these values in courses he taught, and he promoted the social role of adult education in other public forums.[17]

---

[9] BoG Minutes, 31 May 1954.

[10] BoG Minutes, 1 May 1962. Friesen's salary rose to 14,500.00.

[11] Extension Fonds, Box 12-9, Department of University Extension Biennial Report, 1957-59; Verner Fonds, 6-4, John Friesen's Course Notes "Exam: Anthropology and Education, Education 206 DA"; John Friesen, "Recent Trends in Adult Education in Western Canada" FFT 13, no. 1 (October 1952): 24-27; Extension Fonds, Box 3-44, Committee on University Extension, Minutes, 19 November 1953.

[12] Harold Perkin, The Rise of Professional Society: England Since 1880 (London: Routledge, 1989).

[13] Extension Fonds, Box 12-18, Curriculum Vitae of John Friesen.

[14] Food For Thought (hereafter FFT) often promoted Christian social values, e.g. 10, no. 1 (October 1949): 2: "The highest value in a Christian democratic society, such as we in Canada claim to have...;" 11, no. 2 (November 1950): 3: "the further side of victory (for adult education is) the thing St. Paul speaks of when he declares that Christ can make men more than conquerors;" 11, no. 4 (January 1951): 1: Editorial begins with Isaiah 2, 4; 11, no. 5 (February 1951): 6: "It is on the basis of Christian doctrines and the Christian values which have been accepted by our society that we can justify a declaration of human rights."

[15] Watson Thomson Fonds, Box 1-10, 24 May 1955, MacKenzie to Thomson, and 17 March 1956, Thomson to MacKenzie; Neville Scarfe Fonds, Box 1-5, transcript, "Many Thanks from Neville Scarfe," Box 6-12, transcript, "The Future of Education in British Columbia;" N.A.M. MacKenzie Fonds, Box 50-5, 1 August 1969, Thomas to MacKenzie. Each document contains mild Christian sentiments.

[16] President's Office, Roll 240, Curriculum Vitae of Wilbur Hallenbeck. Hallenbeck had been a trained preacher before his academic career at Columbia University.

[17] Verner Fonds, Box 6-1, "Sociology 426, book reserve list, 1956-57." Course taught by Friesen and included works by Catholic Priest M.M. Coady, former theologian and army chaplain come adult educator Wilbur Hallenbeck, and a book on "Agrarian Socialism." Extension Fonds, Box 12-2, Program of The Vancouver Institute, 4 December 1954.

Friesen's appointment at UBC was aided by his personal contacts. Outgoing Director of Extension, Gordon Shrum, was a CAAE member who had known Friesen for some time and supported his appointment.[18] Because the Director of Extension reported directly to UBC's President, Norman MacKenzie was another important ally, and Friesen and MacKenzie had known each other since 1949.[19] As a nationally respected figure in academic and partisan political circles, MacKenzie threw his support behind the CAAE and adult education more generally.[20] For example, he had been a member of the Wartime Information Board with other CAAE members, and represented the association to the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations (Rowell-Sirois Commission) in 1937, and became President of the CAAE in 1957. MacKenzie was no doubt keen to link adult education to his expanding influence in Canadian public institutions, but he also shared the "Christian socialism" that characterized Friesen and other adult education leaders.[21] Friesen had been hired by colleagues and friends, and joined MacKenzie's personal network of allies at UBC.

MacKenzie would know of the CAAE's long-standing promotion of adult education as a field of university study, championed as early as 1948, and he aided the cause at UBC.[22] MacKenzie had considerable influence on Board members during the 1950s, and was able to gain support for Extension and other projects.[23] He had encouraged a "more formal and durable"

---

[18] Extension Fonds, Box 3-44, 25 June 1953, Shrum to Kidd; Kennedy, "John Friesen," 112.

[19] President's Office, Microfilm 184, 14 August 1956, Kidd to MacKenzie; Kennedy, "John Friesen," 88.

[20] MacKenzie's additional credentials included: Carnegie Scholarship to Harvard; Professor of Law, University of Toronto; President of the University of New Brunswick; member of the "Massey Commission;" member of the Canada Council; Chairman (and first Canadian member) of the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

[21] N.A.M. MacKenzie, "The Revolutionary Nature of the Modern World," address to the Commerce Undergraduate Society Banquet, lecture series 15 (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1949), 4, 5, 13; Watson Thomson Fonds, Box 1-10, 24 May 1955, MacKenzie to Thomson, and 17 March 1956, Thomson to MacKenzie. Most of these prominent Canadians were probably not socialists in a strong sense.

[22] Gordon Selman, Roby Kidd and the Canadian Association for Adult Education 1951-1961, Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 22 (Vancouver: The Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1982), 36.

[23] Peter B. Waite, Lord of Point Grey: Larry MacKenzie of UBC (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987), 160, 179, 183.

Extension Department at the time Friesen assumed the Directorship, and remained a friend and supporter of both the Department and its Director.[24] The Extension Committee could feel confident that the Board of Governors would ratify their proposals if presented through the office of the President, bypassing Senate members who were informed merely "for their information."[25] In 1955, MacKenzie suggested the academic study of adult education to the Board of Governors by circulating a UBC Department of Extension Occasional Paper "for the information of" Board members.[26] Written by Kidd, the paper argued at times for highly trained and professional personnel in the field of adult education.[27]

This was not the first time UBC administrators had an opportunity to provide advanced education to growing industries or services. The university had been created in part to train leaders of economically valuable industries, especially in applied sciences, but others also demanded access to university education.[28] Since the university began to provide teaching in 1915, many of its programs—including those in agriculture, engineering, commerce, nursing, law, and music—began in response to demands from local industries.[29] The provincial government was also inclined and obviously well-placed to put pressure on the Board to act in certain ways.[30] Individuals wishing to acquire professional status considered UBC's value as an accrediting body even before the institution opened its doors, and those who had little hope of

---

[24] Harry Logan, Tuum Est (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia. 1958), 232.

[25] Extension Fonds, Box 3-44, Committee on University Extension, 22 July 1953.

[26] BoG Minutes, 25 April 1955.

[27] J. Roby Kidd, Trends and Problems in Canadian Adult Education, Occasional Paper In Continuing Education no. 1 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Department of University Extension, 1954).

[28] R. Cole Harris, "Locating the University of British Columbia," B.C. Studies 32 (Winter 1976-77): 106-125; Robert Gidney and Winnifred Millar, Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

[29] See various passing references in: Harry Logan, Tuum Est (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1958); Lee Stewart, "It's Up to You": Women at UBC in the Early Years (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990); Earle D. MacPhee, History of the Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration at The University of British Columbia (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1976), 3; Waite, Lord of Point Grey.

[30] Michiel Horn, "Under the Gaze of George Vancouver: The University of British Columbia and the Provincial Government, 1913-1939," B.C. Studies 83 (Autumn, 1989).

inducing the university to host a degree program suited to their interests established less formal

ties with UBC.[31] Scholarly and academic considerations did not guide all decisions on university

programs, although the Senate did nonetheless review all matters of curriculum. From the

university's inception to MacKenzie's presidency, the professoriate was in all practical senses

thus shut out of certain categories of institutional decision, leaving the Board to pursue the

growth of the university according to external demands or opportunities.[32] During MacKenzie's

presidency, UBC, including its Extension Department, grew considerably. It is an uncertain

point, to which I shall return, whether that growth was merely the result of UBC's obedient

relation to outside sources of demand.

The Board of Governors approved Roby Kidd's appointment to teach the first academic

adult education course during the summer of 1956, although Kidd's contact with UBC had begun

long before then.[33] As Director of the CAAE from 1951, he had "vital if informal" ties with the

university.[34] He knew MacKenzie, Geoff Andrew, and Friesen well, and directed significant

sums of American money from the Fund for Adult Education (Ford Foundation) to UBC's

Department of Extension.[35] The CAAE's cooperative ventures "Farm Radio Forum" and

"Citizen's Forum" were hosted by UBC Extension, as were CAAE guests visiting Vancouver.[36]

Ties were also intellectual, and Kidd held the "Christian socialist" values common in the

[31] Eric Damer, "Town and Gown: The Early History of The Vancouver Institute" (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1995); British Columbia Medical Association Fonds, Box 41-1, Minutes, 23 August, 1922; Vancouver Institute Fonds, Programs, Box 4-5, 1922-23. UBC could not afford a medical school until the 1950s, but physicians none the less used UBC to help maintain their status.

[32] William A. Bruneau, A Matter of Identities: A History of the UBC Faculty Association 1920-1990 (Vancouver: UBC Faculty Association, 1990), 39-41 and passim.

[33] BoG Minutes, 29 December 1955. The Board of Governors approved a salary for Kidd about one half that of other summer school instructors (and half the expenses), although it is not known whether Kidd worked the same duration as others.

[34] Extension Fonds, Box 3-34, 16 October 1956, Kidd to Gordon Selman.

[35] President's Office, Roll 215, 6 March 1959, J. K. Friesen to G. C. Andrew. The Fund began contributing in 1951, and UBC received a grant in 1957. FFT 12, no. 1 (October 1951); Selman, A Decade in Transition.

[36] Extension Fonds, Box 3-44, 16 October 1956, J. R. Kidd to G. Selman; President's Office, Roll 215, 6 March 1959, J. K. Friesen to G. C. Andrew.

CAAE.[37] Both Kidd and Friesen, friends since 1938, were among the very few Canadians who held an adult education doctorate, and had studied with the same professors at Columbia University.[38] Friesen's Department of Extension offered programs similar to those advocated by Kidd's CAAE, including parent, elder, aboriginal, and penal education.[39] By the time Kidd taught his well-attended summer session course in 1956, he was well know to several influential people at UBC.

Kidd was also well known to those outside the university who might be expected to enrol in his adult education course. He was known as "Mr. Adult Education" for his work in promoting the field across Canada and in Vancouver.[40] His UBC course was announced at a conference on adult education in British Columbia, to an audience that already contained friends and colleagues.[41] Kidd's credentials made him qualified to teach the adult education pilot course, but he also carried additional recognition and prestige.

Kidd taught his pilot course in the summer of 1956 under the auspices of UBC's education summer school and its director, Ken Argue, who, like Kidd, had an education doctorate from Columbia University. (Years later, Argue would join Friesen on a magistral committee,

---

[37] Muriel Teager and Mary McIvor, "The Early Years," chap. in J.R. Kidd: An International Legacy of Learning, eds. Nancy J. Cochrane and Associates, publication of Monographs on Comparative and Area Studies in Adult Education, ed. Jindra Kulich (Vancouver: Centre for Continuing Education, 1986), 22.

[38] Kennedy, "John Friesen," 79, 89.

[39] FFT 13, no. 1 (October, 1952): 24-27; FFT 13, no. 2 (November 1952): 19; FFT 13, no. 5 (February 1953): 17; Harry Hawthorn Fonds, Box 13-2, memo from the Department of University Extension [1954-56]. The memo consists of "suggested additions to Professor Belshaw's list" of Extension programs and included a "course list of subjects of particular relevance for Indian communities." Leonard Marsh Fonds, Box 27-2, 22 March 1957, Friesen to Marsh. UBC BoG Minutes, 6 July 1959. Board carried a motion that correspondence courses for prison inmates would be free.

[40] The Canadian Who's Who vol. VII, 1955-57 (Toronto: Trans-Canada Press, 1957); Roby Kidd, Roby Kidd: Adult Educator, 1915-1982 (OISE Press, 1995); Vancouver Institute Fonds, Box 4-6, 5 November 1955, Program.

[41] CVMRR, Adult Education in British Columbia, 14 May 1956, Minutes, 4th Conference on Adult Education in British Columbia. John Friesen was among those who attended the conference.

suggesting his willingness to cooperate with Friesen in academic matters.[42]) Although summer schools for teachers dated from 1920, 1956 marked the opening of the UBC Faculty of Education and its control over teacher education in the province. The new Faculty provided a "home" for courses and programs that fell outside the traditional purview of UBC's studies of education. Although adult education proponents often distanced themselves from public schools, the fate of adult education at UBC was influenced by changes in teacher education (particularly by new degree programs in UBC's Faculty of Education) and attitudes to education more generally.

The creation of a Faculty that changed long-standing patterns of teacher preparation in the province did not merely provide an administrative opportunity to introduce courses in adult education. The actors and social forces that brought teacher education to UBC also helped provide impetus for Kidd's course.

UBC first offered courses in education in 1920. A professor of education joined the university in 1924, and a Department of Education followed in 1926.[43] Although the Department provided a full year of teacher training for secondary teachers, elementary teachers—by far the majority of the province's teaching force—learned their work at the province's Normal Schools. During the 1930s, the British Columbia Teacher's Federation, student groups, teacher and principal organizations, and government officials asked for increased standards in teacher preparation, while education courses at UBC became recognized components of Bachelor and Master degrees. Not until after the Second World War, however, would proposed reforms be acted upon.

---

[42] Alfred Glenesk, "An Investigation of Academic Post-Secondary School Students in King Edward Senior Matriculation and Continuing Education Centre" (unpublished M. Ed. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1964).

[43] John Calam Papers, unpublished MS, 1998, John Calam, "Conflict and Compromise: Establishing UBC's College of Education, 1956." Much of the following account is drawn from this source.

Teacher education reforms were fuelled by several motives. Inspectors thought the quality and skills of teachers were low, the methods of selection and training poor, and incentives inadequate.[44] The committee that met in 1945 to discuss new standards for teacher education all agreed that university-level academic standards were necessary. On the assumption that the Minister of Education, former Head of the UBC Department of Education, favoured a Faculty of Education at UBC, the committee recommended that the university assume complete control over teacher education in the province.[45] The Normal Schools would be absorbed by the new Faculty of Education.

Minister of Education George Weir and UBC President Norman MacKenzie were two key players in the negotiations to create a Faculty of Education. Weir was a pioneer of state-supported social services, although his motives may have been inspired less by democratic idealism and more by economic prosperity.[46] As UBC President, MacKenzie enthusiastically accepted many opportunities to expand "his" university, but the education faculty had to wait some years. Changes in government, distractions at UBC, and strong leadership at the Normal Schools kept teacher education where it had long been.[47] But in 1953, with the British Columbia Teachers' Federation demanding higher status (with higher pay) for teachers, UBC improving its image as a teacher education centre (and with a public campaign to boost status for university educated teachers), an acute teacher shortage, and, finally, a Minster of Education willing to endorse the new reforms, plans for the new Faculty of Education proceeded.[48] Consistent with

---

[44] Calam, "Conflict and Compromise," 5, 6.

[45] Calam, "Conflict and Compromise," 9-13.

[46] Gordon Selman, Adult Education in British Columbia During The Depression, Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 12 (Vancouver: The Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1976), 8; Jean Mann, "G. M. Weir and H. B. King: Progressive Education or Education for the Progressive State?" in Schooling and Society in Twentieth Century British Columbia, eds. J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1980), 109. Weir's educational philosophy supported bureaucratic, centralized, functionalist and "meritocratic" education led by an intellectual élite.

[47] Calam, "Conflict and Compromise," 19-23.

[48] Calam, "Conflict and Compromise," 32, 33; Francis Henry Johnson Papers, Box 2-9, Clippings from Vancouver and Victoria newspapers.

UBC's history, the new Faculty was largely organized and funded in response to the demands of an external body, the provincial government, that retained control over the licensing of practitioners.[49]

The values that created the Faculty of Education in the 1950s also helped adult education, particularly through the new Dean of Education. Post-war governments increasingly regarded education as integral to the social and economic prosperity that swept across North America and into British Columbia.[50] By 1958, the British Columbia government declared that "the nations that spend the most on education are the nations that maintain the highest standards of living," and adult education was included.[51] School participation also rose as increased affluence allowed children to pursue entrance to the professions, and adult education, in the view of Friesen and others, was one of those professions.[52] High quality teachers, in schools and elsewhere, were important to this new belief in education. A new commitment to teacher education at UBC required a Dean of Education committed to new and improved methods of preparing a wide variety of teachers. Neville Scarfe was that Dean.[53]

Although Scarfe played little role in bringing Kidd's course to UBC, he became crucial contributor to the program's development and future.[54] Scarfe left a position as Dean of Education at the University of Manitoba, where he had known John Friesen, and had encouraged

[49] Calam, "Conflict and Compromise," 46, 47.

[50] Paul Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars: Politics, Economics, and the University of Ontario, 1945-1980 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1982). Both Canada's "Marsh Report" and Britain's internationally influential "Beveridge Report" advocated education as important state services. Leonard C. Marsh, Report on Social Security for Canada for the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1943). Brian Abel-Smith, "The Beveridge Report: Its Origins and Outcomes" in Beveridge and Social Security: An International Retrospective, eds. John Hills, John Ditch, and Howard Glennerster, 10-22 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

[51] Sperrin Chant Fonds, Box 1-3, British Columbia News 6, no. 7 (August 1958): 1, 3-4.

[52] Jean Barman, The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 301.

[53] Scarfe Fonds, Box 1-2, Newspaper clipping, "What's Wrong With Education," [1956].

[54] Pioneering a Profession (Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre, UBC, 1973). The book, originally part of the 1973 Annual Report, was written in honour of Scarfe, who was identified as a key reason why the adult education program existed. See also Verner Fonds, Box 8-6, 26 February 1973, Verner to Friesen.

adult education at that province's university.[55] The UBC search committee that selected Scarfe included adult education supporters MacKenzie and Andrew, and a recommendation from Friesen.[56] Scarfe considered himself an avant-garde and experimental educator, who was willing to try new programs and approaches to education.[57] Adult education was among the educational specialties Scarfe included in his goals for the Faculty of Education, all of which he defended against detractors at the university.[58]

Scarfe demonstrated a certain willingness to find an enduring place for adult education in his faculty in September, 1956, by accepting Allan Thomas' appointment as "Instructor II" in the Faculty of Education. Half of Thomas' salary was charged to the Faculty, the other to Extension where he directed a program on communications and organized the new degree-program in adult education.[59] Scarfe likely knew that Thomas had earlier worked with the CAAE, fraternized with Friesen and Kidd, and was working on a Columbia doctorate in adult education. Other UBC colleagues probably realized that Thomas was more interested in adult education than his work with the secondary teacher education program, making Thomas a little out of place at faculty meetings.[60]

Thomas had other important social connections that may have been less obvious. His father, Allan Thomas Sr., had been a Brigadier in the Canadian military during the Second World

[55] John K. Friesen, "West Coast Venture" in Pioneering a Profession, xxv. Note that not every edition of the book contains Friesen's piece.

[56] President's Office, Roll 195, 18 February 1957, G. C. Andrew to J. K. Friesen; President's Office, Roll [215] 23 June, 1959, Roby Kidd to G. C .Andrew; J. K. Friesen, "West Coast Venture," xxv.

[57] Scarfe Fonds, Box 1-10, 10 February 1960, memo from Scarfe; "Scarfe rips into school system as mere conformists' factory," Vancouver Province, 6 March 1962, p. 17.

[58] Scarfe Fonds, Box 1-5, [1973], transcript, "Many Thanks From Neville Scarfe;" Box 6-11, [late 1950s], "Goals of the Faculty of Education."

[59] BoG Minutes, 24 September 1956.

[60] Scarfe Fonds, Box 1-9, 1956-57, Minutes. Thomas was often ready to present the "adult education" perspective at faculty meetings; Scarfe Fonds, Box 1-9, 12 June 1957, Alan Thomas to Neville Scarfe. Thomas proposed a new high school program modelled on adult education programs. Calam, "Conflict and Compromise," 173; Scarfe did not always accept the "adult education" view presented by Thomas.

War.[61] Allan Sr. had a university degree in applied science from the University of Toronto, where he was a sometime lecturer. He was Vice-President and Director of the Copp Clark Publishing Company, President of the Portland Publishing Company, and Vice-President of the Canada Games Company. Dudley Thomas, Allan Sr.'s brother, was President of Copp Clark.[62] Young Allen Thomas, therefore, was born into a wealthy and socially well-connected family of businessmen and professionals.[63]

Allan Thomas was also the well-liked nephew of UBC President Norman MacKenzie, who, with wife Margaret (née Thomas), owned Copp Clark shares.[64] MacKenzie was on occasion encouraged to wield personal influence on Thomas' behalf.[65] Allan Thomas Jr. shared with "uncle Larry" views on adult education, Canadian nationalism, and the utility of social science. Once (not wishing to "exploit our kinship") he suggested to his uncle plans for a "Canada Seminar" that might be possible at UBC.[66] (The proposal was subsequently forwarded to noted UBC anthropologist Harry Hawthorn, MacKenzie's fishing buddy, who was unenthusiastic.) Thomas' biography suggests that he would bring upper middle-class values to his work, consistent with his and others' work to promote the status of adult education as a profession.

---

[61] MacKenzie Fonds, Box 31-8, 13 March 1951, Allan Thomas to Larry MacKenzie; The Canadian Who's Who (Toronto: Trans-Canada Press, 1949-51). Since Allan Thomas was the name of both the father and the son, exact identity must be inferred unless the son's nickname was used.

[62] MacKenzie Fonds, Box 32-3, 24 March, 1953, Dudley Thomas to MacKenzie.

[63] Thomas Sr. lived on Forest Hill Road, Toronto, an area known for its mansions. N. A. M. MacKenzie Papers, Box 21-2, 13 December 1940. Kenneth McNaught, Conscience and History: A Memoir (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 10.

[64] MacKenzie Fonds, Box 31-8, 13 March 1951, Allan Thomas to Larry MacKenzie; 4 April 1951, MacKenzie to Allan Thomas. Waite, Lord of Point Grey, 193: MacKenzie had been generous "at dishing out honourary degrees." MacKenzie Fonds, Box 32-3, 16 April 1953, Allan M. Thomas [Sr.] to MacKenzie.

[65] MacKenzie Fonds, Box 32-3, 16 April 1953 Allan M. Thomas to N. A. M. MacKenzie; Box 32-5, 23 December 1954, N. A. M. MacKenzie to Allan W. Thomas.

[66] MacKenzie Fonds, Box 33-3, 29 November 1955, Allan Thomas to MacKenzie.

There is little doubt that Thomas was passionate about the social good of adult education, or that he shared the Christian social views of others.[67] He even argued against the rigid occupational control of adult education.[68] Later, he would lament that the "new people" in adult education "have never known the old commitments."[69] However, he was committed to a view of university-trained, intellectual leadership in a hierarchy of adult education provision, a perspective dubbed "liberal" by some.[70]

One of the first tasks facing Thomas was to enlist broad support across the university for an adult education program. Because the Faculty of Education had three divisions—elementary, secondary, and graduate—adult education had to be a graduate program.[71] Many of the new faculty appointments were former Normal School instructors, who, if considered inferior by other UBC academics, were at least protected within the Faculty.[72] Graduate programs, however, were not central to the organizational purpose of the Faculty (teacher training) and would require instead the support of Scarfe and the more academic faculty members.[73] Adult education also depended on academic respectability across campus if it were to offer a Master of Arts degree administered through the Faculty of Graduate Studies. The Faculty of Graduate Studies was a new body of growing importance as UBC began to emphasize graduate studies.

---

[67] Allan Thomas, "The Making of a Professional," Food For Thought (September-October, 1959): 4-11. Thomas, hired by Friesen to run the UBC adult education program, urged the leadership of the new profession to retain social concerns.

[68] A Report on the Ann Arbor Conference of The Professors of Adult Education (Commission of the Professors of Adult Education of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 1957), 27. Copies found in CVMRR.

[69] Verner Fonds, Box 3-3, 22 July 1977, Thomas to Verner.

[70] Thomas, "The Making of a Professional;" Scarfe Fonds, 12 June 1957, Memo, Alan Thomas to Neville Scarfe; Selman, Allan Thomas and the Canadian Association for Adult Education, Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 24 (Vancouver: The Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1975),13, 18-19. Mark Selman, "Some Philosophical Considerations" in The Foundations of Adult Education in Canada, eds. Gordon Selman and Paul Dampier (Toronto: Thompson Education Publishing, 1991), 18-34.

[71] Scarfe Fonds, Box 1-11, 27 November 1962, "The College of Education" by Neville Scarfe.

[72] Calam, "Conflict and Compromise," 176; Scarfe Fonds, Box 1-5, [1973], transcript, "Many Thanks From Neville Scarfe;" Thomas, "Adventures in Scarfeland" xv-xvii.

[73] Scarfe Fonds, Box 6-11, "Brief Historical Resumé of Establishment of the College of Education" by F. Henry Johnson.

On these several grounds, Thomas sought support from other academic departments.[74] Besides, he thought, the courses would benefit from students coming from other departments.[75] When Thomas presented his proposal to UBC faculty members, he already had approval from prominent UBC academics, and found additional support from Social Work, Nursing, Commerce, Agriculture, Physical Education, Home Economics, and even Forestry and the Library.[76]

Such support was anticipated, thanks to the efforts of Roby Kidd and other CAAE colleagues who had for years made allies of Canadian academics and occupational leaders, particularly in social work, mental health, business and industry, and recreation. Because UBC had already committed itself to these fields, adult education proponents found support from other "helping professions."

UBC's provision of training for these helping professions was in part an outcome of the university's particular tradition of social science. Courses in sociology appeared as early as the 1920s, and from 1945 to 1952, the Department of Economics, Political Science, and Sociology jumped from five to fifteen members; eight more joined by 1955. Of the thirty faculty appointments made in that department between 1945 and 1955, seventeen had advanced degrees from American schools, six from British schools, and six from Canadian schools, three of which were UBC itself. Several faculty members identified themselves as "sociologists" or "anthropologists," titles not common at Canadian universities. UBC had embraced, in

---

[74] President's Office, Roll 184, 10 October 1956, "Tentative Proposal for the establishment of A Program of Study in Adult Education at the University of British Columbia;" President's Office, Roll 184, 17 October 1956, Minutes, "Meeting to Consider A Proposal For a Programme To Train Adult Educations [sic]." Support was at times limited. The psychology department representative felt that the degree should remain a Masters of Education, not Arts.

[75] President's Office, Roll 184, 10 October 1956, "Tentative Proposal for the establishment of A Program of Study in Adult Education at the University of British Columbia."

[76] President's Office, Roll 184, 17 October 1956, Minutes, "Meeting to Consider A Proposal For a Programme To Train Adult Educations [sic]."

appearance at least, American social science. By 1956, Anthropology, Criminology, and Sociology had become a distinct department.[77]

Several eminent UBC social scientists explicitly recognized the value of education for adults. Anthropologist Harry Hawthorn, New Zealand born but a Harvard graduate, was well-regarded in Canadian academic circles and had produced influential studies on Canada's Native people. He supported adult education as tool for social improvement, and had travelled widely across British Columbia speaking under the auspices of the Extension Department. He had known MacKenzie before coming to UBC, and once there became one of MacKenzie's close friends.[78] Cyril Belshaw, a New Zealander like Hawthorn, had studied anthropology at the London School of Economics, and at UBC later became head of his department and one of Canada's leading anthropologists. He, too, was interested in social and economic change, particularly of small rural communities into urban technological ones.[79] Leonard Marsh was an Associate Professor at UBC in 1947 and another congenial colleague of Friesen.[80] During the 1930s, Marsh had been director of social research at McGill university until he was appointed to the federal government's advisory committee on post-war social reconstruction. By 1943, he

---

[77] UBC Calendars, 1945-1956; "Anthropology" was also part of the Department's title by 1955; the names themselves suggests a willingness to accept new social science disciplines. One other link suggesting further exploration is that between UBC and its predecessor McGill University College. McGill University had been the only Canadian university to hire Chicago-trained sociologists in the early century. Marlene Shore, "McGill University and the Tradition of Utility," chap. in The Science of Social Redemption (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987). For the intellectual debates, see A. B. McKillop, Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario 1791-1951 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 496.

[78] A student of Bronislaw Malinowski, Hawthorn was UBC's first Professor of Anthropology and was well regarded by professional colleagues and governments that sought his research expertise. He had been appointed by MacKenzie, and believed in "applied anthropology" as a way to reduce ethnic friction. G. B. Inglis, "Harry and Audrey Hawthorn: An Appreciation" in Papers in Honour of Harry Hawthorn V. C. Serl and H. C. Taylor, eds. (Bellingham: Western Washington State College, 1975), 1-9. Hawthorn Fonds, Box 7-20, Lotz to Hawthorn, 7 March 1972. Lotz was an "applied" anthropologist and community development activist in Nova Scotia, familiar with the adult education project the Antigonish Movement. Harry Hawthorn, ed., A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: A Report on Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs, 1966). Harry Hawthorn Foundation Fonds, passim. The Foundation was a fishing club of sorts created by MacKenzie, Hawthorn and others.

[79] Ellen Godfrey, By Reason of Doubt: The Belshaw Case (Toronto/Vancouver: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1981), 6, 11, 13.

[80] Marsh Fonds, Box 27-2, 22 March 1957, Friesen to Marsh; Box 27-3, Curriculum Vitae of Marsh; Marsh, Report on Social Security for Canada, 55.

produced the widely hailed *Report on Social Security for Canada*.[81] By the time Marsh arrived at UBC, he was an influential and well-known social welfare advocate who recognized various forms of education.

About 1959, Hawthorn, Belshaw, Marsh and other UBC social scientists launched the short-lived Social Science Research Institute to encourage local, Canadian social research. John Friesen was a member of the Institute, suggesting the academic respectability of sociology-based adult education.[82] Not only was Friesen admitted to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, he was also a sometime sociology instructor.[83] In fact, his sociology course could have been an adult education course, as it used several texts written by authors who considered themselves adult educators! The academic status of adult education rested on it being a sort of applied sociology, and this was acceptable to several scholars at UBC.

Such views contrasted with those espoused by Harold Innis at The University of Toronto and other Canadian academics, who disdained applied social research and adult education as an academic field.[84] Despite adult education's acceptance at UBC, the field was not admitted to the Social Science Federation of Canada.[85] Neither could it secure Canada Council funds for research, even though the Council was heavily influenced by adult education supporters. The Canada Council was a result of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (Massey Commission) that had listened attentively to the briefs of the CAAE, and

[81] James G. Snell, The Citizen's Wage: The State and the Elderly in Canada, 1900-1951 (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1996), 209.

[82] Social Science Research Institute Fonds, Box 1-6, 12 March 1959, membership list. See other files in this collection.

[83] Senate Fonds, 15 December 1954; Social Science Research Institute Fonds, Box 1-6, 12 March 1959, membership list; Verner Fonds, Box 6-1, 1956-57, notes on Sociology 426, taught by Friesen.

[84] Donald Creighton, Harold Adams Innis: Portrait of a Scholar (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957); Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Adult Education (Winnipeg: R. M. Fisher, 1947), 147; John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 497. Porter notes the dominance of "humanists" rather than "social scientists" in Canadian higher learning, especially at the University of Toronto.

[85] Donald Fisher, The Social Sciences in Canada: 50 Years of National Activity by the Social Science Federation of Canada (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991), 38n.

enjoyed the participation of commissioner Norman MacKenzie.[86] MacKenzie went on to become a member of the Canada Council and lobbied for adult education, as did adult education advocates Geoff Andrew and John Robbins.[87] The Canada Council never did recognize adult education as a field deserving research funds, although other educational researchers at universities eventually secured grants.[88] For the most part, influential academics across Canada rejected adult education as a worthwhile academic pursuit.

UBC, however, was a haven for applied sociology and provided higher education for such fields as social work. Social activists, clergy, academics, politicians, charity workers, and others had promoted jobs for specially trained social workers in Canada and abroad since early in the century, but the Great Depression prompted increased state support.[89] Labour agitation and the rise of socialist politics during World War Two pushed the Canadian government even further to accept responsibility for social welfare.[90] Although social work proponents, like adult educators, debated the merits of a liberal or a scientific/technical preparatory education, social

[86] Paul Litt, The Muses, The Masses, and the Massey Commission (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 48-49; Report: Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences 1949-1951 (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1951), 6.

[87] MacKenzie Fonds, Box 143-1, 29 April 1957, fourth draft of constitution of the Canada Council; Box 143-2, 28 December 1959, Handbook of policy decisions; Box 138-10, 19 April, 1960, MacKenzie to Canada Council. MacKenzie Fonds, Box 141-7, 25 August 1957, "Adult Education and The Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences." Note sent to the Canada Council, quite possibly by the CAAE; Litt, The Muses, The Masses, and the Massey Commission, 239-40. G. C. Andrew, "The Canada Council—A National Necessity" Queen's Quarterly 61, no. 3 (Autumn 1954): 291-303; Ron Faris, The Passionate Educators (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1975), 59; MacKenzie Fonds, Box 137-8, 3 November 1958, John E. Robbins, "Four Cornerstones of the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences in Canada."

[88] MacKenzie Fonds, Box 139-10, Minutes, Meeting of the Academic Committee, 20-21 November 1961. Ken Argue at UBC was recommended for a small travel grant for a project that looked at university extension courses.

[89] James Struthers, "A Profession in Crisis: Charlotte Whitton and Canadian Social Work in the 1930s," in The Benevolent State, eds. Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987), 113, 116. For a similar account in England, see Perkin, The Rise of Professional Society. See also the Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relationships (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1940) for modest arguments in support of federal welfare.

[90] Allan Moscovitch and Glenn Drover, "Social Expenditures and the Welfare State: The Canadian Experience in Historical Perspective," The Benevolent State 27, 28. (13-43)

work was a career for university trained experts by the early 1950s.[91] On the national scene, Liberal Prime Ministers MacKenzie King and Louis St. Laurent supported federal welfare legislation.[92] British Columbia had perhaps the best developed provincial welfare-state in the country by 1945, and UBC responded by offering the first Canadian social work degrees in that year.[93] Enjoying academic leadership of an occupation entrenched in government policy, social work professors at UBC and across Canada saw adult education as a valuable aspect of their own work, and supported adult education as a scholarly field in its own right.

The CAAE and Roby Kidd in particular worked to encourage the alliance between social work and adult education.[94] Articles by social workers in Food for Thought are easy to find, bearing such titles as "Better Homes, Better Citizens?" or "Is This Community Planning?"[95] Issue 13, no. 5, February 1953, was a special number entirely devoted to "Planning for Communities." Although social planning—especially urban planning—was broadly endorsed in the pages of Food for Thought (as it had been in the CAAE Manifesto of 1943),[96] such work was no longer *noblesse oblige* but the work of specially trained applied social scientists. Kidd himself participated in social work training conferences.[97] At least two University of Toronto

[91] McKillop, Matters of Mind, 597, 503-508. The often heated debate over liberal or scientific/technical education for social work professionals fits the broader debate over what sort of education was fitting to the professional. See also Robert Gidney and Winnifred Millar, Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994). James Struthers, "'Lord Give Us Men',: Women and Social Work in English Canada, 1918 to 1953," The Benevolent State, 136. (126-143)

[92] R. MacGregor Dawson, William Lyon MacKenzie King: A Political Biography Vol. 1, 1874-1923 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), 57; Estelle Hopmeyer et al, "Canada" in International Handbook on Social Work Education, eds. Thomas D. Watts, Doreen Elliott, and Nazneen S. Mayadas (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995), 24, 26; Donald Creighton, The Forked Road: Canada 1939-1957 (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1976), 82.

[93] Allan Irving, "The Development of a Provincial Welfare State: British Columbia 1900-1939," in The Benevolent State, 155. "UBC Offers Degree in Social Service," Vancouver Province, 20 December 1945, p. 8. UBC had earlier offered a diploma in social work.

[94] Kidd, "Trends and Problems in Canadian Adult Education."

[95] FFT 15, no. 2 (November 1954): 10-15; FFT 16, no. 1 (September-October 1955): 26-30.

[96] FFT 13, no. 5 (February 1953): Planning for Communities Special Issue. Gordon Selman, The Canadian Association for Adult Education in the Corbett Years: A Re-Evaluation, Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 20 (Vancouver: The Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1981), 12.

[97] FFT 11, no. 6 (March 1951), 20.

School of Social Work professors were CAAE affiliates, one writing on "The Expert as Educator."[98] The Head of the UBC Department of Social Work, Bill Dixon, attended the 1955 CAAE Western Regional Conference and was an anticipated supporter of the UBC adult education degree program.[99] Adult education was an adjunct to social work, reported welfare advocate Harry Cassidy, and like social work, "education has won its recognition as a social science."[100] Just as social work required and depended on university-based research, so did adult education.

New faculty members in UBC's School of Social Work, who were even more sympathetic to adult education than those of UBC's Department of Economics, Political Science, and Sociology, also set an intellectual precedent for adult education. Several social work "departments" at Canadian universities pre-dated UBC's, but with varying intellectual traditions.[101] At the University of Toronto, for example, R. M. MacIver and E. J. Urwick brought a British "social philosophy" slant to sociology, a view they would carry over to social work despite colleagues with alternate perspectives.[102] UBC, on the other hand, was clearly influenced by academic traditions popular in America. In 1945, the Department of Social Work was formed in the Faculty of Arts with two faculty members, and three part-time lecturers. By 1954, having become a School with greater administrative independence, it had fourteen faculty members and eight part-time lecturers. Of twenty-three full-time faculty appointments over those years, nineteen held advanced or professional (graduate) degrees from American schools, and three from Canadian schools (UBC, McGill University, and The University of Toronto).[103]

---

[98] J.S. Morgan, "A New Look at Old Age," FFT 13, no. 7 (April 1953), 24-39; Murray G. Ross, "The Expert as Educator," FFT 14, no. 3 (December 1953): 21-24.

[99] FFT 16, no. 1 (September-October 1955), 6; President's Office, Roll 184, 17 October 1956, Meeting to Consider A Proposal For a Programme To Train Adult Educations (sic)."

[100] FFT 17, no. 3 (December 1956), 119; Harry Cassidy, Social Security & Reconstruction In Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1943),13.

[101] Social work had radical, liberal, and conservative formulations. Mary Wirtz Macht and Jean K. Quam, Social Work: An Introduction (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1986).

[102] McKillop, Matters of Mind, 506, 507, 509, 511.

[103] Calendar, The University of British Columbia, 1945-1954.

Eduard Lindeman, an American intellectual hailed in social work and adult education circles, was a Special Lecturer in 1948.[104]

Social workers were not the only ones at UBC with an interest in adult education. Nurses also had long emphasized high-quality nursing education and health education outside universities. This interest across Canada drew the attention of Roby Kidd, who had participated in a national nursing conference.[105] The UBC School of Nursing had taught courses in "Health Teaching" for well over a decade, and "progressive" minded instructors took a strong interest in how nursing was taught at the university.[106] Lee Stewart has argued that UBC's nursing program originated with the demand by local hospital administrators for a hierarchy of staff, and it is possible that education degrees offered another opportunity for differentiation in the growing area of health education.

The mental health movement also saw nursing and adult education as helping professions that required specialized education.[107] Leonard Marsh had advocated "health" as a basic social service, while Harry Cassidy, formerly of the University of Toronto's School of Social Work and architect of British Columbia's post-war welfare strategy, identified "mental hygiene" as among the essential welfare services that could be delivered through education.[108] Mental health was another aspect of a wider goal of efficient social management that many helping professions supported.[109]

---

[104] Calendar, The University of British Columbia, 1948-49; Kett, The Pursuit of Knowledge, 341-344.

[105] School of Nursing Fonds, Box 1-13, President's Annual Report, 1952-53, 4a.

[106] School of Nursing Fonds, Box 1-13, 13 October 1948, memo for Doctor Dolman; Box 2-3, student essays on nursing education practices;.

[107] Extension Fonds, Box 3-45, 6 April 1955, E. Mallory to G. Selman.

[108] Cassidy, Social Security & Reconstruction In Canada, 13, 15.

[109] Angus McLaren, Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada 1885-1945 (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1990), 112.

Kidd and the CAAE, along with social work advocates, were among those who endorsed policies and practices for the support and improvement of community mental health.[110] The CAAE had for many years been a "friend" of the Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA) and its forerunner, at a time when the psychologists and psychiatrists who promoted mental health were becoming increasingly influential.[111] Mental health was vaguely defined by its proponents as feeling comfortable about oneself, feeling "right" about other people, meeting the demands of life, and exercising self-control and self-discipline.[112] By the late 1940s, education had become an important aspect of mental health promotion as advocates in both Canada and the United States worked to distance themselves from their eugenics heritage (not entirely successfully, some argue), in part by affirming environmental over hereditary causes of mental deficiency.[113] Hence youth education, particularly by properly trained parents but also by teachers, social workers, clergymen and mental health professionals such as psychiatric nurses, became an essential part of a wider campaign.[114] Adult education boosters began promoting parent education.

In 1948, a series of modest National Health Grants led to increased training of mental health workers, leaving public education to the Canadian National Committee for Mental Health. The Committee reorganized, renamed itself the Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA), declared the first week in May "Mental Health Week" and, in 1950, hired a Director of Education, psychologist Reva Gerstein. Gerstein became Director of Program Planning in 1952,

[110] John D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity (London Ontario: Third Eye Publications, 1989), 143, 177.

[111] Mona Gleason, "Psychology and the Construction of the 'Normal' Family in Postwar Canada, 1945-60" Canadian Historical Review 78, no. 3 (September 1997), 442-477; McLaren, Our Own Master Race, 111; FFT 11, no. 8 (May 1951), 1.

[112] Mona Gleason, "Internalizing the Ideal: The Goals of Good Parenting," chap. in Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 107, 113.

[113] McLaren, Our Own Master Race, 111; J. David Smith, Minds Made Feeble: the Myth and Legacy of the Kallikaks (Rockville: Aspen Systems Corporation, 1985), 169.

[114] Griffin, In Search of Sanity, 139, 146-7. Students at Columbia also studied adult education's role in promoting mental health. Verner Fonds, Box 6-4, Class notes, May 1951.

and a public relations executive was hired in 1955 for public education. The CMHA promoted mental health as an important part of industrial productivity, but public and parent education would make the CMHA especially interested in adult education.[115]

The CAAE responded almost immediately to the new CMHA by devoting the November 1951 edition of Food For Thought to parent education, and featured several mental health articles. Mental health advocates wrote articles in Food for Thought such as "Parent Education and the Mental Health of the Community" and "Group Experience and Mental Health," while Kidd himself wrote an article on "The Role of the National Organization in Promoting Mental Health."[116] These authors contended that thirty to forty percent of the Canadian population was "below par in mental health ability." American military tests had revealed that ten percent of their recruits were mentally unfit for service, and ten percent of the current population "should be receiving psychiatric treatment now." Mental health was thus a community problem worthy of CAAE attention.[117] Unlike the CMHA, however, CAAE supporters maintained that adults were as deserving as children for mental health help:

> If we set out together to eliminate such evils from our world for the sake of the
> mental health of the next generation, we may, perhaps incidentally, perhaps
> deliberately, be achieving some improvement in the mental health of our own
> and, at the same time, filling the purposes of adult education.[118]

While the CMHA used the pages of Food for Thought to promote their own work, the CAAE used the opportunity to show yet another important application of adult education. The professional alliance with mental health workers tapped into psychology, which had slowly

---

[115] Griffin, In Search of Sanity, 130, 155, 159, 177, 262; FFT 11, no. 8 (May 1951). Some 4.1 million dollars had been granted by the federal government for mental health work in the provinces.
[116] FFT 12, no. 1 (October 1951); FFT 12, no. 8 (May 1952); FFT 15, no. 1 (September-October 1954).
[117] FFT 10, no. 4 (January 1950); FFT 11, no. 8 (May 1951).
[118] FFT 11, no. 8 (May 1951).

gained considerable academic respectability and government support, and CAAE promoters knew it.[119]

Mental health was popular as an idea and as curriculum in Vancouver schools, in various child-oriented organizations, and as a topic in UBC's School of Home Economics. "Child Development and Family Relations" was a required course for a Bachelor of Home Economics degree during the 1950s.[120] Mental health promoters were influencing parent associations in Vancouver by 1954, who in turn, pressed MacKenzie for a Child Study Centre at UBC.[121] UBC Extension, in keeping with CAAE recommendations, offered parent courses.[122] The interest in adult education by nurses and home economists at UBC had local and immediate causes, but it was also partly the result of national activities to promote the helping professions.

Recreation was yet another activity that Kidd and the CAAE encouraged. Articles on recreation can easily be found in Food For Thought.[123] Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Association groups across Canada supported of the CAAE, and YMCA leaders were often affiliates of the CAAE.[124] (Kidd, in fact, began his career working with the YMCA.) In British Columbia, adult education had long been associated with recreation and received generous support from the provincial government.[125] Not surprisingly, UBC Professor of Physical Education Robert Osborne endorsed Thomas' plan for an adult education program.[126]

[119] J. R. Kidd, Adult Education in the Canadian University (Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1956), 14.

[120] Calendar, The University of British Columbia, 1951-52.

[121] Angus Family Fonds, Box 1-10, 1954, Report of Vancouver School District, 6, 10; Alice Borden Papers, Box 6-14, [1960], memo from Neville Scarfe.

[122] FFT 13, no. 1 (October, 1952), 24-27.

[123] FFT 16, no. 4 (January 1956), 191.

[124] President's Office, Roll 249, 21 November 1961, "Tentative Objectives for CAAE: Report on receipts of donations for the fiscal year 1960-61." The report provides some data on previous years.

[125] Selman, Adult Education in British Columbia During the Depression, 27.

[126] President's Office, Roll 184, 17 October,1956, "Minutes of a Meeting to Consider A Proposal For A Program To Train Adult Educations [sic]."

The Faculty of Commerce at UBC also supported adult education. As John Porter has shown, Canadian economic growth and industrialization in the 1950s demanded high skills from the workforce, domestic or immigrant.[127] Although educational institutions, in Porter's view, lagged behind demand and were not yet democratized, they provided a valuable and desirable service for the corporate world and aspiring members of it. Universities were increasingly regarded as engines of economic growth; where public institutions were inadequate, corporations provided their own labour force training.[128]

Kidd and the CAAE promoted the value of adult education to large businesses, both as labour-force training and for executive continuing education. James Muir, President of the Royal Bank of Canada, had been elected president of the CAAE in 1951 to strengthen ties with business.[129] Large businesses became well represented on the Joint Planning Commission, the CAAE's national discussion forum.[130] By the late 1950s, Canadian business corporations were the most numerous and generous financial contributors to the Association, and in 1956 four large companies won CAAE Presidents' Awards in recognition of their training programs: Canadian Westinghouse, Imperial Oil, Metropolitan Life Insurance, and The Royal Bank of Canada.[131] By 1959, the CAAE actively sought data on the extent of business-sponsored education and training by creating a committee in cooperation with the Canadian Chamber of Commerce.[132] In 1959,

[127] Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, chap. 6.

[128] Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars; President's Office, Roll 215, 16 January 1959, "Education for Business Leadership" by Roby Kidd.

[129] FFT 13, no. 1 (October 1952), 8-9. Muir discovered, however, that the CAAE was not entirely at the service of the business and industry community.

[130] Selman, Roby Kidd, 26. The Joint Planning Commission, hosted by the CAAE, was a discussion forum for Canadian social leaders of many loyalties.

[131] President's Office, Roll 249, 21 November 1961 "Tentative Objectives for CAAE: Report on receipts of donations for the fiscal year 1960-61;" President's Office, Roll 215, [20 February, 1959], H. H. Steen to N.A.M. MacKenzie, Comparative Financial Reports; FFT 17, no. 1, (September-October 1956), 40. Not all financial reports agree about the extent of corporate donations, but it was among the most lucrative sources.

[132] President's Office, Roll 226, 4 June 1960, Progress Report on Education and Training in Business. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, 306, identifies the Chamber of Commerce as a paragon of corporate capitalist ideology, making the social welfare-supporting CAAE a strange collaborator indeed.

Friesen suggested "honoring [sic] those industries who are doing outstanding work in adult education."[133]

Western Canadian universities responded quickly to these large businesses. The University of Alberta with other western Canadian universities, including UBC, established the Banff School of Advanced Management in 1956.[134] E. D. MacPhee, Dean of UBC's Faculty of Commerce, was a co-founder and then director of the Banff School, and encouraged continuing education institutes at UBC.[135] Not surprisingly, a Faculty of Commerce representative endorsed Thomas' proposal for an adult education program at UBC. However, MacPhee sought economic growth rather than a profession of adult educators.

Ties between MacPhee and UBC adult education proponents were also personal. MacPhee was an old friend of MacKenzie and former CAAE President Donald Cameron, and a former advocate of mental health.[136] MacPhee also shared similar Christian social views as his adult education colleagues. He was Chairman of the Finance Committee of the UBC Student Christian Movement (SCM), an organization that included MacKenzie, Andrew, and an Extension Department member in advisory roles.[137] The SCM recognized Ned Corbett, founding director of the CAAE and former seminarian, as an important Canadian leader.[138] Someone even suggested in 1957 that SCM-hosted visitors should observe a "Council on Adult Education."[139]

---

[133] President's Office, Roll 215, 16 February 1959, John Friesen to N.A.M. MacKenzie.

[134] President's Office, Roll 215, 16 January 1959, Education for Business Leadership by Roby Kidd. UBC BoG Minutes, 27 September 1954.

[135] E. D. MacPhee Fonds, Box 1-1, biographical outline; Box 2, autobiography; Box 2-8, October 1957, Proceedings, "An Institute Sponsored by The Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration."

[136] E. D. MacPhee Fonds, Box 1-1, biographical outline; Box 2, autobiography.

[137] John Conway Papers, Box 1-2, Memo from E. D. MacPhee; Box 1-1, 9 April 1958, Minutes, Annual Meeting of the Student Christian Movement Advisory Board; Box 1-2, 19 September 1959, Minutes.

[138] John Conway Papers, Box 1-1, 1957-8. The Circulating Library list included Corbett's autobiography "We Have With Us Tonight."

[139] John Conway Papers, Box 1-5, [1960], itinerary for visiting students.

Business leaders had another interest in adult education. The unions that had swelled

during the war helped push the federal Liberals to enact temporary legislation for compulsory

bargaining with recognized employee groups. Working class assertiveness after the war led to

massive strikes in 1945-47, and union bureaucracies became mechanisms in resolving the

disputes. By 1948, the Liberals were compelled to enact the Federal Industrial Relations and

Disputes Investigation Act, and the provinces soon followed with their own industrial relations

acts. Business leaders by the 1950s had to deal with unions and a new sort of labour-

relations.[140]

The CAAE also had an opportunity to provide labour education, but, consistent with

professional attitudes elsewhere, did not ally itself with the trade union movement, opting

instead for a "citizenship model" that attempted to transcend class divisions.[141] The legislation

that ensured the right to negotiate collective terms of employment led to a system for grievances,

arbitration in the event of an impasse, and a network of shop stewards. With a new demand for

administrative and bargaining talent, "union leaders scrambled to teach the appropriate skills to a

proportion of their membership."[142] Some union leaders even met with industrialists in CAAE

sponsored forums.[143] Kidd also encouraged cooperation between organized labour and

universities, and he and MacKenzie discussed an educational program in industrial relations.[144]

MacKenzie and MacPhee also took an interest in a labour conference.[145] Doing business in

[140] Craig Heron, The Canadian Labour Movement second edition (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1996), 70-77.

[141] Gerald Friesen, "Adult Education and Union Education: Aspects of English Canadian Cultural History in the 20th Century," Labour/Le Travail 34 (Fall 1994): 187. Perkin also notes that English professionals attempt to remain neutral in regard to class.

[142] Gerald Friesen, "Adult Education and Union Education," 175. See also FFT 10, no. 7 (April 1950), 31. The Canadian Labour Congress sponsored courses on the issues in question. However, the Manitoba Royal Commission on Adult Education did not report much union education activity. Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Adult Education, 127ff.

[143] Selman, Roby Kidd, 26.

[144] President's Office, Roll 195, 17 January 1957, J.R. Kidd to N. A. M. MacKenzie; President's Office, Roll 195, 8 November 1956, MacKenzie to Kidd.

[145] President's Office, Roll 195, 26 December 1956.

Canada increasingly required labour relations knowledge by union leaders as well as business leaders; adult education could play a role in preparing such leaders.

Finally, Thomas had strong support from the Faculty of Agriculture. The Faculty had provided extension services since 1916 (in the tradition of American land-grant universities), and Dean Blythe Eagles was keen to support the proposed adult education program for his own reasons. By 1957, Agriculture had established a "formal liaison" with the Department of Extension and, at Eagles' initiative, offered in 1959 a Master of Science in Agriculture (MSA) degree with an emphasis on agricultural extension.[146] Such a degree depended on available graduate courses, if not an entire degree, in adult education.

Allan Thomas' new program in adult education was a creation of university insiders, and had support from administrators and academics across UBC, but the program also needed students.[147] Kidd's pilot course had demonstrated that Vancouver had prospective students, owing to British Columbia's considerable history of adult education.[148]

Colonial settlers brought their views of organized adult learning to British Columbia in the mid-nineteenth century, where immigrants were struggling to survive in a strange and challenging new environment. Some established voluntary self-help groups for mutual education in manual, scientific, and cultural topics. Other forms of adult education also appeared. The provincial government by 1900 had organized various educational programs, particularly Farmer's Institutes and other agriculture related forums. Vancouver, an "instant" city incorporated in 1886, quickly became the province's largest population and commercial centre. Educational activities

---

[146] Extension Fonds, Box 5-1, "Agricultural Extension at UBC—Past and Present," Speech by Blythe Eagles; Faculty of Agricultural Sciences Fonds, Box 10, Department of University Extension file, brochure for new MSA program. Faculty of Graduate Studies Deans Office, Box 2-1, 6 April 1959, Minutes.

[147] Thomas, "Adventures in Scarfeland," xxi. Thomas claims to have had little difficulty in bringing in the new program.

[148] President's Office, Roll 184, "Tentative Proposal for the establishment of A Program of Study in Adult Education at the University of British Columbia," 10 October 1956.

flourished, from high-culture "mutual enlightenment" societies to in-house or proprietary industrial training schools. School boards offered night-school classes early in the 1900s, with Vancouver School Board entering the field in 1909 to sponsor one of the largest such programs in the country. UBC opened its doors in 1915 with a president who believed that extension was one of the purposes of the university. Faculty members immediately formed an extension committee, providing public lectures and other educational forums.[149]

As the expression "adult education" gained popularity during the 1920s in Britain and the United States, so too was the term adopted in British Columbia. By 1931, UBC President Klinck was able to speak of the "university and adult education" and in 1935 discuss "a plan for adult education in British Columbia."[150] The provincial government was active during the Depression sponsoring programs in recreational, vocational, and personal skills, while political and voluntary organizations studied the origins of the problem.[151] The UBC Department of Extension began in 1936 and, with strong ties to the CAAE, promoted adult education as discussed above.[152] By the mid 1950s, the Department of Extension was large and influential, rivaled in size and influence only, perhaps, by the Vancouver School Board.

In 1954, representatives from the Ministry of Education, the UBC Department of Extension, and the Vancouver School Board met to establish a series of annual conferences, and to create what would become the British Columbia Adult Education Council.[153] By 1955, the third annual conference had attracted representatives from the CAAE; organized labour; business; citizenship groups; the Alcohol Research and Education Council; arts organizations; broadcasting

---

[149] Gordon Selman, A Chronology of Adult Education in British Columbia, Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 14 (Vancouver: The Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1977).
[150] Damer, "Town and Gown," 151, 156.
[151] Selman, Adult Education in British Columbia During The Depression, 11, 14, 27.
[152] The ties were not merely fraternal; both UBC Extension and the CAAE began with Carnegie Foundation money.
[153] Gordon Selman, The Invisible Giant: Adult Education in British Columbia, Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 25 (Vancouver: The Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1988), 34.

agencies; the British Columbia Penitentiary; libraries; the provincial Departments of Agriculture, Labour, Education, and Community Programs; cooperatives and credit unions; the Federal Department of Indian Affairs; various health organizations; a church; and the Canadian Mental Health Association.[154] The following year, the conference also attracted representatives from the military.[155] British Columbia was home to a panoply of institutionalized adult education providers who might be interested in specialized leadership. Allan Thomas perceived a ready market for his new program, which he "sold" at the Sixth Conference.[156]

With supportive faculty and administrators, the result of a national campaign, and anticipated student demand, the University of British Columbia announced "A New Graduate Programme in Adult Education" in 1957, intended for "those interested in a career in Adult Education" who held "an acceptable Bachelor's Degree and Experience in Adult Education."[157] By requiring work experience in adult education as a criterion of admission it was not a pre-practice degree, but in the absence of employers who recognized adult education credentials, the UBC program would benefit by attracting students from a wide variety of settings. For the first time in Canada, people could earn a degree in adult education. The task now was to secure the various resources that would ensure a long and stable life for the adult education program.

---

[154] CVMRR, 30 November 1955, Minutes, 3rd Conference on Adult Education in British Columbia. The minutes are contained in a binder entitled "Adult Education in British Columbia."

[155] CVMRR, 14 May 1956, Minutes, 4th Conference on Adult Education in British Columbia.

[156] CVMRR, 13 May, 1957, Minutes, 6th Conference on adult Education in British Columbia.

[157] Extension Fonds, Box 12-6, 1957-58, Promotional brochure.

For the new program to be a success, it would need resources from the wider university, and in particular the Faculty of Education. It would need physical space, money for professors, a curriculum, students and academic status. In short, it needed to establish and defend its claim as an administrative unit.

For its first two years, the adult education program consisted of a single course taught by Thomas during the winter session, and one or two courses taught by Thomas or a visitor during the summer session. In 1959, Coolie Verner of Florida State University spent the winter session at UBC as a Visiting Professor of Adult Education, and the program was offered full-time; the following year, Wilbur Hallenbeck of Columbia University (and Verner's mentor) did the same. Few took these courses, and fewer enrolled in the program as suggested by the very low number of graduates in the early 1960s.[1] (Table 1) But despite modest offerings and demand, the program enjoyed substantial administrative support that would lead to considerable growth.

From 1957 to 1985, the adult education program simultaneously changed in two contrasting respects. By some measures, the program grew. It became one of the informal departments in the Faculty of Education, and the number of faculty members, students, and degrees awarded increased, as did status within the international adult education academic community. This growth may be attributed to administrative privilege and to the skill of adult education faculty members in promoting their program and research under favourable social conditions. By other measures, the department declined. The department had considerable administrative independence and autonomy from time of inception to the early 1970s.

---

[1] Faculty of Education Fonds, Registration by Course Class Size/Course Responsibility Box, Enrollment by Course.

Table 1

Adult Education Degrees Conferred 1960-1984

Year	M.Ed.	M.A.	M.S.A.	Ed.D.	Total
1960	-	1	-	-	1
1962	-	1	-	-	1
1963	-	1	-	-	1
1964	1	-	-	-	1
1965	1	1	3	-	5
1966	5	5	1	-	11
1967	2	1	-	-	3
1968	1	6	3	1	11
1969	2	4	1	1	8
1970	4	7	1	-	12
1971	9	4	1	-	14
1972	2	8	1	2	13
1973	11	4	-	-	15
1974	8	4	-	1	13
1975	6	9	-	2	17
1976	5	2	-	4	11
1977	7	4	-	4	15
1978	11	1	-	-	12
1979	10	5	-	1	16
1980	9	6	-	1	16
1981	15	6	-	2	23
1982	20	5	-	3	28
1983	23	4	-	1	28
1984	21	4	-	4	29

Source: Write On.

By the mid-1980s, the department had lost most of this privilege, defending itself against criticisms of irrelevance by its external clientele and low standards by university administrators. Like other units in Education, it went from being a department to being merely a program area. In 1957 adult education boosters had the personal support of the university President; in 1985, the President's Office threatened to terminate the program. This loss of administrative jurisdiction and status can be attributed to wider university and British Columbia politics, but also a failure to establish "adult education" as a distinct region of academic study. Between 1957 and 1985, the adult education department grew larger, but not stronger.

Initially, the success of the adult education department was a matter of building institutional alliances, claiming curricular jurisdiction, encouraging student demand, and attracting research clients. But as the Faculty of Education changed, the Department desperately sought new alliances, new curricular jurisdiction, new student demand, and new research clients. Administrative privilege helped create and build the department for the first two decades, but student enrollment helped sustain it for the subsequent decade.

When Verner arrived in 1959 for a year as Visiting Professor, the original network of founders and supporters—Friesen, MacKenzie, Thomas, Scarfe and others—was still intact. Invited by Friesen and especially Thomas, Verner immediately sought to establish a network that might facilitate growth of the UBC program and justify the appointment of a professor of adult education.[2] Some colleagues in Extension or in the School of Social Work may already have known Verner as a distant colleague, a tenured Associate Professor of Adult Education at Florida State University, a member of the CAAE, and a participant in the Commission of Professors of Adult Education.[3] MacKenzie and Scarfe may also have known Verner through these associations, but the ties were distant at best. Since Verner was largely an unknown quantity at UBC, he took it upon himself to meet faculty members in nursing, sociology, agriculture, and, of course, education. Although Vancouver adult educators with experience of the CAAE might also have known of Verner, most potential students would not. Verner made himself known outside UBC through public talks and meetings with local adult educators. Since he wanted to leave his position at Florida State University, his self-introductions were likely motivated in part by

---

[2] Although young, with doctorate in progress, and with a part-time academic appointment, Thomas was in a position of influence. He was appointed by Gordon Shrum to be a member of the committee to review the academic qualifications of applicants for adult education graduate studies, along with Scarfe, Hawthorne, and McGregor (of Classics). These were all MacKenzie's friends. FoGS Dean's Office, Box 1-4, 15 July 1957, Shrum to McGregor.

[3] Coolie Verner, "Research," in Food For Thought, 16 no. 5 (February 1956): 214-221; Verner Fonds, Box 1-5, 4 August 1952, Recommendation for advancement; Verner Fonds, Box 1-5, 1 July 1956, Proposal for tenure. Verner Fonds, Box 1-7, Cancelled membership cheque; Verner Fonds, Box 2-1, 5 December 1958, Receipt; A Report on the Ann Arbor Conference of The Professors of Adult Education (Commission of the Professors of Adult Education of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 1957).

imagined prospects of employment.[4] Above all, he promoted "adult education" as something specific, something useful, and something that required special study.

Verner spoke before Faculty of Education members, attended the Dean's Seminars, and met socially with full-professors Henry Johnson (Director of the Elementary Division), Ken Argue (often Director of Summer Session), Sadie Boyles, and Joseph Katz. Verner also courted members of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation and College of Education, and spoke at the Vancouver Institute as a Visiting Professor of Adult Education.[5] Verner developed close collegial relationships—even friendships—that extended beyond the university, in particular with Sadie Boyles, Ranton McIntosh, Clarence Smith, and, significantly, Dean Neville Scarfe.[6]

Boyles, McIntosh, Smith, and Scarfe each held influential positions in the Faculty. Neville Scarfe, as Dean, held considerable sway over his new Faculty, later remembered by some as a benevolent dictator.[7] Although hired only in 1957, Scarfe was responsible for many new innovations in the Faculty, and promoted his Faculty to British Columbians while he defended it within the university. McIntosh, like Verner an alumnus of Columbia University, was Director of Secondary Education. As a UBC professor before the Faculty of Education had been established, he represented a link with the former Department of Education in the Faculty of Arts. Boyles, also a UBC veteran, was Assistant Director of Secondary Education and full professor. Smith was the Associate Dean.

Personal acquaintances were important to MacKenzie's UBC. Influential appointments were often made on the basis of personal association, and Education was no exception.[8] Director

[4] Verner Fonds, Box 1-5, 10 June 1959, application for exchange program; [late 1950s], Application for Federal Employment.

[5] Verner Fonds, Box 1-6, Transcript, 16 May 1960; Box 4-4, Engagement Calendar 1959-1960; Vancouver Institute Fonds, Box 4-6, 5 December 1959. Boyles listed merely as "Sadie."

[6] Verner Fonds, Box 45, photographs. See packages labelled UBC 15924/20, 15924/8, 15924/37/1-3, 15924/47/1-68. Photos show Verner and Scarfe socializing at private residences.

[7] Personal correspondence, LeRoi Daniels, 6 June 2000.

[8] Waite, Lord of Point Grey, 142.

of Elementary Education F. Henry Johnson, for example, had been appointed by the provincial government to help launch the new Faculty, and was rewarded with his university position.[9] In Extension, Friesen and Thomas had positions secured in part through MacKenzie's network, and Friesen had supported Scarfe. When Scarfe was hired, he brought with him much of the University of Manitoba's Faculty of Education, including Katz and Smith.[10] Networking was therefore an important way for Verner to secure a position at UBC, although few were oriented to adult education as he defined it. Many new faculty members were oriented to schools, being former Normal School instructors, and Verner sought allies outside the Faculty as well.

Verner's background in rural sociology was particularly useful and attractive to the Faculty of Agriculture. The Faculty of Agriculture, and in particular its Dean, Blythe Eagles, was interested in whomever taught courses for its Master of Science in Agriculture (MSA) degree, for which the Department of Extension was partly responsible.[11] The MSA (Extension) program had been deemed academically acceptable on the condition that it include rural sociology and agriculture courses, not just education courses.[12] During his visiting year, Verner was listed as the instructor of adult education courses and of a rural sociology course suitable for agriculture students.[13] UBC Faculty members in Agriculture put the visiting Verner on a Committee on Agricultural Extension, and invited him to participate in UBC's extension tradition by attending an annual seminar in agricultural education—which he did.[14]

---

[9] Calam, "Conflict and Compromise," 85-87.

[10] Scarfe Fonds, Box 1-2, Newspaper clipping, "Must Pay Staff to Hold Them, Says UBC Head."

[11] Faculty of Agricultural Sciences Fonds, Box 10, Faculty of Agriculture Committee on Extension file, 23 January 1959, Minutes.

[12] FoGS Deans Office, Box 2-1, 6 April 1959, Minutes.

[13] Faculty of Agricultural Sciences Fonds, Box 10, Department of University Extension file, 1959-1960, brochure.

[14] Faculty of Agricultural Sciences Fonds, Box 10, Faculty of Agriculture Committee on Extension file, 19 January, 5 February, 8 March 1960, Minutes; Verner Fonds, Box 6-8, 3 June 1960, Conference on Continuing Agricultural Education brochure.

Verner also contacted the School of Nursing, long interested in nursing education. UBC was about to construct Canada's first university-based teaching hospital, and government and Kellogg Foundation grants were forthcoming for medical education.[15] Verner's contacts with the School were consistent with the national campaign by Roby Kidd and the CAAE to link nurses with adult education, mental health, and social work.[16] It is unsurprising, then, that Verner was scheduled to meet with UBC nursing instructors on 29 March 1960.[17]

Several UBC social scientists—Friesen's colleagues from chapter one—interested in "applied sociology" were also interested in Verner. Briefly a social worker himself, Verner came to know Leonard Marsh of the School of Social Work (and later Professor of Educational Sociology).[18] Verner and Marsh later participated in an Extension Department lecture series and sat together on magistral committees.[19] Verner also met with anthropologists Harry Hawthorn and Cyril Belshaw, whose support helped ensure Verner's appointment as Visiting Professor; Verner taught a rural sociology course in their department.[20] Hawthorn later supported Verner's bid to introduce a course in the Department of Agricultural Economics.[21] In return, the new

[15] School of Nursing Fonds, Box 1-13, 13 October 1948, memo for Doctor Dolman; Box 2-3, student essays on nursing education practices; Box 2-30, Minutes, 22 March 1960; UBC BoG Minutes, 29 February 1960; School of Nursing Fonds, Box 1-13, 1953 President's Annual Report, 4a; BoG Minutes, 25 July 1960; BoG Minutes, 26 September 1961.

[16] School of Nursing Fonds, Box 1-13, President's Annual Report, 1952-53, p. 4a; School of Nursing Fonds, Box 1-14, Report of the School of Nursing, 1 July 1963, to 30 June 1964. Evelyn Mallory, director of the School of Nursing, was also on the Council for the School of Social Work.

[17] School of Nursing Fonds, Box 2-30, Minutes, 22 March 1960; Verner Fonds, Box 4-4, Academic Diary, 29 March 1960. Verner was scheduled to meet with Alan Thomas and Roby Kidd the same day.

[18] Verner Fonds, Box 1-3, 1 October 1941, Employment Certificate; and 8 April 1942. Verner Fonds, Box 4-4, Appointment Diary, 21 and 28 November 1959; 20 and 25 January 1960, 17 April 1960; Marsh Fonds, Box 27-3, Curriculum Vitae of Marsh.

[19] Marsh Fonds, Box 27-2, 11 February 1962, 4 March 1962; 28 May 1962, Macfarlane to Marsh; Donald Campbell, "A Study of Enrollments and Financing of Provincial Technical and Vocational Training in Alberta 1956-1965" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1968).

[20] Hawthorn Papers, Box 10-21, CV of Coolie Verner. A note, possibly John Friesen's was written on the bottom: "Dr. Hawthorn—this awaits Board appointment." Hawthorn Papers, Box 10-21, Memo, John Friesen to Cyril [Belshaw], 18 August, 1959. Verner Fonds, Box 6-5, 20 November, 1961, Hawthorn to Anderson. The letter mentions approval of Verner's teaching Agricultural Economics 403. Later, Hawthorn referred academic matters to Verner. Hawthorn Papers, Box 10-21, 1 February 1966.

[21] Verner Fonds, Box 6-5, 20 November 1961, Hawthorn to Anderson; Senate Minutes, 13 December 1961.

Department of Anthropology, Criminology and Sociology enlisted another sociologically trained ally.

Verner made other personal connections. His avocation as an historical cartographer linked him intellectually with Scarfe (whose graduate studies had been in geography) and perhaps other UBC geographers, and his interest in old books linked him to the university's librarian. Neal Harlow, the university Librarian, wrote Verner soon after his appointment to welcome him to the university.[22]

However well Verner may have impressed colleagues at UBC during his visiting year, the department would go nowhere without students. Students did not, however, flock to the new program. Between 1957 and 1961, nearly ninety students enrolled in graduate adult education courses, but only six registered in the winter session. That fact suggests few were officially registered in the adult education degree program. Just one person (Colin Henderson) graduated from the program in 1960, and then only one more (Harvey Jones) in 1962.[23] (Table 1)

Verner therefore found it necessary to promote himself in Vancouver and the province, especially among those interested in adult education. In doing so, he joined a long tradition of UBC administrators and professors who toured the province to enlist support for university projects. He met with representatives from the teachers' fraternity Phi Delta Kappa, Frontier College, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Nurses' Association (and other nurses), the British Columbia Adult Education Council, the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, and Abbotsford night schools—among others.[24] He visited Victoria, Prince George, Salmon Arm, and Langley, British Columbia, where he promoted "lifelong" education, always claiming it to be

[22] Verner Fonds, Box 1-6, 13 April, 1961, Harlow to Verner.
[23] Faculty of Education Fonds, Registration by Course Class Size/Course Responsibility Box, Enrollment by Courses—Session 1957-1982.
[24] Verner Fonds, Box 4-4, September 1959 to May 1960, Academic Diary.

in the public interest.[25] Acceptance by school trustees and public school "directors of evening schools" was particularly important since they were looking for status as "directors of adult education."[26] Friesen wrote a reference letter to Faculty administrators stating that Verner had "won the confidence and respect of government and other agencies."[27]

Verner's meeting with the British Columbia Adult Education Council was a particularly direct attempt to convince practicing adult educators to enroll in the UBC program. Speaking to the Council on 23 November 1959, Verner noted the growth of institutionalized adult education in Vancouver, and emphasized the importance of university training for those working as adult educators. "Serious adult educators," he suggested, were "beginning to take their work seriously." He encouraged the audience to be proud professional adult educators. Perhaps most importantly, Verner described attacks on funding for organized adult education across the United States, not because adult education was trivial, but because the field was unorganized and adult educators were "not responsible professionals...don't know enough about what they are doing...are not learned in their professions...don't develop programs intelligently...cannot prove [adult education's] effectiveness."[28] Even if he chose other words in his address, he conveyed the same meaning.[29]

To a field growing quickly and enjoying increased government funding and public support, these words were threatening. Verner's solution was, of course, research-based university education for practitioners. Research, to Verner, formed the basis of scientific inquiry and

[25] Verner Fonds, Box 13-1, 10 March 1960, Speech; [18 March 1960], Program, The North Central Education Conference.

[26] Verner Fonds, Box 1-6, 6 April 1961, Bill [Hallenbeck] to Verner.

[27] Verner Fonds, Box 1-6, 29 March 1961. Verner must have appealed to a considerable cross-section of the population. He spoke to seniors at the Jewish Community Centre in 1962. Later in that year, the Vancouver Section of the National Council of Jewish Women offered a $100.00 bursary in adult education! Verner Fonds, Box 13-1, 8 November 1962. Senate Minutes, 14 February 1962.

[28] Verner Fonds, Box 4-4, Academic Diary; Verner Fonds, Box 13-1, Lecture notes, "Speech for B.C . Adult Education Council, 23 November 1959."

[29] CVMRR, 11th and 12th Conference of the B. C. Adult Education Council, 23 November 1959 and 6 May 1960, Minutes.

preceded the effective management of all education.[30] Universities had claimed a prominent role in defining the field particularly with Carnegie Corporation funds directed to Columbia University for adult education research.[31] Verner, in that tradition and consistent with CAAE leaders like Kidd, promoted universities as the proper home of the "discipline" of adult education, and the natural place to train adult educators.

As Verner left UBC following his year as Visiting Professor, Scarfe bade him a friendly farewell, sending letters of thanks to both Verner and Dean M. L. Stone of Florida State University.[32] But Scarfe was not saying good-bye; he had already invited Verner to "rejoin" UBC in some capacity, and Verner was "looking forward to a long, pleasant, and fruitful association with [Scarfe] and the University of British Columbia."[33] Verner had evidently made a favourable impression on many of the people with whom he fraternized during that first year, and was among the first of many American academics hired at UBC during the 1960s. Less than a year later, Verner received a formal offer of a tenured position at UBC.

Friesen, Scarfe, and Thomas had decided that Verner was the most suitable candidate to be the new professor of adult education.[34] Verner's political skill to build a new department was probably a central reason, demonstrated by his prior success at Florida State University and his vigourous promotions in British Columbia. The prospect of working at UBC appealed to Verner, but he was careful to know the terms of his appointment, having just become a full Professor at Florida State.[35] In March, 1961, Friesen conveyed an offer of Associate Professor,

[30] Verner Fonds, Box 1-13, Transcript, "Speech for B. C. Adult Education Council, 23 November 1959;" Box 1-6, Transcript, "Self Images of Education," 16 May 1960; Coolie Verner and Allan Booth, Adult Education (New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, 1964), 109.
[31] Kett, The Pursuit of Knowledge, 401-2.
[32] Verner Fonds, Box 1-6, 4 March 1960; 19 April, 1960.
[33] Verner Fonds, Box 1-6, 29 March 1960, Verner to Scarfe.
[34] Verner Fonds, Box 1-6, 27 February 1961, Friesen to Verner.
[35] Verner Fonds, Box 1-6, 7 March 1961; Verner Fonds, Box 1-5, 17 June 1960.

at $11,000 per annum; Verner immediately accepted.[36] To make the appointment acceptable to the university, Scarfe promptly requested and received a brief biography and three glowing references.[37] Less than a month after the initial offer, Scarfe was able to sweeten the deal and offer Verner a full Professorship at $12,000 per annum. Doctorates were still rare in many faculties at UBC, especially in the Faculty of Education, and such a title and salary compared favourably with those of colleagues sharing Verner's qualifications. Scarfe also held the view that Faculty of Education salaries should be generous and competitive with other institutions.[38] Verner was appointed, without term, as Professor, starting 1 July 1961.[39] Everything, Friesen wrote, was "working according to plan."[40]

Verner was also a valuable new recruit to the Faculty of Agriculture. The Department of Agricultural Economics began in 1960 to request a new appointment, to meet teaching demand and to expand the department's program.[41] Although Verner was not quite the econometrician requested, he was cross-appointed to the Department of Agricultural Economics, thus satisfying some of the demand for a new appointment but without hiring another faculty member.[42]

Verner's network had paid off, although, of course, the outcome might have been the same without the network. At any rate, Verner became UBC's first Professor of Adult Education in 1961, with tenure, cross-appointed to the Department of Agricultural Economics. Until the mid 1970s, Verner played a central role in establishing the adult education curriculum, attracting

---

[36] Verner Fonds, Box 1-6, 16 March 1961, Friesen to Verner; 23 March 1961, Resignation, Verner to Blackwell.

[37] Verner Fonds, Box 1-6, 27 March 1961.

[38] Verner Fonds, Box 1-6, 13 April 1961, Scarfe to Verner; Calam, Conflict and Compromise, 177; Financial Statements (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1963-64).

[39] BoG Minutes, 1 May 1961.

[40] Verner Fonds, Box 1-6, 19 April 1961, Friesen to Verner.

[41] Faculty of Agricultural Sciences Fonds, Box 3-3, 16 September 1960, Anderson to Eagles; Box 10, Annual Reports, 1959-60; Box 3-4, 25 September 1961, Anderson to Eagles; Box 3-6, 30 September 1963, Eagles to MacDonald.

[42] Verner Fonds, Box 6-5, 20 November 1961, Hawthorn to Anderson.

students and faculty, publishing original research, and obtaining research grants. Much of his

success in accomplishing these tasks can be attributed to his network of influential acquaintances.

Verner's friendships in the Faculty of Education continued for many years, and he moved

on to participate in the Faculty's Graduate Division Working Committee, an influential role.

Committee members were appointed by the Dean, and effectively set policy for the Division.[43]

Graduate degrees in Education were awarded through the Faculty of Graduate Studies (FoGS), a

relatively new body of growing importance. Small when established in 1949, FoGS had grown as

graduate students seeking advanced credentials increasingly brought financial and status rewards

to the university. With MacKenzie's support, graduate studies across UBC were growing by the

late 1950s.[44] Verner, as an advocate of graduate studies and original research, was part of this

growth.

Verner was by 1966 Associate Director of Graduate Studies for the Faculty of Education,

not unusual given the Division's small size and the smaller cadre of active researchers in the

Faculty. He fraternized with the Directors of Divisions in the Faculty, who wielded considerable

political power under Scarfe. Whereas Henry Johnson and Ranton McIntosh predated Scarfe at

UBC and had secure positions before the Dean's arrival, Harry Stein, Director of the Graduate

Division in the mid-1960s, was another of Scarfe's Manitoba recruits.[45] Stein had been

appointed by the Dean, and through his administrative roles Verner joined Scarfe's "inner

[43] Faculty of Education Fonds, Graduate Board/Graduate Division/Working Committee/Executive Committee Binder, [October 1971] Graduate Board Policy: excerpts from Board Minutes for Past Four Years.
[44] Gordon Shrum, Gordon Shrum: An Autobiography (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 68-69.
[45] See, for example, Johnson Fonds, Box 2-10, 17 April 1956, Johnson to Scarfe. Many of the organizational structures (including who held influential roles), were established before Scarfe ever arrived at UBC. When Scarfe was hired to UBC, he left his position as Dean of Education at the University of Manitoba and brought with him virtually all of his academic staff, including Stein.

circle."[46] In January 1969, the Working Committee showed its support for Verner by petitioning the Dean's office on behalf of the adult education department.[47]

Verner's administrative standing helped him to create an adult education curriculum to fit his view of the field. Verner had changed the content of several graduate courses during his year as Visiting Professor, which remained intact after 1961. (Table 2) In addition to the already existing course in agricultural extension (Agriculture 401), Verner also introduced an undergraduate and a graduate course in agricultural economics in 1961 and 1964 respectively. He then used the same courses for three degrees: two in education (Master of Arts and Master of Education) and one in agriculture (Masters of Science in Agriculture [Extension]). Adult education students often found themselves in the agriculture classes to complete program requirements.[48]

---

[46] Faculty of Education Fonds, Graduate Board/Graduate Division/Working Committee/Executive Committee Binder, [December 1965], "The Composition, Structure, and Administration of the Graduate Division of the Faculty of Education."

[47] Faculty of Education Fonds, Graduate Board/Graduate Division/Working Committee/Executive Committee Binder, 15 and 22 January 1969.

[48] Personal Collection, Curriculum Folder 2, Verner to Winters et al, 3 January 1968; Verner Fonds, Box 7-1, Class lists. The Master of Arts, program was the basic program. The Master of Education was a non-residence M. A., although it could be completed without thesis. Master of Science in Agriculture had an emphasis on agricultural extension.

Table 2

Adult Education and Affiliated Courses, 1957-1985

Course Name	Course Number	Dates
Introduction to Adult Education	Education 412	1957-1985
The Philosophy of Adult Education	Education 514	1957-1959
Historical and Comparative Foundations	Education 515	1957-1959
Communications and Mass Media	Education 516	1957-1983
Psychology of Adult Learning	Education 518	1957-1959
Advanced Seminar in Adult Education	Education 583	1957-1983
Foundations of Adult Education	Education 514	1959-1983
Methods of Adult Education	Education 518	1959-1983
Review of Research*	Education 508	1957-->
Problems in Education*	Education 580	1957-->
Doctoral Seminar*	Education 601	1966-->
Agriculture Extension Methods	Agriculture/Ag. Ec. 401	1957-1983†
Organization of Rural Society	Agric. Economics 403	1961-1981†
Extension Planning and Evaluation	Agric. Ec. 504	1964-1981
Org. of Adult Basic Ed. Programs	Adult Education 313	1984-->
Adult Correctional Education	Adult Education 314	1984-->
Instructional Techniques for Adults	Adult Education 327	1981-->
Institutions of Adult Education	Adult Education 328	1981-->
Planning Short Courses, Workshops...	Adult Education 329	1981-->
Community Practice of Adult Education	Adult Education 330	1981-->
Foundations of Adult Education	Adult Education 500	1984-->
Adult Education and Society	Adult Education 501	1984-->
History of Canadian Adult Education	Adult Education 502	1984-->
Intern'l Dimension of Adult Education	Adult Education 503	1984-->
M. A. Seminar	Adult Education 508	1984-->
Adult Ed. Program Planning Theory	Adult Education 514	1984-->
Adult Ed. Program Planning Practice	Adult Education 515	1984-->
Administration of Adult Ed. Agencies	Adult Education 516	1984-->
Theory and Research on Adult Learning	Adult Education 518	1984-->
Theory / Research on Adult Instruction	Adult Education 519	1984-->
Educational Gerontology	Adult Education 525	1984-->
Advanced Seminar in Adult Education	Adult Education 583	1984-->

* course designations used across the Faculty
† continued independently in the Faculty of Agricultural Sciences
Source: UBC Calendars, 1957-1985

In 1966, Verner received approval to offer both the non-degree diploma and doctorate in adult education. The diploma required special consideration since it was administered through the Extension Department and used the same courses as the magistral programs, plus a project or internship arranged by Extension. Because it admitted people who may not have held a degree, it required the supervision of a special Senate committee for fear that poorly qualified students

43

would lower academic standards. However, the committee was initially comprised of such adult education supporters as Dean Scarfe, Dean Eagles, John Friesen, and Verner himself.[49] The Doctor of Education degree had been recommended by the Faculty of Graduate Studies in 1961, before Verner arrived full-time at UBC, and by 1966 such departments as Educational Psychology, Educational Administration, and Educational Foundations were vying for the privilege of offering a doctoral program. That a doctorate was offered in adult education, using the same core courses as the other programs, is a testimony to Verner's influence.[50] Verner increased the number of programs built on the same curriculum from three to five.

Verner impressed other university administrators. In 1967, John Goodlad, Dean of the Graduate School of Education at the University of California (Los Angeles), wrote a review of the Faculty of Education for Dean Cowan of the UBC Faculty of Graduate Studies. Goodlad noted only "little outposts of graduate emphasis" in the Faculty, but praised the adult education personnel as competent empirical researchers who may one day be able to offer a Ph.D. Goodlad further praised the Graduate Working Committee as "first rate," bolstering Verner's status with Cowan.[51] Verner and Cowan (along with Friesen) had met earlier on other UBC committees, suggesting the Dean supported adult education in some respect.[52]

Although Verner had a secure and influential academic position in the Faculty of Education, he was willing to maintain old ties with the UBC Department of Extension. Verner joined the "Council of University Extension and Adult Education" as a consultant, and he participated in

---

[49] Senate Minutes, 4 November 1965, 20 December 1965.

[50] Senate Minutes, 8 February 1961. The doctorate also required advanced research courses, a longer residency, and a dissertation.

[51] Faculty of Education Fonds, Full Staff Meetings/Faculty Forum 1962-1971 Binder, 4 December 1967, Goodlad to Cowan. The Canadian Who's Who XI, 1967-1969 (Toronto: Who's Who Canadian Publications, 1969). Goodlad was of North Vancouver origins, had attended British Columbia Normal School, and worked as a principal in Surrey, British Columbia, before graduate work at The University of Chicago led to prominent roles in American education. Such a background would make his views important at UBC.

[52] Verner Fonds, Box 7-8, Minutes, 15 October 1965, UBC Committee on Urbanism; Box 13-2, 24 November 1966, Proceedings, Canada Land Inventory Conference Joint Meeting of Committees.

Extension programs throughout the 1960s.[53] Part of Verner's motivation may have been

personal, as Friesen wanted to retain contact between Extension and the adult education program,

and Friesen had helped with Verner's appointment.[54] The personal contacts with Extension grew

during the 1960s when two early adult education graduates—Knute Buttedahl, M. A. 1963, and

Jindra Kulich, M. A. 1966—were employed in the Extension department. Verner had supervised

Buttedahl's magistral thesis, and supervised Kulich's entire program. Kulich later became the

Director of the Centre for Continuing Education, and maintained important formal and collegial

relations with the academics until the mid 1980s.

Another motive for cooperation with Extension was likely self-interest, for both Extension

and Verner's department. The Extension Department was useful in promoting Verner's programs

and recruiting students, while Extension was seeking opportunities to provide various

professional diplomas and certificates. Once favoured by President MacKenzie, Extension faced

a dwindling budget and a new mandate for cost-recovery professional education under

MacKenzie's successor John Macdonald.[55] Extension launched several new diploma programs in

the mid-1960s, including the Diploma in Adult Education that provided a formal association

between the two units from 1966 to 1985.

Verner maintained other beneficial connections throughout UBC in the 1960s and 1970s to

recruit students to his new program. Regardless of Verner's status in the "old boys network," the

success of the department depended on students. In particular, hiring new faculty members

would be difficult without student demand. Fortunately for Verner, several developments in

British Columbia affected UBC in general and adult education in particular. An expanding local

---

[53] Extension Fonds, Box 3-26, Annual Reports 1961-62, 1962-63, 1963-64; Centre for Continuing Education Fonds, Box 5-22, various notes on programs.

[54] Verner Fonds, 6 April 1961, Bill [Hallenbeck] to Verner.

[55] Selman, A Decade in Transition, passim.

economy encouraged demand for highly skilled workers of all ages in many industries, leading to increased demand for competent adult educators.

Demand grew for agricultural extension workers and agricultural economists in government Ministries of Agriculture. Verner diverted students with those career interests into his courses by making the Master of Science in Agriculture (Extension) program essentially the same as the adult education program.[56] Agriculture 401 (Extension Methods) pre-dated Verner, but he created Agricultural Economics 403 (Organization of Rural Society) and 504 (Extension Planning and Evaluation) in 1961 and 1964 respectively, attracting agriculture students but also serving the interests of the adult education department.[57] The Faculty of Education required that three to six units (one or two full courses) of a graduate degree be taken in another Faculty; three to six units of agriculture fulfilled that requirement yet were effectively adult education courses.[58] Students in the adult education department took these courses, and others were drawn to the agricultural extension aspect of adult education from across British Columbia, the United States, the West Indies (where Roby Kidd had once been active) and later Australia, following Verner's 1971 tour of the antipodes.[59]

The link with health education was a continuing boon to the adult education department. As public health-service provision grew in Canada and British Columbia, UBC assumed more and more responsibility for preparing health professionals. Verner maintained contact with those interested in health provision careers. For example, he instructed "Nursing 202" (Principles of Teaching) in 1967 and 1968, and was a Lecturer in the School of Nursing.[60] He provided a

---

[56] CVMRR, Box 1 (unfiled), 3 January 1968, Verner to Scarfe.

[57] Senate Minutes, 13 December 1961, 16 December 1964.

[58] Faculty of Education Fonds, Graduate Board/Graduate Division Working Committee/Executive Committee Binder, [December 1965] "The Composition, Structure, and Administration of the Graduate Division of the Faculty of Education."

[59] Verner Fonds, Box 7-4, 8 August 1973, Henderson to Faculty of Graduate Studies; 28 August 1973, Drew to Verner; Box 13-10, [August 1971], notes on travel arrangements to Australia and New Zealand. See also theses by foreign students Patrick Alleyne and Isaac Akinbode.

[60] Verner Fonds, Box 4-4, 26 March 1963, Academic Diary 1962-63; UBC Calendar, 1968-69.

keynote address to the Canadian Public Health Association in 1969, maintaining an old alliance, and instructed various workshops for health-care providers.[61]

Nurses in particular were attracted to the adult education department; several adult education students in the 1960s and 1970s were themselves faculty members in the School of Nursing seeking advanced credentials when few options for nurses or women were available.[62] The School had few senior professorial appointments (Table 3); in fact, by 1981 only two professors held doctorates, and the prospects for advanced education in the School were limited. (Faculty of Law members also had few doctorates, but this did not prevent advancement through professorial ranks.) The Faculty of Medicine's Department of Continuing Medical Education paid scant attention to nurses, and none to their formal (degree) credentials.[63] Although a Master's Degree in Nursing was approved in 1966, the School remained academically weak and unable to provide doctorates or instruction in all aspects of nursing practice, and four of Verner's adult education courses became electives in the graduate nursing program.[64]

In 1971, Verner and colleagues in the Division of Continuing Education in the Health Sciences secured a large grant from the Kellogg Foundation for nurses to study adult education at UBC. The Foundation had provided funds for health and education since the late 1930s, particularly in rural areas, and by the 1950s also supported agriculture and continuing adult education. During the 1960s, Kellogg grants generally supported health care, rural development, and education, with some twenty per cent of its grants awarded outside the United States.[65]

---

[61] Verner Fonds, Box 7-10, 30 July 1969.

[62] Margaret Neylan was a nursing instructor who earned a Masters of Arts (Adult Education) in 1966 and became Director of the Department of Continuing Nursing Education, while Beverly Du Gas was the second (and the first woman) to earn a doctorate in 1969. Similarly, Helen Niskala was a nursing instructor at UBC who eventually earned a doctorate in adult education.

[63] Donald H. Williams, Fourth Annual Report of the Department of Continuing Medical Education (Vancouver: Department of Continuing Medical Education, 1964).

[64] School of Nursing Papers, Box 2-5, November 1965, Progress Report on Master's Degree Programs. Senate Minutes, 25 May 1966.

[65] Waldemar A. Nielsen, "Danforth and Kellogg: Fine But Flawed," chap. in The Big Foundations (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), 99-118.

Verner had received Kellogg funding in the 1950s as a member of the Commission of Professors of Adult Education, and in 1968 the Foundation provided a grant to the CAAE for research into community colleges.[66] Kellogg had previously provided UBC with generous grants for continuing medical education.[67] The UBC grant fit a long-standing pattern of association between Kellogg, health, and adult education, and reinforced the relationship between the UBC School of Nursing and the Department of Adult Education.[68] The grant was used to develop programs to prepare nursing educators at a time when continuing nursing education was on the rise.[69] The "Kellogg programs" were built on the same curriculum as the other adult education programs, except for special sections of the advanced seminar and health-care electives arranged by The Division of Continuing Education in the Health Sciences. A total of fifty-eight students enrolled in adult education programs directly under the Kellogg program.[70]

Table 3
Professorial Appointments in Selected Administrative Units 1959-1977
Total (Full-Associate-Assistant Professor)

	1959-60	1963-64	1968-69	1972-73	1976-77
Anthro/Soci	5 (1-3-1)	8 (2-4-2)	26 5-6-15)	37 (9-11-17)	38 (11-10-17)
Law	7	10 (4-2-4)	22 (3-12-7)	31 (13-5-13)	38 (15-13-10)
Social Work	8	12 (3-3-6)	17 (3-7-7)	23 (4-4-15)	24 (6-7-11)
Nursing	5	7 (1-2-4)	9 (0-2-7)	24 (2-8-14)	49 (3-6-40)
Commerce	29	26 (5-10-11)	36 (11-15-9)	70 (19-18-33)	94 (21-31-42)
Com.& Reg. Planning	2 (0-1-1)	2 (1-1-0)	4 (1-2-1)	11 (4-3-4)	12 (4-3-5)
Education	n/a	82 (15-29-38)	137 (26-41-70)	144 (40-49-85)	216 (47-65-104)

Source: UBC Calendars
Note: Includes visiting appointments. School of Nursing never had more than one regular faculty member with a doctorate; Social Work degrees not FoGS degrees; Comm/Reg planning offered M.A./M.Sc. degrees in 1968, also Ph.D. by 1970; Nursing and Social work never offered doctorates.

[66] A Report on the Ann Arbor Conference of the Professors of Adult Education (Commission of Professors of Adult Education of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A, 1957); Ralph Michener, "Education" in Canadian Annual Review for 1968, ed. John Saywell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969). 368.

[67] BoG Minutes, 25 July 1960.

[68] Robert Gobert, Final Report to the W. K. Kellogg Foundation (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1977).

[69] Beverly DuGas, "An Analysis of Certain Factors in the Diffusion of Innovations in Nursing Practice in the Public General Hospitals of the Province of British Columbia" (unpublished Ed.D thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1969), 3.

[70] Gobert, Final Report; PC, Curriculum folder 1, Brochure "Programmes to Prepare Members of the Health Professions As Specialists in Continuing Education."

One final development at UBC that sent students to Verner's courses was the program in Community and Regional Planning. Offered by the Faculty of Graduate Studies and supported by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation in Ottawa, the program became a School within about ten years, and by 1970 offered a Ph.D. The program was advised by several levels of government at a time of rapid urbanization in British Columbia and across Canada.[71] Agricultural Economics 403, Verner's course on rural sociology, was as a recommended Community and Regional Planning elective after 1966.

Activity in agriculture, nursing, and community planning at UBC helped provide student demand for Verner's courses, but the growth of various forms of adult education provision throughout the province also contributed. Much of the growth was independent of Verner, who continued to convince prospective employers and students of the value of his programs.

During Verner's first year as a UBC professor, he spoke to the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, Vancouver School Board, the armed forces, the Vancouver Public Library, and the Young Men's Christian Association.[72] He spoke to the Lower Mainland School Trustees Association about the importance of properly trained teachers for adults and the value of well-informed administrators of adult education.[73]

School boards across the province were among the largest providers of adult education at the time and the most likely to employ adult education graduates.[74] Particularly in the Vancouver School Board, those responsible for adult programs were using the label "adult education." Verner knew that administrators were becoming more interested in advanced credentials, as suggested by Bert Wales, the Director of Adult Education for Vancouver School

---

[71] Patricia Roy, Vancouver: An Illustrated History (James Lorimer & Company, 1980), 140; Calendar, The University of British Columbia, 1960-1970.

[72] Verner Fonds, Box 4-4, Academic Diary 1961-62; Verner Fonds, Box 5-3, newspaper clippings.

[73] Verner Fonds, Box 13-1, Speech to Lower Mainland School Trustees Association conference, 28-30 September [1961].

[74] Selman, The Invisible Giant, 11.

Board, who held a Doctorate in Adult Education.[75] Wales was also an influential member of the

CAAE and its local affiliates, and he advocated university preparation of adult education

administrators and teachers. He claimed that such preparation had already improved the local

leadership, and that the UBC program probably helped.[76] Whether he was justifying his own

position in a new occupational hierarchy or truly believed in the merit of expertise (or both), his

public support for Verner's program was good advertising.

Verner also sought recognition from other local adult education leaders. He addressed the

British Columbia Adult Education Council and was present when it became the British Columbia

section of the CAAE in 1961. Several of Verner's early magistral students were among the

leaders of that organization and its subsequent incarnations.[77] The British Columbia section of

the CAAE became the Association for Continuing Education in 1973, and then, two years later,

the Pacific Association for Continuing Education. These associations occasionally carried in their

newsletters advertisements for the UBC adult education programs, editorials advocating jobs for

properly-trained personnel, notes about UBC adult education affairs, events co-sponsored by

the UBC Department of Adult Education (or "Research Centre"), and articles by UBC

students.[78] By 1975, interest in adult education had spread to the British Columbia School

Trustees Association which asked to be kept informed of continuing education events.[79]

---

[75] Verner Fonds, Box 1-6, 6 April 1961, Bill [Hallenbeck] to Verner; CVMRR "Adult Education in British Columbia" 13th Conference on Adult Education in British Columbia, 28 November 1960. The British Columbia Teachers Federation briefly offered limited funding to assist people in taking the Master of Arts degree in adult education.

[76] Dennison Fonds, Box 1-2, [1964] "The Development of Adult Education in British Columbia" by Bert Wales.

[77] Gordon Selman, Towards Cooperation: The Development of a Provincial Voice for Adult Education in British Columbia, Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 3 (Vancouver: Department of University Extension, The University of British Columbia, 1969). Jindra Kulich, Knute Buttedahl, Alf Glenesk, and Dean Goard were early students of Verner who held prominent roles in local educational institutions and advocacy groups.

[78] Frank Dolman, "BTSD--The Neglected Child" ACE Newsletter 2, 3 (1973), 3-4. See also ACE and PACE Newsletters 2, no. 3 (1973), 33-34; 2, no. 4 (1973), 4; 2, no. 5 (1973), 14; 3, no. 2 (1974), 14; 4, no. 2 (1975), 4, 19; 4, no. 4 (1975), 15.

[79] PC, Department Minutes 1974-1977 folder, 18 September 1975, Minutes.

As Verner courted the school boards and other established institutions, a new public, post-secondary education system in British Columbia was being created. The federal government, infused with Cold War-encouraged competition for well-trained technical workers, passed the Technical Vocational Training Assistance Act in 1960 and released "previously undreamed of amounts of money."[80] The Occupational Training Act of 1967 further encouraged adult vocational education. In addition, the provincial government had accepted UBC President Macdonald's plan for higher education in the province that called for new vocational schools, colleges, and junior universities.[81]

These new institutions needed staff. Vocational schools had long functioned in the province, but held less promise for university educated personnel since instructors often came from the trades they would teach. UBC did not even accept the Ministry of Education's suggestion to provide training for vocational teachers.[82] Colleges, however, were seen by adult education proponents as institutions to provide adult education and employ specially prepared educators, although British Columbian colleges were initially oriented to youth rather than to adult students.[83] However in 1971, with the encouragement of the government of the day, British Columbia colleges merged with the vocational schools to create "community colleges." Many school boards relinquished their responsibilities for adult education services to the community colleges, thus making colleges appear as attractive employers of adult education graduates.[84]

---

[80] Gordon Selman, The Invisible Giant, 19.

[81] John Macdonald, Higher Education in British Columbia and a Plan for the Future (Vancouver: UBC, 1962); John Dennison, "The Community College in Comparative and Historical Perspective: The Development of the College Concept in British Columbia" The Canadian Journal of Higher Education 9, no. 3 (1979): 29-40; Shrum, Shrum, 97.

[82] Verner Fonds, Box 8-13, 9 March 1962, White to Verner. The Ministry eventually ran its own program, initially through UBC Extension.

[83] John B. MacDonald, Higher Education in British Columbia and a Plan for the Future (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1962), 51; Alan Thomas, "The New Institutions: From post-secondary to tertiary education," Convergence 2, no. 3 (1969): 48-56. College Standards (Vancouver: The Academic Board for Higher Education in British Columbia, 1966), 19.

[84] Selman, The Invisible Giant, 29.

Verner and others promoted adult education in and for those working in colleges and institutes. Two of Verner's early students, Alf Glenesk (M. Ed. 1964) and Dean Goard (M. A. 1968), became prominent administrators at Vancouver Community College and the British Columbia Institute of Technology respectively. When colleges began providing adult education programs, Verner wrote to advise those as far away as Saskatchewan that community colleges should be staffed by adult education graduates.[85] Many adult education graduates of the 1960s and early 1970s began working in colleges.[86]

The rise of British Columbia's various public institutions sparked activity in other corners of the Faculty of Education. Faculty administrators soon noted the possible and actual increase in interest in studying colleges—at least two adult education graduates of the 1960s later applied for doctoral studies in higher education (and two more in the 1980s)—and suggested merging the higher education department with the adult education department.[87] Those in the Departments of Higher Education and even Educational Administration studied topics that could have fallen under adult education auspices, including colleges, community and health services, and organizational effectiveness in non-formal educational settings.[88] The growth of post-secondary institutions in the province created demand for credentials from various departments in the Faculty of Education.

Adult education programs and courses became more popular through the 1960s as Verner responded to and encouraged demand. Student enrollment in the adult education program

---

[85] Verner Fonds, Box 7-10, 20 October 1972, Verner to MacMurchy.

[86] Megan Stuart-Stubbs, "Survey of the Graduates in Adult Education (1960-1988) at the University of British Columbia (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1990), 36.

[87] Faculty of Education Fonds, Deans and Directors Meeting Minutes 1973-1978, 13 January 1975; Graduate Board/Graduate Division Working Committee/Executive Committee Binder 1965-1968, 30 June 1966, 20 March 1969.

[88] The UBC Faculty of Education Dean's Annual Report to the President and Board of Governors, June 1973, 84-86, 191. Others, such as English Professor F. E. Stockholder and History Professor S. Straker, also proposed adult education projects such as a downtown college for working adults. FoGS Deans Office, Box 4-7, 25 February 1974, Minutes.

climbed quickly from the late 1960s to create one of the largest graduate departments in the Faculty of Education, boosting the "full-time equivalent" (FTE) calculations necessary for budget and staff allocations.[89] (Table 4) The adult education department's policy of catering to a mature clientele by providing courses late in the afternoon (after work), correspondence courses, and flexible admissions criteria also helped attract students, although M. A. degrees still required a year's residency.[90]

The adult education department also acquired a gender dimension: a majority of magistral students until 1970 were male, but from 1970 to 1985 most were female and many were in health fields.[91] The Kellogg project for predominantly female nurses accounts in part for this shift, but so too does a wider demographic change. Not until 1960 did women substantially and proportionately begin to increase their numbers in Canadian undergraduate university programs, and by the 1970s women began entering graduate programs in numbers. Women in 1970 earned more undergraduate or first professional degrees in education and arts than any other subject area, and nursing degrees were almost exclusively earned by women.[92] UBC had always accepted female students, but with considerable restrictions and largely in non-vocational arts programs. Exceptions were nursing (established 1919) and home economics (established 1943), but the pattern at UBC was similar to the national pattern.[93] The adult education department provided

---

[89] Faculty of Education Fonds, Binder "Enrollment 1956-57—1978-79," survey of graduates by department 1974-1979 by Roi Daniels, Office of Graduate Studies. Personal correspondence, John Andrews, 23 May 2000.

[90] Faculty of Education Fonds, Graduate Board/Graduate Division Working Committee/Executive Committee September 1965 to October 1978, 22 January 1969. A "questionable" admission to an Ed.D. program in adult education was pushed favourably by a departmental interview. Also 10 April 1969: Jean Buzan was admitted to the diploma program without an undergraduate degree, and continued to the masters program. PC, Boshier file, 8 March 1976, Boshier to Director of Graduate Studies: Boshier spoke on behalf of department applicants. PC, Curriculum folder 1, "Tentative Schedule of Courses 1978-79."

[91] Write On; Stuart-Stubbs, "Survey of the Graduates in Adult Education," 60.

[92] Lesley Andres Bellamy and Neil Guppy, "Opportunities and Obstacles for Women in Canadian Higher Education" in Women and Education, 2nd ed., eds. Jane Gaskell and Arlene McLaren (Calgary: Detselig Press, 1991), 163-192.

[93] Stewart, "It's Up to You".

one of the few options for women holding nursing, home economic, arts, or education degrees to pursue graduate education relevant to their vocations.

Table 4

Class Sizes

Year	Adult Education							Agri. 401*	Agri. Economics	
	412	508	514	516	518	583	601		403	504
61-62	31	—	6	2	2	1	—	1	—	—
62-63	16	—	—	4	9	8	—	19	12	—
63-64	92	—	14	—	—	3	—	—	(22)	—
64-65	26	—	—	—	32	8	—	40	22	—
65-66	67/49	—	18	—	—	4	—	44	23	2
66-67	43	—	14	15	24	10	—	43	34	—
67-68	59	—	22	19	22	8	—	42	39	3
68-69	70	—	18	21	18	2	—	50	22	—
69-70	84	6	20	26	36	14	—	28	34	—
70-71	108	20	30	30	34	12	—	18	21	9
71-72	76	n/a	24	21	27	14	14	35	16	18
72-73	70	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10
73-74	65	10	27	28	34	25	10	n/o?	6	16
74-75	84	4	27	21	36	36	10	n/o?	6	15
75-76	104	18	20	12	43	31	14	18	—	18
76-77	106	38	30	19	40	16	12	9	6	24
77-78	142	9	33	10	15	20	2	15	4	26

Note: sources tend to disagree on exact numbers, and sometimes differ considerably.
* The numbers in this column, taken from department internal records, are considerably higher than those in the Faculty of Education collection.
Sources: Class lists, Verner Collection, Box 7-1.
      Pioneering a Profession, 24, 26.
      Faculty of Education Collection, Registration by Course Class Size/Course Responsibility Box, Enrollment by Courses 1957-1982.
      Annual Reports, Department of Adult Education 1967-72
      Personal collection, Curriculum Folder 1, Department of Adult Education Mark Distributions 1975-76, 1976-77; Department of Adult Education Winter Session Course Enrollment 1973-74 Through 1977-78.

Women may have regarded the adult education department simply as an opportunity for graduate study, but their enrollment helped bolster the image of the department as catering to high demand. However, while magistral students were predominantly female, doctoral students

54

were not. Only about one-third of the doctoral graduates before 1985 were women.[94] If we regard doctoral students as the aspiring (or encouraged) leadership of the field of adult education or as future professors of adult education, it is clear that the UBC program was attracting and supporting males in that role.

Increased student numbers allowed the department to hire more faculty members. (Table 5) Four assistant professors were hired between 1965 and 1969. Three were Americans, and all were men. Russell Whaley came in 1965 but stayed only one year. He held a Masters of Public Health from the University of Michigan and a Ph.D. from Wisconsin, and conducted quantitative, experimental research. He subsequently became Associate Professor of Health Education at Oregon State University.[95] John Niemi replaced Whaley in 1966, and stayed at UBC until 1974. Niemi had worked as an educational advisor for the United States army in Alaska. Later, while Assistant to the President of the University of Alaska, he completed a master's degree on the Athapascan Indians. In 1967, he completed a doctorate in adult education at the University of California, Los Angeles.[96] After 1968, Gary Dickinson taught and advised students for several years before becoming a faculty member. Dickinson was a British Columbian who had taught adults in public schools before meeting Verner, under whom he completed a magistral and the department's first doctoral degree.[97] Dickinson published many articles in adult education journals, helped Verner with various research projects, and stayed with the department until 1981. James Thornton was hired in 1969. He was also an American, a former school teacher, and held a doctorate in adult education from the University of Michigan where he studied under Gail Jensen, a colleague of Verner. He heard of the UBC position from Niemi, whom he had met in 1968 at an Iowa job fair.[98] Until 1974, Verner, Thornton, Dickinson,

---

[94] Write On.

[95] Russel Whaley and T. Adolph, "Attitudes Toward Adult Education" Adult Education 15, no. 3 (Spring 1967): 152-156.

[96] Personal correspondence, John Niemi, 9 June 2000.

[97] Personal correspondence, Gary Dickinson, 23 May 2000.

[98] PC, Curriculum vitae of James Thornton; Personal correspondence, James Thornton, 6 June 2000.

and Niemi were the UBC Department of Adult Education, the first three becoming close

colleagues.[99]

Table 5

Adult Education Faculty Appointments, 1957-1985

	First Appointed	Rank	Tenure	Promotion	Departure
Allan Thomas	1956	Instructor II	-	1959†	1961
Coolie Verner	1961	Professor	1961	n/a	1977
Russell Whaley	1965	Ass't. Prof.	-	-	1966
John Niemi	1966	Ass't. Prof.	1969	1971	1974
James Thornton	1969	Ass't. Prof.	1974	1990	1991
Gary Dickinson	1969	p/t Assistant	1980	1971, 1977*	1981
Gordon Selman	1974	Assoc. Prof.	1974	-	1992
Roger Boshier	1974	Ass't. Prof.	1978	1978, 1982	n/a
John Collins	1976	Ass't. Prof.	-	-	1979
Dale Rusnell	1975	Ass't. Prof.	-	-	1981
Daniel Pratt	1976	Ass't. Prof.	1976	1992/1998	n/a
William Griffith	1977	Professor	1977	n/a	1996
Peter Cookson	1979	Ass't. Prof.	-	-	1984
Paz Buttedahl	1982	Instructor	-	1984†	1986
Tom Sork	1981	Ass't. Prof.	1986	1991, 1998	n/a
Kjell Rubenson	1982	Professor	1982	n/a	n/a

* Dickinson was promoted from Assistant to Lecturer in 1971, to Assistant Professor in 1972, and Associate Professor in 1977.
† Promotion to Assistant Professor.
Does not include Visiting appointments.
Sources: UBC Calendars; Curriculum Vitae; Personal Correspondence; BoG Minutes; Faculty of Education Collection (passim).

As a symbol of Verner's standing in the Faculty and success in establishing his programs,

the department acquired the use of the UBC President's official residence in 1969. The new

President, Walter Gage, was not using the house and space was scarce across campus, but the

move was widely interpreted as evidence of Scarfe's politicking on Verner's behalf.[100] (The

department paid homage to Scarfe upon his retirement in 1973 by dedicating to him the 1973

Annual Report, the celebratory retrospective Pioneering a Profession.) The department enjoyed

[99] Verner Fonds, Box 13-10, [August 1971], list of gifts; 6 November 1972, Verner to African Curios Inn. While travelling, Verner sent gifts to personal friends who included Thornton.

[100] Personal correspondence, John Dennison, 23 May 2000. Gordon Selman, Felt Along the Heart: A Life in Adult Education (Vancouver: Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1994), 139.

some five years at the President's residence before relocating to an old fraternity house at the edge of campus.

As student growth continued, a second "wave" of faculty members joined the department. (Table 5) In 1974, Gordon Selman left his position as Director of Extension to join the adult education department, bringing with him a healthy salary, tenure, and standing as Associate Professor.[101] Selman was born and raised in Vancouver, and held a master's degree in history from UBC. Although lacking a doctorate, Selman had extensive ties with UBC administration and considerable local and international respect as an educational administrator.[102]

Also in 1974, Roger Boshier emigrated from New Zealand to join the department as a "research methodologist" specializing in quantitative, hypothetico-deductive, statistical analysis. A graduate of Victoria University of Wellington, Boshier had written his doctoral thesis on the psychology of adult education participants and by 1970 had a reputation as a promising young scholar. Boshier eventually became a tenured full-professor at UBC and an energetic promoter of adult education.[103] Dale Rusnell, an Albertan who had been a school teacher and industrial trainer before graduating from the UBC adult education program, joined the department the following year as an Assistant Professor and stayed six years.[104] John Collins, a graduate of the University of Utah, joined the adult education department in 1976. He had been employed at UBC since 1969 in the Department of Academic Planning, but transferred when that department was reconfigured to "budget analysis and student forecasting." He maintained a cross-

---

[101] Selman's salary was comparable to full professors, and slightly higher than Verner's. However, it dropped about $2,000.00 with the transfer. Financial Records (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1974-75, 1975-76.)

[102] Verner Fonds, Box 7-9, 17 August 1974, [Leirman] to Verner.

[103] Faculty of Education Fonds, Deans and Directors Binder vol. 1, 30 April 1974; PC, Boshier Folder, 21 August 1970, Tough to Boshier; Verner Fonds, Box 13-10, 29 April 1971, Dakin to Verner; The Vancouver Province 10 February 1977, 23. As the son of a manager of a mapping business, Boshier also had cartography in common with Verner. "Dr. Roger Boshier wins major research award," Hawke's Bay Herald-Tribune (New Zealand), 19 November 1976, p. 2.

[104] Personal correspondence, Dale Rusnell, 24 May 2000.

appointment in the Department of Psychology. Collins had earlier worked with Verner—with whom he became quite collegial—at workshops and with graduate students in the adult education department. Faculty administrators, however, regarded Collins' appointment as temporary.[105] Daniel Pratt also transferred (with tenure) from the Faculty of Education's Department of Communications, Media and Technology in 1976, a time when the Adult Education Department was anxious for new personnel.[106] Pratt, an American whose doctorate from the University of Washington examined the psychological aspects of communications media, developed an interest in adult teaching and learning.[107]

During the early to mid-1970s, department members energetically promoted themselves among and to various organizations and people in Vancouver, British Columbia, and abroad. They participated in conferences and workshops with personnel from the UBC Department of Extension, local chapters of the CAAE and Canadian Vocational Association, British Columbia Association of Adult Education Directors, and provincial colleges and institutes. Some of these people, like William (Bill) Day, later principal of Douglas College, were themselves climbing the career-hierarchies of the new post-secondary institutions.[108] UBC Department members were also active in the Northwest Adult Education Association, a group that attracted academics and practitioners from Canada and the United States. Internationally, Verner, Niemi, Dickinson, and later Boshier had a strong presence in the American Association for Adult Education (or later incarnations) as researchers, consulting editors, or members of the Association's Commission of Professors. Verner provided some consulting work for foreign governments, and Boshier promoted adult education and the UBC program among former colleagues in New Zealand.

---

[105] Personal correspondence, John Collins, 8 June 2000; Verner Fonds, Box 13-1, [1970], brochure for "Mid winter Clinic 70, Vancouver and District Dental Society;" Verner Fonds, Box 13-10, [August 1971], list of gifts. While travelling, Verner sent gifts to personal friends who included Collins; Faculty of Education Fonds, Deans and Directors Binder vol. 3, 24 November 1975.

[106] Faculty of Education Fonds, Deans and Directors Binder vol. 3, 3 June 1976; Personal correspondence, Daniel Pratt, 29 May 2000.

[107] Personal correspondence, Daniel Pratt, 29 May 2000.

[108] Verner Fonds, Box 13-4, 1 April 1971, Day to NWAEA Conference Committee.

Selman was active with practitioners in Vancouver, and a wide array of committees and projects at UBC and abroad.

Verner's administrative privilege helped him to build a curriculum to his liking, and he subsequently attracted students to his programs by taking advantage of changing patterns of university attendance and new public institutions in British Columbia. High student enrollment then led to additional faculty appointments. But Verner and his colleagues wished to make adult education a respected academic discipline that might guide public policy, and they sought research contracts from governments and others. Verner was initially successful; indeed, his status in the Faculty during the 1960s owed much to research contracts from the Canadian government. However, the early contracts had limited continuing influence, and once they expired little else took their place.

Contracts for research came first to Verner came through his connections in agriculture. In 1964, he registered with the Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada as a rural sociologist and Professor in the UBC Department of Agricultural Economics.[109] The Council eventually published an article by Verner in 1966, and an entire study by Verner and student Peter Gubbels in 1967.[110]

Agricultural economics was an established research field in Canada, as well as England, the United States, and other countries.[111] In the early 1960s, with demand for agricultural economists increasing in the Canadian civil service, the UBC Department of Agricultural

---

[109] Verner Fonds, Box 7-4, Verner to Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada.

[110] Coolie Verner, "Discussion: The Social Consequences of the Modernization of Agriculture," in Rural Canada in Transition, ed. M. A. Tremblay and W. J. Anderson (Ottawa: Agricultural Economics Research Council, 1966). (219-224); Coolie Verner and Peter Gubbels, The Adoption or Rejection of Innovations by Dairy Farm Operators in the Lower Fraser Valley (Ottawa: Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada, 1967).

[111] Canadian Farm Economics 1, no. 1 (April 1966); The Journal of Agricultural Economics Research 1, no. 2 (January 1949); Agricultural Economics Society, Proceedings of a Conference (Reading: The Agricultural Economics Society, 1928). In 1940, the Canadian Department of Agriculture began publishing a specialized research journal in the field.

Economics under Professor W. J. Anderson helped launch a non-profit research organization. Supported by federal and provincial governments, farmers' organizations, co-operatives, and private businesses, the new Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada involved Anderson as the Director of Research and Geoff Andrew (former UBC Deputy President and adult education supporter) as a Director.[112]

More important than its publications, the Council provided Verner an opportunity to access federal research funding for rural economic development. In 1961, after several years of discussion in the Canadian Senate, the federal government passed the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act (ARDA). ARDA provided money, technical assistance, and support services to research low employment, poverty, and the effects of rapid technological change in rural Canada. Although Canadian agri-business posted record profits in the early 1960s, many rural areas remained in poverty. Poverty was linked to improper land-use, resource and land-use conflicts, rapid urbanization, and low education. One of ARDA's most ambitious projects began in 1963. The Canada Land Inventory (CLI) was a cooperative effort with provincial governments to survey, classify, and map human and natural resources across vast regions of Canada.[113] Verner, with biologists and economists in the Faculty of Agriculture, played a prominent role in the CLI.

British Columbia was the only province to conduct socio-economic surveys as part of the CLI. Verner directed, conducted, and co-published some thirty surveys over five years, hiring adult education students as assistants who often used CLI data in their theses. Verner's

[112] W. M. Drummond and W. J. Anderson, A Review of Agricultural Policy in Canada (Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada, 1966), frontispiece; Faculty of Agricultural Sciences Fonds, Box 3-4, 25 September 1961, Anderson to Eagles; Box 10, Opportunities for Employment and Personnel Services files; Coolie Verner and Peter Gubbels, The Adoption or Rejection of Innovations by Dairy Farm Operators in the Lower Fraser Valley (Ottawa: Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada, 1967).

[113] Drummond and Anderson, A Review of Agricultural Policy in Canada, 64; William E. Rees, The Canada Land Inventory in Perspective (Ottawa: Lands Directorate, Ministry of Fisheries and Environment: 1977), 1, 2, 6; D. W. Carr, "Agriculture," in Canadian Annual Review for 1965, ed. John Saywell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966).

background as a rural sociologist, agriculture extension researcher, and cartographer made him well suited to the project, although Dickinson later became a Research Associate and carried out much of the work. Although education was a minor theme in the government reports, rural adult education (tied to the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act) was an aspect of the project that Verner and his assistants discussed whenever possible.[114] The CLI contracts provided considerable funding to the adult education department, and were perhaps the largest externally funded projects in the Faculty at the time.[115] These contracts no doubt helped Verner to gain the status and influence that he had.

Verner sought other similar research contracts. In 1970, Verner advertised his research services to the Director of Farm Service, Farm Credit Corporation.[116] In 1972, the federal Department of Agriculture, Economics Branch sought information from Verner regarding a farm management information system, and Verner had colleagues in the federal government.[117] As late as 1977, Verner was active with the Social Science Lead Committee of the provincial Ministry of Agriculture.[118] The CLI projects, however, remained the only significant source of federal funding.

Verner and Whaley also received minor federal funding from the Special Planning Secretariat of the Privy Council for a study on disadvantaged adults.[119] Heralded by ARDA, the federal government by 1965 had begun to provide welfare programs to combat poverty and improve economic opportunity. Much of the proposed action fell in the fields of education,

[114] Verner Fonds, Box 13-2, 26 May 1964, "Educational and Training Needs for Rural People" by [Donald R. Buchanan].
[115] Personal correspondence, John Niemi, 9 June 2000. The Kellogg grants were larger, but came to the adult education department indirectly. PC, Annual Reports folder, [1977], "General Statistics About The Department of Adult Education."
[116] Verner Fonds, Box 7-4, 2 October 1970, Verner to Harrison.
[117] Verner Fonds, Box 7-4, 13 January 1972, Holtby to Verner; Box 8-9, 15 November 1971, Verner to Cooke. Cooke was with the federal Department of Economic Expansion, which published a report by Verner and Dickinson in 1971.
[118] Verner Fonds, Box 3-3, 11 April 1977.
[119] "Professors Analyze Poverty Literature," UBC Reports, Issue 12, no. 4 (September-October 1966), p. 3.

health, labour, and industry, and Verner tapped into these initiatives.[120] He spoke publicly on the role of education in alleviating poverty and sat on a national inquiry committee with venerable social democrat, Member of Parliament, and social gospeller Stanley Knowles, although the Montréal Gazette identified Verner as a sociologist rather than an adult educator.[121]

Funding for adult education research was otherwise hard to find.[122] The ARDA grants involved Verner as a rural sociologist rather than as an adult education professor. The Privy Council grant yielded a book-length review of literature on poverty (completed by John Niemi and Darrell Anderson in 1969), but it said more about demographics than adult education. In 1973, Verner and Dickinson prepared a study for the Canadian Labour Congress on union education that was more distinctively oriented to adult education. Similarly, the Kellogg grants for health educators provided funds for several reports on health education.[123]

Many social researchers in Canada during the 1960s sought increased government funding.[124] Success in this broader campaign could mean increased funding for adult education. Although adult education in the 1950s had little or no status in the eyes of national research organizations, by 1962 the non-governmental Social Science Research Council of Canada (SSRCC) had known the active membership and leadership of several leading UBC social researchers, including anthropologists Harry Hawthorn and Cyril Belshaw.

[120] John S. Morgan, "Welfare," chap. in Canadian Annual Review for 1965, ed. John Saywell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966).
[121] UBC Reports, Issue 12, no. 4 (September-October 1966). (Found in Verner Fonds, Box 5-3).
[122] Verner Fonds, Box 18-6, 24 February 1977, Verner to Scott.
[123] Darrell Anderson and John Niemi, Adult Education and the Disadvantaged Adult (Syracuse: ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education, 1969); Coolie Verner and Gary Dickinson, Education Within the Canadian Labour Congress (Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre, University of British Columbia, 1973); Coolie Verner and June Nakamoto, Continuing Education in the Health Professions (Washington: Education Resources Division, Capital Publications, 1973).
[124] Mabel Frances Timlin, The Social Sciences in Canada: two studies (Ottawa: Social Science Research Council of Canada, 1968).

Hawthorn and Belshaw were, of course, sympathetic to the sociological endeavours of Friesen and Verner. Belshaw in particular worked in the 1960s to expand the Council to make it more representative of the academic community at large, and to attract new members from western Canada where social sciences were ascendant.[125] He concurrently encouraged UBC colleagues to demand increased funding in social science disciplines, particularly for Canadian topics and doctoral studies. Several years later SSRCC also accepted interdisciplinary associations as members.[126]

Verner had another ally in the old Social Science Research Council of Canada. Even if he had no direct influence in research funding decisions, Roby Kidd, known earlier to the Council, became the organization's secretary in 1961 and played a part in the gradual acceptance of adult education as an area worthy of academic funding.[127] Kidd expanded SSRCC's network of members and funders, including government, businesses, and private foundations in Canada and abroad. At the same time, he represented adult education to other national organizations and UNESCO, the latter growing increasingly enthusiastic about adult education.[128] In 1963-64, Kidd secured a grant for the Council from the Ford Foundation, long a supporter of adult education which would know of Kidd from his CAAE years. Kidd was secretary when SSRCC contacted ARDA administrators, and just before Verner tapped into five years of research funding.[129]

Although federal funding for social sciences steadily increased during the 1960s, it tripled from 1970 to 1976, and the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRCC) was

---

[125] Fisher, The Social Sciences in Canada, 25, 29, 56, 58. See also Table 3 for an indication of the growth of UBC's Anthropology and Sociology Department.

[126] Social Science Research Council of Canada Reports, 1960-1977; Senate Minutes 24 March 1971.

[127] Fisher, The Social Sciences in Canada, 48. Kidd only spent five years in this job, leaving to work in India before becoming a Professor of Adult Education at the Ontario Institute of Studies in Education.

[128] UNESCO, Thinking Ahead: UNESCO and the challenges of today and tomorrow (Paris: Unesco, 1977), 224-229; James P. Sewell, "Regeneration? (1960-1972)," chap. in UNESCO and World Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975). Social Science Research Council of Canada/Le conseil Canadien de recherche en sciences sociales, Annual Report (1962-63), 6.

[129] SSRCC, Annual Reports (1963-64, 1964-65).

founded in 1977. An off-shoot of the Canada Council, SSHRCC was intended to encourage social and economic development as determined by federal policies.[130] In the mid-1970s, Verner was evaluating Canada Council applications as a peer reviewer and the federal government was beginning to recognize adult education through Canada Council and then SSHRCC grants.[131]

It was not until the late 1970s that adult education—and education in general—began to get government attention. This was tied to efforts by academics at UBC and across the country to "Canadianize" the social sciences and academia more generally.[132] Gordon Selman and others helped launch the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education.[133] Many Canadian "learned societies" began in the early 1980s, each asking for financial support. It was not until 1983, however, that adult education was formally recognized when the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education became a member of the Social Sciences Federation of Canada, renamed from the Social Science Research Council of Canada.[134] But despite the prospects for increased federal funding for social sciences, adult education was scarcely recognized by government granting bodies during the 1970s.[135]

---

[130] Debates of the House of Commons, Bill C-26, Government Organization (Scientific Activities) Act, 30th Parliament, 2nd Session, (22 April 1977); Dennis Healy et al, Report of the Commission on Graduate Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences (Ottawa: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 1978).

[131] Verner Fonds, Box 18-6, 8 January 1975, Verner to Mates, and 28 July 1975, Dickinson to Canada Council; 1978 Annual Directory of Doctoral Fellowship Holders (Ottawa: SSHRC, 1978); John J. Stapleton et al, Education Research: Aims, Problems and Possibilities (Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1982), 5.

[132] John Andrews and W. Todd. Rogers, eds., Canadian Research in Education: A State of the Art Review (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1982), 19; S. D. Clark, "Sociology in Canada: an historical overview," Canadian Journal of Sociology 1, no. 2 (1975): 225-234; Harry H. Hiller, "The Canadian Sociology Movement: analysis and assessment," Canadian Journal of Sociology/Cahiers canadienne de sociologie 4, no. 2 (1979): 125-150. Part of the Canadian effort was to encourage Canadian students to enroll in graduate programs at home: Faculty of Education Fonds, Chairmen of Departments 1977-1980 Binder, 11 October 1979, Minutes.

[133] PC, Minutes, 23 September 1977. Roger Boshier also encouraged efforts to "Canadianize" adult education: Roger Boshier and Bonnie Thiesfeld, Professors in Adult Education in Canada: A Directory (Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre/Consortium of Canadian Adult Education Professors), 1978; PC, Minutes, 4 October 1977.

[134] Social Science Research Council of Canada Reports, 1964-1983.

[135] Boshier received a SSHRCC grant in 1980. EDFACS Bulletin, 10 January 1980.

The provincial government became similarly unsupportive. Many in adult education had

looked to the provincial government for centralized, direct, and controlling leadership of the

field.[136] Although the Social Credit government of the 1960s was responsible for considerable

social and educational development, adult education had not been a priority.[137] Hopes ran high

in 1972 that British Columbia's first elected New Democratic Party (NDP) would provide such

leadership and recognition, but few results were forthcoming.[138] Despite a flurry of government

activity to reform and expand social services, including provincial colleges, the UBC adult

education professors had little or no influence on NDP educational policies. The NDP, like their

Social Credit predecessors, made little use of human services professionals and experts, and even

the UBC School of Social Work felt ignored.[139] Several prominent civil servants in the Ministry

of Education were active with local adult education practitioners, but they, too, had few ties with

UBC's adult education department.[140] Even Verner's agricultural work went unrecognized,

despite the NDP's new commitment to agricultural land reserves.[141]

Had any level of government provided centralized, direct, and controlling leadership of an

institution that hired specially trained adult educators or explicit recognition of the field, the

UBC adult education department could have presented itself as the source of both training and

research. But despite considerable acceptance of adult education activities and even

[136] Gary Dickinson, ed., Adult Education in British Columbia (Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre, University of British Columbia, 1973), 46.

[137] Michael J. Prince, "At the Edge of Canada's Welfare State: Social Policy-Making in British Columbia" in Politics, Policy, and Government in British Columbia, ed. R.K. Carty (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996), 236-271.

[138] Lawrence Paul Dampier, "Towards A Public Policy for Adult Education in B.C.: A Review" (unpublished M. Ed. paper, University of British Columbia, 1977); Ron Faris, "Lifelong Learning for the 21st Century" (Victoria: ??, 1992), 25.

[139] Prince, "At the Edge of Canada's Welfare State," 253; Michael Clague and others, Reforming Human Services (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), 80. Faculty of Education Department Chairmen discussed a comment made by "the [N.D.P.] Premier" that "the university" was élitist. Faculty of Education Fonds, Chairmen of Departments Binder, 13 February 1974, Minutes.

[140] PACE Newsletter 1, no. 4 (1975), 19. The Associate Deputy of Minister of Education in 1975, Andrew Soles, was a graduate of the UBC Department of Educational Administration! Andrew E. Soles, "The Development of the Two-Year College in British Columbia" (unpublished M. Ed. thesis, the University of British Columbia, 1968).

[141] Rees, The Canada Land Inventory in Perspective, 23-24, 35.

encouragement of the field through funding, neither governments nor private industry were particularly interested in adult education research or university program graduates.[142]

The "success" of the adult education department at UBC until the mid-1970s remained an artifact of institutional privilege and student enrollment rather than of demand for its particular programs and research, despite the ARDA funding. High student enrollment supported some eight faculty members in the mid-1970s, while internal politicking yielded separate quarters and considerable independence. Although Verner, Dickinson, and then Boshier published considerably, the research was poorly known to UBC education colleagues or around the province or country.[143] The department's academic support came from adult education circles outside UBC rather than the university's Faculty of Education or its local community.

One consequence of this privilege was that the adult education faculty members and students had by the mid 1970s created a rather unique sub-culture—some might say empire—with Verner as head. At the President's House and then in the old fraternity house on Toronto Road, department members were geographically distinct from the rest of the university, and students were able to take courses and write their theses almost exclusively with adult education faculty members.[144] Students also worked on research projects with professors, socialized with them, and participated in department meetings.[145] (Verner even suggested an undergraduate and graduate student attend Department of Agricultural Economics meetings.[146]) In 1971, Verner assumed advising duties for all twenty doctoral students in the department, and this cohort worked on several in-house booster publications. A certain ésprit de corps is

---

[142] Gordon Selman and Paul Dampier, _The Foundations of Adult Education in Canada_ (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 1991), chap. 7.

[143] Personal correspondence, John Dennison, 23 May 2000.

[144] Thesis committee members during the early and mid-1970s were frequently all adult education faculty members. _Write On_, 34, 35.

[145] PC, Annual Report 1969-1970; Verner Fonds, Box 7-6 [1973 or 1974], Minutes. Student participation in department meetings was probably not widespread at UBC. Thornton, Pratt Interviews.

[146] Verner Fonds, Box 7-4, 15 September 1969. This consultative practice continued after Verner; a Student-Faculty Committee formed in 1977. PC, Minutes, 2 April 1979.

suggested by a tongue-in-cheek poem written in the early 1970s that described the hierarchy of the department ruled by "the great god Coolie."[147] A New Zealand colleague recalled Verner's subversive advice that "one shouldn't be intimidated by the myths of University standards nor weighed down by University tradition."[148] Wayne Schroeder, Visiting Professor in 1977, also noticed that "a student stratification appears to have developed that is potentially counter productive or divisive."[149] The "in group" was, Schroeder believed, autonomous and insular. Presumably it was this "in group" that wrote the strong (and almost sycophantic) memos requesting Verner's supervision after his retirement.[150] These may have been "halcyon days" for some, but to others it may have been a time of cliques for a department with a "missionary outlook."[151]

Whether or not vanguard of a new academic field, the administrative base of the adult education department until 1973 still owed much to the pleasure of Dean Scarfe, whose office controlled departmental budgets, rather than to broad support of Faculty colleagues or a specific external clientele. Scarfe's support may have been more for Verner himself rather than for adult education as an area of academic study. Whereas Goodlad in 1967 had suggested adult education as a possible area for a research-oriented Ph.D., Scarfe seemed content to retain the "professional" Ed.D. degree despite Verner's emphasis on original research.[152] In his eulogy of Verner, Scarfe praised Verner's commitment to interdisciplinary studies, in contrast with Verner's own zeal to pronounce adult education as a unique discipline.[153]

---

[147] Verner Fonds, Box 7-10, n.d., poem.

[148] PC, Boshier folder, 12 February 1976, Keith to Boshier.

[149] PC, Curriculum folder 2, 8 June 1977, Schroeder to Thornton.

[150] Verner Fonds, Box 3-3, 11 April 1977, memo to Chairman, Department of Adult Education.

[151] Faculty of Education Fonds, Dean's Advisory Committee Personnel Binder, Minutes, 23 November 1982. Faculty colleagues made this comment.

[152] Faculty of Education Fonds, Full Staff Meetings/Faculty Forum 1962-1971 Binder, 25 January 1968, Scarfe's review of the Goodlad Report.

[153] UBC Special Collections, Coolie Verner Subject File, Transcript, "Dr. Coolie Verner."

Whatever Scarfe understood of adult education as an area of university study, various changes in the Faculty of Education by the 1970s undermined the Dean's privileges. Scarfe himself was among the last of MacKenzie's former regime, and those who had supported Verner were retiring or moving on. The Faculty of Education, larger and more academically inclined than a decade earlier, was ripe for the changes advocated in various reports. Along with those changes came criticism of the adult education department.

People with no particular support for the UBC Department of Adult Education gradually assumed more power in the Faculty. It was a new and elected Graduate Executive Committee that replaced the former Graduate Working Council and investigated Verner's alleged administrative improprieties and student over-load in late 1971.[154] Verner relinquished his chairmanship of the department in 1973 and all but disappeared in Faculty administrative circles, leaving others to defend the department against critics.[155]

Among the more persistent allegations was that the adult education department was isolated from the rest of the Faculty, but to the extent that it was true, there were reasons for it. The Faculty of Education had been created in the mid 1950s to assume the duties of the provincial Normal Schools to prepare public elementary school teachers. Normal school staff became faculty members who, despite being competent teacher-trainers, were not research academics and frequently identified with the Elementary Division. Those departments in the graduate division that did support research, such as educational administration, educational psychology, educational foundations, and counselling, still catered largely to the public school

---

[154] Faculty of Education Fonds, Graduate Board/Graduate Division Working Committee/Executive Committee, 28 September 1971, 6 April 1972; and passim between these dates.

[155] Verner Fonds, Box 7-10, 7 September 1973, Verner to Andrews. Verner was not recorded in the minutes of any of the Department Chairman meetings from 1970 to 1974, although Dickinson and Thornton later attended regularly. Nor was Verner Recorded in the minutes of the Graduate Executive Committee during this time, although Niemi was. Faculty of Education Fonds, Chairmen of Departments Binder; Graduate Board/Graduate Division Working Committee/Executive Committee Binder.

system. Adult education professors had very little to do with public schools, and hence had little in common with most other departments.

Ten years after establishment, however, the Faculty was much larger and its purposes were different. It had more staff and faculty members, more students, and, like UBC generally, more academic ambition. Most of the former Normal School instructors had retired. Professors sought more participation in administrative decision-making and, particularly in Educational Psychology, Educational Foundations, and Educational Administration, sought permission to offer Ph.D. degrees, as they had for years. With Scarfe's encouragement, a committee to investigate the Faculty's future prepared the report of the Committee on the Future of the Faculty of Education (COFFE) in 1969. Not surprisingly, the COFFE report recommended two major sorts of change. One was to increase administrative participation ("democratize" the Faculty), and the other was to increase scholarship across the faculty.[156]

Scarfe's successor as Dean in 1973, John Andrews, initiated and managed many of these recommendations during the 1970s. A former UBC student with a doctorate from the University of Chicago, Andrews had been an administrator at the Ontario Institute of Educational Studies (OISE) before becoming a UBC Dean. Faculty changes similar to those outlined in the COFFE Report quickened under Andrews. A committee on reorganization suggested ways to democratize and decentralize administration, and to group the twenty-two or so informal departments (some of which were comprised of only one person) into larger units, or Divisions. Departments would no longer be tied to elementary, secondary, or graduate studies (the former "Divisions"), but could contribute to various programs of both teacher and graduate education. Departments would be compelled to cooperate within their new Division and contribute to different programs, but could retain many of their former characteristics. Worried about loss of

---

[156] The Report of the Commission on the Future of the Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia (Vancouver: Faculty of Education, 1969) 4, 5.

69

autonomy and identity, the adult education department eventually joined with the former Departments of Educational Administration and Higher Education in a Division of "leftovers."[157] Adult education personnel were not particularly active on the committees charged with reorganization.[158]

Andrews, however, supported the academic study of adult education.[159] While at the University of Chicago, he had taken a course from adult education luminary Cyril Houle, and accepted adult education as a field of university study at OISE and UBC.[160] Andrews showed his willingness to cooperate with the adult education department at UBC by serving on student committees, approving several faculty appointments, and later, after stepping down as Dean, cooperating in adult education projects.[161]

Andrews' tacit support had certain limitations. Except for Selman (who received in effect an honourary rank of Associate Professor), adult education faculty appointments were to junior ranks that provided teachers for students but did not boost academic status. This pattern can also be seen in the Schools of Nursing and Social Work, which had increasing numbers of professorial appointments through the 1960s and 1970s, but were restricted to junior (and non-professorial) ranks. (Table 3) With few senior faculty members, the institutional status of the adult education department (like nursing and social work) was restricted. Three of the mid-1970s appointments (Selman, Pratt, and Collins) were already on the UBC payroll, so added no additional costs to the Faculty. Although senior professorial appointments (Associate and Full

---

[157] PC, 9 December 1976, Minutes, Adult Education Department meeting; Faculty of Education Fonds, Faculty Meetings 1976-1980 Binder, Minutes, 10 January 1977, 25 January 1980.

[158] CVMRR, Dr. Griffith's Correspondence Box, Vince D'Oyley folder, 13 October 1977, D'Oyley to Department Restructuring Committee. Rusnell attended that meeting.

[159] Verner Fonds, Box 7-10, 26 September 1973. This memo, written within months of Andrew's appointment to UBC, praised Verner for his leadership locally, nationally, and internationally, suggesting that Andrews recognized both Verner and the field in general.

[160] Personal correspondence, John Andrews, 23 May 2000; Verner Fonds, Box 13-7, 29 June 1973, Flaherty to Verner.

[161] PC, Curriculum Folder 2, 8 June 1977, Schroeder to Thornton; CVMRR Fonds, Box 3-4, 11 April 1984, Adult Education faculty meeting.

Professor) in the Faculty of Education increased along with junior appointments during the 1970s, adult education appointments did not show the same relative increase in rank. (Boshier and Dickinson did earn promotions, as did Niemi before he left UBC.) In contrast, the Departments of Educational Administration, Educational Foundations, Counselling Psychology, and Educational Psychology clearly shifted toward senior ranks and hence larger budgets during the 1970s. (Table 6) The Adult Education Department was growing larger, but not stronger.

Table 6
Professorial Appointments in Select Departments,
The Faculty of Education, 1981-82

	Prof.	Assoc.	Ass't.	note
AAHE				
Adult Education	1	3	5	Higher Education professor was
Ed. Admin.	7	3	0	shared with EPSE
Higher Ed.	1	0	0	
CNPS	2	6	7	
EPSE				one professor was shared between
Ed. Psychology	6	14	9	the programs
Special Education	2	6	1	
SEDS				two professors were shared
Ed. Foundations	9	3	5	between programs
Social Studies Ed.	3	2	5	

Source: The University of British Columbia Calendar 1981-1982

AAHE: Department of Administrative, Adult, and Higher Education
CNPS: Department of Counselling Psychology
EPSE: Department of Educational Psychology and Special Education
SEDS: Department of Social and Educational Studies

If adult education faculty members had only modest support from the Faculty of Education administration, they also had little academic support from the professoriate. A scheme to revise the adult education curriculum in 1976 met opposition, in this case demonstrating that other professors had become reluctant to let adult education professors act independently. Professors of history in the Faculties of Education and Arts claimed the writing of adult education history for themselves, and professors of psychology in both Faculties likewise considered adult learning to be a subject for psychologists. Professors of educational administration believed they already provided pertinent administration courses, and even after

the passage of several years continued to discourage new adult education diploma courses.[162] The 1976 curricular revisions died.

This lackluster support for the department did not mean the very idea of adult education went unnoticed. The new Dean of the Faculty of Graduate Studies, Peter Larkin, claimed to be investigating "lifelong learning," but was uncertain what the department did.[163] Roy Bentley, Acting Dean of Education in 1979, promoted the Faculty as contributing to the total range of education, "from Kindergarten to Adult," but still identified school teacher education as the main purpose of the Faculty.[164] Such nods to adult education remained largely symbolic. Various Faculty reviews conducted in the late 1970s noted the teacher education emphasis of the Faculty.[165] By the end of the 1970s, the Faculty of Education still catered largely to aspiring teachers and conducted research relevant to the public school system, although adult education did receive some attention.

Whatever justifications might be given for the independence of adult education, influential faculty members like George Tomkins felt that some graduate programs were narrow and isolated.[166] The pressures on the adult education members to integrate with the wider Faculty reached their height in 1977 when two departmental reviews recommended closer ties between the department and the rest of the Faculty.[167] The Faculty of Graduate Studies had requested an

---

[162] CVMRR Fonds, Box 1, 1976 Curriculum revisions folder, 19 October 1976, Housego to Thornton; 19 October 1976, Bruneau to Ungerleider; 20 October 1976, Prang to Thornton; 20 October 1976, Suedfeld to Thornton; 20 October 1976, Munro to Thornton; Faculty of Education Fonds, Centre for the Study of Administration Binder, 7 November 1979, Minutes.

[163] Faculty of Education Fonds, Senate & Deans & Directors Box, 2 August 1977, McKie to Deans & Directors.

[164] Faculty of Education Fonds, Senate and Dean and Directors Box, 2 August 1977; Faculty Forums/Full Staff Meetings 1975-1984 Binder, Minutes, 13 September 1979; Chairmen of Departments 1977-1980 Binder, 17 July 1979.

[165] See for example the Report of the Committee on the Education and Training of Teachers in British Columbia, (Victoria: Ministry of Education, 1978); Report of the President's Review Committee on the Faculty of Education, (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1979).

[166] Faculty of Education Fonds, Chairman of Departments Binder, 4 March 1976.

[167] PC, Allan Thomas, "A Review of the Graduate Degree Programs of the Department of Adult Education" (hereafter "Thomas Report"); PC, Minutes 1974-1977, Alan B. Knox, 9 May 1977, Knox to Thornton (hereafter

internal review of the adult education department conducted by FoGS personnel and others from UBC. Andrews, annoyed with earlier FoGS reviews, proposed instead to invite adult education professors Allan Thomas and Allan Knox to submit external reviews.[168] Like Scarfe who opposed Senate reviews many years earlier, Andrews may well have felt that a FoGS review would have been overly critical of his Faculty.[169] Faculty of Education administrators Vince D'Oyley and Doug McKie agreed with the Thomas and Knox Reports that the Department was isolated, lacked cohesive goals and expectations, and suffered from various student, curricular, and research problems.[170]

During this increased scrutiny from colleagues, Verner announced his retirement in the fall of 1976. The department had begun looking for a replacement earlier in the year, but three prospects declined offers and left adult education department members anxious to fill the vacancy and elect a new chairman.[171] Verner may have been concerned to find a politically strong person for the job. A colleague had earlier written to Verner with concerns that the Florida State program (which Verner had begun) might die without strong leadership.[172] Allan Thomas likewise recommended a strong replacement for Verner.

William S. Griffith eventually replaced Verner as a full professor, appointed with tenure. Many of the current department members knew him as a leader in the Adult Education

---

"Knox Report"); Faculty of Education Fonds, Deans and Directors Binder vol.5, 19 September 1977, Minutes. Director of Graduate Studies D. McKie concurred with the Knox and Thomas Reports.

[168] PC, Minutes, 18 November 1976, Andrews to Larkin; Faculty of Education Fonds, Dean and Directors Box no. 1, 16 November 1976, Walker to Williams; 14 February 1977, Andrews to Larkin; Senate and Deans & Directors Box, 2 August 1977, McKie to Deans and Directors. Allan Knox was Professor of Adult and Continuing Education at the University of Illinois and long-time colleague of Verner.

[169] FoGS Deans Office, Box 4-4, 28 April 1972.

[170] Faculty of Education Fonds, Senate & Deans & Directors Box, 2 August 1977, McKie to Deans & Directors; 12 July 1977, D'Oyley to McKie; 19 July 1977, D'Oyley to McKie.

[171] Faculty of Education Fonds, Deans and Directors Binder vol. 3, 26 April 1976. Gordon Darkenwald, Harold Baker, and John Peters declined. During the mid 1970s, the adult education department had difficulties finding volunteers to sit as Chairman. Dan Pratt was hired during the department's staffing difficulties, as was a Visiting Professor, Wayne Schroeder. Faculty of Education Fonds, Deans and Directors Binder vol. 3, 3 June 1976; Deans and directors Box no. 1, 20 May 1976, Thornton to Bentley; Thomas Report; Knox Report.

[172] Verner Fonds, Box 7-10, 19 September 1973, Aker to Verner.

Association of the U.S.A., and he had been considered as a candidate to conduct the departmental reviews the previous year.[173] He was an American who had studied agricultural science before earning a University of Chicago doctorate in adult education.[174] Dean Andrews and others in the Department of Educational Administration also held Chicago doctorates, suggesting the desirability of these credentials. Griffith arrived believing the department to be in "severe [academic] difficulty," and with the understanding that he "came with the charge to develop a first-rate department."[175] He bemoaned the lack of "serious scholars" of adult education in general, and was not pleased with the research produced by those in the adult education department.[176] Griffith appeared eager to promote his views. Shortly after his appointment, he provided Faculty of Education administrators a detailed critique of his orientation workshop, further offering to present a seminar or coordinate meetings on lifelong learning.[177] He also became a vocal participant at Faculty meetings.

With the encouragement of the Dean,[178] Griffith became the chair of adult education and began addressing the politics of the Department. He and others opposed but were unable to stop the Faculty reorganization.[179] He helped to maintain program identity during financial strains of the early 1980s. Changes he encouraged included cooperating in the new Divisional structure and across the Education Faculty, improving communication with those working in the field,

---

[173] Verner Fonds, Box 8-1, 3 June 1970; PC, Boshier File, 17 March 1976, Griffith to Datta; 7 January 1976, Boshier to Bennett. PC, Minutes, 1 November 1976.

[174] In Canada, agriculture had earlier been used to promote social and educational reform. David C. Jones, "The *Zeitgeist* of Western Settlement: Education and the Myth of the Land" in Schooling and Society, eds. J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1980), 71-89.

[175] CVMRR, Field Advisory Committee Binder, 12 January 1981, Griffith to Blaney.

[176] William S. Griffith and Mary C. Cristarella, "Participatory Research: Should it Be a New Methodology for Adult Educators?" in Viewpoints on Adult Education Research, ed. John A. Niemi (Columbus: The ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education, 1979), 15-42; Verner Fonds Box 3-4, 29 March 1978, Griffith to Verner.

[177] Faculty of Education Fonds, Chairmen of Departments 1977-1980 Binder, 23 September 1977; PC, 23 September 1977, Minutes.

[178] Selman, Felt Along the Heart, 152.

[179] PC, Department Minutes 1974-1977, 20 November 1977, Griffith to Collins and Dickinson; 7 December 1977, W. S. Griffith "Should the Faculty of Education Restructure..."; Selman, Felt Along the Heart, 153.

enhancing the academic program, redesigning the curriculum, and defending the program from threats outside UBC.

Despite these perceived problems and various political threats, student enrollment remained high and Griffith added several tenure-track Faculty members to the department between 1979 and 1984. American Peter Cookson, a recent graduate of the University of Chicago and a former student of Griffith, was hired in 1979 and remained until 1984 when he left for an appointment at Pennsylvania State University.[180] Tom Sork, another American with a doctorate from Florida State University, was hired in 1981 and began a long career at UBC. Swede Kjell Rubenson was appointed to a senior rank with tenure in 1982, also beginning a long career at UBC. Paz Buttedahl became the first woman hired in the department as an ongoing faculty member, first as a research associate and sessional instructor in 1982, then as an assistant professor. Buttedahl's appointment was consistent with efforts to hire more Canadians and women at UBC. As early as 1976, UBC President Kenny urged Deans to hire more women, and by 1978 federal immigration restrictions encouraged the hiring of Canadians.[181] Although a Latin-American scholar with a doctorate in adult education from Florida State University, she had a magistral degree from OISE and was married to Canadian Knute Buttedahl (well known to UBC Extension and the local adult education community, and a sometime sessional instructor at UBC).[182] Faculty politics of the day encouraged short-term appointments, and Buttedahl remained with the program until 1986.[183]

---

[180] CVMRR, 3-4, 7 May 1984, Minutes.

[181] Faculty of Education Fonds, Deans and Directors Binder, vol. 3, 15 March 1976, Kenny to Deans; CVMRR, Box 2, 1978-79 Search Process folder, 29 September 1978, Selman to Griffith. Selman was particularly keen to recruit Canadians.

[182] CVMRR, Box 2, 1978-79 Search Process folder, 29 June 1978, Department of Adult Education Search Committee notes. PC, Curriculum folder 3, 1984-85 Winter Session Course Schedule.

[183] CVMRR, Box 2, Doug McKie folder, 29 June 1981, McKie to Griffith. McKie recommends hiring assistant professors without review for specific terms; CVMRR, Box 2, Doug McKie folder, 8 July 1981, Griffith to McKie: Griffith seeks assistant professor without review.

As the 1970s closed, Griffith and the "department" were compelled to seek increased cooperation with others in the Faculty of Education and UBC, and outside the university. Adult education faculty members sought curriculum links with their new (although forced) colleagues in the Division of Administrative, Adult, and Higher Education.[184] Across campus, adult education faculty members worked with the gerontology committee, the School of Nursing, and programs in recreation and exercise management.

One cooperative project that involved adult education faculty and others from UBC and elsewhere was an externally funded study of prison education. In 1981, Griffith secured a substantial grant from the Donner Canadian Foundation (and the requisite matching government funds) for a three-year project on corrections education.[185] The project mixed adult education professors with colleagues in the Division of Educational Foundations who had an interest in moral education, and colleagues from the university of Victoria who were interested in humanities education.

The Donner Foundation was no newcomer to funding prison or education research. Established in 1950 by industrialist and philanthropist William H. Donner, the foundation had a particular interest in law reform and penology, and had earlier made grants to the UBC Faculty of Education.[186] In 1971 and 1973 respectively, Donner had provided funds for an open area school experiment and a three year study of community colleges.[187] In 1977, Donner funded a project to develop rehabilitation programs for youthful offenders in Cape Breton.[188] The project

[184] CVMRR, Box 2, R. Jean Hills folder, The President's Report 1980-1981 (AAHE contribution).

[185] CVMRR, Box 4, Division—General Folder, 10 April 1981, Griffith to Wright. Individual adult education professors found other, modest funding: CVMRR, Box 3-1, November 1981, "Department of Administrative, Adult, and Higher Education: Response to the Retrenchment Question."

[186] Robert N. Wall, Bridging the Gap (Sydney: The University College of Cape Breton Press, 1984), 117.

[187] Faculty of Education Fonds, Full Staff Meetings/Faculty Forum 1962-1971 Binder, 2 September 1971; The UBC Faculty of Education Annual Report to the President and Board of Governors, June 1973, 191. Donner subsequently provided funds for a Masters of Education program for native students. "Grant helps native program," Ubyssey (Vancouver), 1 February 1985, p. 1.

[188] Wall, Bridging the Gap.

was administered by the College of Cape Breton, Division of Continuing Education, and may have set a precedent for Griffith's award.

The prison education project bought release time for Griffith, Boshier, and Cookson, and provided funds for research assistants. Boshier wrote a report and several conference proceedings, and others conducted seminars on prison education.[189] The project appeared to do little to reinforce the central role of adult education as a distinct academic field, and when the funding ran out, as so often happens, much of the activity ceased.[190]

Although cooperation within the Faculty of Education was encouraged largely by politics within the university, some of the cooperation with practicing adult educators was also externally encouraged, in this case by government activity. The Ministry of Education under a new Social Credit government expanded various post-secondary education institutions in the late 1970s, particularly for vocational and distance education; adult education professors and students worked on Ministry contracts to develop courses and programs.[191] In response to government and public interest, adult education professors launched the Adult Basic Education Consortium with colleagues from UBC, the Ministry of Education, local colleges, and teacher organizations.[192] The Consortium's national institute in 1982 drew participants from across Canada.

---

[189] Roger Boshier, Education Inside: Participation in Prison Education Programs (Vancouver: UBC Program for Correctional Education Research and Training/Solicitor General of Canada, 1983).

[190] The humanities professors seemed to get more publications: C. LaBar et al, "Practical Reasoning in Corrections Education," Canadian Journal of Education/Revue Canadienne de l'Education 8 no. 3 (1983): 263-273; Stephen Duguid, Ameliorating Savage Man: Humanities in Prison (Vancouver: Program for Correctional Education Research and Training, 1984). Newspaper reports included in Education Inside rarely mentioned "adult education."

[191] Selman, The Invisible Giant, 29; Dennison, "Higher Education in British Columbia: 1945-1995" (PC, unpublished MS, 1996), 13; The President's Report 1980-81.

[192] Selman, The Invisible Giant, 23; A Five Year Plan for the ABE Consortium (Vancouver: Adult Basic Education Consortium and Department of Adult Education, The University of British Columbia, 1979); Personal correspondence, Dale Rusnell, 24 May 2000.

During the late 1970s, the provincial government also began to provide the adult education

leadership sought by agencies and institutions active in the field. Ron Faris, who held a doctorate

in adult education from OISE, had been hired by the provincial government and in 1976 headed

the Committee on Continuing and Community Education in British Columbia. Prominent on this

committee were continuing education administrators of colleges, institutes, school districts, and

universities. Briefs to the committee included those from the institutions above, and also from

businesses, professional associations, labour organizations, health organizations, media outlets,

self-development groups, and social services agencies. Many interested parties and institutions

rallied under the titles "continuing" or "community" education, including the UBC Department of

Adult Education. Gordon Selman was on the committee, and the department submitted a

brief.[193]

The Faris Report, reiterating the views submitted in the department's brief, recognized the

UBC department as a valuable contributor to adult education research.[194] Despite some

reservations about the impact of such research on practicing educators, the Report recommended

increased funding (presumably by government bodies) for specific, practical research projects,

including adult basic education, a recommendation lauded by Griffith.[195] The Faris Report also

recommended advisory councils to enhance communication between the various groups involved

in adult education.[196]

Advisory councils were not new in the history of relations between the UBC Faculty of

Education and other practising educators. For years the Faculty had worked on its public image

through its Field Development Office and the Centre for Continuing Education, and by 1975 was

---

[193] Report of the Committee on Continuing and Community Education in British Columbia (Victoria: Ministry of Education, 1976). Hereafter "Faris Report."

[194] PC, External Relations folder, Brief to the Committee on Continuing and Community Education, 6 October 1976.

[195] CVMRR, Box 3, Faculty Meetings (term 2) folder, Griffith to AAHE, 13 April 1982.

[196] Faris Report, 49-68.

already considering a Field Development Advisory Committee for schools.[197] The UBC

Director of Graduate Studies agreed that it was appropriate for the adult education department to

increase its field contacts, as did Griffith who also sought good relationships with the Ministry

of Education.[198] In the autumn of 1977, Griffith organized a committee of representatives from

British Columbia colleges, the government, and various other agencies in the province. The Adult

Education Field Advisory Council met, with Dean Andrews' endorsement, in February 1978 to

discuss how the UBC department could best serve practicing adult educators.[199]

The Field Advisory Council was comprised of adult education faculty members and mainly

representatives from government, university continuing education divisions, and a few other

governmental agencies. The roles of the department as "gatekeeper" for employment as an adult

educator and as the provider of "useful" research were probably among the reasons for creating

such a council. Curricular and staffing changes at UBC were discussed with the Council; later

even the new Dean of Education, Daniel Birch (appointed in 1981), supported seeking advice

from field workers to strengthen the academic work of the department.[200] However, the Council

lived only a few years. A 1983 meeting, for example, was comprised mainly of UBC faculty

members. Few present thought that the committee had much purpose, and the long-standing

tension between the "professional" and "social movement" views of the field had again arisen.[201]

Despite support from Faculty administration, the Council withered and died.

[197] Faculty of Education Fonds, Chairmen of Departments Binder, 8 October 1975; Deans and Directors Meeting Minutes 1973-1978 Binder, 3 November 1975.

[198] Faculty of Education Fonds, Deans and Directors Binder vol. 5, 19 September 1977; PC, Departmental Minutes, 20 November 1977 Griffith to Collins and Dickinson; CVMRR Box 2, 1978-1979 Search Process Folder, 12 December 1978, Selman to Faris. Griffith supported this effort to maintain a good Ministry relationship. The Ministry also suggested advisory committees: Faculty of Education Fonds, Policy Council 21 October 1976 —2 January 1977 Binder, 5 November 1976, Wallis to Faculty.

[199] PC, Community Development folder, 4 October 1977, Griffith to others; 2 February 1978, Minutes.

[200] CVMRR, Field Advisory Committee Binder, 20 August 1981, Griffith to various; 20 May 1983, Report on new program revisions; 22 July 1982, Minutes; 12 December 1980, Minutes.

[201] CVMRR, Box 3-3, 11 February 1983, 20 May 1983, Minutes. Field Advisory Committee meeting; Field Advisory Committee Binder, 15 October 1979, Clague to Griffith.

In keeping with this desire for greater field connections, Selman proposed that the department create positions for Adjunct Professors. With Dean Birch's support, Selman's colleagues cautiously endorsed the proposal but took a further six years to formulate any policy.[202] Little seems to have been accomplished by having adjunct professors.[203]

One final field development was overseas, and several faculty members worked to offer UBC programs in other countries.[204] UBC and Faculty of Education administrators supported international work, and the adult education Diploma was taught in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Brazil.[205] New faculty member Paz Buttedahl was instrumental in at least the Brazil project, fetching some $354,000 in federal funding. Her connections with the Canadian International Development Agency, the International Development and Research Council, and the old UBC Extension Department network (including John Friesen) were no doubt useful in her international work.[206] In fact, these international contacts may have been important reasons for her UBC appointment, rather than her scholarly promise.[207]

In contrast to increased inter-departmental cooperation and "field relations" were pressures for research and publication mounted by the new UBC president and former Dean of Arts, Douglas Kenny. Although in public relations documents Kenny noted the accomplishments of the Faculty of Education (including those of adult education professors), he, like Education

[202] CVMRR, Box 4, Division—General Folder, 23 September 1981, Gord to Roger; CVMRR, Field Advisory Committee Binder, 23 September 1981, Gordon to Adult Education Division. CVMRR, Administrative, Adult, and Higher Education Binder, 27 May 1987, Minutes.

[203] No one consulted for this study could remember who, if anyone, held an adjunct position in the 1980s.

[204] CVMRR, Box 3-3, 8 September 1982, Minutes.

[205] CVMRR, Box 3-2, 14 April 1982, Minutes. CVMRR, Box 3-2, 14 April 1982, Minutes, Adult Education Division meeting. President Kenny was interested in ties with China. CVMRR, Box 3-4, 2 November 1983, 13 June 1984. Birch was reportedly enthusiastic about the Singapore project, and, as Project Director, he went to Brazil to launch the diploma program in 1984.

[206] CVMRR, Brazil Project Box 1, Correspondence internal folder; 17 December 1985, Collins to Buttedahl, 24 January 1986, Owens to Birch; CIDA-Contract folder, 11 February 1986, Contract; Brazil Project Box 6, 7 August 1984, Buttedahl to Larkin.

[207] CVMRR, Box 2, 1978-79 Search Process folder, 22 January 1979, Selman to Search Committee. A marginal note by Griffith states he was dubious of Buttedahl's scholarly skills. 10 April 1979, Kidd to Search Committee. Kidd did not write a supportive reference letter for Buttedahl.

Minister and UBC Professor Patrick McGeer, supported high academic standards at UBC.[208] In 1979 Kenny commissioned a review of the Faculty of Education, and although the ensuing report contained some positive comments, it had many criticisms. The report identified some strong academic units—not adult education—but the Faculty was generally found wanting in academic quality and productivity. The report recommended converting the new divisions into fully-fledged departments with strong executive powers. It suggested that policies for tenure and reappointment, including scholarly expectations, were in dire need of revision. The report also suggested that the Faculty should offer different career paths in scholarship (meaning research and publishing) or teaching. Even policies for selecting, evaluating, and advancing students needed revision, the report maintained, particularly to raise doctoral standards to levels desired by the Faculty of Graduate Studies.[209] President Kenny himself endorsed many of these recommendations, particularly in regard to raising faculty and student academic standards.[210]

One recommendation was implemented immediately. Acting Dean of Education Roy Bentley, Andrews' successor, completed formal departmentalization during his term 1979-1981. The Division of Administrative, Adult, and Higher Education (AAHE) became a Department with a Department Head; adult education became a division within the department, and maintained a chairman.

The adult education division adopted the imperative for high scholarly performance, influencing various aspects of the adult education program. Griffith worked on improving the academic stature of students as well as professors.[211] Griffith was particularly worried about the productivity of doctoral students, the time taken to complete the program, and the quality of incoming prospects. He suggested that service to the field in the past had prompted admission

[208] The President's Report, 1976-1977, 44; The President's Report, 1979-1980, 12, 20.
[209] Report of the President's Review Committee on The Faculty of Education, February 1979.
[210] Faculty of Education Fonds, Chairmen of Departments 1977-1980 Binder, 11 October 1979, Minutes.
[211] Verner Fonds, Box 3-4, 29 March 1978, Griffith to Verner; CVMRR, Box 1-1, "The Future of Adult Education at the University of British Columbia" by W. S. Griffith, 1980.

of marginal students, detracting from otherwise valuable time for research.[212] Admission quotas were considered, and by 1985 faculty were even considering entrance exams, a move denounced by some students.[213]

Demands for scholarship also influenced faculty hiring. When two junior faculty positions became vacant in 1979 and 1981 with the departure of Collins and Rusnell, the adult education department made academic potential a priority.[214] With student enrollment remaining high, Griffith also sought, and received, permission to recruit an additional senior appointment. The latter was particularly important to address the dearth of senior ranks in the department. At the time, the department had only three associate professors (one lacking a doctorate) and one full professor.

Peter Cookson was the department's first choice for a junior position in 1979, and Griffith wrote directly to Andrews in support of Cookson, emphasizing the latter's scholarly abilities.[215] Sork and Rubenson were also considered on academic merit to help create a "world class program" that fit Griffith's call for a change "from a field orientation to a focus on theory and method."[216] Sork was hired as an assistant professor in the wake of British rising-star Stephen Brookfield's decline of an offer.[217] Rubenson was a Swedish academic with an international reputation, particularly in sociological and government policy analysis of adult education, who had spent a year as Visiting Professor in Adult Education at UBC in 1979. Griffith was impressed with Rubenson's academic skills and his orientation to sociology, and worked for

[212] CVMRR, Box 3-1, 9 September 1981; 1 October 1981 Bill to Roger et al; "Department of Administrative, Adult, and Higher Education: Response to the Retrenchment Question," November 1981.
[213] CVMRR, Box 3-5, 11 February 1985, Graduate Student Position Paper.
[214] CVMRR Box 2, 1978-1979 Search Process Folder, 2 October 1978; Adult Education Search Committee 1980-1981 Folder, 17 September 1980.
[215] Faculty of Education Fonds, Deans and Directors Binder vol. 7, 31 May 1979, Griffith to Andrews. Cookson had also been a student of Griffith at the University of Chicago.
[216] CVMRR, Box 2, Recruitment (faculty) folder, 11 March 1981, Griffith to Hills.
[217] CVMRR, Box 2, Adult Education Search Committee 1980-81 folder, 26 May 1981, Griffith to McKie; Brookfield folder, 4 September, 1981, Griffith to Brookfield; 1 February 1982, Brookfield to Griffith.

months to ensure that a senior, tenured position was available.[218] Interest in policy analysis had

been growing for years at UBC, and others in the Faculty may have wanted a competent policy

analyst.[219] Rubenson filled an additional unanticipated need for a senior staff member when

Gary Dickinson left UBC in 1981 for an administrative job elsewhere.

Academic qualifications were important hiring considerations, but a doctorate in adult

education was particularly important. In 1978, Griffith questioned Collins' and Pratt's

appointments to the department.[220] Neither had degrees in adult education, and neither had come

to the department through adult education positions. All other faculty members had formal

degrees in or closely related to adult education, and experience in adult education as researchers or

practitioners. Griffith had once written that adult education required standards of practice,

gatekeeping, and professional self-identity to be a profession.[221] Subsequent candidates for

UBC appointments were required to have a formal background in adult education, and a

commitment to the field and its study.[222] Wayne Schroeder noted in 1977 a lack of shared

perspective in the department and that some department members had "a greater allegiance to an

outside discipline than to the discipline of adult education."[223] Rather than emphasize the

"discipline" of adult education, Griffith encouraged loyalty to adult education through a shared

culture of regular meetings, new courses, publications, and a "reading list" for all graduate

[218] CVMRR, Box 2, Adult Education Search Committee 1980-1981 folder, 19 December 1980, Griffith to Rubenson; 11 March 1981, Griffith to Hills; CVMRR, Dr. Griffith's Correspondence Box, General Correspondence (as Professor) Fall 1981 folder, 27 November 1981, Griffith to Bown. Griffith regarded Rubenson as holding a "quasi-Marxist" view.

[219] Faculty of Education Fonds, Faculty Meetings 1976-1980 Binder, 10 January 1977, "Revised Report of the Policy Council Committee on Reorganization and Structure."

[220] Verner Fonds, Box 3-4, 3 March 1978, Griffith to Verner.

[221] William S. Griffith, "Adult Education Institutions" in Handbook of Adult Education, eds. Robert M. Smith, George Aker, J. Roby Kidd (New York: MacMillan, 1970), 171-189.

[222] PC, Department Minutes, 20 November 1977, Griffith to Collins and Dickinson; PC, Minutes, Selman to Griffith, 2 October 1978; CVMRR Box 2, Recruitment (faculty) 1980-1981 Folder, 17 September 1980, Griffith to McKie.

[223] PC, Curriculum folder 2, 8 June 1977, Schroeder to Thornton.

students, while attempting to remove adult education professors who did not have appropriate credentials.[224]

Revisions to the curriculum were yet another way re-build both the practical utility and academic strength of the department. Not only had field relations, entrance standards, and scholarly production lagged during the Verner era, faculty critics claimed, but the various programs had remained relatively unchanged. One early revision was to demote the diploma. As directed by the UBC Senate, the diploma program became an undergraduate program in 1981, stifling long-standing allegations that diploma students in graduate courses weakened the graduate programs.[225] But the Diploma in Adult Education continued to be a bridge between the Division of Adult Education and practitioners, and it was promoted widely to potential students in British Columbia, Canada, and abroad. The Centre for Continuing Education continued to administer the diploma until 1984 when, despite Selman's and Kulich's determined campaign on behalf of the Centre, the Faculty of Education assumed control of all education diplomas.[226] Although university funding cuts in the early 1980s restricted external promotion of the diploma, adult education staff continued to teach or administer the diploma overseas.[227]

The master's programs were also revised in the early 1980s, along with graduate courses across the Faculty. (Doctoral programs never did have formal course requirements.) Faculty of Education course names, numbers, and calendar descriptions had changed little in twenty or more

---

[224] CVMRR, Box 4, Division—General Folder, [5-6 May 1981], W. S. Griffith, "The Obligation of Leadership—Perspectives for Contemplation;" 22 April 1982, Griffith to McKie. Griffith nominated Pratt for a Faculty position outside the department while Pratt was away.

[225] Faculty of Education Fonds, Graduate Board/Graduate Division Working Committee/Executive Committee Binder, 19 February 1970. This is but one of many discussions of the education diplomas.

[226] CVMRR, Box 2, Jindra Kulich folder, 11 March 1981, Griffith to Phillips; 17 March 1981, Griffith to Bentley; R. Jean Hills folder, 20 March 1981, Griffith to Principals; Diploma Revisions Box, 11 July 1984, Selman to Nalevykin. The Faculty of Education, like many UBC Faculties before, sought to provide its own continuing professional education rather than cooperate with the Extension Department. Faculty of Education Fonds, Chairmen of Departments 1977-1980 Binder, 6 December 1979, Minutes.

[227] CVMRR, Box 3-2, 14 April 1982, Minutes, Adult Education Division meeting. President Kenny was interested in ties with China. CVMRR, Box 3-4, 2 November 1983, 13 June 1984. Birch was reportedly enthusiastic about the Singapore project, and, as Project Director, he went to Brazil to launch the diploma program in 1984.

years. Three-unit (two-term, fall/winter) courses were cut into one and a half-unit courses to allow for scheduling flexibility and to coincide with teaching practica. Nearby Simon Fraser University had already organized its education courses into three trimesters per year, allowing students to enter the programs at various time, and to pursue regular studies during the summer.[228]

The Division of Adult Education reclaimed the program planning course (formerly Extension Planning and Evaluation) from the Faculty of Agriculture, but kept it cross-listed as an agriculture course. The division also reformed courses previously listed under "omnibus" calendar descriptions, creating courses on administration, gerontology, history, and international adult education, conspicuously including the phrase "Adult Education" in titles. Griffith worked to include suggestions from professors of educational administration (who had earlier criticized adult education courses), and he sought cooperation from professors of educational foundations (who were seen as a major obstacle in the 1976 attempts at curricular revision).[229] Changes in adult education courses and programs were the result of compromises among faculty—not everyone, for example, liked dividing program emphasis into "research, instruction, and management"—but these and other revisions were ready by the fall of 1984.[230] Despite these curriculum changes, however, adult education faculty were careful to note that they were not changing programs (since no new degrees were offered), proposing no budget increases, and only creating new courses that were basically two halves of existing courses.[231] The Adult Education Division in effect reorganized what resources and programs it already had to fit the Faculty-wide calendar reorganization, but they received no new benefits, privileges, or administrative jurisdiction.

[228] Calendar of Simon Fraser University (Burnaby: Simon Fraser University, 1981-82.)

[229] CVMRR, Box 1-3, 17 August 1982, Griffith to Rubenson et al; 6 August 1982, Griffith to Dahlie. CVMRR, Box 2, R. Jean Hills folder, President's Report 1980-81 (AAHE submission).

[230] CVMRR Box 1-3, notes on "Masters Program Team" n.d.; 13 January 1983, Cookson to Magistral Team.

[231] CVMRR, Box 1-3, 21 October 1983, Sork to AAHE. Also see other papers in this file.

Curricular revision was one way to boost academic standards formally, but adult education professors also worked to boost the academic climate of the department informally. Like colleagues in other areas, the adult education division hosted well-known visiting scholars at UBC.[232] Prominent figures in adult education, including academics like Stephen Brookfield, Huey Long, or Paulo Freire and internationally recognized leaders like John Lowe (Office of Economic Cooperation and Development—OECD) or Paul Bertesen (UNESCO) accepted offers to teach at UBC as Visiting Scholars in the early 1980s.[233] In 1983, the adult education professors considered launching their own series of occasional papers to encourage publishing, disseminate information, and improve public relations.[234] When Griffith returned from his sabbatical, however, he questioned the academic role and "future import" of such a series, and it never did publish.[235]

Despite changes in faculty members, new research projects, new curricula, high but more carefully selected student enrollment, increased recognition by colleagues at home and abroad,[236] the program was still administratively weak. In September 1982, the Head of the Department of Administrative, Adult, and Higher Education set an objective to unify its disparate programs. Although Dean Birch affirmed the integrity of the three divisions, he was later seen as opposed to divisional status. By 1984, despite a strong desire by some to maintain a specific designation, the adult education faculty members were not even referring to themselves as a "division."[237] Despite the efforts of Griffith and others to promote the value of adult education, and the

[232] Faculty of Education Fonds, Chairmen of Departments 1977-1980 binder, 7 March 1979, Dahlie, Griffith, Kendall to Department Chairmen.

[233] Write On, 79.

[234] CVMRR, Box 3-3, 9 March 1983, Minutes.

[235] CVMRR, Box 3-4, 12 October 1983, Minutes. The publication series never did produce. Personal correspondence, Thomas Sork, 23 May 2000.

[236] "U. of Wisconsin Is Rated Tops in Adult Education," The Chronicle of Higher Education, 4 August 1982, 3. UBC's was rated the second best adult education program in North America by the Commission of Professors of Adult Education.

[237] CVMRR, Box 3-3, 24 September 1982, Hills to Birch; [15 February 1983], Downey to Birch; 5 April 1983, Birch to AAHE; Box 3-4, 7 September 1983, Minutes, Adult Education Division meeting; 14/19 March 1984, Adult Education Faculty Meeting.

receptivity of administrators to a broader conception of "lifelong learning," the autonomy and identity of the former Department of Adult Education continued to wane.[238]

The stability of the entire Faculty was threatened by politics outside the university. In the early 1980s, a world-wide recession prompted British Columbia's Social Credit government to launch a program of financial restraint. UBC was was hit by government cutbacks that led to cost-cutting across the Faculties.[239] In the summer of 1981, these measures hit AAHE and the adult education division, resulting in cancelled courses (including Agricultural Economics 403 and a section of Adult Education 412), a curtailment of program expansion, and (so it was claimed) reduced research activity. Hiring new faculty members was also jeopardized, with Sork and Rubenson hired hastily (and Buttedahl temporarily), although student numbers and Dickinson's departure in 1981 gave the department reason to request new personnel. The restraint program prompted great unrest across public education institutions, and added to an era of political unrest in the province.[240]

If the political climate across British Columbia changed in the early 1980s, so too did it shift in the division of adult education. The department had never been an entirely harmonious work-site. There had been energetic inter-personal conflicts between faculty members at least since Niemi was hired, punctuated in 1983 when Griffith was ousted as program Chairman.[241]

---

[238] CVMRR, Box 2, Dean Birch folder, 21 September 1981, Griffith to Birch; 6 October 1981, Birch to Griffith; 6 October 1981, Birch to Banham. Birch suggested that UBC Reports could do a fine story on the activities of the adult education group. CVMRR Box 3-3, 16 October 1982, Daniels to Faculty of Education. A Faculty brief to SSHRCC in support of Canadian educational research referred to "lifelong learning" and adult education.

[239] From 1972 to 1983, the provincial government reduced spending on British Columbia universities from nearly 6 per cent of the budget to about 3.5 per cent. Gordon Shrimpton, "A Decade of Restraint: The Economics of B.C. Universities," in The New Reality: the politics of restraint in British Columbia, eds. Warren Magnusson and others, (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1984), 261.

[240] CVMRR, Box 2, Doug McKie folder, 31 August 1981, Griffith to McKie. The cuts to education were considerable. See Crawford Kilian, School Wars: The Assault on B.C. Education (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1985).

[241] Faculty of Education Fonds, Graduate Board/Graduate Division Working Committee/Executive Committee, 28 September 1971, "Submission to the Graduate Board" by John Niemi; PC, Departmental Minutes, 20 November 1977, Griffith to Collins/Dickinson; CVMRR, Box 3-5, 11 February 1985, "Graduate Student Position Paper;" Selman, Felt Along the Heart, 152; CVMRR Box 3-3, 15 June 1983, Downey to Adult Education

Students, too, voiced formal complaints from time to time, and probably made informal ones more frequently.[242] As with any institution, the department had its own internal politics.

However, in the 1980s, the "social movement" dimension of adult education at UBC became more noticeable. Buttedahl drew greater attention to the works of activist educator Paulo Freire, while Rubenson acknowledged social theories more consistent with Marxist traditions and was seen to promote adult education as a social movement.[243] He even supported student demands for changes to administrative protocol.[244] Selman proposed a course on women and education in 1983 with feminist Faculty of Education colleague Jane Gaskell, and several student theses presented activist sentiments more strongly than ever before.[245] Students also expressed their wishes in explicit political terms, asserting in 1985, for example, that proposed entrance exams contained culture, gender, age, and economic biases.[246] Although this social activism was welcomed by some, perhaps others, believing that universities during these times of widespread funding cutbacks had shifted from "the vanguard institution of modern society to...a ghetto for the alienated young," were less pleased by these changes.[247]

A near-fatal blow to the adult education program came in February 1985 when the provincial government imposed heavy budget cuts on UBC.[248] Robert Smith, UBC Associate

faculty. Griffith was seen by some colleagues as conservative: PC, Boshier File, 7 January 1976, Boshier to Bennett.

[242] The Education Undergraduate Society, UBC, "Education Course Evaluation 1968-69," student evaluation of ADED 412. Verner Fonds, Box 3-3, 13 April 1977, Sumek to faculty. One student wrote quite a strong letter of complaint in 1982: PC, Curriculum folder 3, 10 May 1982, Hills to Griffith.

[243] CVMRR, Box 3-3, 11 February 1983, 20 May 1983, Minutes, Field Advisory Committee meeting.

[244] CVMRR, Box 3-4, 14 and 19 March 1984, Minutes.

[245] CVMRR, Box 3-3, 13 April 1983, Minutes, Adult Education Division Meeting. More on this in chapter 3.

[246] CVMRR, Box 3-3, 11 February 1983, Minutes, Field Advisory Committee meeting; 13 April 1983, Minutes, Adult Education faculty meeting; Box 3-4, 14 and 19 March 1984, Minutes, Adult Education faculty meeting; Box 3-5, 11 February 1985, Graduate Student Position Paper.

[247] Harold Perkin, "The Historical Perspective" in Perspectives on Higher Education, ed. Burton Clark (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 43, 46.

[248] The government offered British Columbia universities a budget with no increase from previous years, and withheld some $14.9 million—effectively a 5 per cent cut—to be disbursed in unspecified ways. Education Minister Patrick McGeer advocated reducing university size to correspond with an anticipated decline in university students. "McGeer wants small universities," Ubyssey (Vancouver), 15 March 1985.

Vice-President Academic, asked all UBC Deans to defend their budgets and services; programs

were to be cut, and faculty members were to be fired. AAHE was one of the departments

required to explain their value to the university ("show cause") to avoid termination. George

Pederson, UBC President since 1983 and AAHE faculty member, resigned in early March to

protest the government's inadequate funding of the university. Smith assumed the role of Acting

President and continued with the "show cause" demands.[249]

Although the cuts to higher education were consistent with British Columbia (and

international) politics more generally, the "show cause" demand was part of the Ministry of

Education's specific effort to reduce the size and expense of the province's universities by

phasing-out low-quality and low-demand programs.[250] UBC was commanded to eliminate

services that could be provided by other provincial institutions, and to ensure that programs

were well attended.[251] The three divisions of AAHE argued for the uniqueness and high quality

of their programs, and the high demand by students. Educational administration's academic

reputation was no guarantee of security, and its many full professors may have been a prime

target of financial cuts.[252] Some AAHE members even believed that educational administration

was the prime target, and that Dean Birch, who had supported the adult education diploma

programs overseas and talked of "lifelong learning," would support adult education.[253] On the

other hand, Birch had earlier asked the Division of Social and Educational Studies—also with

---

[249] "McGeer Wants Five Year Outlook," Ubyssey (Vancouver), 29 January 1985, p. 3; "Smith will not discuss letters detail," Ubyssey (Vancouver), 19 February 1985, p. 3; "Pedersen quits UBC," Ubyssey (Vancouver), 8 March 1985, p. 1. PC, Minutes, 22 February 1985, Selman to adult education faculty. Selman had read a letter from Smith to Birch asking for the justification.

[250] Warren Magnusson and others, eds., The New Reality: the politics of restraint in British Columbia (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1984); "McGeer Wants Five Year Outlook," Ubyssey (Vancouver), 29 January 1985, p. 3.

[251] PC, Minutes, 1 March 1985, Downey to Birch, "Addendum to the 'Show Cause' Report of the Department of Administrative, Adult and Higher Education."

[252] Faculty of Education Fonds, Full Staff Meetings/Faculty Forum 1962-1971 Binder, 4 December 1967, Goodlad to Cowan; Report of the President's Review Committee on The Faculty of Education, February 1979; CVMRR, Box 3-1, "Department of Administrative, Adult, and Higher Education: Response to the Retrenchment Question," November 1981.

[253] PC, Minutes, 13 February 1985, Boshier to Guy.

many senior ranks—whether its members could help "strengthen" the adult education program.[254]

The adult education program's defense was contained in the 1985 document Write On: Adult Education Makes the Future. Write On, largely Boshier's creation, understandably presented the department in its most positive light. The document described the field of adult education and the future possibilities of its place in the Faculty of Education. Descriptions of student and faculty research and its scholarly impact, the reputation of the "department," and the (recent) cooperation with other scholars across the Faculty nearly filled the document, and lists of adult education graduates covered over a quarter of the space.

It is difficult to know the reactions of those who read the document. University administrators and provincial governments had in the past paid little attention to UBC adult education professors (although a few provincial bureaucrats were graduates of the adult education program), so it is doubtful that Write On changed many political minds. However, Write On presented compelling evidence that the department was unique in western Canada (and quite different from its counterpart at the University of Toronto), had many graduates, an academic reputation with colleagues across North America and overseas, and an active and respected professoriate in their own field. In a political climate that regarded "market demand" as an important indicator of value, the adult education program could also point to a large list of graduates to justify its existence. The political consequences of terminating such an apparently well-used and well connected program may have appeared undesirable.

The adult education program survived—unlike the departments of industrial education, recreation education, and communications media and technology in education—but it had certainly lost its former status. In June 1985, the adult education faculty were instructed to

---

[254] Calam Papers, 31 January 1985, Calam to Birch.

freeze student admissions, a practice that would slowly undermine the need for instructors.[255] Adult education at UBC entered a period of stasis. What had once been a program supported by UBC's highest administrators had become one of many departments that could be tossed aside if conditions warranted.

The sudden rise to prominence and subsequent fall from grace of the adult education department had taken nearly thirty years. Prominence had been granted by an influential network of supporters and supported by Canadian attitudes toward education, a growing college system, growing health-care institutions that emphasized health education, and rising non-traditional university students, particularly women and adults. During that time, the department of adult education had had many supporters, students and alumni. Faculty members were well regarded in their narrow field. Social conditions had been favourable. As the initial network of UBC supporters waned, the existence of the department (or program area) was secured by tenured faculty members who identified with adult education (six by 1985; a seventh, Gary Dickinson, had left in 1981). Student numbers also remained high, both a justification for the number of professors and evidence of a popular program.

At the same time, adult education at UBC lost administrative power to control its own affairs. As the composition of the Faculty of Education changed and as the Faculty and entire university redefined its academic role, the adult education program became less autonomous. Central to the fall from grace was the inability of the professoriate to fill its administrative "space" with a product deemed acceptable to the newcomers who held power over them. Verner had been poised for that job, but he and his collaborators were unable to convince university colleagues and practicing adult educators that the department provided a valuable service. The

---

[255] PC, 4 June 1985, Memo, Griffith to adult education faculty.

promise to create a scientific basis for adult education through research and dissemination to practitioners through teaching was never fulfilled.

Chapter 3: Research and Teaching, 1957-1985

The waxing and waning of the UBC Adult Education Department was decided not only by
administrative politics and policy in the Faculty of Education, but also by the development of
the field of study. To department insiders, particularly faculty members, the department existed
for important scholarly reasons. At first, under Thomas, the study of adult education mainly
meant inquiry into the social, political, economic, and ethical dimensions of the field. Under
Verner, however, questions of method and adult education theory came to the fore. Verner's
promise of a scientific basis for adult education was never entirely fulfilled, however, and by the
early 1980s faculty and students were once again investigating the social, political, economic, and
ethical dimensions of the field.

Although Verner did not launch the UBC program, he early became the dominant figure in
building the department. He promised to provide the "fundamental knowledge about educating
adults that is common to every situation" and to help create a "professional" cadre of adult
educators.[1] Promotional literature, memoranda, and faculty notes of the Verner and post-Verner
era frequently talked of "professional" adult education. Verner had told adult educators they
could not do their jobs well without special knowledge generated by university academics
working on the "discipline" of adult education, vaguely defined as either a form of scientific
study, a body of systematic knowledge founded in theory and research, or a more precise inquiry
founded on methodological canons.[2]

---

[1] Coolie Verner, "Organizing Graduate Professional Education for Adult Education" in Coming of Age:
Canadian Adult Education in the 1960s, eds. J. Roby Kidd and Gordon Selman (Toronto: Canadian Association for
Adult Education, 1978), 134. The article was originally written in 1969.
[2] Coolie Verner, A Conceptual Scheme for the Identification and Classification of Processes for Adult
Education (Chicago: Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 1962), 31 (footnote 6), 5; Coolie Verner, "Some
Reflections on Graduate Professional Education in Adult Education" (paper presented at the University of Wisonsin,
1974); Coolie Verner, Gary Dickinson, Walter Leirman, Helen Niskala, The Preparation of Adult Educators
(Syracuse: ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education, 1970), 7.

Administrative politics put aside, the adult education professors were compelled to provide research and teaching that would satisfy several constituents: other academics who judged scholarly merit, research clients who sought problem-solving expertise, potential employers of adult education graduates, and students who sought a learning experience in some way relevant to their lives. But the "fundamental knowledge" promised by Verner proved elusive, and although students learned the views of their mentors, the "discipline" of adult education had by the late 1970s gained little credibility in the eyes of Faculty of Education professors, research clients, employers of adult educators, and even students. By 1985, despite ongoing attempts to maintain a program core, research and teaching in adult education had deviated from Verner's path to return, in some ways, to the initial concerns of Thomas.

Verner was unquestionably the most significant direct influence on the research and teaching activities of his department until he retired, although his influence continued for years following. Verner introduced a particular research perspective, established an academic reputation with American adult education scholars, helped collect a body of published literature, and sought unique adult education theory. Adult education colleagues at UBC until the late 1970s generally shared these views in varying degrees, and encouraged students to adopt them in course work and thesis research. After Verner, some faculty members and students introduced different research approaches and new implications of "theory," and, as the curriculum diversified, students were free to consider their "profession" in different ways.

Verner introduced his views of adult education research, and social research more generally, to UBC in the curricular changes of 1959 when he first came to the university. These changes were consistent with standards of social science and education popular in the United States. Thomas had oriented his first courses to social philosophy, but Verner pushed social philosophy into the category "foundations" and, like American adult education colleagues, emphasized

educational method.[3] (Table 2) At the same time, Verner brought with him particular views on social research and education. A critique of Verner is therefore also a critique of educational thought prominent across North America.

As a graduate of Columbia University, Verner had been introduced to social inquiry as the disinterested and empirical study of value-neutral social "facts" and their static, social patterns.[4] Such an approach was shared with the University of Chicago, and both universities were influential in establishing norms in American sociology.[5] In the Chicago-Columbia tradition of the day, the "functionalist" school of sociology saw ideal human societies as stable and harmonious inter-related systems. Consistent with positivist ideals, sociological research gathered observable and quantifiable evidence to describe, predict, and control an external social reality. Research methodology often relied on statistical analysis of quantified data gathered in social surveys. In short, this constituted a social *science*. Verner learned to conduct sociological surveys based on limited-response questionnaires. This methodological practice was common to John Friesen and other UBC social scientists, among them Harry Hawthorn.[6]

There were alternatives—including Canadian alternatives—to these views of social science in the 1950s. In the United States, for instance, C. Wright Mills and Robert Lynd questioned the value-free "instrumental positivism" of mainstream sociology.[7] Canadian universities, however, were inclined until about the 1950s to borrow from the British.[8] The University of Toronto had

---

[3] Kett, The Pursuit of Knowledge, 402.

[4] Verner Fonds, Box 6-4, Course notes for "Anthropology and Education" in Friesen's handwriting. Friesen had been through the adult education doctorate program only three years before Verner, so the notes suggest the sorts of ideas in the Columbia program at the time.

[5] Jonathan H. Turner, "Sociology in the United States: Its Growth and Contemporary Profile," in National Traditions in Sociology, Nikolai Genov ed. (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 1989), 220-242.

[6] Inglis, "Harry and Audrey Hawthorn: An Appreciation," 2. Hawthorn's mentor at Yale, Bronislaw Malinowski, was a pioneer of the organic, homeostatic social metaphor in anthropology.

[7] Turner, "Sociology in the United States." These critics were, however, known to Columbia students of the late 1940s. Verner Fonds, Box 6-1, Spring 1948, Sociology 196 notes.

[8] Harold Perkin, "The Historical Perspective," in Perspectives on Higher Education, ed. Burton Clark (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 36.

taken a form of sociology rooted in a British idealist (but still empirical) social philosophy imbued with a mission of social amelioration.[9] Idealist social philosophy rejected sense experience as "given," undermining the positivist quest for unadulterated social "facts." It also portrayed societies as cohesive wholes rather than aggregates of individuals.[10] Among academic disciplines, political science, economics, and history had Canadian pedigrees (largely with British origins), while early sociology tended to be historical. John Porter exemplified those Canadian traditions.[11]

UBC accepted intellectual outlooks and practices from the United States rather than central Canada or Britain. Columbia and Chicago Universities had more impact on the UBC Adult Education Department than, say, the University of Toronto. Verner can be seen as one of many conduits of the dominant American intellectual traditions.

A functionalist, positivist sociology influenced how Verner regarded adult education as both a field of practice and an academic discipline. Verner (and Friesen) had studied under Wilbur Hallenbeck and Edmund de Schweinitz Brunner at Columbia, two ex-preachers and rural sociologists prominent in Columbia's adult education program since the mid-1930s. Collaborators and friends, they professed that human communities exhibited organizational patterns (structures) that created roles (functions) for people, and that adult education was a tool to move people from role to role (and even class to class) in order to maintain stability and harmony. By studying societies scientifically, social change could be planned and predicted.[12]

---

[9] McKillop, Matters of Mind, 485, 495-496.

[10] Paul Edwards, ed. The Encyclopedia of Philosophy (New York: Macmillan, 1967), s.v. "Idealism," by H. B. Acton.

[11] David Millet, "Canadian Sociology on the World Scene," in National Traditions in Sociology, ed. Nikolai Genov (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 1989), 38-54. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic.

[12] Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, "Edmund de Schweinitz Brunner: 1889-1973," Adult Leadership 22 (February 1974): 254; Edmund de S. Brunner and Wilbur Hallenbeck, American Society: Urban and Rural Patterns (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955).

Verner held similar social views, although his views of learning were less behavioural in his emphasis on change through rational discussion.[13]

Verner could claim expertise with and familiarity in sociology, but less with psychology. He (and other UBC colleagues later) often chose the works of Robert Gagné for guidance in educational psychology.[14] Gagné fit largely in the tradition of American scientific behaviourism, emphasizing environmental stimuli and behavioural responses as fundamental evidence of learning, although he later held the broader view that acknowledged mental or cognitive operations.[15] However, Gagné had little to say about humanistic (phenomenological), gestalt, psychoanalytic, or even neurobiological approaches to psychology.[16] Verner and Gagné had been affable colleagues at Florida State University, and continued to correspond about the psychology of adult learners (in "stimulus-response" terms). Despite Verner's insistence to the contrary, Gagné maintained there were few significant differences between adults and children as learners.[17] Verner, perhaps unwittingly, had adopted a common view of educational psychology that was as applicable to youth as to adults.

A scientific view of sociology and psychology were consistent with a "scientific" view of education, where educators emphasized creating the conditions to achieve learning objectives.

---

[13] Lowry Nelson, Charles E. Ramsey, and Coolie Verner, Community Structure and Change (New York: Macmillan Company, 1960); Verner Fonds, Box 6-1; Friesen's views were also similar. He included texts by Brunner and Hallenbeck in his sociology and education courses at UBC in the mid 1950s, and his lectures reinforced the views in those texts. Coolie Verner, A Conceptual Scheme (Chicago), 2. Verner justifies adult education by appealling vaguely to the demands of society. See also: Verner, Dickinson, Leirman, Niskala, The Preparation of Adult Educators, 1.

[14] PC, Comprehensive exam folder, "Reading List for Comprehensive Examination in Adult Education; PC, Curriculum folder 2, Course Outline, Education 518, 1981-1982 [Boshier]; Verner Fonds Box 6-8, Outline [1966], Education 518; John Collins, Interview.

[15] Robert M. Gagné, The Conditions of Learning (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965). By the fourth edition, Gagné had modified some of his views. See also: Robert M. Gagné, Essentials of Learning for Instruction (Hinsdale: The Dryden Press, 1974).

[16] Ernest R. Hilgard, Rita L. Atkinson, Richard C. Atkinson, Introduction to Psychology, 7th ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979), 4-10; Edwards, ed. The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, s.v. "Psychology" by R. S. Peters and C. A. Mace, 1-27. Gagné, The Conditions of Learning, 8-14, 17.

[17] Verner Fonds, Box 7-10, 8 March 1972, Verner to Gagné; Box 7-11, 10 April 1974, Verner to Gagné; 26 April 1974, Gagné to Verner.

This view contrasted with such earlier theories of education as "mental discipline" and the exercise of the brain, and "progressive" views of education as real-life problem solving tied to democratic ideologies.[18] That Verner had been nominated as a Fellow of the Centre For Advanced Study in the Behavioural Sciences by Ralph Tyler, paragon of the scientific curriculum, suggests Verner's commitment to that curricular perspective. Not coincidentally, Tyler was on the publication board of Verner's textbook Adult Education; Robert Gagné can also be linked to this educational perspective.[19] Although various forms of educational research or curriculum planning may claim to be "scientific," a "scientistic" view of education emphasized ways to achieve learning objectives.

A central criticism of the scientistic curriculum—one emphasizing the achievement of learning objectives—has been that the values, politics, or philosophical views of the educator are overlooked, and Verner wrote little about the specific ends to which adult education should be put. On the other hand, surely Canada's leading adult education proponents, many of them ex-clergymen with "social gospel" sensibilities, had a sense of social mission. For example, Moses Coady, Catholic priest and central figure in the famed Antigonish Movement movement of the late 1920s and on the CAAE executive for years, preached "science" as the tool for social amelioration leading to spiritual salvation.[20] Indeed, although Verner was not known for his "churchness" he often expressed in vague terms how adult education might aid democracy and oppose conservative political movements like the John Birch Society or McCarthyism, and he kept congenial company with well-known socialists like Leonard Marsh.[21] But by the time

---

[18] Herbert M. Kliebard, "The Rise of Scientific Curriculum-Making and its Aftermath," chap. in Forging the American Curriculum (New York: Routledge, 1992).

[19] Verner Fonds, Box 1-5, 26 February 1959, Tyler to Verner; Herbert M. Kliebard, "The Tyler Rationale," chap. in Forging the American Curriculum; Coolie Verner and Allan Booth, Adult Education (Washington: Centre for Applied Research in Education, 1964); Ralph W. Tyler, Robert M. Gagné, and Michael Scriven, eds. Perspectives of Curriculum Evaluation, American Educational Research Association Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967).

[20] Moses Coady, Masters of Their Own Destiny (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939).

[21] Verner Fonds Box 12-13, 17 March 1955, address by Verner; Box 1-13, various transcripts of speeches; Box 1-1, Obituary, Mayne Island Community News, November 1979; "Escape from bare facts purpose of space probe,"

Verner arrived in Vancouver, whatever common social values existed formed a quiet background against which adult education researchers at UBC pursued their academic goals to create a scientific discipline.

Verner was not alone in his interest in the science of adult education and the intensification of research and theory in the field. He and colleagues in the Adult Education Association of the U. S. A. (and its successor, the American Association of Adult and Continuing Education) increasingly promoted research during the 1960s.[22] Like other colleagues in adult education and education more generally, Verner was interested in educational theory and educational "method."[23] He also sought unique adult education theory, and in 1959 he began publishing articles and booklets on a conceptual scheme for adult education, believing it to be useful (in some unspecified way) to the field.[24] Verner defined adult education as adult learning that was directed by an educator working for a larger agency of some sort. The educator cooperated with the learner to set learning objectives, but controlled the organization of learners ("methods"), the forms of instruction ("techniques"), and selected the gadgets and other physical tools ("devices") that might be useful. In functionalist style, goals were justified through vague appeals to the demands and values of "American society."[25] Verner published his "theory of method" twice in 1959, and again in 1962, 1963 and 1964, and referred to these works frequently.[26]

Ubyssey (Vancouver) 6 March 1962. p. 4. Many American adult educators opposed the politics of Senator McCarthy: Kett, The Pursuit of Knowledge, 425.

[22] Burton W. Kreitlow, "Research and Theory" in Handbook of Adult Education, eds. Robert Smith, George Aker, and J. R. Kidd (New York: Macmillan, 1970), 137-149.

[23] Dickinson, Contributions to a Discipline of Adult Education, 10; Kett, The Pursuit of Knowledge, 402; Willard Brehaut, "The Selection of Education Thesis Problems," in Education, vol. 4 (Toronto: W. J. Gage Limited, 1962), 45. (43-47); Donald Ary Lucy Cheser Jacobs, and Asghar Razavieh, Introduction to Research in Education, 3rd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985), 15; Verner Fonds, Box 1-6, 16 May 1960, "Self Images of Education," address to Faculty of Education, UBC.

[24] Coolie Verner, A Conceptual Scheme for the Identification and Classification of Processes for Adult Education (Tallahasee: Florida State University, 1959); also in Edmund de S. Brunner et al, An Overview of Adult Education Research (Chicago: Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 1959).

[25] Verner, A Conceptual Scheme, (Chicago), 1, 25.

[26] See also J. Roby Kidd, ed., Learning and Society: Readings in Canadian Adult Education (Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1963); Gale Jensen et al, eds., Adult Education: Outlines of An

Two other features characterized Verner's thought on adult education. Because children and adults learned so differently, he maintained, research on youths was not applicable to adults.[27] He also excluded "self-directed education" and the influence of the mass media from his definition.[28] Verner often used the term "diffusion" to describe how innovation and social change flowed from a small source to a wider public. Verner promoted these ideas well into the 1970s.

Verner published explicit statements of his scheme, but also incorporated his ideas in much of his other work. His textbook Adult Education first published in 1964 expressed these views. Contracted research in agricultural extension, the ARDA socio-economic surveys, studies for the Canadian Labour Congress, and the Kellogg reports incorporated aspects of Verner's scheme and his quest for context-independent principles of adult education.[29] Even questions about how education might help alleviate poverty were reduced to questions about which educational "methods" were appropriate to impoverished sub-cultures.[30]

Although Verner's interest in the science and theory of education can be traced to proponents in American universities and American educational thought, his ideas resembled those widely held in British Columbia. In 1960, the Royal Commission on Education, the Chant

---

Emerging Field of University Study (Washington: Adult Education Association, 1964); Verner and Booth, Adult Education.

[27] VC, Box 7-11, 10 April 1974, Verner to Gagné; Coolie Verner, review of The Design of Education, by Cyril O. Houle, Adult Education 23, no. 4 (Summer 1973), 304-305.

[28] Coolie Verner, A Conceptual Scheme (Chicago), 4. Verner's disregard of mass media departs from the CAAE's historical preoccupation with radio and television, and contrasts with Thomas' enthusiasm for the ideas of friend Marshall McLuhan. Faris, The Passionate Educators; Terence Gordon, Marshall McLuhan: Escape into Understanding (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 173, 206.

[29] Coolie Verner and Peter M. Gubbels, The Adoption or Rejection of Innovations by Dairy Farm Operators in the Lower Fraser Valley (Ottawa: Agricultral Economics Research Council of Canada, 1967), 59; Coolie Verner and Gary Dickinson, Community Structure and Participation in Adult Education (Ottawa: Department of Regional Economic Expansion, 1971), 2, 38-39; Gary Dickinson and Dean Goard, The Influence of Education and Age on Participation in Rural Adult Education (Vancouver: Faculty of Education, 1968); Gary Dickinson and Coolie Verner, Education within the Canadian Labour Congress, (Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre, 1973); June Nakamoto and Coolie Verner, Continuing Education in Medicine, W. P. Kellogg Project Report #3 (Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre and Division of Continuing Education in the Health Sciences, 1972) 6-7.

[30] Coolie Verner, "Cultural Factors and Communication," Adult Leadership 18, (March 1970), 268-270, 298.

Report, advocated academic studies in schools, complementing a new pedagogy that stressed learning the principles of academic disciplines.[31] The Chant Report was seen as a criticism of the child-centred pedagogy of progressive education. Verner's views fit this conservative mood.

Adult education as a label for a particular activity in Canada and the United States had largely arisen during the 1920s in the heyday of social reformist progressive educational views, and had acquired the rhetoric and moral tone of the era.[32] Although progressivism took various forms, many British Columbian educational leaders had by the early 1950s at least embraced the label "progressive education."[33] Verner's use of progressive rhetoric about collaboration and responsiveness to the felt needs of adults coupled with an emphasis on educational objectives and the value of scientific knowledge suggests the scientific management progressives rather than the social reform progressives of the 1920s.[34] Verner's progressive patina no doubt appealed to the likes of Neville Scarfe, while talk of science, disciplines, and educational principles fit the new conservative educational attitude of the early 1960s that emphasized rigorous academic instruction in schools and at UBC.[35]

Despite his central role in the American adult education establishment, Verner's views were not always well received. One unsophisticated reviewer gave Verner a positive review, but academic colleagues in the United States often dismissed Verner's scheme.[36] Even if they agreed

---

[31] Penney Clark, "'Take It Away, Youth!' Visions of Canadian Identity in B.C. Social Studies Textbooks, 1925-1989" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1996), 124. Jean Barman and Neil Sutherland, "Royal Commission Retrospective" in Children, teachers, and schools, eds. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland, J. Donald Wilson (Calgary: Detselig: 1995), 411-426.

[32] Kett, The Pursuit of Knowledge, chap. 10.

[33] Barman and Sutherland, "Royal Commission Retrospective."

[34] Kliebard, "The Rise of Scientific Curriculum Making;" Amy von Heyking "Selling Progressive Education to Albertans 1935-1953" in Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'education 10 (Spring/Fall: 1998), 67. Jean Mann, "G. M. Weir and H. B. King: Progressive Education or Education for the Progressive State?" in Schooling and Society in Twentieth Century British Columbia, ed. J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1980), 91-118.

[35] Clark, "Take It Away, Youth!" 121-125. Scarfe had condemned the Chant Report as conservative.

[36] Verner Fonds, Box 9-5, MS, Review of "Adult Education Theory and Method." Burton W. Kreitlow, "Needed Research," Review of Educational Research 35 no. 2 (June 1965): 241.

with certain aspects of it, only a few explored it in their own work.[37] One reviewer called the scheme "thoughtful" and potentially a fillip for discussion, but warned that the approach was hazardously "heavy-handed."[38] Other critics regarded Verner's views as dogmatic, narrow, and controlling.[39]

If American colleagues generally disregarded Verner's "theory" of adult education, students at UBC did not. In courses, as research assistants, and, after 1969, as members of a somewhat isolated academic community, students learned Verner's views about adult education, how to conduct his preferred sort of research, and how to conceptualize the field of adult education.

One of Verner's core courses explicitly taught his theory of method. "Methods of Adult Education" replaced Thomas' course on adult learning and remained in the calendar until the curricular changes of 1984. Verner usually instructed the course until his retirement, which covered social settings of adult education and adult learning, and made considerable reference to his scheme.[40] It was the only required course for the diploma until that program changed in 1981.[41] "Methods" began with the social desirability of adult education, but then quickly moved to definitions of learning and learning theory, leaving the bulk of the course to explore instruction according to Verner's conceptual scheme.[42] Theory, properly used, directed practice.

---

[37] Robert A. Carlson, "Professionalization of Adult Education: An Historical-Philosophical Analysis," Adult Education 28 (Fall 1977): 54. Social Science Citation Index, 1956-1965; William S. Griffith, "The Impact of Intellectual Leadership," chap. in Adult Education: Evolution and Achievements in a Developing Field of Study eds. John Peters, Peter Jarvis and Associates (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1991), 108; Gary Dickinson, Principle Contributions of Coolie Verner to a Discipline of Adult Education, 28 (Summer 1978): 223-234; Kjell Rubenson, "Adult Education Research: In Quest of a Map of the Territory" Adult Education 32 (1982): 57-74.

[38] Alan B. Knox, review of Adult Education Theory and Method: A Conceptual Scheme for the Identification and Classification of Processes, by Coolie Verner, Adult Education 13 (Summer 1963): 253.

[39] Verner Fonds, Box 8-14, A. H. Charnley, review manuscript of Gary Dickinson Contributions to a Discipline of Adult Education; Robert Carlson, "Professionalization of Adult Education: An Historical-Philosophical Analysis" Adult Education 28 (Fall 1977), 53-63; Robert Carlson, "The Nature of Adult Education" Yearbook of Adult and Continuing Education Phyllis M. Cunningham, ed. (Chicago: Marquis Academic Media, 1980), 82-85. Perhaps ironically, this is what Verner objected to in youth schooling: Coolie Verner, review of Compulsory Mis-Education, by Paul Goodman, in Adult Education 17, no. 1 (Autumn 1966), 49.

[40] Verner Fonds, Box 6-8, Course Outline [1967].

[41] Pioneering a Profession, 45.

[42] Verner Fonds, Box 6-8, Outline Education 518, [1967-8]

102

Verner's conceptions of education and the role of research also surfaced in his other courses. "Introduction to Adult Education" (Education 412) had been one of Thomas' original courses, and the earliest adult education course to be written as a correspondence course.[43] In his original 1961 correspondence version, Verner promoted the field on the first page as a "leading social movement in modern society" and described adult education programs as cooperatively planned to address the immediate needs of students. Although Verner provided opportunities for students to indicate their "immediate needs" (thus providing a sense of student-centredness), he also led students to a scientistic view of education, a view dependent on social science research and on what he saw as the "discipline" of adult education. On program planning, he wrote that

> our knowledge in this area is severely limited. We have yet to learn how
> to design efficient programs for certain specified adult learning tasks. As
> a result, we are not as efficient, economical, and effective as we may
> become... if we achieve this knowledge about program planning and if we
> can apply it to the adult education situation, we can anticipate a complete
> revolution in adult education.

As in his conceptual scheme, Verner further "defined" adult education as an activity organized by someone working for an educational agency for the benefit of another person, and used this definition to identify historical precedents. The revised 1964 correspondence course of Adult Education 412 reiterated many of these sentiments, but with the inclusion of considerably more booster rhetoric and opportunities for student opinions.

The correspondence 412 courses until the late 1970s typically began with definitions of adult education and the adult learner, followed by examples of each (historical and contemporary), and ended with practical "how to" suggestions.[44] Another 412 "contemplated

---

[43] CVMRR, Education 412 (Correspondence), Verner [1961]. The course has no page numbers to be cited.
[44] CVMRR, Education 412 (Correspondence), Verner [1961]; Verner/Cameron, 1964; Davison 1972; Thornton/Little 1977.

outline" suggested by Dickinson and accepted by an unidentified author shows a similar development.[45] In all cases, theoretical knowledge of adult education was intended to direct practicing adult educators.

Although the agricultural economics course ("The Organization of Rural Society") was not explicitly about adult education, it also suggested a similar way of understanding the role of knowledge. The course began by defining a community as a "system," described examples of such systems (and sub-systems, including adult education), and ended with units on local and foreign community development.[46] Again, theory guided practice.

Students were encouraged to adapt Verner's views to their own research. Bibliographies in student theses and major papers during the 1960s and beyond frequently cited Verner's publications. Verner's conceptual model is explicit in the student reviews of methods, techniques, or devices and evaluations of different methods or techniques.[47] Student adoption studies in agricultural extension, historical and institutional studies, and evaluation studies could also test his theory.[48]

Early student theses that did not explicitly evaluate "methods, techniques, and devices" still remained consistent with Verner's views by examining institutions or perhaps educators. (Table 7) Non-institutional studies, such as "literature reviews," assumed for purposes of exposition that educators always knowingly played active parts in managing adult education.

---

[45] Verner Fonds, Box 6-8, Contemplated Course Outline, Education 412, [1975].

[46] Faculty of Agricultural Sciences, Box 11, Department of Agricultural Economics File, [1961].

[47] Margaret Stott, "A Review of Selected Research Related to the Use of Techniques in Adult Education" (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1966); Winona Stinson, "A Systematic Review of Research Related to Methods of Adult Education" (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1967); William McGown, "Instuctional Devices in Adult Education, (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1966); Anna Koerner, "Heating Techniques in Domestic Food Processing" (unpublished M. A. thesis, The Unviersity of British Columbia, 1968); Knute Buttedahl, "A Comparative Study of Participants in Lecture Classes and Participants in Study-Discussion Groups" (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1963).

[48] Verner, A Conceptual Scheme (Chicago), 26-29.

Participation studies, comprising the largest category of degree research and the second largest category of non-degree research, were also indirect studies of "methods."[49] Verner's methodologcial views also dominated. By 1973, socio-economic surveys comprised the largest category of non-degree research, and theses of the 1960s almost exclusively used a hypothetico-deductive methodology and statistical data analysis. In 1974, all doctoral students were expected to learn "scientific method and parametric/non-parametric statistics to solve problems in the practice of adult education."[50] All this was consistent with Verner's scientistic conceptualization of adult education, both as a field of practice and as an academic discipline.

Table 7

Percentage Distribution of Degree Research

by Institution Studied

INSTITUTION	NUMBER	PERCENT
Universities	8	13.1
Health organizations	8	13.1
Public schools	8	13.1
Provincial and local governments	6	11.5
Federal government	7	11.5
Agriculture and rural extension	3	4.9
Labour unions	2	3.3
Community colleges	1	1.6
No institutional relationship	17	27.9
TOTAL	61	100.0

Source: Pioneering a Profession, 72.

Verner's influence on students is visible in other student publications. Doctoral students in 1972, the first "cohort," wrote that they generally accepted adult education as a "discipline" as evidenced by its literature, research, and knowledge base, although it yet lacked theory or a strong "scientific" foundation. Students further predicted increasing professionalism in the field (despite lack of agreement on what that might mean), recommended specialized training, and supported the notion of certification. The department should, the students thought, continue to

---

[49] Pioneering a Profession, 73-75. A quick review of theses confirms this.

[50] Verner Fonds, Box 6-7, October 1974, "Programs of Study in Adult Education."

create knowledge "exclusive to adult education."[51] Faculty and students reiterated Verner's view

in <u>Adult Education in British Columbia</u>, written in 1972 at the beginning of the NDP government

term, by diminishing self-directed learning and linking adult education to deliberate provision

directed by educators.[52]

Students also helped write the 1973 departmental retrospective <u>Pioneering a Profession</u>

and again reiterated Verner's views in vague statements about the discipline of adult education,

fundamental principles that underlie practice, and how scientific theory in the discipline might be

developed. A discussion paper issued in 1974 also asserted that the growing body of knowledge

that underlay practice verified the existence of the discipline and various fundamental

principles.[53] When Verner retired, his students requested that he be allowed to continue

supervising doctoral theses, referring to him as the "most eminent professor of adult education in

Canada."[54] David Little, a doctoral student writing in the late 1970s, produced a paper that

incorporated Verner's conceptual scheme in considerable detail.[55]

Ideas about how to control the educational process through research-informed practice

dominated the department during Verner's reign, but other concerns remained alive. Several

students before the mid-1970s remember classroom discussions on the purposes of adult

education and the values of a democratic society.[56] Students like Darrell Anderson and long time

NDP activist Daisy Webster wrote theses that advocated modest social reform.[57]

---

[51] PC, Curriculum folder 2, "Goals for the Adult Education Department," 1972, 6, 15, 16.

[52] Gary Dickinson, ed., <u>Adult Education in British Columbia</u> (Vancouver: AERC, 1973).

[53] PC, Curriculum folder 2, "Programs of Study in Adult Education," January 1974.

[54] Verner Fonds, Box 3-3, 11 April 1977, memo to Chairman, Department of Adult Education.

[55] PC, Research Folder, David Little, "Adult Learning and Education." Reprinted as David Little, "Adult Learning and Education: A Concept Analysis" in <u>Yearbook of Adult and Continuing Education</u> ed. Phyllis M. Cunningham, 3-19 (Chicago: Marquis Academic Media, 1979).

[56] Personal correspondence, Dale Rusnell, 24 May 2000; personal correspondence, Glenn Hardy, June 17, 2000.

[57] Daisy Webster, "The Need for Adult Education of Married Women in the Lower Socio-Economic Levels in Vancouver" (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1968); Darrell Vail Anderson, "Analytical Review of Remedial Educational Programs for Socially and Economically Disadvantaged Adults" (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1968). However, these two theses still used terms promoted by Verner.

Generating research and teaching were only two aspects of Verner's efforts. A third was to publish and catalogue research. The Faculty of Graduate Studies required that research materials be available for doctoral studies, and magistral studies likewise benefitted.[58] Because library classification schemes had no category for adult education (a situation Verner found intolerable), Verner insisted that UBC move his personal library from Florida as a condition of tenure.[59] Upon arriving at UBC, Verner began working to produce and promote professional knowledge for local practitioners.

In 1963, Verner and a student published an in-house bibliography of local adult education research, and in 1964, he edited a special edition of the Journal of the Faculty of Education of the University of British Columbia to promote adult education and the importance of university research and training. The bibliographic chapter listed some eighty-seven studies, many of which pre-dated the department by several decades, and included social work theses, articles from the CAAE's Food For Thought, and academic studies by social researchers in other departments at UBC, education administrators, and even local politicians. The department published another similar statement in 1968 as a separate document. A second adult education issue of the Journal of the Faculty of Education in 1971 presented some 143 bibliographic entries in fourteen categories, with many of the earlier Food For Thought articles and other sociological studies pruned from the list. In 1977, adult education professors produced yet another "checklist" of publications.[60] Verner frequently referred to the body of literature in adult education as evidence of a growing discipline and a knowledge base to guide professionals.

---

[58] FoGS Deans Office, Box 1-1, January 1961, "Report of the Committee on Graduate Degrees in the Faculty of Education."

[59] Verner Fonds, Box 1-6, 7 March 1961, Verner to Friesen; Coolie Verner, "The Literature of Adult Education," in Handbook of Adult Education in the United States," ed. Malcolm S. Knowles, 162-175 (Washington: Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 1960).

[60] Margarett M. Stott and Coolie Verner, A Trial Bibliography of Research Pertaining to Adult Education (Vancouver: Extension Department, University of British Columbia, 1963); Dickinson, Contributions to a Discipline of Adult Education, 45; Coolie Verner, ed., "Adult Education in British Columbia," Journal of Education of the Faculty of Education of the University of British Columbia 10 (1964); Gary Dickinson, Research Related to Adult Edcuation Conducted at the University of British Columbia (Vancouver: Faculty of Education,

Research conducted locally had a broader political use at a time when provincial teachers were objecting to American textbooks in schools.[61] The CAAE had Vancouver supporters and a tradition of Canadian nationalism. Canadian research might satisfy nationalist sensibilities, and Verner, his colleagues, and students were sensitive to Canadian topics and settings, comparing local with American studies for similarity or divergence.[62]

Verner himself was a prolific writer, particularly if one includes his sociological surveys. (He also published in historical cartography, but these works will not be considered here.) Except for his contracted reports, his publishers were closely and professionally identified with adult education. The Adult Education Association of the U. S. A. (and later the American Association of Adult and Continuing Education) published many of Verner's works, either in their journal Adult Education or as stand-alone documents. Other publications were in-house (Faculty of Education, UBC, or "Adult Education Research Centre"), and only a few academically modest papers were in wider education journals. Although Verner insisted his doctorate was as respectable as any Ph.D. in sociology and that he was entitled to join the American Sociology Association, he did not publish in sociology journals.[63] (The possible exception to this narrow range of publishers were a couple of articles published under the aegis of agricultural economics.) Many publications were re-workings of the same theme and he often quoted himself.[64] Verner had close academic links with a small academic community in the United States, but he had little intellectual exchange with professors in his own institution.

1968); James Thornton, ed., "Special Issue on Adult Education in B.C.," Journal of Education of the Faculty of Education 18 (Winter 1971); Roger Boshier, Bonnie Jean Thiesfeld, and Gary Dickinson, A Checklist of Studies by Adult Educators in the Pacific Northwest (Vancouver: Northwest Adult Education Association, 1978). Based on an earlier list by Dickinson.

[61] Clark, "Take It Away, Youth!" 139.

[62] Pioneering a Profession, 77.

[63] Verner Fonds, Box 3-5, 25 January 1963, [Brunner] to Bob.

[64] The following are sets of extremely similar publications by Verner: "Research," Food For Thought 16, no. 5 (February 1956): 214-221; "U.S. Research Review," Adult Education (U.K.) 28 (1956): 315-321; "Research-Based Publications, 1955" Adult Education 6, no. 4 (Summer 1956): 226-233. The five or so statements of his conceptual scheme also differ very little. His "conceptual scheme" appears in many publications.

Verner, however, was alone in the department for only five years. New professors had the potential to introduce new ideas about research, theory, and what students should learn, but few challenged Verner. Russell Whaley stayed hardly long enough to make an impression, although his proclivity for quantitative, hypothetico-deductive research suggest that he would have maintained many aspects of the status quo.[65] His main contribution was helping to secure the Privy Council funding for the study on disadvantaged adults.[66]

John Niemi stayed longer, but was different from Verner in many respects. Although he worked with students in conducting survey research, he also had an interest in social philosophy, the educationally disadvantaged, and the social role of adult education to which he brought social gospel sensibilities.[67] His strong interest in broadcast media contrasted with Verner's view that mass media were largely outside the purview of adult education. Despite his standing with colleagues (as a consulting editor to Adult Education, a member of the Commissions of Professors of Adult Education, and Chairman of the Mass Media and the Social Philosophy sections of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A.), Niemi's research was not well received at UBC. Niemi published well over a dozen articles between 1969 and 1971, but only two co-authored articles were entered in the bibliography of the 1971 Special Issue of the Journal of Education.[68] Many of Niemi's articles were published in the professional journals Educational/Instructional Broadcasting and the CAAE's Continuous Learning, and his publications in Adult Education tended to be short personal statements and book reviews. Although his publications were not the empirical studies typical of the ARDA research, his view of research was at odds with Verner's for perhaps other reasons.

---

[65] R. F. Whaley and T. Adolph, "Attitudes Toward Adult Education," Adult Education 17 (Spring 1967): 152-156.

[66] "Professors Analyze Poverty Literature," UBC Reports, Issue 12, no. 4, September-October 1966, p. 3.

[67] Gary Dickinson, Research Related to Adult Education Conducted at the University of British Columbia; University of British Columbia, Lutheran Campus Centre Archives, Current Files/LSM/UBC General Folder, Membership lists 1968, 1972; Chaplain's Report 1968-69.

[68] Annual Reports, 1967-1972; Thornton, "Special Issue on Adult Education in B.C."

Niemi commiserated with critics of adult education like John Ohliger, who suggested that

excessive reliance on adult education implied a personal deficiency.[69] Niemi agreed with Robert

Carlson, a faculty member at the University of Saskatchewan who criticized Verner's views (and

for whom Verner had little regard), that adult education was in danger of domination by empirical

researchers with an excessively narrow view of both research and the field of adult education, a

sentiment echoed by a few other professors of adult education. Niemi also warned of the dangers

of "administrative priority," reliance on experts, unnecessary change, and the privileges of the

economically or politically powerful.[70] All these views contrasted, in some way, with Verner's.

As a researcher and teacher, Niemi was not promoting Verner's views. Niemi's influence in

the department was consequently reduced. He taught a course on Mass Media and

Communications (Education 516), to which Verner paid little administrative heed, a course that

nevertheless became popular.[71] In 1971, however, Education 516 was replaced as a core

program requirement with Agricultural Economics 504, a program planning course. Niemi was

also deprived of student supervisory tasks in 1971. According to Niemi, Verner deliberately and

autocratically demoted the media course and re-assigned students.[72] Although Niemi served on

most master's thesis committees with Verner between 1967 and 1970—and was the sole adult

education faculty member for some half dozen—he served on only two from 1970 to 1975.

Course descriptions in Pioneering a Profession presented Education 516 in Verner's terms (with

reference to educational devices), rather than Niemi's. Whether the rift with Verner was personal

[69] John Ohliger, "Adult Education: 1984," Adult Leadership 19, no. 7 (January 1971): 223-224; John Ohliger, "Is lifelong adult education a guarantee of permanent inadequacy," Convergence 7, no. 2 (1974): 47-59.

[70] John A. Niemi, "Cults and Their Captives—A Plan of Escape," Adult Leadership 20, no. 10 (April 1972): 360; Jerold Apps "Toward a Broader Definition of Research," Adult Education 23, no. 1 (Fall 1972): 59-64; Robert Carlson, "The Nature of Adult Education" in Yearbook of Adult and Continuing Education, ed. Phyllis M. Cunningham, 82-86 (Chicago: Marquis Academic Media, 1980); Verner Fonds, Box 7-11, 28 March 1974, Verner to Knowles. Carlson, however, admitted that Verner held personal views that varied with his published ones.

[71] PC, Annual Reports, 1967-1970.

[72] Faculty of Education Fonds, Graduate Board/Graduate Division Working Committee/Executive Committee Binder 1965-1978, 28 September 1971, "Submission to the Graduate Board" by John Niemi.

or professional—or both—Niemi had little opportunity to change the department's research or curricular orientation.[73]

Niemi did retain the responsibility for the diploma program students, often teaching their seminar.[74] Not surprisingly, Niemi edited the section of Pioneering a Profession that described the diploma program. However, in that role his influence on research and intellectual leadership of the department was minimized.

What little student research Niemi supervised were often surveys of the kind already familiar in the department. He was principal research supervisor of the first female doctoral graduate, but it, too, was a Verner-inspired survey of how nursing educators could best spread new knowledge to nurses.[75] The study was based on interviews of hospital nursing directors to ascertain how these people learned of and adopted innovative nursing practices, and what personal or institutional characteristics helped or hindered the adoption. Consistent with Verner's views, it was agency-based and described methods for effective and deliberate knowledge dispersal. Niemi also co-published with students and edited a book on media that included accounts of his media class and contributions by students, but these were popular rather than academic works.[76]

Niemi's views on the social role of adult education and his preferred topics of concern were aberrant in the department at the time. Gary Dickinson, in contrast, held views more consistent with Verner's about research and the knowledge required by aspiring professional adult educators. Recruited by Verner in 1965, Dickinson had been Verner's magistral and first UBC

---

[73] Selman, Felt Along the Heart, 139-140.

[74] PC, Annual Report 1971-1972.

[75] Beverly Du Gas, "An Analysis of Certain Factors in the Diffusion of Innovations in Nursing Practice in the Public General Hospitals of the Province of British Columbia" (unpublished Ed. D. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1969).

[76] John A. Niemi, ed., Mass Media and Adult Education (Englewood Cliffs: Educational Technology Publications, Inc.), 1971. PC, Annual Report, 1970-71.

doctoral student. As research director of the ARDA socio-economic surveys, Dickinson co-authored many of the ARDA reports. He also wrote the reports on union education in Canada, many of the Kellogg reports and publications, and became the most published contributor to Adult Education from 1964 to 1973.[77] His introductory text book How to Teach Adults presented images of adult education consistent with Verner's maxims about institutional situations and expert teachers informed by research and theory.[78] By the late 1970s, Dickinson had begun writing adult basic education reports and conducting surveys of under-educated adults in British Columbia.

Dickinson had been thoroughly exposed to Verner's view of research, and their co-authored studies often referred to Verner's conceptual scheme and "principles" of adult education.[79] Like his mentor, Dickinson claimed that his research helped to create the organized body of knowledge that made adult education a profession.[80] His own work was not explicitly tied to Verner's conceptual models, but he often talked of the discipline of adult education or called for theory-building.[81] After Verner had retired, Dickinson continued to promote his mentor's quest and he exhorted researchers "in adult education to build upon [Verner's] framework in order to foster a mature discipline."[82]

[77] Huey B. Long and Stephen K. Agyekum, "Adult Education 1964-1973: Reflections of a Changing Discipline," Adult Education 24, no. 2 (Winter 1974): 112. PC, Annual Report 1971-72; Gary Dickinson, Robert Gobert, and Louise McGregor "Preparing Health Professionals as Specialists in Continuing Education," Adult Leadership 24 (November, 1975): 87-88, 110.

[78] Gary Dickinson, Teaching Adults: A Handbook for Instructors (Toronto: New Press, 1973), vii, viii.

[79] Gary Dickinson and Coolie Verner, Community Structure and Participation in Adult Education, special study 3, ARDA, Canada Land Inventory Project 49009 (Vancouver: Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia, 1969), 2; Gary Dickinson and Coolie Verner, Education within the Canadian Labour Congress (Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre, 1973), 83.

[80] Gary Dickinson and Dale Rusnell, "A Content Analysis of Adult Education," Adult Education 21, no. 3 (Fall 1971), 177.

[81] Dickinson, Teaching Adults, 68-69; Gary Dickinson and Nicholas A. Rubidge, "Testing Knowledge About Adult Education," Adult Education 23, no. 4 (Summer 1973): 284, 298; Dickinson, "Research," in Pioneering a Profession, 78-79; Dickinson and Rusnell, "A Content Analysis of Adult Education," 184. The labour and health reports also contained such references.

[82] Dickinson, Principal Contributions of Coolie Verner, 36.

Dickinson was often a spokesman for research and theory in the department. He edited

the section on research in Pioneering a Profession, taught research, magistral, and doctoral

seminars, theory in adult education seminars, the methods course, and even the undergraduate

extension planning course.[83] Graduate students with whom he worked often learned quantitative

methods, tested hypotheses, and conducted extensive statistical analyses, although there were

exceptions.[84] Dickinson believed that a "professional adult educator" should have technical

knowledge and expertise, be able to use "methods techniques and devices," and have an ethical

and responsible disposition.[85] Dickinson recalled emphasizing "process and method, teaching

and evaluation" in his teaching at UBC.[86] He remained concerned with objectivity, validity, and

reliability, and his own research often tested hypotheses with quantified data.[87]

The relationship between Dickinson's research and its implications for education also

conveyed a scientistic view of education. A 1970 social survey that examined economic

inequality illustrated this well.[88] Advancing the hypothesis that "by raising the level of

education of an adult, his chances for economic success are enhanced" and social alienation may

decrease, his study found that "educational attainment is inversely related to alienation."

Questions about of this relationship aside, the recommendations to adult educators are limited:

---

[83] PC, Annual Report 1971-72; PC Curriculum Folder 1, 14 February 1975, Schedule for Adult Education Courses; Curriculum Folder 1, Tentative Schedule of Courses, 1978-1979.

[84] Dale Rusnell, "Occupation and Adult Education of Non-Farm Residents in Rural British Columbia" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1970); Dale Rusnell, "Development of an Index of Quality For the Planning of Management Training Programs" (unpublished Ed. D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1974); Leah Quastel, "Learing Needs and Job Satisfaction of Community Health Workers" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1978); Nicholas Rubidge, "The Effects of Learning and Instructional Style Congruence in an Adult Education Learning Environment" (unpublished Ed. D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1979). For an exception, see Arthur Hodgkinson, "A Study of the Stages of Moral Development of Married Couples in an Anglican Parish" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1973).

[85] CVMRR, Box 1-1, 2 July 1980, Dickinson to Adult Education faculty.

[86] Personal correspondence, Gary Dickinson, 26 May 2000.

[87] For one example, see Dickinson and Rubidge, "Testing Knowledge About Adult Education." Dickinson later questioned the "validity and reliability" of department comprehensive exams. PC, Comprehensive exam folder, 6 June 1979, Memorandum, Dickinson to department colleagues.

[88] Gary Dickinson, "Alienation Among Rural Adults of Low Educational Attainment" Adult Education 21 (Fall 1970): 3, 11-12.

The chief role of the adult educator, therefore, would probably be to impart

the notion that success is capable of achievement by the educationally

disadvantaged, and that literacy and basic education offers a legitimate method

for its attainment.

These recommendations are hardly outcomes of the study, nor are they particularly insightful;

the emphasis on studying the learner and the learner's present social context as the basis for

determining educational objectives is consistent with a scientistic view of curriculum.[89] Many of

the surveys done by Verner and Dickinson—and even Niemi's on educational participation of

underprivileged people—left virtually unanswered the questions of what should be done and

why.[90]

Dickinson tested the knowledge learned by students in the UBC adult education programs

to answer the general question of what an adult educator should know. Using UBC students to

test the measurement instrument (29% graduate, 71% undergraduate), the questions he asked

revealed some of the content of the program in the 1971-72 academic year. Because the answers

to the test questions are found in How Adults Learn, one can infer that the topics of concern in

the book were similar to those in the courses. In discussing course planning, behavioural

objectives were central. In discussing adult learners, Dickinson emphasized physiological traits

accompanying aging. "Methods, techniques, and devices" appeared in another section, and a

chapter on evaluation looked at how to measure the effectiveness of instruction.[91] These views

were similar to Verner's of adult education and scientistic views of education more widely.

---

[89] Kliebard, "The Tyler Rationale." This is a form of the "naturalistic fallacy:" you cannot get an "ought" from an "is."

[90] John Niemi and Darrel Anderson, Adult Education and the Disadvantaged Adult (Syracuse: ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education, 1969); Gary Dickinson, "Adult Illiteracy in Canada and British Columbia," in Yearbook of Adult and Continuing Education ed. Phyllis M. Cunningham, 179-184 (Chicago: Marquis Academic Media, 1979).

[91] Dickinson and Rubidge, "Testing Knowledge about Adult Education;" Dickinson, Teaching Adults.

What possibly could Verner and Dickinson have meant by theory? Although neither wrote much about what constituted a theory (in fact, Dickinson never professed one of his own), Verner suggested that theory involved conceptual models, precise definitions of concepts, operationalization of concepts, accurate measurement, proper analysis and adequate testing of the hypothesis and theory.[92] Verner's theory of method was meant to help answer procedural questions: given certain objectives, what is the best way to organize learners (select a method), instruct them (choose a technique), use gadgets (devices), and demonstrate that those objectives truly were met (evaluate)? Verner's modus operandi was to measure learning under different conditions in order to predict what was effective for whom. Social surveys helped the educator to understand the forms of social organization or structures familiar and acceptable to a given population, and hence how to organize educational programs. Surveys also suggested what (in the view of the researcher) the educational goals might be (but overlooking the political and moral questions). Understanding the characteristics of the participants and testing various ways of instructing allowed the educator to select the instructional techniques (and devices) deemed most effective for certain people. The power to "describe, predict, and control" education appears central to this view of theory.

Hired in 1974, Roger Boshier was also enamored of theory. He was particularly interested in why adults participated in education, an interest useful to "facilitate the growth of theory...[and] throw light on the conceptual desert that underpins adult education dropout research, and enhance efforts to increase the quantity and quality of learning experiences for adults."[93] He became very well known in the field for research into adult education participation.[94] His motives may partly have been political, and in this regard he introduced new

[92] Verner, Conceptual Scheme (Chicago: 1962), 25.

[93] Roger Boshier, "Motivational Orientations of Adult Education Participants: A Factor Analytic Exploration of Houle's Typology," Adult Education 21, no. 2 (Winter 1971): 3.

[94] Roger Boshier and Lynette Pickard, "Citation Patterns of Articles Published in Adult Education 1968-1977," Adult Education 30, no. 1 (Fall 1979): 34-51. Boshier also won the first "Imogene Oakes Award for Adult

ideas into the department. A peace and environmental activist before leaving New Zealand, Boshier became an enthusiastic promoter of non-school, adult learning to enhance civil society in British Columbia.[95]

In other ways, Boshier fit the views already well-rooted in the department. Like positivists a century earlier, he saw the potential for social science—in this case adult education—to ameliorate social problems by discovering necessary causal connections between social phenomena. Although Boshier often used the humanistic terms and ideals of Carl Rogers or Abraham Maslow, his research methodology rarely involved the intensive interviews or subjects' perspectives that helped define humanistic psychology.[96] Rather, Boshier's research typically used "valid and reliable" questionnaires and measurement tools, quantitative statistical analysis, hypothetico-deductive research design, and conceptual models to describe, control, and predict phenomena. He sought to develop nomothetic, reality-describing theory that incrementally improved with developments in measurement tools, and he incorporated aspects of Verner's conceptual scheme even before having met Verner.[97] Later, he adopted much of Verner's conceptual scheme.[98] He saw himself as a researcher in the "discipline" of adult education, promoting the view that adult education had "unique analytic constructs" useful to understand,

Education Research" in 1976, although it took a little self-promotion to get it! PC, Boshier folder, 25 July [1976], Boshier to [Peters].

[95] "Dr. Roger Boshier wins major research award," Hawke's Bay Herald-Tribune (New Zealand), 19 November 1976. "A turnabout in learning," Vancouver Province, 10 February 1977, p. 23.

[96] Allan Bullock, Oliver Stallybrass, and Stephen Trombley, eds., Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought, rev. ed. (London: Fontana Press, 1988), s.v. "Humanistic Psychology" by Ian M. L. Hunter; Hilgard et al, Introduction to Psychology, 393-397; Roger Boshier, "Educational Participation and Dropout: A Theoretical Model," Adult Education 23, no. 4 (Summer 1973): 255-282.

[97] Roger Boshier, An Instrument and Conceptual Model for the Prediction and Diagnosis of Dropout from Educational Institutions (Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington Department of University Extension, 1971); Roger Boshier, "Educational Participation and Dropout;" Roger Boshier, "A Conceptual and Methodological Perspective Concerning Research on Participation in Adult Education" in Viewpoints on Adult Education Research, ed. John A. Niemi (Columbus: ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education, 1979), 71-100; Roger Boshier and John M. Peters, "Adult Needs, Interests, and Motives" in Material and Methods of Adult Education, ed. C. Klevins (California: Klevins Publishing Co., 1976), 197-212; Roger Boshier, "Theories and Models in Adult Education: A Plea for Pure Research" Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education/Revue Canadienne de l'éducation permanente universitaire 7, no. 1 (Summer 1980), 12-18.

[98] Roger Boshier, ed., Towards a Learning Society (Vancouver: Learning Press Ltd., 1980), 32-34.

predict, and control adult education, and that good practice stemmed from knowledge of the concepts revealed through research.[99] He embraced psychological behaviourism, although not exclusive of other "mentalist" psychological theories, and considered historical research as legitimate yet impractical and non-empirical.[100] Boshier's academic work, consistent with prevailing attitudes about educational research, endorsed Verner's ideas and complemented the work of Dickinson.[101]

Unlike Verner, Boshier did publish outside the field. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, he had numerous (very) short articles in American psychology journals, a few in Australian or New Zealand psychology and criminology journals, and a couple in British psychology journals. He authored or co-authored several book chapters during the 1970s that were not specifically studies in adult education, but after 1974 his curriculum vitae lists most of his refereed publications in adult education journals. Not all editors outside adult education received Boshier's work with praise and thanksgiving; some were critical of the academic field of adult education and Boshier's contributions.[102]

Not surprisingly, Boshier was also influential in promoting this view of adult education. He taught research and magistral seminars, and frequently asked students in exams or in courses for a theory or model relevant to adult education.[103] Theory was the goal of scientific research, and Boshier taught that the goal of adult education research, and science more broadly, was to

[99] PC, Boshier Folder, 10 August 1976, Boshier to Bitmead; Boshier, Towards a Learning Society, 39; PC, Comprehensive Exam folder, 14 February 1980, Boshier to Adult Education faculty.

[100] Roger Boshier, "Behaviour Modification and Contingency Management in a Graduate Adult Edcuation Program" Adult Education 26, no. 1 (Fall 1975): 16-31. Roger Boshier, review of Register of Research in Progress, by C. D. Legge, in Adult Education 27, no. 4 (Summer 1977): 231-232.

[101] Boshier, Towards a Learning Society, 32-34 and elsewhere in the chapter.

[102] PC, Boshier file, 14 April 1980, Murray to Boshier.

[103] PC, Curiculum folder 1, Department of Adult Education Mark Distribution 1975-76, 1976-77; PC, Curriculum folder 1, 1976, "Comprehensive Examination in Adult Education"; PC, Curriculum folder 2, 20 September 1977, "Research in Adult Education"; PC, Curriculum folder 2, 1981-1982, Course Outline, Education 518; PC, Curriculum folder 3, 1979-1980, Course Outline, Education 514; PC, Curriculum folder 3, April 1980, Final Examination, Education 561.

understand, predict, and control adult learning.[104] Boshier's students were introduced to the

same views he promoted through publications and to colleagues across North America.[105]

Boshier's students conducted thesis research similar to his own (that is, quantitative, hypotheses

testing, statistical research), using measurement tools he had developed such as the "Educational

Participation Scale" or theories of "congruence."[106]

Boshier also reinforced Verner's views on defining the practice of adult education. In the

Foundations course, he began with definitions of the field, examples in philosophical and

historical literature, and then considered how other academic disciplines might contribute to an

understanding of adult education.[107] Similarly, he began his Methods course with a conceptual

and theoretical discussion of adult education and learning, then moved to implications for

teaching.[108] This sequence in course content affirms a view of adult education practice according

to which definitions of adult education and accompanying theory—or at least conceptual

models—preceded practice. That view was consistent with Verner's and others' work to make

the practice of adult education subservient to professional knowledge.

Dickinson and Boshier were the most active researchers in the department during the

1970s, and, like Verner, conducted empirical research in a positivistic vein, although Boshier still

kept an eye on "alternate forms of adult education" promoted by social critics like Paulo Friere

and Ivan Illich.[109] In many ways, adult education researchers had little choice in research

[104] PC, Boshier folder, n.d., outline, Education 561.

[105] Roger Boshier, "A Perspective on Theory and Model Development in Adult Education," paper presented to the Commission of Professors of Adult Education, Portland, Oregon, 1978.

[106] Gary Baker, "The Effects of a Fee or its Absence on Enrollment and Attendance in an Adult Education Program" (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1978); Leah Quastel, "Learning Needs and Job Satisfaction of Community Mental Health Workers" (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1978); Nicholas Rubidge, "The Effects of Learning and Instructional Style Congruence in an Adult Education Learning Environment" (unpublished Ed. D. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1979); David Little, "Adult Learning and Education: A Concept Analysis." Boshier's term "congruent" becomes a popular buzzword in various materials produced by adult education students.

[107] PC, Curriculum folder 3, Outline, Education 514 (Boshier), 1979-80.

[108] PC, Curriculum folder 2, Outline, Education 518 (Boshier), 1981-82.

[109] PC, Curriculum 2, [1976] "Undergraduate Courses in Adult Education;" PC, Comprehensive Exam folder, April 1978.

approaches if they wanted peer recognition, since quantitative analysis was standard in adult education programs across the United States, as well as more broadly in education.[110]

Other department members in the early to mid-1970s were less influential as original researchers, but did hold views that they passed along to students. Thornton, Collins, and Rusnell were more notable for their teaching than their scholarship during the 1970s, and tended to reinforce existing dominant views.

Thornton published various book reviews, bibliographies, and in-house "how-to" guides. His "Program Planning Guide for Health Professions" was an introductory guide on how to determine "needs," and how to set and to achieve objectives. Unsurprisingly, it presented a scientistic view of education, described "principles" of adult learning, and incorporated Verner's terminology of methods and techniques of adult education.[111] In one course, Thornton included some "philosophical reflections," but it was not rigorously academic.[112] He taught that there were "characteristics of all adult learners" (emphasis in original), qualities unique to adult learners, and basic laws of learning that could be stated in behavioural terms.[113] His 1977 revision of Education 412 (correspondence) used Dickinson's Teaching Adults and writings by Verner, again including reference to "methods, techniques, and devices."[114] Thornton, using research produced by UBC colleagues, was thus caught in the mainstream views in his

[110] Barbara J. Jain and Linda Carly, Comparison of Selected Requirements for the Ph.D. and Ed.D. in Adult Education in North America (Champagne: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champagne, 1978), 17.

[111] Robert Gobert, James Thornton, Sharon Turnbull, Program Planning Guide for Health Professions (Vancouver: Department of Adult Education/Division of Continuing Education in the Health Sciences, UBC, 1977).

[112] Webster E. Cotton, "A New Direction for Adult Education" Educational Horizons (Summer 1968), 147-152. Reprint signed by Thornton.

[113] PC, curriculum folder 1, 1978, Course materials of James Thornton.

[114] James Thornton and David Little, Education 412 Correspondence Course (Vancouver: Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1977). checkl

department, although he often guided students in major papers and theses that lacked statistical analysis.[115]

As a frequent instructor of the program planning course (Agricultural Economics 504) after 1971, Thornton did introduce a few ideas that deviated from Verner's.[116] His bibliography on program planning and evaluation contained several standard works by Verner, but also included in its 181 entries texts that considered approaches drawing on a wide range of social perspectives.[117] Program planning was not a label under which Verner had written extensively, so his contributions were limited. Many entries in Thornton's bibliography were not even adult education works per se, but his students in Agricultural Economics 504 none-the-less used Verner's conceptual scheme to describe aspects of program planning.[118]

John Collins preceded Boshier as a part-time "research methodologist," but having little formal background in adult education (and as an "environmental psychologist," perhaps a weak identification with the "discipline" of adult education) and an uncertain employment position, he had less influence in defining the research and teaching agenda in the department.[119] His basic orientation as a researcher was similar to Boshier's, although he published little during the 1970s that was identified as adult education research.[120] Student research he helped supervise (often with Boshier and Dickinson) was familiar quantitative research.[121] He taught the undergraduate introductory course (Education 412), a directed study course, and the methods course (Education

[115] For example, Karen Unruh, "Issues of Concern to the 'Mature' Woman Career Student and Programme Planners in the Community College" (unpublished M. Ed. paper, The University of British Columbia, 1976).

[116] PC, Curriculum Folder 1, Department of Adult Education Mark Distributions 1975-76, 1976-77; PC, Curriculum Folder 1, Tentative Schedule of Courses 1978-79.

[117] PC, Curriculum Folder 1, March 1975, Bibliography on Program planning and Evaluation. For example, Bennis, W. et al The Planning of Change (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1969) touches on radical social change and conflict theories. Thornton's bibliography also included an article from critic John Oligher (see above).

[118] CVMRR, Adult Education UBC Student Papers Box, "Adult Training Functions In Selected Lower Mainland Private and Public Sector Institutions" (class project for Agricultural Economics 504) 1973, Appendix C.

[119] Collins relied on others to direct him to the information relevant to the field. John Collins, Interview.

[120] Boshier et al, A Checklist of Studies, 5.

[121] See, for example, Leah Quastel, "Learning Needs and Job Satisfaction of Community Mental Health Workers" (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1978)

518) after Verner's departure.[122] When he was replaced in 1979, the Search Committee

recommended someone who had "an advanced knowledge of quantitative research methodology"

because Collins was an "expert in quantitative approaches to social science research, including

computer applications."[123]

Dale Rusnell, who had completed his doctorate under Dickinson and became a faculty

member in 1975, must be considered in a vein similar to his mentor. He had been in competition

with Boshier for the job as "research methodologist," and wrote a dissertation on program

planning that proposed a conceptual model tested by hypotheses and statistical analysis.[124] He

later replaced Thornton as the program planning "expert," breaking from a strictly scientistic

view of education by acknowledging the politics of program planning and considering alternatives

to education as simply "meeting objectives."[125]

Rusnell often taught Education 504 (program planning) and Education 412 (Introduction).

As a graduate of the UBC program, and with few publications of his own, he likely presented

views compatible with the dominant ones. Not surprisingly, he worked with Boshier and

Dickinson to guide student research that used statistical analysis on topics of interest to Boshier

or Dickinson.[126] He also worked with students who did not pursue such topics, although

Verner's influence remained.[127] For the most part, Rusnell did little to change the nature of

research and instruction in the department.

---

[122] PC, Curriculum folder 1, Department of Adult Education Mark Distributions 1975-76, 1976-77; PC, Curriculum folder 1, Tentative Schedule of Courses 1978-79.

[123] PC, Minutes, Selman to Griffith, 2 October 1978.

[124] Rusnell, "Development of an Index of Quality For the Planning of Management Training Programs."

[125] Dale Rusnell, "Decisions in the Design of Evaluation," (PC, unpublished MS, January 1978).

[126] Irma Zack, "Characteristics of Participants in a New Inner-City Night School" (unpublished M.A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1976); Nicholas Rubidge, "The Effects of Learning and Instructional Style Congruence in an Adult Education Learning Environment" (unpublished Ed.D. Thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1979).

[127] Paul Dampier, "Toward a Public Policy for Adult Education in British Columbia: A Review" (unpublished M.Ed. paper, The University of British Columbia, 1976); Alexander McGechaen, "The Role of Television in Adult Education" (unpublished Ed.D. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1977). McGechaen's thesis was supervised by Verner and incorporated Verner's "theory."

During the 1970s, despite the infusion of new faculty members with a few different ideas, the research and intellectual tradition introduced by Verner was largely reinforced, and it was a tradition that differed from mainstream academic educational thought only in its orientation to adults. Several UBC adult education professors were prolific writers and enthusiastic promoters, and were pleased to identify with a strictly academic role.[128] Other adult education professors followed in the wake of the enthusiasts, teaching similar knowledge. Two faculty members, however, deviated from that central tradition, but for different reasons.

Gordon Selman did not share the research orientation of his colleagues in several respects. He held a masters degree from UBC in history, did no statistical calculations, and called for no adult education theory; in addition, he was quite interested in service to practitioners.[129] Because he joined the department with tenure, Selman was relatively free to pursue his own research interests, publishing some twenty-two works between 1973 and 1977, mainly in professional journals.[130] He also wrote several monographs on the history of adult education in British Columbia and Canada. As a self-confessed Canadian nationalist, Selman chose to describe Canadian traditions and institutions rather than economic development or theory-building, and was not overly concerned to publish in American journals.[131] Furthermore, Selman, a product of the old "social gospel" days of Friesen, MacKenzie, and Thomas, frequently examined the "social movement" aspects of the field.

---

[128] PC, External relations folder, 28 February 1978, Boshier to Department.

[129] Selman, Felt Along the Heart; Interview (get permission)

[130] Selman, Felt Along the Heart, 87; Roger Boshier et al, A Checklist of Studies, 15.

[131] Selman was an early advocate of a Canadian national journal for adult education researchers. Gordon Selman, "An Organization for the Study and Development of Adult Education," Dialogue 1, no. 2 (1973): 51-54. (Note: published by the Canadian Association of Departments of Extension and Summer Schools in Universities.) Gordon R. Selman, Adult Education in Vancouver Before 1914, Occasional Papers in Continuing Eduation no. 9 (Vancouver: Department of University Extension, The University of British Columbia, 1975); PC, Selman folder, 30 December 1974, "Responses to Questionnaire on "The Most Significant Canadian Developments in Adult Education."

Selman's historical work is reminiscent of celebratory historiography of the 1960s. He thought "it is important that the record of where we have come from as a movement and as a field of professional activities be available to those who care." If, he suggested, "we can get on with the task [of writing Canadian adult education history], we will increasingly be judged to be representing a field of growing maturity and competence."[132] Selman was interested mainly in the institutions or "great men" of adult education (women are rarely discussed) often associated with the CAAE and other middle-class, anglo-Canadian projects like the YMCA, community colleges, or university extension. In examining adult education in Barkerville during the Cariboo gold rush, for example, he emphasized the literary and cultural societies led by local clergymen and lawyers, rather than ask how immigrant miners learned to survive in their new environment.[133] However, his training as an historian and his interest in the social purposes of adult education contrasted with the work of others.

Selman taught various courses, particularly the undergraduate course (412), and often Foundations and the diploma seminar. In the later 1970s and into the 1980s, he also taught a course in the history of Canadian adult education. Because he lacked a doctorate, he worked mainly with magistral and diploma students, and several students wrote historical theses or major papers under Selman's guidance.[134] Selman's influence also extended beyond the department in his work on committees at UBC and with local practitioners and their associations.

Another anomaly in the adult education department was Daniel Pratt. Although joining the department near the end of Verner's tenure, he harboured a skepticism not found in many of his more productive colleagues. Like them, his doctoral training had been informed by psychology

---

[132] PC, Research publications folder, [1974], Gordon Selman, "Concerning the History of Adult Education in Canada," Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education/Revue Canadienne de l'éducation permanente universitaire 1, no. 4 (December 1974): 24-35.

[133] Gordon Selman, "Adult Education in Barkerville, 1863 to 1875," B.C. Studies 9 (Spring 1971): 38-54.

[134] Selman, Felt Along the Heart, 141, 142; Paul Dampier, "Towards a Public Policy For Adult Education in B.C.: A Review" (unpublished M. Ed. paper, The University of British Columbia, 1978).

and he retained several features of the quantitative, theory-building orientation; he still sought "valid and reliable" measurement tools to provide generalizable results. Although not steeped in the rhetoric of adult education, he still spoke of "principles" of adult education.[135] However, he was puzzled that research into teacher effectiveness had yielded "little or no substantial evidence of consistent or replicable features."[136] Not only did he suspect that prior research approaches into teaching and learning had been mistaken, but he began to insist that adult learning research would benefit from consideration of research on pre-adult learning—contrary to Verner's maxim on the uniqueness of adults.[137] Although Pratt did not start publishing his views until the late 1970s, he began to promote some ideas incompatible with those of several of his colleagues.

Pratt taught a mixture of special courses during the 1970s, including the media and communications course (516), the undergraduate introductory course (412), and seminars in group dynamics. He occasionally taught the "Methods" course (518) and graduate seminar, and often taught the undergraduate course on teaching adults (327) in the new diploma program. He worked on student theses committees that were governed by the views of others, but by 1983 supported student inquiries into various theoretically informed perspectives on education.[138]

Selman and Pratt were not particularly influential as researchers during the 1970s, and the work of Verner, Dickinson, and Boshier continued to prevail. Despite the aloof nature of the

---

[135] Taria Bhatti, Roger B. Cormier and Daniel D. Pratt, "Applying Adult Education Principles to Conference Planning" Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education/Revue Canadienne de l'éducation permanente universitaire 7, no. 1 (Summer 1980), 23-26.

[136] Personal correspondence, Daniel Pratt, 29 May 2000; Daniel D. Pratt, "Instructor Behaviour and Psychological Climate in Adult Learning," Proceedings of the 20th Annual Adult Education Research Conference (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1979), 106-115; Daniel D. Pratt, "The Dynamics of Continuing Education Learning Groups," Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education/Revue Canadienne de l'éducation permanente universitaire 8, no. 1 (Summer 1981), 26-32.

[137] Daniel D. Pratt, "Teacher Effectiveness: Future Directions for Adult Education," Proceedings of the 22nd Adult Education Research Conference (DeKalb: University of Illinois, 1981), 169-175; Verner Fonds, Box 7-11, 10 April 1974, Verner to Gagné.

[138] Alexander McGechaen, "The Role of Television in Adult Education" (unpublished Ed.D. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1977); Gayle McGee, "The Effects of Collaborative Planning on Adult Learners" (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1984); Gail Suzanne Ceray, "Simulation Games in Nursing Education" (unpublished M. Ed. paper, The University of British Columbia, 1983).

department, some of the work done by Boshier was recognized by others in the Faculty of Education. Professors of educational psychology at UBC acknowledged Boshier as among those researchers in the Faculty "actively conducting their own behavioral [sic] research" who might contribute to a Ph.D. in education.[139]

As the "Verner era" came to an end in 1977, the adult education department had come to embody certain dominant intellectual characteristics. From the beginning, many of the adult education faculty members shared common intellectual roots. Friesen, Kidd, Thomas, and Verner had all been Columbia University students. Verner played a central role in who was hired to the department, resulting in personnel with similar views. Dickinson and Rusnell had been students of Verner, and Thornton had been a student of Verner's colleagues. Wayne Schroeder, Visiting Professor to UBC on several occasions, was a faculty member in Verner's former department at Florida State University. Boshier and Collins had trained in social science disciplines compatible with Verner's views.

The result was a well-defined status quo in research, social and educational theory, and the UBC adult education curriculum. Knowledge—the unique principles of adult education gleaned from testing models or theories of adult education—was "diffused" from creators to recipients (researchers to practitioners, professors to students) to enable adult education professionals to control the educational process.[140] Many courses reinforced this "top-down" pedagogy," beginning with theoretical or conceptual models that defined and described adult education and concluding with suggestions for practice, and many publications affirmed the same view.

Less active researchers in the department were compelled to follow this example to some degree. By the mid-1970s, the department had a "core" reading list for the comprehensive

---

[139] PC, Boshier Folder, 18 January 1978, Arlin to Colleagues; FoGS Deans Office, Box 2-2 (folder 4), 15 October 1960.

[140] Dickinson and Boshier voiced such sentiments as late as 1980. CVMRR, Box 1-1, 2 July 1980, Dickinson to adult education faculty. Boshier, Toward a Learning Society, xi, 39-40.

examination and a department "bookshelf" of the essential works in adult education. Meanwhile, Verner's personal library had become the the department reading room. Rusnell also remembers a common exam for Education 412.[141] Collins and Pratt, newcomers to the department and the field, likely had little choice but to adopt many of the views of their more prominent colleagues. Others, however, probably tempered the enthusiasm of the prominent Verner, Dickinson, and Boshier. Niemi, Thornton, and Selman often worked with diploma and M.Ed. students, and perhaps left them with a less scientistic view of research and its significance in creating adult educators. However, students in all programs were exposed to coursework that conformed to the pattern laid out by Verner and adopted by others.

The comprehensive examination, introduced about 1975 to integrate student learning and boost performance, suggests some flexibility in what constituted important adult education knowledge.[142] Behind the flexibility, however, were the themes discussed above. In 1976, the comprehensive exam required answering four of seven questions. Five of the questions asked that adult education be considered as a unique field, either because of adult learning or the organization of the field; the remaining two questions asked about conceptual models of the field and their utility to understand, predict, or control the educational process. The following year, questions asked about social role, history, and values of adult education; the presumed unique forms of organization of the field and unique attributes of adult learners; the proper way to organize and evaluate educational programs; and the relationship of theory to adult education practice. In 1978, an examination asked for breadth of knowledge about prominent people and institutions in the field, practices of adult educators, and conceptual or theoretical insights of

---

[141] PC, Curriculum folder 1, "Reading list for comprehensive examination in adult education," [1977]; Roger Boshier, "History and Significance of the Coolie Verner Reading Room at The University of B.C." unpublished MS, 1992; Personal correspondence, Dale Rusnell, 24 May 2000.

[142] Dale Rusnell, Personal correspondence, 24 May 2000. Faculty of Education Fonds, Graduate Board/Graduate Division Working Committee/Executive Committee, [1965], "The Composition, Structure, and Administration of the Graduate Division of the Faculty of Education;" PC, Comprehensive Exam folder, [1976], "Guidelines for Comprehensive Examinations;" PC, Comprehensive Exam folder, 2 December 1976, Minutes.

researchers.[143] Despite the wide ranging questions (changing as different professors created the examinations year to year), the role of research to define and control the field is notable. Although the examinations did not noticeably promote all the dominant themes identified above (and even made room for the radical ideas of Ivan Illich), neither did they challenge them.

By 1978, Verner lamented the dearth of theory in adult education, but faculty members and students continued to espouse "principles of adult education."[144] These may have been helpful suggestions about how to teach adults or manage educational programs, and many students regarded their programs as pleasant and useful.[145] However, theory that would "describe, predict, and control" adult education remained elusive.

If research did not entirely unlock the secrets of adult education, it could be beneficial to the careers of faculty members, but publications did not always translate to promotion or tenure. Under Scarfe's regime, criteria for tenure and promotions were highly erratic and became a source of criticism even by those within the Faculty.[146] Scarfe claimed to reward good teaching, and spoke out against the encroaching "publish or perish" academic atmosphere, claiming that number of publications did not always indicate good scholarly work.[147] But even if publications became important for advancement, it was also erratic criteria. Verner himself was hired with tenure as a full professor and was not compelled to participate in UBC's tenure process, yet he published considerably. Niemi left UBC an associate professor (despite the probable lack of support from Verner), Thornton received tenure in 1974, and Pratt in 1976.[148] Selman also had tenure and

---

[143] PC, Comprehensive Exam folder, Comprehensive Examination in Adult Education, August 1976, April 1977, April 1978.

[144] Coolie Verner, "Some Reflections on Graduate Professional Education in Adult Education," The Canadian Journal of Higher Education 8, no. 2 (1978): 47. Collins, at that time, also denied the existence of "adult education theory." Personal correspondence, John Collins, 8 June 2000.

[145] Stuart-Stubbs, "Survey of the Graduates in Adult Education," 80-84. Of course, some students did not have such fond memories.

[146] Personal correspondence, LeRoi Daniels, 6 June 2000.

[147] FoGS Deans Office, Box 4-6, 7 March 1973, Minutes.

[148] PC, James Thornton, Curriculum Vitae; Faculty of Education Fonds, Deans and Directors Binder vol. 3, 5 January 1976.

associate professor status as a condition of his transfer to the department. None of these four had published much research at the times of their promotions. Boshier, publishing prolifically, waited a usual four years before getting tenure and promotion in 1978. Dickinson, however, was not promoted to associate professor until 1977 despite earlier attempts, and did not get tenure until 1980.[149] His year away from UBC in 1976 may have interrupted his progression, but his strong record of publication and service suggests that advancement was curtailed for other reasons, too. Evidently the formula that based tenure and advancement on teaching, scholarship, service, and "promise of future contributions" was highly flexible in the adult education department.[150]

Perhaps, as others have suggested, learning practically speaking occurred in the extra-curriculum.[151] As described earlier, at the President's residence and later in the old fraternity house, students participated with faculty members in social, administrative, and research activities, wrote witty odes about their instructors, challenged the Faculty admission standards, and avoided other education students. Although students participated somewhat in department decision-making, socialized with faculty members, and even contributed new ideas to the department, the widespread adoption of scientistic educational philosophies and authoritarian personalities probably reinforced the formal curriculum, detracting from an atmosphere of cooperative or "progressive" learning.

In hindsight one may criticize the department until the late 1970s as supporting a scientistic educational philosophy that reinforced a narrow conception of research and pedagogy. At the time, however, this approach to education was consistent with educational thought

---

[149] Verner Fonds, Box 8-4, 20 September [1972], Verner to Scarfe; 17 May [1974], Verner to Clarke; Faculty of Education Fonds, Deans and Directors Binder vol. 5, 4 April 1977; Faculty of Education Fonds, Prootions Binder, 16 January 1980, "Promotion and Tenure Cases Effective 1 July 1980."

[150] Faculty of Education Fonds, Chairmen of Departments Binder, 21 October 1970.

[151] Frederick Rudolph, A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977), 22; Faculty of Education Fonds, unfiled, Dean's Annual Report, [1971]. The report stated that "every contact among students in the [adult education] Centre becomes a part of their total learning experience."

elsewhere, particularly in American adult education. Largely on the research productivity of

Verner, Dickinson and Boshier, the department attracted acclaim from adult education colleagues

in the United States and elsewhere, and foreign students sought UBC enrollment.[152] New

approaches to education, however, both in research and teaching, were becoming increasingly

popular as faculty members (and no doubt some students) began to consider alternatives.[153] The

narrow perspective protected by nearly fifteen years of administrative privilege proved

inadequate as Faculty politics changed. The 1977 reviews were motivated in part by growing

suspicions that research and teaching in the department were inadequate.

Arriving in 1977, Griffith brought contrasting views to the department. He often wrote of

the politics rather than the science of adult education, bluntly suggesting, for example, that the

"political impotence of public school adult education may be due to some sort of 'castration

complex' of the directors themselves."[154] He concluded another article by noting the inherently

political aspects of determining educational "needs."[155] Although he used questionnaires and

statistical analysis, Griffith accepted a wide range of research approaches if they contributed to a

body of knowledge that was valid, reliable, tested, and generalizable; he did not, however,

embrace politically explicit "action-oriented" research.[156] By 1979, he wrote that among the

reasons adult educators were becoming dissatisfied with traditional research were that

---

[152] Boshier demonstrated that the most cited adult education researcher in Adult Education in a ten year period was Boshier himself. Verner came fourth, and Dickinson eighth. Roger Boshier, "Citation Patterns of Articles Published in Adult Education 1968-1977," Adult Education 30, no. 1 (Fall 1979): 34-51.

[153] Jerold W. Apps, "Toward a Broader Definition of Research."

[154] William S. Griffith, "The Role of Public School Adult Education," The High School Journal 49, no. 2 (November 1965): 58. Copy in personal collection. William S. Griffith and Ronald M. Cervero, "The Adult Performance Level Program: A Serious and Deliberate Examination," Adult Education 27, no. 4 (Summer 1977): 209-224. Griffith and Cervero question merits of the scientistic curriculum.

[155] William S. Griffith, "Educational Needs: Definition, Assessment, and Utilization," School Review (May 1978): 393 (382-394).

[156] William S. Griffith and Mary C. Cristarella, "Participatory Research: Should it Be a New Methodology for Adult Educators?" in Viewpoints on Adult Education Research, ed. John A. Niemi, 15-42 (Columbus: ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education, 1979); Lutaf Dhanidina and William S. Griffith, "Costs and Benefits of Delayed High School Completion," Adult Education 25, no.4 (Summer 1975): 217-230.

some research is pursued using inappropriate methodologies borrowed from the physical or biological sciences which are incapable of dealing with the variables under consideration...some research is aimed at adding to the body of tested knowledge even though the questions asked and the variables measured are unrelated to improving the quality of human life...some research is performed in ways that hinder rather than facilitate the utilization of the results by the individuals whose lives and environment were studied during the research...[157]

Such a critique may have been directed at adult education research at UBC!

As a full professor and department or divisional chair for his first few years at UBC, Griffith sought to change the research climate. In response to Boshier's proposed list of appropriate research courses for students, Griffith asked in 1977, "Are you assuming that the only legitimate kind of research in adult education is quantitative inquiry?" In 1978, having heard a student claim that only one sort of research was acceptable, Griffith circulated a memo stating that

there is no best research methodology...there is no dogmatic or doctrinaire position taken by the Department of this Faculty with regard to the various kinds of research which may be pursued in major papers, M. A. theses and Ed. D. dissertations.[158]

Although Griffith played a role in hiring new faculty members who had skills in "quantitative" research (such as Peter Cookson), he also helped hire others who had different views of research. Griffith was not about to open the flood-gates to any form of research, but he helped with some modest changes. As the UBC administration pressured the Faculty of Education to improve research, educational researchers at UBC began seriously debating which research methodologies

---

[157] William S. Griffith, "Adult Education Research—Emerging Developments," Studies in Adult Education 11 (October 1979): 125-126.

[158] PC, Curriculum folder 3, 8 September 1977, Griffith to Boshier; 17 March 1978, Griffith to Department.

were most useful.[159] As research approaches diversified, some adult education professors continued as before, but others began new research initiatives. The new appointments of the early 1980s also introduced new views of research and catered to divergent student interests.

The familiar quantitative research continued. Dickinson conducted more surveys and wrote reports, often relevant to his new role in coordinating the Adult Basic Education Consortium, but after 1981 was no longer with the department.[160] Boshier still worked with students to find "valid and reliable" ways to measure or predict human behaviour, and his prison education research was largely a refinement of his earlier work on educational participation.[161] However, despite Boshier's continuing productivity and reputation as a researcher with adult education colleagues, others in the wider Faculty remained hesitant to embrace his scholarship and regarded his C.V. with some suspicion.[162] John Collins also contributed to department research as a consultant. Newcomer Peter Cookson, also in the quantitative tradition, defended his research against phenomenological criticisms.[163]

Cookson was also busy with the adult basic education projects, writing several reports, and contributing to the prison education project.[164] He frequently instructed the Foundations course where he often talked of the values and moral ends of adult education. This may have

---

[159] See chapter 2. Also: John Andrews and W. Todd. Rogers, ed., Canadian Research in Education: A State of the Art Review (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1982), 17.

[160] Gary Dickinson, "Educationally Disadvantaged Adults in Canada," Adult Literacy and Basic Education 2, no. 2 (Summer 1978): 83-89; Gary Dickinson, The Undereducated of British Columbia (Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre, 1978).

[161] Rubidge, "The Effects of Learning;" Judith Mogan, "Learning Needs Assessment Instrument" (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1980); Dorothy Fisher, "The Child's Influence on Parental Purchase Patterns for Breakfast Foods" (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1983); Harry Lendvoy, "Reasons for Running, An Investigation of Intentional Change in Exercise Behaviour" (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1984). Lendvoy's work explicitly built on Boshier's "Education Participation Scale."

[162] Faculty of Education Fonds, Dean's Advisory Committee Personnel Binder, Minutes, 23 November 1982, 9 December 1982, 20 January 1983. Discussion of promotion.

[163] Peter S. Cookson, "Determinants of Adult Education Participation of Low Income Adults," Proceedings of the 24th Adult Education Research Conference (Montreal: Concordia University, 1983), 69-74.

[164] Peter S. Cookson, The National Adult Basic Education Institute: Report and Recommendations (Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre, 1982).

indicated some deviation from a strictly scientistic view of education, but students complained of excessive "moralizing."[165] In keeping with his scientific approach to social research, Cookson supervised students who used quantitative methods to predict behaviour or who advocated science literacy.[166]

Meanwhile, Thornton was working on a new interest that encouraged an interdisciplinary approach to educational research. In 1977, Thornton had been encouraged to participate with the UBC gerontology committee, and in the early 1980s he promoted gerontology as a field, potentially a discipline, and a career option.[167] He presented papers at gerontology conferences and wrote various reports to promote his vision of academic gerontology. As Chair of the committee, he worked with researchers from across UBC who encouraged an interdisciplinary approach to the work.[168] Thornton began teaching educational gerontology courses, proposed a sequence of new courses, and in 1982 discussed an interdepartmental Ph.D. in cooperation with the departments of psychology, philosophy, home economics, and others.[169] Although Thornton's conception of research or its significance for aspiring professional adult educators may not have changed significantly, his new work was not driven by a quest to find adult education theory.

---

[165] PC, Curriculum folder 3, 10 May 1982, Hills to Griffith; Faculty of Education Fonds, unfiled, Faculty of Education Annual Teaching Evaluation Reports.

[166] José A. Molina, "Occupational Conditions As Predictors of Adult Education Participation" (unpublished M.A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1984); Gerald Denis Paradis, "Science Literacy and Adult Education—Curriculum for the Future" (unpublished M.Ed. paper, The University of British Columbia, 1983).

[167] Verner Fonds, Box 3-3, 2 December 1977, Griffith to Verner; James E. Thornton, "Issues Affecting Gerontology Education and Manpower Needs in Population Aging," Canadian Journal on Aging 2 (November 1983): 153-161. Thornton characterized gerontology as a discipline in the same vague terms Verner used to promote adult education.

[168] James E. Thornton, "An Aging Population in Aging Communities: The challenge to the university," Proceedings of a Research Workshop on an Aging Population in Aging Communities vol. 3 (Vancouver: Centre for Human Settlements, University of British Columbia, 1981), 7; see also James E. Thornton, "The Abolition of Mandatory Retirement: Issues emerging in the debate," Greying Western Canada: the second Research Workshop on an Aging Population in Aging Communities. An Older Workforce: Aspects and Policy Implications vol. 2 (Vancouver: Centre for Human Settlements, University of British Columbia, 1983), 25-37.

[169] CVMRR, Box 3-3, Minutes, 8 September 1982; Box 1-3, December 1982, Course Proposals in Educational Gerontology.

Selman continued to emphasize the history of Canadian adult education, and, consistent with requests from the Field Advisory Council, encouraged historical research and policy analysis.[170] One magistral student he supervised wrote a biography of a local adult educator, but still referred to "principles of learning" appropriate to teaching adults.[171] Along with his work to launch the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, Selman (and others in the department) helped launch a Canadian adult education journal as part of the efforts to "Canadianize" the social sciences and academia more generally.[172] In the early 1980s, many Canadian learned societies considered interdisciplinary, including adult education in 1983, were finally inducted into the Social Science Federation of Canada.[173]

However, Selman also encouraged criticism of the old status quo in his department when he introduced a course on feminist views of adult education (taught by Jane Gaskell). His concern for the social values pursued by adult educators can also be linked to the 1985 correspondence version of Adult Education 330 ("The Community Practice of Adult Education"). The author, social worker Michael Clague, thanked Selman (for unspecified reasons) and aligned the course explicitly with "the 'social movement' conception of adult education." Rather than emphasize educational method or generalizable knowledge, Clague discussed the politics, economics, and social context of adult education, and the values and goals of adult educators.[174]

In the early 1980s, new ideas about social science entered adult education across North America as professors and students began debating the merits of research informed by

---

[170] CVMRR, Box 1-3, 30 June 1983, Gord to Tom (Selman to Sork).

[171] Reva Kalef, "Betsy McDonald: Adult Educator" (unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1984).

[172] Andrews and Rogers, Canadian Research in Education, 19; S. D. Clark, "Sociology in Canada: an historical overview," Canadian Journal of Sociology i, no. 2 (1975): 225-234; Harry H. Hiller, "The Canadian Sociology Movement: analysis and assessment," Canadian Journal of Sociology/Cahiers canadienne de sociologie 4, no. 2 (1979): 125-150;

[173] Fisher, The Social Sciences in Canada, 86.

[174] CVMRR, Adult Education 330 (Correspondence) by Michael Clague, 1985.

philosophies other than positivism.[175] Pratt seemed interested in a new approach that was more

in keeping with his background in humanistic psychology.[176] In addition to his reservations

about research on adult learning, he also began critiquing assumptions about adult learners that

were popular in adult education literature.[177] In regard to what made an effective teacher of

adults, he began looking at "intentions and purpose rather than behavior [sic] or skills" and the

expectations of both students and instructors.[178] Methodologically, he emphasized interview

techniques more consistent with phenomenological approaches. Student interest also encouraged

these changes. Phil Candy, for example, began studies in the early 1980s that resulted in a

doctoral thesis that helped introduce "constructivist" psychology to adult learning researchers.[179]

Candy's research involved Boshier as supervisor and Pratt as committee member.

Another new voice arrived in 1981. Despite his doctorate from Verner's former

department at Florida State University, Sork 's specialization in program planning and evaluation

did not lend itself easily to statistical analyses.[180] He sought to create a normative planning

model that could be used to help planners decide priorities, but he also considered the theoretical

foundations of program planning models, noting a large body of literature on the "technology" of

planning literature devoid of theoretical or philosophical analysis.[181] By looking at these

---

[175] Sharan Merriam, John Elias, Michael Collins, "Doing Philosophical Research in Adult Education," Proceedings of the 22nd Adult Education Research Conference (DeKalb: University of Northern Illinois, 1981), 286-289.

[176] Personal correspondence, Daniel Pratt, 29 May 2000.

[177] Personal correspondence, Daniel Pratt, 29 May 2000; Daniel D. Pratt, "Andragogical Assumptions: Some Counter-Intuitive Logic," Proceedings of the 25th Adult Education Research Conference (Raleigh: North Carolina State University, 1984), 147-153.

[178] Daniel D. Pratt, "Tutoring Adults: Toward a Definition of Tutorial Role and Function in Adult Basic Education" Adult Literacy and Basic Education 7, no. 3 (1983): 138-152; Daniel D. Pratt, "Teaching Adults: A Conceptual Framework for the First Session," Lifelong Learning 7, no. 6 (April 1984): 7-9, 28-29.

[179] Phil Candy, "Reframing Research Into 'Self Direction' In Adult Education" (unpublished Ed. D. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1987). Constructivist psychology contrasts with behavioural (and even some versions of cognitive) psychology.

[180] CVMRR, Box 2, Adult Education Search Committee 1980-81 folder, n.d. Announcement of appointment.

[181] Thomas J. Sork, "Development and Validation of a Normative Process Model for Determining Priority of Need in Community Adult Education," Proceedings of the 20th Annual Adult Eduation Research Conference (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1979), 75-81; John H. Buskey and Thomas J. Sork, "From Chaos to Order in Program Planning: A System for Selecting Models and Ordering Research," Proceedings of the 23rd Annual Adult

assumptions, Sork slowly broke from a scientistic view of curriculum planning that ignored the

philosophical assumptions and politics of learning objectives. He also questioned the

assumption made by past researchers that program planning should strive to emulate ideal

models (what he called "deductive" planning), and proposed instead to investigate how adult

educators actually went about their tasks.[182]

Sork also looked specifically at the concept of "need," a persistent concern of adult

education researchers and practitioners.[183] Despite such interests, he did not conduct social

surveys or use hypothetico-deductive tests, nor did he use a sophisticated statistical analysis. In

1987, with tongue in cheek, he even questioned the existence of adult education theory and

whether it could ever exist![184]

Sork brought his views to teaching the graduate and undergraduate program planning

courses, and taught courses in the other Divisions in the new department (AAHE).[185] Years

later, however, he still introduced undergraduate students to the scientistic conception of

educational planning.[186] He served on student advisory committees, demonstrating flexibility in

adapting to a wide range of research interests. Some students with whom Sork worked strove to

create and test planning models, but others were interested in social change and new sociological

ideas.[187]

Eduation Research Conference (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1982); Thomas J. Sork and John H. Buskey, "A Descriptive and Evaluative Analysis of Program Planning Literature, 1950-1983," Adult Education Quarterly 36, no. 2 (Winter 1986): 86-96.

[182] Thomas J. Sork, "The Postmortem Audit: A Research Methodology for Building Inductively-Derived Planning Theory," Proceedings of the 27th Annual Adult Eduation Research Conference (Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1986), 255-260.

[183] Thomas J. Sork, "Needs Assessment in Adult Education: A Critical Analysis of the Literature Through 1981," Proceedings of the 24th Annual Adult Eduation Research Conference (Montreal: Concordia University, 1983), 217-222.

[184] Darryl B. Plecas and Thomas J. Sork, "Adult Education: Curing the Ills of an Undisciplined Discipline," Adult Education Quarterly 37, no. 1 (Fall 1986): 48-62.

[185] UBC Calendar, 1983-1984 (insert).

[186] PC, Adult Education 329, 1991, Class notes.

[187] Patricia Semeniuk, "Towards the Design of Effective Short Continuing Professional Education Programs" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1984); Larry Wolfson, "Adult Education and Social

Social change and the sociology of adult education also attracted Rubenson, who arrived in 1982. Rubenson was an influential addition to the department, who brought with him experience and stature as a leading adult education academic in Sweden known throughout Europe and North America. Sweden had a long tradition of institutionalized forms of adult education sponsored by the state, unions, churches, and independent organizations, with partial state support for many of these activities.[188] During the 1960s, a Swedish government committee urged adult education as a necessary addition to the country's education system in response to rapid social and economic change.[189] Rubenson became the first professor of adult education at a Swedish university, and an important policy analyst.[190]

Rubenson was well versed in the North American literature of adult education and social science, but saw opportunities to broaden research. Rubenson, like Boshier whom he cited, was interested in the mid-1970s in adult education participation and used American cognitive psychology as the beginning to explain why some people participated and others did not.[191] However, he sought a more complete explanation of participation in a person's social and historical circumstances. He criticized North American research as excessively "applied" and inadequately theoretical, and suggested benefits in adding new sociological perspectives to an overly psychologistic and parochial adult education tradition.[192] Even Boshier was accused of reducing participation in adult education to motivation and psychology. Rubenson was particularly interested in government policy to support adult education; policy research, he

Change: A framework for analysis of the relationship between adult education and the alleviation of poverty" (unpublished M. Ed. paper, University of British Columbia, 1982).

[188] Paul Bergevin, Adult Education in Sweden (Bloomington: Bureau of Studies in Adult Education, 1961).

[189] Kjell Rubenson, Recruitment in Adult Education (Stockholm: Department of Educational Research, School of Education, 1976), 1, 4.

[190] Personal correspondence, Kjell Rubenson, DATE.

[191] Rubenson, Recruitment in Adult Education.

[192] American sociology in general, however, had long down-played the role of theory. See Turner, "Sociology in the United States."

stated, was not amenable to the sort of psychological or theoretical approaches currently popular.[193]

Rubenson also sought theoretical frameworks in adult education that could be helpful, but had in mind broad social theory that would inform specific knowledge about adult education. Although he rejected the "natural science model" as inappropriate for social inquiry, considering science merely as "a branch of knowledge gained by systematic study," he upheld the quest for unique adult education theory. But in looking for theory, he cautioned that the adult educational researcher "cannot look for theories comparable to those in the natural sciences, but only search for theories which explain situationally-bound regularities determined by the social context."[194] With this distinction in mind, he still favoured empirical research (indeed, he rejected humanistic psychology for its lack of empirical support), but with greater historical consideration; he supported mathematical models of social phenomena, but intended them to be flexible; theory, he felt, should permeate courses taught in the department and not merely be the object of a special course.[195] It is difficult to know from these sources exactly what theory meant to Rubenson, but it seems to have been less rigid and controlling than earlier positivist conceptions.

Rubenson taught the Foundations course, a new course on international dimensions of adult education, a research review course, and the doctoral seminars. In debates on the curriculum revision of the early 1980s, he lamented the lack of electives.[196] Rubenson was well acquainted with competing social theories, including conflict (for example, Marxist) and

---

[193] Kjell Rubenson, "Adult Education and Allocation Policy in Sweden," Proceedings of the 21st Adult Education Research Conference (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1980), 273-281; Kjell Rubenson, "Adult Education Research: In Quest of a Map of the Territory," Adult Education 32, no. 2 (Winter 1982): 57-74; Kjell Rubenson, "Background and Theoretical Context," Yearbook of Adult and Continuing Education ed. Phyllis M. Cunningham, 217-224 (Chicago: Marquis Academic Media, 1980).

[194] Rubenson, "Adult Education Research: In Quest of a Map of the Territory"; Rubenson, "Background and Theoretical Context." See also Rubenson, Recruitment in Adult Education, passim.

[195] Rubenson, Recruitment in Adult Education; CVMRR Box 1-3, 12 January 1983, Rubenson to Buttedahl, Boshier, et al.

[196] CVMRR, Box 1-3, 12 January 1983, Rubenson to Paz, Roger, et al.

consensus ("functionalist") ones, and many students who completed theses with him examined

political topics that were informed by broader sociological, philosophical, and educational

thought.[197]

Buttedahl, hired initially as a research associate and sessional instructor, worked with

various contract projects and taught the occasional course.[198] As a doctoral graduate of Florida

State University, Buttedahl echoed some of the earlier educational and academic patterns, but she

also fit the new political climate of the period and encouraged students to challenge educational

standards. Her correspondence course, Adult Education 328 (Institutions of Adult Education),

presented authors like Wilbur Hallenbeck and Wayne Schroeder who held sentiments similar to

Verner, but also presented more radical authors like Marx and Freire. Like others, she stressed

theory, considered definitions and the "discipline" of adult education, and set educational

objectives, but she also spoke of "praxis," contrasting social philosophies, and the values that

underlay educational practice.[199] Despite her interest in such "radical" forms of adult education,

Buttedahl helped supervise student research that did not stray from the norms of UBC adult

education practice set before her arrival. However, students were compelled to consider

"alternative theories and criticism" of their topics.[200]

Perhaps Buttedahl's greatest influence in the program was to popularize the works of

Brazilian "radical" educator Paulo Freire. Freire, widely discussed in popular adult education

literature, had earlier been known to professors and presumably students at UBC, but Buttedahl

made the ideas—and the man himself, who visited in 1983—better known. In some ways,

---

[197] Wolfson, "Adult Education and Social Change"; Barbara Binns, "'Culture'—Implications for Adult Education" (unpublished M. Ed. paper, University of British Columbia, 1984); A. Joyce Costin, "Resistance to Educational Equality" (unpublished M. Ed. paper, University of British Columbia, 1984).

[198] CVMRR, Box 3-3, 10 January 1983. She helped with the prison education project and several correspondence courses.

[199] CVMRR, Adult Education 328 correspondence course (Institutions of Adult Education) by Paz Buttedahl, 1982.

[200] Geoffery Stevens, "Human Resource Development in the Private Sector" (unpublished M. Ed. paper, University of British Columbia, 1984).

Freire's ideas point back to the beginnings of adult education studies at UBC. The elements of Christian socialism, Marxism, and liberation theology in Freire's views suggest the social gospel sentiments that helped launch the program.[201]

In the early 1980s, Griffith told colleagues in the Faculty that the new focus of the Adult Education Division was on "theory and method," and joined colleagues in lobbying the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for increased research funding. SSHRC was particularly interested in funding "theory-oriented" research, interpreted by UBC education researchers as the production of generalizable knowledge.[202] In 1985, various Faculty of Education members were again told that the emphasis in adult education research was on "theoretical conceptualization more than empirical research."[203] Adult education professors at UBC since the beginning had called for theory, but the "meta-research" and critiques of Pratt, Sork, Buttedahl, and Rubenson suggested new approaches to theory and research. Concurrent with this shift was an increase in teaching "Foundations" topics.[204]

The early 1980s also marked a departure from the Verner-dominated curriculum. The new diploma, now an undergraduate program of fifteen credits (two full terms of study), required new courses taught by faculty members who did not share Verner's enthusiasms.[205] The correspondence versions of the diploma courses had few references to "methods, techniques, and devices" or Verner's publications, and were written by people unlikely to have shared Verner's

---

[201] For a reference to the supposed Christian origins of notions of social justice, see: A. Joyce Costin, "Resistance to Educational Equality" (unpublished M. Ed. paper, University of British Columbia, 1984).

[202] John Andrews and W. Todd Rogers, "Summary and Recommendations" in Canadian Research in Education: A State of the Art Review, 17; William S. Griffith and Pearl J. Roberts, "Adult Education" in Andrews and Rogers, Canadian Research in Education: A State of the Art Review, 38.

[203] Faculty of Education Fonds, Faculty Personnel Committee 1984-85-86 Binder, Minutes, 12 November 1985.

[204] Write On, 9.

[205] Personal correspondence, Tom Sork, 23 May 2000. Sork was not aware of anyone working on Verner's ideas at the time of his appointment.

views (if they even knew of them). New graduate courses, also influenced by department newcomers, included only a few publications by Verner.[206]

One innovation in the new curriculum was to divide the graduate program into several specialties. Griffith sought to distinguish the diploma and M.Ed. as practitioner programs, and the M.A. and Ed.D. as research programs. Students could select different combinations of courses in a program, graduating with slightly different adult education knowledge. Even the comprehensive exams changed to provide slightly different exams for different programs, although sections of the exam remained common to all.[207] Griffith also campaigned for advanced courses with pre-requisites, especially for doctoral students.[208] Faculty members promoted the M.A. program above the M.Ed., and encouraged stronger M.A. students to continue to doctoral studies.[209] The revised curriculum, however, was the result of negotiations by faculty members, rather than a unified view of what was important.[210]

The adult education curricular revisions that were finalized in 1984 allowed students to "specialize" in either teaching, administration, or program planning. Several electives previously taught under "omnibus" numbers (used by anyone in the Faculty) received their own titles, and courses acquired the label "Adult Education." (This may have been symbolically reassuring to those who believed in the uniqueness of adult education, but virtually all programs in the Faculty acquired unique labels.) As Rubenson had suggested, theory and research permeated each course and a special course on adult education theory was omitted. The media and communications course was also dropped.

[206] CVMRR, Box 1-3, Course proposals.
[207] PC, Comprehensive Exam folder, December 1985, Exam.
[208] CVMRR Box 1-1, "The Future of Adult Education at the University of British Columbia" by W. S. Griffith, 1980.
[209] CVMRR, Box 3-4, 2 November 1983, Minutes, Adult Education Division meeting.
[210] CVMRR, Box 1-3, notes from "Master's Program Team;" 12 January 1983, Rubenson to Paz, Roger et al; 13 January, Cookson to Magistral Team.

These changes, however, rested on a fundamental continuity with the earlier programs. Foundations, Program Planning Theory, and Theory and Research on Adult Learning remained as "core" courses, shortened forms of earlier ones. The core were pre-requisites for the practical courses, reinforcing the view that theory and research still preceded practice. For example, a draft outline for the new course on adult instruction stated that "exposure to theory of adult learning...is a logical foundation for exploring adult instruction." As before, the new courses were to consist of lectures and discussions, and typically required two papers for evaluation.[211] Statistical analysis remained the recommended research tool, but "approved alternatives" were now possible.[212] Some boosters continued to follow Verner's dictum to teach the knowledge unique to adult education regardless of the context.[213]

The early 1980s showed some deviation from the earlier pattern of research and its use in the curriculum. Faculty members and students introduced new views as to what constituted appropriate research. Broader conceptions of "theory" entered faculty and student work. Verner's original ideal to find that special core of knowledge for the efficient provision of adult education was in question, despite attempts to maintain that core through courses, socialization, or a quest for adult education "theory." Coupled with a rise in research that was overtly political—and critical of the social and educational status quo—the quest for professional control of a singular body of knowledge seemed jeopardized.

By 1985, Verner's goal to "pioneer a profession" by creating unique knowledge for expert adult educators had lost considerable momentum. Verner had promoted a high degree of uniformity in research and an understanding of education similar to other contemporary American educational thought, and his UBC colleagues generally followed his lead or kept quiet.

---

[211] CVMRR, Box 1-3, 21 October 1983, Sork to AAHE Faculty, Course proposals.

[212] Griffith and Roberts, "Adult Education," 38; CVMRR, Box 1-3, Curriculum change forms; also various other memos. The short-lived Field Advisory Committee had also recommended that historical or policy research be included. CVMRR Box 1-3, 30 June 1983, Selman to Sork (Gord to Tom).

[213] Write On, 8.

To the extent that students learned from the research of faculty members, they learned a fairly narrow body of supposedly useful information. American colleagues—the bulk of the academic adult education community—recognized UBC adult education research and teaching, which proved politically valuable when UBC faculty members defended themselves in 1985. However, the period of most intense work on a narrow definition of the "discipline" of adult education corresponded to the period of administrative privilege discussed in chapter 2.

Change came slowly, but by the early 1980s faculty members began exploring new ideas about research and its relationship to practice, and new members with new ideas joined the department. Students also brought new interests. Faculty of Education administrators, charging academic isolation from its home institution in the late 1970s, compelled UBC adult education professors to cooperate with other researchers and to consider other ways of conducting research. Through cooperation with other academics, adult education research became more interdisciplinary. As the opposition to the 1976 curriculum revisions suggested, adult education as a "discipline" with its own unique theories had not impressed those outside the department. Instead, perhaps, adult education as a field of study that borrowed materials and practices from other researchers to provide useful information to practitioners, would. At least that is what Griffith and others worked toward.[214] Despite these modest changes, the department as a whole continued to promote the importance of research unique to the field and the profession of adult education. What that profession was—or could be—forms the question for chapter four.

---

[214] Write On, 7, 53.

Chapter 4: Toward a Profession of Adult Education

From 1957 to 1985, boosters at UBC frequently referred to adult education as a "profession," claiming the UBC Department of Adult Education was in some way important in maintaining that social status. But although Verner and others saw themselves as creators of knowledge that would control the practice of adult education and indicate who was truly a professional, one wonders to what extent the department played a role in building, directing, and governing that profession and maintaining that status.

Selman has argued that adult education "professionalized" in British Columbia and Canada from the 1950s on,[1] but the story of adult education as profession has longer and more tangled roots in the history of British Columbia, as elsewhere. Adult education boosters at UBC in the 1950s scrambled to bring professional status to their field, and, although they envisioned their profession in certain ways, they appealed to exceedingly various views on the meaning of professionalism and the role of university education. However, no one at UBC was ever quite able to detect, to produce, or to exploit the social conditions that would permit the creation of a narrowly defined and regulated profession. Consequently, the UBC adult education department never played a direct role in regulating the field. By the 1980s, adult education professors were forced to accept a modest role in a loosely defined profession, if indeed it was a profession.

Few scholars have written on the extent to which British Columbia has been a "professional society." However, British historian Harold Perkin provides a helpful conceptual framework along with pertinent and suggestive empirical generalizations. He posited an England moving from horizontal socio-economic strata rooted in inheritance or entrepreneurial success, to a collection of vertical strata of occupational hierarchies nominally based on merit.[2] Although the

---

[1] Selman, The Invisible Giant, 33.
[2] Harold Perkin, The Rise of Professional Society: England Since 1880 (London: Routledge, 1989). This is the central theme of his book.

latter challenged the earlier class structure, England retained features of both sorts of stratification to the very end of the twentieth century.

Gidney and Millar's research on "professional gentlemen" in Ontario is also helpful, showing how Ontario professionals initially drew status from an older, class-based British view of the "professional gentleman," but yielded to a new professional ideal of occupational expert.[3] It will be useful to recall both the English and Ontario cases in considering twentieth century adult education in British Columbia, if only because much of British Columbia's population until the 1950s was of British and Ontario origins.

UBC adult education boosters could seek professionalization in three possible ways, and each appealed to different conceptions of what it meant to be a professional. One was to base professional status on class privilege, and to do so in a manner that had worked for adult education earlier. This "way" rested on the argument that if those in the existing "professional class" or their patrons recognized and valued the social leadership of adult educators, adult education might be accepted as a profession. Another "way" was to subject adult education to competition in an occupational marketplace, in the hope that scientifically proficient adult educators could demonstrate their efficiency and effectiveness in social or economic terms. UBC adult education promoters used aspects of both strategies, but in the end they generally sought direct government intervention—a third way—for their professional status.

As one of the first to promote the degree program in adult education at UBC, Thomas presented a view of professionalism that embodied the class sensibilities of an earlier generation. Although he recognized that people wanted jobs as adult educators, Thomas emphasized a professional education "liberal in spirit" and "based on the assumption that the university trains

---

[3] Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentlemen.

144

the character and spirit."[4] He warned of the new "sharp eyed careerists" who did not know the social goals of "the old brotherhood," a premonitory view he retained for decades.[5] A liberal education, Thomas thought, could be at once popular and useful; it could provide the masses with an antidote to the growing "frantic acquisitiveness" of the times.[6] Thomas claimed to be unconcerned about creating or controlling a career hierarchy, and followed his convictions by organizing the early UBC courses as if they were branches and applications of social philosophy.[7]

By casting professionalism in this manner, Thomas, himself liberally educated and privileged by inherited wealth and rank, and holding influential social, political, and family connections, appealed to aspects of an old, class-based view of professionalism.[8] Class had been a factor in the status of adult education icons like Moses Coady of the famed Antigonish Movement and Ned Corbett of the CAAE, although some writers have cast them as "social movement" leaders because of their expressed egalitarian ideals and work with disadvantaged adults.[9] Coady was a professional by virtue of his status as a Catholic priest, and Corbett, university educated and trained to be a Presbyterian minister, had similar status as Assistant Director of the University of Alberta Extension Department and Director of the CAAE. The men who created the UBC adult education program also enjoyed considerable status by virtue of being university professors or administrators rather than by providing a particular service.

---

[4] Allan Thomas, "The Making of a Professional" (1958), Learning and Society ed. Roby Kidd (Toronto: CAAE, 1963), 342.

[5] Allan Thomas, "The Making of a Professional" (1958), 336; Verner Fonds, Box 3-3, 22 July 1977, Thomas to Verner. In 1958, Thomas was thirty, rather young, perhaps, to speak of the old brotherhood!

[6] Alan Thomas, The Liberal Education—A Re-Examination, Occasional Papers on Adult Education no. 4 (Vancouver: Department of University Extension, UBC, [1958]), 1-5. Found in Department of University Extension Fonds, Box 12-11.

[7] A Report on the Ann Arbor Conference of The Professors of Adult Education, 27.

[8] John Friesen and the UBC Extension Department were quite involved in promoting fine arts programs. Kennedy, "John K. Friesen," 145; Selman, The Invisible Giant, 9.

[9] Corbett was attracted to an "aristocracy of the sensitive, the considerate, and the plucky." E. A. Corbett, We Have With Us Tonight (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1957), 222. Coady had very élite views of what constituted good educational leadership. He called for leaders with "more than average education" and thought that the common man did not think straight. Coady, Masters of Their Own Destiny, 31, 61.

A class-based view of professionalism was hardly novel in British Columbia. Beginning with the Hudson's Bay Company, British and Anglo-Canadian immigrants to British Columbia recreated familiar institutions and propagated older cultural and educational ideals well into the middle of the century. Even as they propagated these "ideals," many of these same immigrants wrote, spoke, and acted as if the social support-structures of the Old Country were present in the New World, even in the farthest reaches of the Empire.[10] Among those ideals was a certain view of professionalism. In the old British view, upper-middle class "gentlemen" with a liberal education, particularly Classics, and conservative values of social propriety and the common good were candidates for the professions of law (barristers but not solicitors), the military (officers), the clergy (especially the Anglican ministry, but also Presbyterian), and medicine (physicians rather than surgeons, herbalists, or midwives).[11] Part of the "professional ideal" was that social privilege entailed a moral obligation to provide services in the best interest of the client and his or her wider society.[12]

On this understanding of profession, British Columbia had professional adult educators from the middle of the nineteenth century. Anglican or Presbyterian missionaries, lawyers, and physicians who provided educational services were de facto professionals.[13] Transplanted British institutions like the Mechanics' Institutes, the Young Men's Christian Association and

[10] Barman, West, 139-140, 245-246; "Famed musician and mother making home here," Vancouver Sun, 28 October 1939; "Vancouver Sun Inaugurates Popular Promenade Concerts," Vancouver Sun, 16 March 1940; Martin Robin, The Company Province vol. 1 (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1972-73), 3, 42; Wayne Charles Nelles, "From Imperialism to Internationalism in British Columbia Education and Society, 1900 to 1939" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1995), 242; Nancy Sheehan, "Philosophy, Pedagogy, and Practice: The IODE and the Schools in Canada, 1900-1945" Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'Histoire de l'Éducation 2, no. 2 (1990): 307-321; "A matter of History," The Vancouver Daily Sun, 12 January 1917, p. 4; Jean Barman, Growing Up British in British Columbia (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984); Robert A. J. McDonald, Making Vancouver: Class, Status, and Social Boundaries 1863-1913 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996).

[11] Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentlemen, chaps. 1, 8.

[12] Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentlemen, 8-11; Perkin, Rise of Professional Society, chap. 4.

[13] For an attempt to catalogue the various adult education enterprises in the province, see Gordon Selman, A Chronology of Adult Education in British Columbia, Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 14 (Vancouver: Department of University Extension, The University of British Columbia, 1977); Selman, "Adult Education in Barkerville."

libraries, led by higher classes for the supposed benefit of the lower, provided opportunities for professional gentlemen to be adult educators.[14] Vancouver's self-appointed disseminator of imperial high culture, the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association (AHSA), included many "professional gentlemen" by social rank and liberal education rather than occupation, as did the AHSA's rival The Vancouver Institute.[15] Although the British ideas were modified for a new land, professional adult educators were at work even if they lacked such a label.

By emphasizing moral social leadership over the practical economic desire for employment, Thomas might appeal to the sensibilities of those like himself who had the luxury of worrying less about their careers and more about their social influence. It was unlikely, however, that the UBC program would attract upper-middle class students intent on preserving their status and social leadership through adult education. UBC played little direct part in cultivating such gentlemanly professionality. From its opening UBC provided arts courses for a liberal education, a putative basis for educating the gentleman professional, but UBC provided little immediate, practical help to those wishing to enter the old, class-based professions. As a secular university, UBC never did train ministers, and by 1950 the various ministries had lost much of their earlier status. University education was essential for entry into other professional fields by about 1920, yet UBC had no law school until 1945. Conservative attitudes by senior members of the British Columbia bar, many of English and Ontario origins, had helped to suppress the formal study of law.[16] In 1956 the UBC Faculty of Law was still very small.[17] Physicians also could not acquire a professional education at UBC until after 1950, although the

---

[14] Carl Berger, Science, God and Nature in Victorian Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 49. Kett, The Pursuit of Knowledge, 207; Michael Collins, "The Mechanics Institute—Education for the Working Man?" Adult Education 23, no. 1 (1972): 37-47.

[15] Ian Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment in Vancouver, 1886-1916" (unpublished Ed. D. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1987). Women, however, were very prominent in these organizations. On this latter point, see Damer, "Town and Gown," 55-56.

[16] W. Wesley Pue, Law School: The story of Legal Education in British Columbia (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Faculty of Law, 1995), 144-146.

[17] UBC Calendar, 1956-1957. The Faculty of Law had only seven tenure-track faculty members.

university provided courses on public health and life sciences well before then. The Faculty of

Medicine grew quickly, but it had become a scientific field with little emphasis on the liberal arts

and remained strongly influenced by local physicians.[18] Those whose backgrounds pushed them

to seek cultured, gentlemanly occupations would have to look elsewhere for their professional

education.

Despite appealing to class sensibilities, Thomas would have difficulty promoting his adult

education program as a route to the province's professional class. One alternative, however, was

to attract patronage, in the manner that the Carnegie Corporation had sponsored adult education

in the United States.[19] Having no claim to professional status, and pressing the claims of a new

and disorganized field of study, Thomas and others could have done what other good causes

often did—try to slip into the tent of the wealthy few. Perhaps a Tupper, Bell-Irving,

Woodward, Rogers, or MacMillan—to name a few leading Vancouver families—might embrace

adult education as a cause deserving of support. The Board of Trustees of the Vancouver Public

Library, for example, at times had the support (and membership) of influential business people,

local politicians, and cultural leaders. The chief Librarian was also ex-officio a member of the

Vancouver Board of Trade, and the Library received gifts from the likes of the British Columbia

Lumber Manufacturers' Association and the Baptist Church. The Library also promoted adult

education, hosting Briton Albert Mansbridge who spoke in 1926 on "Adult Education and

Democracy," and supported adult educational services and allied organizations like the AHSA.[20]

As the Library grew, it encouraged its own staff to acquire specialized library training including

---

[18] UBC Calendar, 1956-1957. Although the Faculty of Medicine had some eighty-five tenure-track faculty members, most were "clinical professors," or practicing physicians who taught under the auspices of UBC. Only a year and a half of the four year Medical Doctor (M.D.) program took place at the university, the remainder being at local hospitals.

[19] Kett, The Pursuit of Knowledge, 334-337.

[20] Nelles, From Imperialism to Internationalism, 188-190. The Vancouver Board of Trade was a bastion of economic development, and provided short courses of lectures to further its goals. Prominent Vancouver residents like Robie Reid, Anna Sprott, a Bell-Irving, and a Malkin had been on the library board. Vancouver Archives, MCR 22-1, Vancouver Public Library Records, Minutes, 18 March 1926; 8 April 1938; 10 November 1944, 12 November 1948; Selman, The Invisible Giant, 10.

degrees in Library Science.[21] If Thomas could appeal to wealthy patrons to provide an institutional base for adult education, he might also have a new profession.

Philanthropic patronage seemed possible in the 1950s. Social (and a few economic) leaders, including lawyers and physicians, had long moved in the same circles as educators who worked with and in The Vancouver Institute.[22] Adult education promoters like Mary Roaf suggest a tie with Vancouver's establishment. As President of the Vancouver Community Arts Council, Roaf was among the first to encourage the formation of a provincial adult education association.[23] Roaf lived in an exclusive Vancouver neighbourhood, and her husband, Brigadier W. G. H. Roaf, although a member of the fading military profession, was also a Vancouver Museum Board member.[24] Mary Roaf had worked with John Friesen in the late 1950s to establish the Vancouver Festival Society, enlisting the patronage of W. C. Mainwaring, vice-president of the British Columbia Electric Company, as president of the society.[25]

However, those who might have been patrons would not recognize "adult education" as a profession. Vancouver's social and cultural leaders still assumed a role as adult education provider well into the 1960s through such organizations as the AHSA and its Vancouver Museum. Despite a rank and file membership of working and middle class people,[26] many AHSA members in the 1950s were linked socially with such prominent residents as Mary Bell-Irving, Victor Odlum, the Jonathan Rogers and Robert Malkin families, the Mayor of North Vancouver, church ministers, and civic politicians, not to mention UBC professors and plenty of

---

[21] Vancouver Archives, MCR 22-1, Vancouver Public Library Records, Minutes, 8 April 1938, 20 April 1955, 21 November 1972, 17 October 1972; 9 December 1926, 14 July 1948, 19 October 1955; 10 November 1944.

[22] Damer, "Town and Gown."

[23] Selman, Toward Cooperation, 5.

[24] The Vancouver City Directory (Vancouver: B.C. Directories Ltd., 1957); Vancouver Archives, AHSA Fonds, Add. MSS 336, 546-E-6, file 1, Minutes 22 January 1957; 547-B-3, file 10, 11 June 1959, program, Vancouver Museum dedication ceremony; City of Vancouver Archives, microfiche 0017, AHSA Secretary/Curator's Report, 1954, "New Members."

[25] Kennedy, "John K. Friesen," 146.

[26] AHSA Fonds, 547-B-3, file 5, questionnaire cards; The Vancouver City Directory (Vancouver: B.C. Directories Ltd., 1958).

aging Britons.[27] The AHSA was one star in a constellation of old but persistent, education-minded organizations.[28] Few in these organizations, however, saw themselves as participants in or providers of "adult education." Nor did self-identified "adult educators" fraternize with the AHSA or sit on the Vancouver Library or Museum boards.[29] John Friesen, a keen promoter of liberal education for adults, did mix with lawyers and business leaders in the Vancouver Institute, but then the Institute was after the 1930s a UBC creature rather than an urban-regional-community one.[30]

In short, the cultural element in British Columbia that favoured an old class-based view of a profession was not friendly to the professional claim of adult education. Established professionals were not inclined to represent themselves explicitly as adult educators, nor were the wealthy few inclined to patronize adult education as a valuable occupation. Furthermore, UBC was playing little role in catering to old class sensibilities. Although other aspiring professionals like librarians and curators found modest occupational niches thanks to patronage, seeking professionalism for adult education through the patronage or endorsement of the wealthy offered little promise.[31] "Adult education" was not promoted as an occupational category.

---

[27] Vancouver Archives, AHSA Fonds, 546-E-6, file 1, Minutes, Annual General Meeting; 547-B-3, file 2, April 1959, members' questionnaire; 547-B-3, file 2, 15 February 1962, Bell-Irving to Ainsworth; 547-B-3, file 6, newspaper clippings about Harriet Barfield and Mrs. Jonathon Rogers. Occupations were checked with the Vancouver Directory, 1957-1962. UBC personnel involved with the AHSA included President Norman MacKenzie, Faculty of Education Director F. Henry Johnson, UBC museum curator Audrey Hawthorne (wife of anthropologist Harry Hawthorne), and agriculturist V. C. Brink (also active with the Vancouver Natural History Society, and an ARDA collaborator in the mid-1960s). Vancouver City Archives, microfiche 0017, AHSA Secretary/Curator report, 1954; AHSA Fonds, Box 546-E-6, file 1, Minutes, 22 January 1957; Box 547-B-3, file 10, 11 June 1959.

[28] Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 15-16. Such organizations included the Vancouver Natural History Society, Red Cross, Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, Vancouver Library, Men's and Women's Canadian Clubs, and the Arts and Crafts Association.

[29] UBC Professors Henry Johnson and Ian McTaggart-Cowan were on the Vancouver Museum Board in 1959. AHSA Fonds, 547-B-3, file 10, 11 June 1959, dedication ceremony brochure.

[30] Kennedy, "John K. Friesen," 114. Damer, "Town and Gown." Initially a cooperative venture, the Vancouver Institute had become dominated by UBC personnel by the early 1930s.

[31] The Vancouver Public Library board members encouraged professional librarians, the Vancouver Museum board favoured an "antiquarist" as curator, and the Vancouver Maritime Museum board favoured directors and curators trained in history, library science or social sciences, although education was an implicit part of the job. AHSA Fonds, 547-B-3, file 10, 9 May 1959, newspaper "Help Wanted" advertisement; AHSA Fonds, 547-B-3,

If appealing to the moral sensibilities of British Columbia's social leaders was not helpful in creating a new profession of adult education, perhaps another strategy would be more effective. British Columbia was home to a competing conception of professionalism based not on class privilege but on scientific efficiency. When Verner arrived speaking of the scientific basis of adult education and the need for adult educators to control an effective educational process, he was able to draw on this rival view of professionalism.

Professionalism as scientific proficiency and expertise took shape across the industrialized world in the late nineteenth century. As science demonstrated its ability to solve technical problems in the physical world, intellectuals in Britain and elsewhere advocated science as a tool to manage wealth while solving the social problems accompanying class conflict, urbanization, industrialization, and war. Well-educated experts, identified and prepared in part through mass public schooling, began topping new career hierarchies in both government and private enterprise. The horizontal stratification of class began slowly to yield to vertical, nominally meritocratic career ladders.[32] Canada also acquired new ideas from south of the border. Nineteenth century Americans imagined they had fewer class pretensions: as wave upon wave of self-identified middle-class immigrants sought economic and social advancement, any occupation could be a profession. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, competition between industries led to specialization and a new meaning of professionalism that carried with it profound implications for personal behaviour and social organization. A profession became an occupation requiring expertise and knowledge of an esoteric but useful—nominally scientific—body of knowledge, and American colleges and universities were eager to provide that knowledge.[33] These changes in the meaning of professional certainly touched Ontario, as old professions suffered government

file 5, 10 April 1959, MacKay to Long. Vancouver Museum curator T. H. Ainsworth is described in the letter head as "FRSA": Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquarists.

[32] Perkin, The Rise of Professional Society.

[33] Burton Bledstein, The Culture of Professionalism (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1976).

disestablishment and others scrambled to demonstrate their scientific efficacy, and new

occupations clamoured for professional status on the basis of science.[34]

These new values were in open competition at British Columbia's new provincial

university. Despite claims that character building was its central task, early UBC catered to

those in British Columbia who sought the practical expertise of industrial professionals rather

than to the class-conscious leadership of the professional gentleman.[35] Whereas professional

gentlemen almost by definition were drawn from socially-privileged walks of life and were to be

found among (or close to) social and economic leaders, UBC's early forms of professional

education were meant to realize meritocratic ideals, however much the labour press might

denounce the university as a class institution.[36] UBC thus acquired an outlook and a set of

connections necessary to play a significant role in creating science-based professions for private

enterprise.

Demand for technical, scientific expertise was felt particularly strongly in UBC's Faculty

of Applied Science, where it was pushed by economic imperatives. The university early hired

mining and mining engineering experts—some previously working for industry—to provide

courses useful to the mining industry.[37] The British Columbia Chamber of Mines was itself an

early ally of the university and a keen promoter of the technical and business aspects of the

industry.[38] Several key faculty members—E.T. Hodge, J.M. Turnbull, and R.W. Brock—were

Chamber of Mines executives (honourary or active), and they and their colleagues were regular

---

[34] Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentlemen, chaps. 6, 10, and passim.

[35] R. Cole Harris, "Locating the University of British Columbia."

[36] UBC Scrapbooks, No. 4, B.C. Federationist, 19 November 1915. Wesbrook Fonds, Box 2-2. As well as Britain, the meritocratic ideal was employed in France and linked to the new university. Fritz Ringer, Fields of Knowledge: French academic culture in comparative perspective, 1890-1920 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[37] UBC Calendar, 1915-16, 14, 15.

[38] Minutes, BoG, 13 March, 1917.

speakers at Chamber-sponsored events.[39] UBC Board of Governors approved payment of

chemistry professor Douglas McIntosh's fees in the American Electro-Chemical and American

Chemical Societies, and further negotiated with the Cominco smelter in Trail for McIntosh's

professional services.[40] In 1919, UBC hosted a national and very public mining conference.[41]

Not only did UBC want to contribute to the mining industry through its undergraduate

curriculum, but it also sought direct service to the industry and a public image of leadership in the

mining industry.

UBC's activities may and should be interpreted against a larger social background of

Vancouver economic boosterism in city and region. The Chamber of Mines worked to bring

mining investment capital to Vancouver, entreating investors to "Make Vancouver a Great

Mining Centre" at a time when mining in south-eastern British Columbia eluded Vancouver

control.[42] Vancouver businessmen and industry technicians who worked with the Chamber of

Mines were quick to enlist UBC's support.[43] In addition, the Vancouver Board of Trade played

a key role in bringing the geological survey to Vancouver, explaining, with UBC endorsement, the

economic benefit the office would bring.[44] UBC cooperated in the success of these campaigns.

By providing the expertise so much in demand by industry, UBC seized the opportunity

to sell valuable services and to become the gatekeeper of applied science professions. Once

---

[39] UBC Scrapbook #7. Turnbull lectured in 1918 on the economic potential of the mining industry if it were properly developed.

[40] BoG Minutes, 28 February, 1916.

[41] UBC Scrapbook #7.

[42] Academy of Science Fonds, 1924 British Columbia Chamber of Mines Promotional Brochure, Box 2-28. The brochure emphasized Vancouver's need for investment capital. Patricia E. Roy, Vancouver: An Illustrated History (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1980), 54, 56. Barman, West, 122-125; A.A. den Otter "Bondage of Steam: The CPR and Western Canadian Coal" in The CPR West: The Iron Road and the Making of a Nation, ed. Hugh A. Dempsey (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1984), 199.

[43] Academy of Science Fonds, 14 November 1925, Henry Browning to C. McLean Fraser; Henderson's Vancouver Directory, (Vancouver: Henderson Publishing Co., 1920). The letterhead of the correspondence lists Chamber executives who had Honourary UBC appointments or various business or technical interests in the mining industry.

[44] UBC Scrapbook #7, as reported in the World, 30 March 1918.

153

considered mere tradesmen or mechanics, scientifically trained engineers subsequently gained considerable social and economic status in Canada.[45] Natural science became an important basis for engineering professions, and the rise of social *science* at UBC suggests that the proclivity toward scientific and technical skills spilled over to service professions like social work. UBC had a long history of training technical professionals. If adult education could be proven "scientific," with demonstrable, predictable, and valuable results it too might become a profession not through class patronage but through successful competition in an occupational market.

Verner's talk of a scientific profession that emphasized educational method would appeal to persons holding diverse values. One such value was a free-market ideological orientation. In this view, Verner's scientific adult education need only be tested in an occupational market. If successful, those possessing the special knowledge and skills might press for professional status. Several adult education boosters of the 1950s held such political views, contrary to some descriptions of adult education as a "movement" of a different political orientation. Selman, for example, favourably compared official CAAE statements of the 1940s with social democratic ideology.[46] Michael Welton also has suggested that the Canadian adult education movement was animated by "a vision of participatory and economic democracy," but linked the movement to psychologist Peter Sandiford, a promoter of eugenics and intelligence testing.[47] Lost in much of the talk about "the adult education movement" were vast differences in the methods and goals of participants. In British Columbia, many of those who promoted adult education were anything but socialist.

---

[45] Those with engineering degrees were among the economic leaders in Canada. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, 276.

[46] Gordon Selman, "The Adult Educator: Change Agent of Program Technician?" Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education 9, no. 2 (1985): 77-86.

[47] Michael Welton, "Reclaiming Our Past: Memory, Traditions, Kindling Hope" in Knowledge for the People, ed. Michael Welton (Toronto: OISE Press, 1987), 11; Peter Sandiford, "The Inheritance of Talent Among Canadians" Queen's Quarterly, 35 (August 1927-October 1928): 2-19; Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 74.

One adult education promoter in this line was Mrs. H. H. (Pearl) Steen, an active

participant in the British Columbia "movement." Born in Victoria, British Columbia, she had

once worked as a stenographer but made her way into more prosperous circumstances.[48] She

was President of the Point Grey Conservative Association 1936-1937, an unsuccessful

Conservative candidate in the 1952 provincial election (promising to defend free enterprise

against "Liberal dictatorship [and] the in-roads of Communist sympathizers"), and a sometime

President of the Women's Canadian Club, Vancouver Council of Women, and the Business and

Professional Women's Club. She was chair of the Vancouver School Board 1946-1952.[49] Her

second husband was a fire chief and Mason, and upon his death in 1949, Steen bought a private

hospital business.[50] She was elected to an executive post with the new provincial adult

education association in 1957 and 1959, and was eventually honoured with life membership in

the CAAE.[51] Her efforts to organize adult education providers, for which she evidently had

supporters, can be seen as efforts to build a profession.

One of Steen's colleagues was Mrs. Rex Eaton, one time Western Vice-President of the

CAAE, and an advocate of a provincial adult education organization.[52] Eaton and Steen worked

with each other in the National Council of Women, the Business and Professional Women's Club,

and the Women's Canadian Club; both had been invited to a 1948 civic banquet in honour of

India's Prime Minister Nehru.[53] Eaton had been awarded the Order of the British Empire (OBE),

and by the late 1950s worked for the Provincial Department of Labour as a member of the

---

[48] Steen Fonds, Add. MSS 272, 517-C-5, file 6, advertising flyer.

[49] Steen Fonds, Box 517-C-4, file 1, newspaper clippings. Steen had been president of the Vancouver Council of Women, Vancouver Women's Canadian Club, Vancouver Business and Professional Women's Club, and a Vancouver School Trustee 1946-1952.

[50] Steen Fonds, 517-C-5, file 4, legal documents; file 10, newspaper clipping.

[51] Selman, Toward Cooperation, 20, 28.

[52] FFT 16,3 (December 1955); Selman, Toward Cooperation, 3.

[53] Steen Fonds, 517-C-4, file 1, January 1957, magazine clipping photo; file 4, 1 July 1941, Program, Eighth National Convention of the Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. Eaton was a speaker at the conference; Steen Fonds, 517-C-4, file 5, Annual Report, Women's Canadian Club, 1956-1957; James Skitt Mathews Collection, City of Vancouver Archives, microfiche 1315, 25 October 1948; microfiche 4384, [October 1948].

Labour Relations Board. Eaton, who knew Geoffery Andrew of UBC, had recommended that her nephew, Gordon Selman, seek employment with UBC, thus creating a link between Extension and the Vancouver adult education proponents.[54]

The affiliations and activities of Steen and to a lesser extent Eaton suggest that certain political sympathies informed their views of adult education. The Women's Canadian Club, sending representatives to the early adult education meetings, had known Conservative (later Social Credit) stalwart Tilley Rolston for twenty-five years, as President and Honourary Vice President; both Steen and Eaton were active members of that club.[55] In 1968, Steen received honours from Social Credit member Grace McCarthy.[56] The Social Credit government was a conservative, "free enterprise" political party committed to economic development through resource exploitation, suggesting that even Steen and Eaton's involvement with humanitarian organizations were mixed with economic imperatives.[57]

Steen was also active with Social Credit projects through her association with civil servant Lawrence Wallace. Wallace headed the Community Programs Branch of the Department of Education in the mid and late 1950s, and helped Roby Kidd instruct the 1956 UBC summer course in adult education. Wallace's official support of school board adult education and his participation with the CAAE in discussing the advanced training of adult educators in the 1950s suggests that the government did support some form of adult education.[58] "Community programs" meant more than adult education, and Wallace was Chairman of the 1957 Centennial Committee (centennial of the formation of the united colonies), the 1967 Canadian Confederation Centennial Committee, and the British Columbia (entry into confederation) Centennial in 1971,

---

[54] Selman, Felt Along the Heart, 16.
[55] Steen Fonds, 517-C-4, file 5, Secretary's Annual Report 1953-54; Minutes, 30 May 1958.
[56] Steen Fonds, 517-C-4, file 1, Newspaper clipping.
[57] Nelles, "From Imperialism to Internationalism," 202; Steen Fonds, 517-C-5, file 3.
[58] CVMRR, 3rd Conference on Adult Education in British Columbia, 30 November 1955; Selman, Invisible Giant, 11.

and had asked an enthusiastic Steen to participate in each one.[59] By 1962, Lawrence had been replaced in the Community Programs Branch and ceased his earlier role with the adult education community.[60]

Steen and her friends may not have been partisan Social Credit supporters, but they moved in those circles. Under a free enterprise ideology, anyone could be a professional, even adult educators. In a more restricted sense, however, a professional still needed a position of leadership in any given industry, but the "market" rather than family background, inherited social status, formal education, or even the government decided whether adult education would truly be a profession. Nineteenth-century American professions struggled in such an ideological environment, seeking occupational standards, controls, and moral authority, for which many utilized the universities.[61] In British Columbia in the 1950s, several adult education boosters appeared inclined to build their profession by selling a valuable service in a market, a sentiment that lingered.[62]

Market testing of adult education would have to wait for the science of adult education. In the meantime, Verner—like Thomas before him—promoted his program to those already engaged in adult education, particularly in school boards. In contrast to the "class" and the "market" strategies to professional status, the strategy that ultimately offered most promise for professionalization was direct government intervention.

[59] Steen Fonds, Box 517-C-4, file 7, Seattle Times newspaper clipping; Box 517-C-5, file 1, 28 February 1964, Wallace to Steen; 5 November 1969, Wallace to Steen; Steen Fonds, Box 517-C-4, file 7, 16 April 1958, Wallace to Steen; Steen Fonds, Box 517-C-4, file 5, [30 July 1958], notes; "Mrs. L. J. Wallace" appears on seating arrangements.

[60] Vancouver City Archives, United Way (Community Chest) Fonds, Add. MSS 849-2, Box 617-G-3, file 11, Minutes, 1962.

[61] Bledstein, Culture of Professionalism, 88-90.

[62] In 1971, Vancouver adult educators attending the Northwest Adult Education Association conference considered "The Adult Marketplace/The Marketplace and the Adult" as its conference theme, considering cost/benefit analysis of adult education. Verner Fonds, Box 13-4, 1971, proposed agenda for NWAEA Conference.

Because the provincial government had legal jurisdiction over education, it played a key role in educational issues. The British Columbia government had effectively controlled schooling since the late 1800s despite the occasional objection of conservative businessmen, and private schools were compelled to accept government standards.[63] As elsewhere, public schools in British Columbia were justified through appeals to social mobility and "nation building."[64] Although British Columbia governments also used schools for economic development, the purposes of public education were contested by influential groups such as the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, resulting in curricula with both social and economic goals.[65] Teachers, meanwhile, were able to press for professional status through their state-controlled institutions. Some adult education boosters in the 1950s looked to a state-controlled system of adult education for professional status.

As the university had always been under the scrutiny if not control of the provincial government, UBC often responded to government directives.[66] For example, government policies to promote rural settlement and family farms, the rural tastes of politicians, and agricultural lobby groups of gentlemen farmers likely accounted for the generous funding of UBC's Faculty of Agriculture in a non-agricultural province like British Columbia.[67] When governments of various levels required university educated personnel like nurses, secondary teachers, social workers, foresters, and eventually elementary school teachers, UBC, as noted in chapter one, naturally provided that educated workforce. It would be reasonable to assume that UBC would prepare adult educators for a state-sponsored profession of adult education.

---

[63] Barman, Growing Up British, 67-68, 120.

[64] These are themes in Perkin, Professional Gentlemen; see also Ringer, Fields of Knowledge. Timothy A. Dunn, "The Rise of Mass Public Schooling in British Columbia" in Schooling and Society in Twentieth Century British Columbia, eds. J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig, 1980), 23-51. For evidence that Vancouver's working people saw the mobility potential in schools, see Jean Barman, "'Knowledge is Essential for Universal Progress but Fatal to Class Privilege': Working People and the Schools in Vancouver During the 1920s" Labour/Le Travail 22 (Fall 1988): 9-66.

[65] Nelles, "From Imperialism to Internationalism," 241.

[66] Horn, "Under the Gaze of George Vancouver," 29-67.

[67] Jones, "The Zeitgeist of Western Settlement," 71-89. Barman, West, 241.

State control of adult education was not without its controversy. Those who supported state-sponsored adult education at times clashed with those who supported the class leadership of professional gentlemen. Proponents of the differing views met in 1916 to found The Vancouver Institute, a lecture series sponsored by the newly opened provincial university and such local cultural societies as the AHSA. Over some twenty years, state-supported UBC slowly asserted its cultural and intellectual leadership both in the content of the lectures and administration of the Institute.[68] The Vancouver Institute was just the beginning. In 1936, with funding from the Carnegie Corporation, UBC created its Department of Extension to become one of the province's leaders in adult education provision, eclipsing the Vancouver Public Library and other local or regional institutions.[69] Although UBC was politically weak, it slowly increased its influence in social as well as technical areas.

The 1930s saw a great increase in government services. During the Depression, Duff Pattullo's "New Deal" inspired Liberals ousted the Conservative government of Simon Fraser Tolmie and brought in many new services, partly in response to the Depression and partly the result of "progressive" political thought.[70] With an eye on developments in the United States and Britain, British Columbia entered more fully into the era of the "welfare state," creating new jobs and occupational hierarchies in social services. Even the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), a party of moderate Christian socialists and Marxist labour leaders, at times lauded the work done by the Liberals.[71] With government services came new government careers and "public sector" professionals such as social workers.

---

[68] Damer, "Town and Gown."

[69] Gordon Selman, A History of Fifty Years of Extension Service by the University of British Columbia 1915 to 1965 (Toronto: Canadian Association of Adult Education, 1966), 22.

[70] Robin Fisher, Duff Pattullo of British Columbia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), chap. 7; Nelles, "From Imperialism to Internationalism," chap. 5.

[71] Martin Robin, The Company Province vol. 2, 23. At other times, Patullo was despised: Fisher, Pattullo, 305.

George Weir, Minister of Education and Provincial Secretary on leave as UBC Professor of Education, was a key actor in building Pattullo's "socialized capitalism," and adult education fell within Weir's vision of appropriate state services and plans for the professionalization of state policy.[72] During the 1930s, the provincial government's program of physical education and recreation was among its more popular educational responses to the Depression.[73] Recent scholarship has pointed to the economic motives of Weir's educational vision, so he likely valued adult education for economic and social reasons.[74]

Had Weir and his government created a division called "adult education" that employed university graduates, a new profession controlled in part by UBC might have followed. Despite adult education sympathizers, the provincial Liberal and successive Liberal/Conservative coalition governments never did establish such a career, but some in the 1950s still saw government intervention as the preferred route to professionalization. The provincial government had opened a significant door to adult education provision through a statute allowing local school boards to provide adult night-school programs. Even before the 1910 Public Schools Act amendment, the Vancouver School Board provided programs for adults, and by 1957 was among the province's and country's largest adult education providers.[75] Other school boards across British Columbia offered their own night-school programs. Local school boards, as we have seen, held the most promise for creating an occupational hierarchy of adult education in the 1950s, and promoters at UBC knew it.

Many adult education proponents who organized themselves in Vancouver and Victoria, British Columbia, during the 1950s and 1960s were people advancing their careers in public-

[72] George Weir, "In British Columbia," Journal of Adult Education (June 1939): 250-253; Fisher, Pattullo, 274, 304. Gordon Selman, Adult Education During the Depression, Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 12 (Vancouver: Department of University Extension, The University of British Columbia, 1976), 8.
[73] Selman, Adult Education During the Depression, 27-28.
[74] Mann, "Progressive Education or Education for the Progressive State?"
[75] Selman, The Invisible Giant, 6, 11.

sector institutions. One of these was Bert Wales, of modest, middle-class Vancouver origins. He had been a secondary school teacher, school principal, and then assistant director of adult education for the Vancouver School Board.[76] After earning a doctorate in adult education at Oregon State University, he became Director of Adult Education for the Vancouver School Board (the subject of his doctoral thesis), and then helped create Vancouver City College despite controversy surrounding a referendum.[77] Wales subsequently became director of the adult education division of the college. At the same time, he held leadership roles in the British Columbia adult education organizations and the CAAE. As head of a large institution and holding a doctorate, Wales had many of the earmarks of a professional.

Others, such as Dean Goard and Alf Glenesk mentioned earlier, were poised for administrative jobs in the new colleges, and both earned magistral degrees in adult education at UBC in the 1960s. Jindra Kulich and Knute Buttedahl, also mentioned earlier, were early UBC adult education graduates who found employment in the UBC Department of Extension. Those with careers in public institutions—school boards, the new colleges, or university extension—seemed ready to identify with the title "adult education," and these careers were expanding.[78] Many of these public-sector educators also identified with the social values of the CAAE, whose members once looked to the British welfare state and Lord Beveridge's views for inspiration, and which resembled an ethic expressed by British public-sector professionals.[79] The prospects for professionalizing adult education through state intervention held great promise.

[76] Wrigley's British Columbia Directory (Vancouver: Wrigley Directories, Ltd., 1927); The Greater Vancouver and New Westminster City Directory (Vancouver: Sun Directories, 1949 and 1955); The Vancouver City Directory (Vancouver: B.C. Directories Ltd., 1957).

[77] "Right Fight, Wrong Battlefield," Vancouver Sun, 14 November 1963, p. 4; "Votes that should not be ignored," Vancouver Province, 21 December 1963, p. 4. Voters had narrowly voted "yes" for a college, but strongly "no" on using local funds.

[78] Gordon Selman, "The British Columbia Division of the Canadian Association for Adult Education 1961-1971", Occasional Paper No. 7 (Vancouver: Pacific Association for Continuing Education, 1980), 17.

[79] FFT, 10, 3 (December 1949), 1-4; Perkin, The Rise of Professional Society, 436-454.

For nearly twenty years, Verner and then Griffith urged governments to recognize their field while encouraging public employees to organize themselves as professionals, although neither discouraged the private enterprisers. Despite the promise of professionalization through direct state intervention, the strategy had two fatal flaws. First, the provincial government and its agencies never formally recognized "adult education." Second, educators working in public institutions were not inclined to organize themselves as professionals.

The Social Credit (Socred) government that held power from 1957 to 1985, except for 1972 to 1975, was an unlikely government to expand social services in an area like adult education. Its leader until 1972, W. A. C. Bennett, cultivated an anti-establishment, free enterprise ethos, that appealed to people outside the anglo-Canadian establishment, especially small business owners in rural and small-town British Columbia, recent immigrants of Albertan or central European stock, religious sectarians, and others who believed that their dreams of social mobility were thwarted by big business and bureaucratic political parties centred in Vancouver.[80] Bennett's party soon established a reputation for unorthodox political management, pursuing economic and industrial growth at the expense of parliamentary protocol, and remaining distrustful of human services professionals.[81] The Socreds promoted themselves as a populist government beholden to the "common" people of the province rather than special groups, although this was more rhetoric than reality.[82]

Although Bennett and his close political colleagues (many of whom were not formally educated) used lawyers, physicians, engineers, accountants, and other specially trained experts, Socred politicians were often unreceptive to "professionals," and the well-educated were not

---

[80] Robin, The Company Province vol. 2, 110; David Mitchell, W. A. C. Bennett and the Rise of British Columbia (Douglas & McIntyre Ltd., 1983).

[81] Prince, "At the Edge of Canada's Welfare State," 253; Robin, The Company Province vol. 2, chap 7.

[82] Robin, The Company Province vol. 2, 171, 224, chap 7. Large industries profited handsomely from government projects.

always accorded status.[83] The Social Credit government was also a fickle provider of social services.[84] Legislation similar to the American Adult Education Act of 1971 became as unlikely for British Columbia as building a formal adult education system. Over the years, despite ad hoc government funding for various adult education programs, this unlikelihood became reality.

The Socreds' main political rival also had an interest in adult education, but was not helpful in professionalizing adult education. Not only was the social democratic CCF party rarely in power, but it was not entirely supportive of professionalism. The CCF had long encouraged political study groups as a form of adult education, and one time CCF leader Arnold Webster (himself a UBC Senator in the late 1950s) participated in the province's "3rd Conference on Adult Education" in 1955.[85] But by the 1950s, mainstream adult education had been abandoned by socialists and social democrats in Canada and in the United States.[86] The CCF, like the Social Credit, was nominally a populist party that discouraged privilege. In 1961, the CCF merged with organized labour to form the New Democratic Party (NDP), becoming a party reluctant to embrace a professionalism of privilege or expertise.[87] When the NDP finally won the 1972 provincial election and held power briefly until 1975, its leader Dave Barrett expressed disdain for UBC. As we saw in chapter two, the NDP ignored suggestions by Verner's department to provide centralized and controlling leadership of adult education.

When the Social Credit government returned to power in 1975, it provided several years of increasing adult education support. After some expansion in the post-secondary system, Faris'

---

[83] Robin, The Company Province vol. 2, 222, 228, 247, 264, 274; Cyril Shelford, From Snowshoes to Politics: A British Columbia Adventure (Victoria: Orca, 1987); Waite, Lord of Point Grey, 175.

[84] Robin, The Company Province vol. 2, 206, 232, 244, 258.

[85] CVMRR, 3rd Conference on Adult Education in British Columbia, 30 November 1955, Minutes. Calendar 1959-1960, The University of British Columbia. Daisy Webster, his wife, completed a masters degree in adult education at UBC in 1968.

[86] Gordon Selman, The CAAE in the Corbett Years; Kett, The Pursuit of Knowledge, 401; Faris, The Passionate Educators, 112-113; Michael Welton, "Mobilizing the People for Socialism: The Politics of Adult Education in Saskatchewan, 1944-45," in Knowledge for the People, ed. Michael Welton (Toronto: OISE Press, 1987), 151-169.

[87] Prince, "At the Edge of Canada's Welfare State," 253.

recommendations to bolster the professional preparation of adult educators came to naught when the provincial government began redefining its adult education "system" in the early 1980s, providing explicit government policy only to support adult basic education.[88] School boards that had once been seen as a home for adult education professionals were overshadowed by colleges, which adopted a piece-meal, ad hoc approach to adult education policy that paid scant attention to adult education credentials.[89]

If the provincial government or its agencies did not professionalize adult education, those working as public-sector adult educators were equally unhelpful. They were either unconcerned about the role UBC might play in their field, or unconcerned to organize themselves as a profession or any other collective entity.

Those who might have been early allies of UBC promoters were not as supportive as they first appeared. Bert Wales, for example, recognized a role for university training in his field, and praised the UBC Adult Education Department in the early 1960s for its positive influence in adult education, but there is little to suggest that he or his institutions specifically favoured hiring adult education graduates.[90] In fact, at the time he wrote his praises, UBC had only graduated four adult education students, although Verner also had taught in several workshops through the Extension Department. Verner's records suggest that he and Wales had little to do with each other, suggesting that Wales did not participate in Verner's vision of the new profession.[91]

Other early potential allies in the professionalization of adult education were similarly unhelpful. After completing a masters degree in adult education, Alf Glenesk sought doctoral

[88] Faris Report, 38; Selman, The Invisible Giant, 33; Selman and Dampier, The Foundations of Adult Education in Canada, 191.

[89] William S. Griffith, "Working Toward Adult Education Policy at the Local Level: The Content" PACE Newsletter 10, no. 1 (1980): 31-45.

[90] Dennison Fonds, Box 1-2, Wales, "The Development of Adult Education in B.C." [1964].

[91] Verner Fonds, Box 4-4, 14 March 1962, Academic Diary. Verner was scheduled to meet with Wales, but this is the only reference to Wales in all files reviewed for this study.

studies at UBC in 1966 in the field of Higher Education and Administration of Post-Secondary Education, and he was not the only adult education graduate to seek additional credentials in higher rather than adult education.[92] Both Glenesk and Goard were active in local adult education organizations, especially the Canadian Vocational Association.[93] Goard headed a government inquiry into trades and vocational training in the province in the late 1970s. Rather than help establish an independent or self-regulating profession of adult education, these actors seemed more interested in following a career path dictated by their institutional employer or industrial patrons.

Public-sector employees who graduated from the UBC adult education program were not ready to unite in a shared vision of professionalism, having other options for career advancement. Agricultural extension workers were prominent in the adult education department during the 1960s, and the Kellogg program in health education encouraged health care workers during the early 1970s. These people often came from an institutional home and returned to it. Other adult education graduates, typically middle-aged men who had worked for five years in the field before seeking their degree, had careers in universities, community colleges, public schools or other government agencies.[94] After 1974, public schools were the largest pre-degree employer of UBC adult education graduates, and colleges were the largest post-degree employer, roughly coinciding with the transfer of many adult education programs from the schools to colleges. Schools, universities, and increasingly health agencies were also large employers.[95] From 1974 to 1984, adult education graduates were well employment in hospitals (19%), colleges (18.5%),

---

[92] Faculty of Education Fonds, Graduate Board/Graduate Division Working Committee/Executive Committee Binder, Minutes, 30 June 1966, 20 March 1969.

[93] D.G. Anstey, "J.S.W.— Initials to Remember" ACE Newsletter 1 (1973): 3-4; "Dean Goard Retires" ACE Newsletter 3 (1974): 7-8.

[94] Judith M. White, "Survey of Graduates in Adult Education at the University of British Columbia" (unpublished M. A. thesis, the University of British Columbia, 1974).

[95] Megan Stuart-Stubbs, "Survey of the Graduates in Adult Education (1960-1988) At the University of British Columbia" (unpublished M. A. thesis, the University of British Columbia, 1990).

universities (12%), government (11%), and other public institutes (10%).[96] These institutions had their own hierarchies, employee associations, and routes to professional status, and had no need of an independent "adult education" profession.

Not only were graduates of the adult education program reluctant to identify with a common profession, but many of those working in the field lacked adult education degrees. A 1975 survey of some 561 British Columbians self-identified as holding administrative or planning jobs in public and private adult education institutions included only about twelve who were graduates of the UBC adult education program. Ten years later, those self-identified as adult educators and members of an adult education association similarly showed that few held a graduate degree in adult education.[97] People evidently did not need the degree to advanced their careers, and many criticized the UBC adult education faculty as distant from their daily concerns.[98] Others saw an adult education degree as merely a useful option to advance careers in various ways.

Those who did seek to organize their work as adult educators for collective influence had little success. Attempts to create a "professional association" after the collapse of the British Columbia Chapter of the CAAE were confounded by diverse viewpoints and allegiances, and instead resulted in specialized associations representing specific institutions or topics.[99] Federal money in the early 1960s caused considerable expansion in vocational training and promoted personal careers, but many vocation educators were not keen on the CAAE's social ideals.[100]

---

[96] Write On, 11.

[97] Judith Mastai and Kwadwo Opare, A Directory of Who's Who in British Columbia Adult and Continuing Education in British Columbia (Vancouver, Pacific Association For Continuing Education, 1975); James E. Thornton and Richard O. Kavanagh, "The Professional Adult Educator: A Profile Developed From B.C.'s Adult Education Association" in Adult Educators and Their Associations in British Columbia, ed. Jindra Kulich, 11-20 (Vancouver: Pacific Association of Continuing Education, 1986).

[98] PC, Minutes, Department of Adult Education Field Advisory Committee Meeting, 2 February 1978.

[99] Michael F. Quinn, "A History of the Pacific Association For Continuing Education 1972–1987" (unpublished M.Ed. paper, the University of British Columbia, 1988); Selman and Dampier, The Foundations of Adult Education in Canada, 250; Faris Report, Appendix E.

[100] Quinn, "A History of the Pacific Association For Continuing Education 1972-1987."

Political lobbying on behalf of "adult education" was virtually unknown until the mid-1970s, and then quite modest.[101] UBC professors of adult education were unable to encourage such collective identity, and such efforts as the Field Advisory Committee proved fruitless.

By the early 1980s, the drive to create a profession had lost momentum. Some professors at UBC and elsewhere never were enthusiastic about efforts to control the field,[102] and the resurgence of interest in "radical adult education" in the department challenged the professional impulse.[103] A science of adult education and its immediate utility remained un-demonstrated, and the political or ideological importance of adult education was not valued by governments or other patrons.

Without a field of practice organized to support a profession, and with the quest for the "principles of practice" losing credibility, members of the UBC Adult Education Division were compelled to soften their emphasis on professionalism. By the 1980s, efforts to initiate students into a scientific profession were relaxed to accommodate those who were more interested in debating the politics and ethics of adult education.[104] The strength of the program lay even less with the prospects of a profession, and more with its eclectic appeal to educators outside the

[101] Gordon Selman, "1954-1979: Twenty-Five Years of Adult Education Organizations in British Columbia" PACE Newsletter 9, 4 (1979): 5-14.

[102] Verner Fonds, Box 7-6 [1974] "The Problem of Certification in Public School Adult Education," by John Niemi. Niemi wished to avoid strict credential restrictions. Several UBC professors and students participated in a conference that debated compulsory continuing education, although the proceedings did not discuss credentials for adult education providers. James S. Long and Roger Boshier, eds. Certification, Credentialing, Licensing and the Renewal Process (Moscow, Idaho: News Review Publishing, 1976). Boshier's enthusiasm for the democratic role of adult education contrasts with his interest in a discipline of adult education and a specially trained leadership in adult education. Boshier, Towards a Learning Society, 34-35, 39.

[103] Marxian critics regarded the professions and professional education as historically constituted to reinforce the inequities of capitalist societies. Magali Sarfatti Larson, "The Production of Expertise and the Constitution of Expert Power" in The Authority of Experts, ed. Thomas L. Haskell (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 28-80.

[104] Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentleman, 173. Ontario law suffered the same problems a century earlier, when the "science of law" failed to inform the practice of law. Because of its vital ideological role, law retained influential patrons who supported its professional status.

public school system. After some twenty-five years of effort, the academics had done little to build, direct, and govern a profession.

Yet something did change in British Columbia from the 1950s, but the extent to which adult education professionalized depends on how one thinks of a profession. More and more people found employment teaching adults and administering educational programs for adults, but this did not translate into professionalization, narrowly defined. Most people who found work as adult educators had no particularly influential class status by virtue of their occupation, nor did they have rare and valuable scientific knowledge despite concerns for performance standards that inevitably accompanied their jobs. Neither were their jobs protected by government policy. Adult education professionalized only if one considers all middle class, white-collar occupations as professions, but the majority of adult educators were simply serving their employers, adopting an ethic of competence, and claiming, like countless thousands before them, to be professionals.

The UBC adult education program was a convenient stepping-stone in those careers. In the 1980s, even this stepping stone was shaken by the new generation of education critics. Unable to present itself as professional gatekeeper nor even a necessary career stepping stone, the UBC adult education program was compelled to become one of many educational specialties in a larger Faculty, available to whomever sought its services, and useful in whatever way the individual could find.

This study sought to explain how adult education entered UBC as an academic field, how that field took form and acquired particular characteristics, and how it maintained an identity from 1957 to 1985. The research was, for the most part, an empirical investigation meant to provide specific, if tentative inferences on these central matters, and was not guided by any one explicit social theory. It did not ask, for example, whether British Columbia society created a natural demand for the services of the department, as structural-functionalist theories might have it. Nor did it presume that the department played a necessary or contingent role in the political struggles of a particular group or class of people, as conflict theories might suggest. It certainly did not seek a "discourse" of adult education that may have held power over the minds and actions of adult educators in British Columbia. In the absence of an appropriate and readily available "grand theory," such approaches remain for others to consider and to apply.

The answers to the central questions were found to lie partly in the politics of Larry MacKenzie's university and the Faculty of Education he helped to create, although this thesis was not strictly a political study. The answers were also to be found in the academic activities—the research and teaching—of those hired as professors of adult education, although this thesis was not strictly an intellectual history of interactions between ideas and their material-cultural "environments."

Yet another feature of answers to the central questions arose in the social relations inside UBC, and between UBC actors and university outsiders. On the other hand, it is important to say that the usual techniques of social history were contributory, but not definitive of the present study. There was, for example, little detailed consideration of student background and destinations, and little consideration of the broader social impact of the department. Writers and

researchers may wish at some future time to tackle the problems of politics, social-class, and cultural definition in the history of adult education at UBC.

And yet: by drawing on political, intellectual, and social threads, this study has provided answers. It has shown how the study of adult education as a "department" entered the academy through the political good-will of influential British Columbians and Canadians, and of other persons who occupied central and powerful positions in UBC. It has further shown how adult education professors benefitted from external social developments.

Indeed, the department survived by catering to social and intellectual fashions, initially by providing scientific credentials to an eclectic group of career-climbers. When scientistic conceptions of education wore thin and credential-chasing lost some of its allure, the department responded to the wave of new ideas and social criticism sweeping the continent by enrolling greater numbers of social critics. Viewed in this way, the existence of the adult education department at UBC was one of political privilege, opportunity, and circumstance rather than social and intellectual leadership.

This study raised some serious and persistent problems that have plagued the adult education department. Its reasons for being were extremely artificial, and proved to be indefensible on various grounds. Politically, the program and then department owed much to the whims of powerful actors guided by American models of universities, hardly a justification to democratically-minded, autonomously-inclined members of the UBC Faculty of Education. The American (and international) community of adult education researchers did little to elicit broad support from UBC faculty members outside the department. Mind you, the ideas that guided adult education research and teaching were little different from views held elsewhere.

There never was a "profession" of adult education that used the department to select its members. Local practitioners, governments, and employees often ignored the department. Research clients were few and far between. However, social circumstances proved beneficial,

sometimes providential, and the department grew to meet demand for credentials not provided elsewhere.

The reasons for having an adult education "department" continued relatively unpersuasive after the reorientation of the late 1970s, by comparison, at any rate, to the reasons one might have advanced in the more idealistic days of vast social change in the immediate post-War period. The department (indeed, the entire field of study), with the help of new professors with new ideas, participated in the same intellectual currents at large in social and educational thought elsewhere at UBC, in the province and nation, and in the Western world. Meanwhile, local practitioners and governments continued to show little interest in the department. UBC administrators were pleased to "sell" adult education services overseas, but demonstrated no particular loyalty when they threatened to terminate the program. Student demand remained high, however, thanks to a continuing demand for credentials and to social critics who were looking for opportunities to enter the university.

From the standpoint of UBC historical developments, the overarching problem was this: no one from 1957 to 1985 was able to convince department outsiders that the study of adult education had characteristics sufficiently unique to warrant providing the "field" its own administrative base. No one denied there were questions about what or how adults learned and the forms of education in which adults participated, and no one denied there were practitioners who might want to examine their work with the help of social science disciplines and perspectives. But few conceded that the study of adult education was the prerogative of a select few.

Other professors and administrators in the Faculty of Education could and did work with practitioners in all branches of formal and non-formal education—adult education included. During the early 1960s, when the Faculty of Education was largely a transplanted Normal School, adult education boosters at UBC could reasonably argue that they catered to those

educators not involved with youth schooling. By the 1970s, it became increasingly difficult to make even this claim.

The present study contributes to various lines of inquiry bearing on UBC or other universities, the study and practice of adult education, the transfer of educational ideas and practices, and the social history of British Columbia. More should yet be done in all these areas of investigation.

Because the internal politics of the UBC Faculty of Education played an important role in the study of adult education at UBC, research on the Faculty's other departments or its central administration would reveal much. One would expect that departments with cognates in the Faculty of Arts, such as educational psychology or educational foundations (history, philosophy, sociology, and anthropology of education), had very different histories. Similarly, the histories of departments oriented to school subjects, like mathematics, music, or science, were probably very different from the adult education department. Comparative studies would provide insight into wider patterns of activity in the Faculty, between the Faculty and the university administration, and the influence of the Faculty in educational thought and practice outside the university. Similarly, although historical studies about UBC have begun to suggest general patterns of university development, a serious general history of UBC requires further detailed studies.

Another area of inquiry suggested here are studies of other university adult education programs. Some preliminary studies on American universities imply that charitable foundations and local governments had parts to play in creating adult education programs. More useful to Canadian researchers would be careful studies of adult education programs at Canadian universities. Combined with the present study, such histories would add to generalizable statements on the status of adult education as an academic field and a field of practice. If all

university adult education departments owed their existence to special privilege, perhaps they met the same difficulties as the UBC department. If this were so, the entire field of adult education studies would be seriously in question.

This study also connects the UBC adult education department to a largely American enterprise. Adult education developments thus throw new light on American cultural influences over Canada. Not only did American-generated ideas travel north, but Canadians solicited ideas, models, and practices from south of the border. One may well ask how appropriate these educational ideas were in Canada, and what implicattions this cultural transfer had on wider social and political arrangements.

Examining the failed profession of adult education raised numerous issues about British Columbia society. One might usefully examine more closely the extent to which the province was (or is) a "professional society," the role of government and its services, and the social leadership of its universities. The tension between two sets of values within the ranks of adult education—efficiency, competition, and opportunity on the one hand, and cooperation, stability, and equity on the other—lead to questions about the province's wider politics. Research into these questions has already begun, and some from the perspective of the province's schools. Little, however, has been done from the perspective of adult education.

Although my thesis is mainly empirical in character, it invites further tests of various social-historical theories of universities, and most especially their roles in creating or controlling knowledge and allocating privilege or power. Theories may differ considerably in their explanations and in their explanatory power, but they generally agree that professionals enjoy, or may hope to enjoy, uncommon degrees of wealth and power. Despite the work of adult education promoters at UBC who followed the text-book definition of professionalization—providing university credentials, specialized scientific knowledge and "discourse," influential national contacts, and a nucleus for occupational

organization—uncommon wealth and power did not follow. It is almost as if university credentials had lost their social function, as if class interests were unidentifiable or nonexistent, and as if "scientific discourse" were simply ignored. Existing theories on professionalization must account for the present case, while alternative new theories would themselves require additional conceptual research and empirical testing.

In the end, this account of adult education studies at UBC from 1957 to 1985 suggests two contrasting interpretations. One is that administrative autonomy was important to protect a valuable intellectual and educational activity from ignorant colleagues and practitioners who simply did not understand its value. Dean Scarfe thus becomes the "great protector." That interpretation is consistent with the "missionary outlook" noted in chapter 2. The second interpretation, and the view more consistent with this thesis, is that the study of adult education—and the field it purported to study—could not be strongly defined. It thus could not be claimed by any particular group of people, using any particular research methodology or educational "theory," or in reference to any particular social practice. Boundaries, at best, were tentative and vague, and made poor grounds for administrative autonomy. Administrative self-control of the study of adult education continues to wane at UBC. Those who still seek an independent administrative base for adult education studies have a long history against them.

References

Primary Sources

Manuscript Collections:

Academy of Science Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Angus Family Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Art, Historical, and Scientific Association Fonds. Add. MSS 336, City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver.

Board of Governors Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Borden, Alice. Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

British Columbia Medical Association Fonds. Office of the British Columbia Medical Association, Vancouver, British Columbia.

Calam, John. Manuscripts and Professional Papers. Personal Collection, Vancouver.

Centre for Continuing Education Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Chant, Sperrin. Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Conway, John. Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Coolie Verner Memorial Reading Room Fonds. The University of British Columbia, Ponderosa Annex F, Vancouver.

Damer, Eric. Professional and Academic Papers. Personal Collection, Burnaby, British Columbia.

Dennison, John. Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Department of University Extension Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special
   Collections, Vancouver.

Faculty of Agricultural Sciences Fonds. The University of British Columbia, Special Collections,
   Vancouver.

Faculty of Education Fonds. The University of British Columbia, Scarfe Building, Vancouver.

Faculty of Graduate Studies Deans Office Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special
   Collections, Vancouver.

Harry Hawthorn Foundation Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections,
   Vancouver.

Hawthorn, Harry. Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Johnson, Francis Henry. Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections,
   Vancouver.

Lutheran Campus Centre Fonds. Lutheran Campus Centre. The University of British Columbia,
   Vancouver.

MacKenzie, Norman Archibald McRae. Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special
   Collections, Vancouver.

MacPhee, Earle D. Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Marsh, Leonard. Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Matthews, James Skitt. Collection. City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver.

President's Office. Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Scarfe, Neville. Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

School of Nursing Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Senate Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Social Science Research Institute Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections,
   Vancouver.

Steen, Pearl. Fonds. Add. MSS 272, City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver.

Thomson, Watson. Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

UBC Scrapbooks Nos. 4 and 7. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

United Way (Community Chest) Fonds. City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver.

Vancouver Institute Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Vancouver Public Library Records. City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver.

Verner, Coolie. Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Verner, Coolie. Subject File. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Wesbrook, Frank Fairchild. Fonds. The University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver.

Personal Correspondence:

Daniel D. Pratt, 29 May 2000.

John Collins, 8 June 2000.

Gary Dickinson, 26 May 2000.

James E. Thornton, 6 June 2000.

LeRoi Daniels. 6 June 2000.

John Dennison, 23 May 2000.

John Niemi, 9 June 2000.

Dale Rusnell, 24 May 2000.

Glenn Hardie, 17 June 2000.

Tom Sork, 23 May 2000.

Newspapers:

"McGeer wants small universities," Ubyssey (Vancouver), 15 March 1985, p. 11.

"Pedersen quits UBC," Ubyssey (Vancouver), 8 March 1985, p. 1.

"Smith will not discuss letters detail," Ubyssey (Vancouver), 19 February 1985, p. 3.

"Grant helps native program," Ubyssey (Vancouver), 1 February 1985, p. 1.

"McGeer Wants Five Year Outlook," Ubyssey (Vancouver), 29 January 1985, p. 3.

"U. of Wisconsin is Rated Tops in Adult Edcuation," Chronicle of Higher Education, 4 August 1982, p. 3.

"A turnabout in learning," Vancouver Province, 10 February 1977, p. 23.

"Dr. Roger Boshier wins major research award," Hawke's Bay Herald-Tribune (New Zealand), 19 November 1976, p. 2.

"Professors Analyze Poverty Literature." UBC Reports, Issue 12, no. 4, September-October 1966, p. 3.

"Right Fight, Wrong Battlefield," Vancouver Sun, 14 November 1963, p. 4.

"Votes that should not be ignored," Vancouver Province, 21 December 1963, p. 4.

"Escape from bare facts purpose of space probe," Ubyssey (Vancouver), 6 March 1962, p. 4.

"Scarfe rips into school system as mere conformists' factory," Vancouver Province, 6 March 1962, p. 17.

"UBC Offers Degree in Social Service," Vancouver Province, 20 December 1945, p. 5.

"A Matter of History," Vancouver Daily Sun, 12 January 1917, p. 4.

"Vancouver Sun Inaugurates Popular Promenade Concerts," Vancouver Sun, 16 March 1940, p. 6.

"Famed musician and mother making home here," Vancouver Sun, 28 October 1939, p. 10.

Correspondence Courses, comprising printed manuals and textbooks:

Buttedahl, Paz. Adult Education 328 Correspondence Course. Vancouver: Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1982.

Clague, Michael. Adult Education 330 Correspondence Course. Vancouver: Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1985.

Davison, Catherine. Education 412 Correspondence Course. Vancouver: Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1972.

Thornton, James and David Little, Education 412 Correspondence Course. Vancouver: Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1977.

Verner, Coolie. Education 412 Correspondence Course. Vancouver: Department of University Extension, The University of British Columbia, [1961].

Verner, Coolie and Dorothy Cameron. Education 412 Correspondence Course. Vancouver: Department of University Extension, The University of British Columbia, 1964.

Books:

Anderson, Darrell and John Niemi. Adult Education and the Disadvantaged Adult. Syracuse: ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education, 1969.

Bennis, W. et al. The Planning of Change. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1969.

Boshier, Roger ed. Towards a Learning Society. Vancouver: Learning Press, 1980.

Brunner, Edmund de S. and Wilbur Hallenbeck. American Society: Urban and Rural Patterns. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955.

Calendar. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1951-84.

Dickinson, Gary. Teaching Adults: A Handbook for Instructors. Toronto: New Press, 1973.

Financial Statements. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1963-64.

Financial Statements. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1974-75.

Financial Statements. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1975-76.

Gagné, Robert M. Essentials of Learning for Instruction. Hinsdale: The Dryden Press, 1974.

Gagné, Robert M. The Conditions of Learning. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

Nelson, Lowry, Charles E. Ramsey, and Coolie Verner. Community Structure and Change. New York: MacMillan Company, 1960.

Verner, Coolie and Allan Booth. Adult Education. New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, 1964.

Verner, Coolie and Peter Gubbels. The Adoption or Rejection of Innovations by Dairy Farm Operators in the Lower Fraser Valley. Ottawa: Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada, 1967.

Verner, Coolie ed. Journal of Education of the Faculty of Education of the University of British Columbia, Special Issue Adult Education in British Columbia. 10 (1964).

Verner, Coolie. A Conceptual Scheme for the Identification and Classification of Processes for Adult Education. Chicago: Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 1962.

Chapters in Books:

Boshier, Roger and John M. Peters. "Adult Needs, Interests, and Motives." In Material and Methods of Adult Education, ed. C. Klevins, 197-212. California: Klevins, 1976.

Boshier, Roger. "A Conceptual and Methodological Perspective Concerning Research on Participation in Adult Education. " In Viewpoints on Adult Education Research, ed. John A. Niemi, 71-100. Columbus: The ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education, 1979.

Dickinson, Gary. "Adult Illiteracy in Canada and British Columbia." In Yearbook of Adult and Continuing Education, ed. Phyllis M. Cunningham, 179-184. Chicago: Marquis Academic Media, 1979.

Dickinson, Gary. "Research." In Pioneering a Profession. Vancouver: Adult Education Research
Centre, UBC, 1973.

Griffith, William S. "Adult Education Institutions." In Handbook of Adult Education, eds. Robert
M. Smith, George Aker, J. Roby Kidd, 171-189. New York: MacMillan, 1970.

Griffith, William S. and Mary C. Cristarella. "Participatory Research: Should it Be a New
Methodology for Adult Educators?" In Viewpoints on Adult Education Research, ed. John A.
Niemi, 14-42. Columbus: The ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational
Education, 1979.

Griffith, William S. and Pearl J. Roberts. "Adult Education." In Canadian Research in Education: A
State of the Art Review, eds. John Andrews and W. Todd Rogers, 35-63. Ottawa: Minister of
Supply and Services, 1982.

Little, David. "Adult Learning and Education: A Concept Analysis." In Yearbook of Adult and
Continuing Education, ed. Phyllis M. Cunningham, 3-19. Chicago: Marquis Academic Media,
1979.

Rubenson, Kjell. "Background and Theoretical Context." Yearbook of Adult and Continuing
Education, ed. Phyllis M. Cunningham, 217-224. Chicago: Marquis Academic Media, 1980.

Thomas, Allan. "The Making of a Professional" (1958). Learning and Society, ed. Roby Kidd, 336-
344. Toronto: CAAE, 1963.

Verner, Coolie. "Organizing Graduate Professional Education for Adult Education." In Coming of
Age: Canadian Adult Education in the 1960s, eds. J. Roby Kidd and Gordon Selman 132-141.
Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1978.

Verner, Coolie. "The Literature of Adult Education." In Handbook of Adult Education in the United
States, ed. Malcolm S. Knowles, 162-175. Washington: Adult Education Association of the
U.S.A., 1960.

Reports, Monographs and Conference Proceedings:

The Agricultural Economics Society. Proceedings of a Conference. Reading: The Agricultural
Economics Society, 1928.

Boshier, Roger and Bonnie Thiesfeld. Professors in Adult Education in Canada: A Directory. Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre/Consortium of Canadian Adult Education Professors, 1978.

Boshier, Roger. An Instrument and Conceptual Model for the Prediction and Diagnosis of Dropout from Educational Institutions. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington Department of University Extension, 1971.

Boshier, Roger. "A Perspective on Theory and Model Development in Adult Education." Paper presented to the Commission of Professors of Adult Education. Portland, 1978.

Boshier, Roger. Education Inside: Participation in Prison Education Programs. Vancouver: UBC Program for Correctional Education Research and Training/Solicitor General of Canada, 1983.

Buskey, John H. and Thomas J. Sork. "From Chaos to Order in Program Planning: A System for Selecting Models and Ordering Research." Proceedings of the 23rd Annual Adult Education Research Conference. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1982.

Cookson, Peter S. "Determinants of Adult Education Participation of Low Income Adults." Proceedings of the 24th Adult Education Research Conference. Montreal: Concordia University, 1983.

Cookson, Peter S. The National Adult Basic Education Institute: Report and Recommendations. Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre, 1982.

Dickinson, Gary ed. A Five Year Plan for the ABE Consortium. Vancouver: Adult Basic Education Consortium and Department of Adult Education, The University of British Columbia, 1979.

Dickinson, Gary. The Undereducated of British Columbia. Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre, 1978.

Dickinson, Gary ed. Adult Education in British Columbia. Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre, University of British Columbia, 1973.

Dickinson, Gary and Coolie Verner, Education within the Canadian Labour Congress. Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre, 1973.

Dickinson, Gary and Coolie Verner. Community Structure and Participation in Adult Education, special study 3, ARDA, Canada Land Inventory Project 49009. Vancouver: Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia, 1969.

Dickinson, Gary and Dean Goard. The Influence of Education and Age on Participation in Rural Adult Education. Vancouver: Faculty of Education, 1968.

Dickinson, Gary. Research Related to Adult Education Conducted at the University of British Columbia. Vancouver: Faculty of Education, 1968.

Duguid, Stephen. Ameliorating Savage Man: Humanities in Prison. Vancouver: Program for Correctional Education Research and Training, 1984.

Gobert, Robert, James Thornton, and Sharon Turnbull. Program Planning Guide for Health Professions. Vancouver: Department of Adult Education/Division of Continuing Education in the Health Sciences, UBC, 1977.

Gobert, Robert. Final Report to the W. K. Kellogg Foundation. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1977.

Jain, Barbara J. and Linda Carly. Comparison of Selected Requirements for the Ph. D. and Ed. D. in Adult Education in North America. Champagne: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champagne, 1978.

Kidd, J. Roby. Trends and Problems in Canadian Adult Education. Occasional Paper In Continuing Education no. 1. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Department of University Extension, 1954.

Mastai, Judith and Kwadwo Opare. A Directory of Who's Who in British Columbia Adult and Continuing Education in British Columbia. Vancouver, Pacific Association For Continuing Education, 1975.

Merriam, Sharan, John Elias, and Michael Collins. "Doing Philosophical Research in Adult Education." Proceedings of the 22nd Adult Education Research Conference (DeKalb: University of Northern Illinois, 1981), 286-289.

Nakamoto, June and Coolie Verner. Continuing Education in Medicine. W. P. Kellogg Project Report #3. Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre and Division of Continuing Education in the Health Sciences, 1972.

Niemi, John A. ed. Mass Media and Adult Education. Englewood Cliffs: Educational Technology Publications, 1971.

Pratt, Daniel D. "Andragogical Assumptions: Some Counter-Intuitive Logic," Proceedings of the 25th Adult Education Research Conference, 147-153. Raleigh: North Carolina State University, 1984.

Pratt, Daniel D. "Instructor Behaviour and Psychological Climate in Adult Learning." Proceedings of the 20th Annual Adult Education Research Conference, 106-115. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1979.

Pratt, Daniel D. "Teacher Effectiveness: Future Directions for Adult Education." Proceedings of the 22nd Adult Education Research Conference, 169-175. DeKalb: University of Illinois, 1981.

A Report on the Ann Arbor Conference of The Professors of Adult Education. Commission of the Professors of Adult Education of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 1957.

Rubenson, Kjell. Recruitment in Adult Education. Stockholm: Department of Educational Research, School of Education, 1976.

Rubenson, Kjell. "Adult Education and Allocation Policy in Sweden." Proceedings of the 21st Adult Education Research Conference, 273-281. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1980.

Sork, Thomas J. "Development and Validation of a Normative Process Model for Determining Priority of Need in Community Adult Education." Proceedings of the 20th Annual Adult Eduation Research Conference, 75-81. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1979.

Sork, Thomas J. "Needs Assessment in Adult Education: A Critical Analysis of the Literature Through 1981." Proceedings of the 24th Annual Adult Eduation Research Conference, 217-222. Montreal: Concordia University, 1983.

Sork, Thomas J. "The Postmortem Audit: A Research Methodology for Building Inductively-Derived Planning Theory." Proceedings of the 27th Annual Adult Eduation Research Conference, 255-260. Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1986.

Thomas, Alan. "The Liberal Education—A Re-Examination." Occasional Papers on Adult Education no. 4. Vancouver: Department of University Extension, UBC, [1958].

Thornton, James E. "An Aging Population in Aging Communities: The challenge to the university." In Proceedings of a Research Workshop on an Aging Population in Aging Communities vol. 3, 3-9. Vancouver: Centre for Human Settlements, University of British Columbia, 1981.

Thornton, James E. "The Abolition of Mandatory Retirement: Issues emerging in the debate." Greying Western Canada: the second Research Workshop on an Aging Population in Aging Communities. An Older Workforce: Legal Aspects and Policy Implications vol. 2, 25-37. Vancouver: Centre for Human Settlements, University of British Columbia, 1983.

Verner, Coolie. A Conceptual Scheme for the Identification and Classification of Processes for Adult Education. Tallahasee: Florida State University, 1959.

Verner, Coolie and Gary Dickinson. Education Within the Canadian Labour Congress. Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre, University of British Columbia, 1973.

Verner, Coolie and Gary Dickinson. Community Structure and Participation in Adult Education. Ottawa: Department of Regional Economic Expansion, 1971.

Verner, Coolie and June Nakamoto. Continuing Education in the Health Professions. Washington: Capital Publications, 1973.

Verner, Coolie, Gary Dickinson, Walter Leirman, and Helen Niskala. The Preparation of Adult Educators. Syracuse: ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education, 1970.

Stott, Margarett M. and Coolie Verner. A Trial Bibliography of Research Pertaining to Adult Education. Vancouver: Extension Department, University of British Columbia, 1963.

Unpublished Theses and Major Papers:

Anderson, Darrell Vail. "Analytical Review of Remedial Educational Programs for Socially and Economically Disadvantaged Adults." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1968.

Baker, Gary. "The Effects of a Fee or its Absence on Enrollment and Attendance in an Adult Education Program." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1978.

Binns, Barbara. "'Culture'—Implications for Adult Education." Unpublished M. Ed. paper, The University of British Columbia, 1984.

Buttedahl, Knute. "A Comparative Study of Participants in Lecture Classes and Participants in Study-Discussion Groups." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1963.

Campbell, Donald. "A Study of Enrollments and Financing of Provincial Technical and Vocational Training in Alberta 1956-1965." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1968.

Candy, Phil. "Reframing Research Into 'Self Direction' In Adult Education." Unpublished Ed. D. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1987.

Ceray, Gail Suzanne. "Simulation Games in Nursing Education." Unpublished M. Ed. paper, The University of British Columbia, 1983.

Costin, A. Joyce. "Resistance to Educational Equality." Unpublished M. Ed. paper, The University of British Columbia, 1984.

Dampier, Lawrence Paul. "Towards A Public Policy for Adult Education in B.C.: A Review." Unpublished M. Ed. paper, The University of British Columbia, 1977.

Fisher, Dorothy. "The Child's Influence on Parental Purchase Patterns for Breakfast Foods." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1983.

Glenesk, Alfred. "An Investigation of Academic Post-Secondary School Students in King Edward Senior Matriculation and Continuing Education Centre." Unpublished M. Ed. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1964.

Hodgkinson, Arthur. "A Study of the Stages of Moral Development of Married Couples in an Anglican Parish." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1973.

Kalef, Reva. "Betsy McDonald: Adult Educator." Unpublished M. Ed. paper, University of British Columbia, 1984.

Koerner, Anna. "Heating Techniques in Domestic Food Processing." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1968.

Lendvoy, Harry. "Reasons for Running, An Investigation of Intentional Change in Exercise Behaviour." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1984.

Mogan, Judith. "Learning Needs Assessment Instrument." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1980.

McGown, William. "Instructional Devices in Adult Education." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1966.

McGee, Gayle. "The Effects of Collaborative Planning on Adult Learners." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1984.

Molina, José A. "Occupational Conditions As Predictors of Adult Education Participation." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1984.

Paradis, Gerald Denis. "Science Literacy and Adult Education—Curriculum for the Future." Unpublished M. Ed. paper, The University of British Columbia, 1983.

Quastel, Leah. "Learning Needs and Job Satisfaction of Community Health Workers." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1978.

Rubidge, Nicholas. "The Effects of Learning and Instructional Style Congruence in an Adult Education Learning Environment." Unpublished Ed. D. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1979.

Rusnell, Dale. "Development of an Index of Quality For the Planning of Management Training Programs." Unpublished Ed. D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1974.

Rusnell, Dale. "Occupation and Adult Education of Non-Farm Residents in Rural British Columbia." Unpublished M. A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1970.

Semeniuk, Patricia. "Towards the Design of Effective Short Continuing Professional Education Programs." Unpublished M. A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1984.

Soles, Andrew E. "The Development of the Two-Year College in British Columbia." Unpublished M. Ed. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1968.

Stevens, Geoffery. "Human Resource Development in the Private Sector." Unpublished M. Ed. paper, The University of British Columbia, 1984.

Stinson, Winona. "A Systematic Review of Research Related to Methods of Adult Education." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1967.

Stott, Margaret. "A Review of Selected Research Related to the Use of Techniques in Adult Education." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1966.

Unruh, Karen. "Issues of Concern to the 'Mature' Woman Career Student and Programme Planners in the Community College." Unpublished M. Ed. paper, The University of British Columbia, 1976.

Webster, Daisy. "The Need for Adult Education of Married Women in the Lower Socio-Economic Levels in Vancouver." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1968.

Wolfson, Larry. "Adult Education and Social Change: A framework for analysis of the relationship between adult education and the alleviation of poverty." Unpublished M. Ed. paper, The University of British Columbia, 1982.

Zack, Irma. "Characteristics of Participants in a New Inner-City Night School." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1976.

Journal Articles:

Bhatti, Taria, Roger B. Cornier and Daniel D. Pratt. "Applying Adult Education Principles to Conference Planning." Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education/Revue Canadienne de l'éducation permanente universitaire 7, no. 1 (Summer 1980): 23-26.

Boshier, Roger. "Behaviour Modification and Contingency Management in a Graduate Adult Education Program." Adult Education 26, no. 1 (Fall 1975): 16-31.

Boshier, Roger. "Citation Patterns of Articles Published in Adult Education 1968-1977." Adult Education 30, no. 1 (Fall 1979): 34-51.

Boshier, Roger. "Educational Participation and Dropout: A Theoretical Model." Adult Education 23, no. 4 (Summer 1973): 255-282.

Boshier, Roger. "Motivational Orientations of Adult Education Participants: A Factor Analytic Exploration of Houle's Typology." Adult Education 21, no. 2 (Winter 1971): 3-26.

188

Boshier, Roger. Review of <u>Register of Research in Progress</u>, by C. D. Legge. In <u>Adult Education</u> 27, no. 4 (Summer 1977): 231-232.

Boshier, Roger. "Theories and Models in Adult Education: A Plea for Pure Research." <u>Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education/Revue Canadienne de l'éducation permanente universitaire</u> 7, no. 1 (Summer 1980): 12-18.

Dhanidina, Lutaf and William S. Griffith. "Costs and Benefits of Delayed High School Completion. " <u>Adult Education</u> 25, no.4 (Summer 1975): 217-230.

Dickinson, Gary. "Educationally Disadvantaged Adults in Canada." <u>Adult Literacy and Basic Education</u> 2, no. 2 (Summer 1978): 83-89.

Dickinson, Gary. "Alienation Among Rural Adults of Low Educational Attainment." <u>Adult Education</u> 21 (Fall 1970): 3-13.

Dickinson, Gary, Robert Gobert, and Louise McGregor. "Preparing Health Professionals as Specialists in Continuing Education." <u>Adult Leadership</u> 24 (November, 1975): 87-88, 110.

Dickinson, Gary and Nicholas A. Rubidge. "Testing Knowledge About Adult Education." <u>Adult Education</u> 23, no. 4 (Summer 1973): 283-297.

Griffith, William S. and Mary C. Cristarella, "Participatory Research: Should it Be a New Methodology for Adult Educators?" In <u>Viewpoints on Adult Education Research</u>, ed. John A. Niemi, 15-42. Columbus: The ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education, 1979.

Griffith, William S. "Educational Needs: Definition, Assessment, and Utilization." <u>School Review</u> (May 1978): 382-394.

Griffith, William S. "The Role of Public School Adult Education." <u>The High School Journal</u> 49, no. 2 (November 1965): 57-63.

Griffith, William S. and Ronald M. Cervero. "The Adult Performance Level Program: A Serious and Deliberate Examination." <u>Adult Education</u> 27, no. 4 (Summer 1977): 209-224.

Morgan, J. S. "A New Look at Old Age." <u>Food For Thought</u> 13, no. 7 (April 1953): 24-29.

Niemi, John A. "Cults and Their Captives—A Plan of Escape." Adult Leadership 20, no. 10 (April 1972): 360.

Ohliger, John. "Is lifelong adult education a guarantee of permanent inadequacy." Convergence 7, no. 2 (1974): 47-5 9.

Ohliger, John. "Adult Education: 1984." Adult Leadership 19, no. 7 (January 1971): 223-224.

Plecas, Darryl B. and Thomas J. Sork. "Adult Education: Curing the Ills of an Undisciplined Discipline." Adult Education Quarterly 37, no. 1 (Fall 1986): 48-62.

Pratt, Daniel D. "Teaching Adults: A Conceptual Framework for the First Session." Lifelong Learning 7, no. 6 (April 1984): 7-9, 28-29.

Pratt, Daniel D. "Tutoring Adults: Toward a Definition of Tutorial Role and Function in Adult Basic Education." Adult Literacy and Basic Education 7, no. 3 (1983): 138-152.

Pratt, Daniel D. "The Dynamics of Continuing Education Learning Groups." Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education/Revue Canadienne de l'éducation permanente universitaire 8, no. 1 (Summer 1981): 26-32.

Ross, Murray G. "The Expert as Educator." Food For Thought 14, no. 3 (December 1953): 21-24.

Rubenson, Kjell. "Adult Education Research: In Quest of a Map of the Territory." Adult Education 32 (1982): 57-74.

Selman, Gordon. "Concerning the History of Adult Education in Canada." Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education/Revue Canadienne de l'éducation permanente universitaire 1, no. 4 (December 1974): 24-35.

Selman, Gordon. "Adult Education in Barkerville, 1863 to 1875." B.C. Studies 9 (Spring 1971): 38-54.

Sork, Thomas J. and John H. Buskey. "A Descriptive and Evaluative Analysis of Program Planning Literature, 1950-1983." Adult Education Quarterly 36, no. 2 (Winter 1986): 86-96.

Thomas, Alan. "The Making of a Professional," Food For Thought (September-October, 1959): 4-11.

Thornton, James E. "Issues Affecting Gerontology Education and Manpower Needs in Population Aging." Canadian Journal on Aging 2 (November 1983): 153-161.

Thornton, James ed. "Special Issue on Adult Education in B.C." Journal of Education of the Faculty of Education 18 (Winter 1971).

Verner, Coolie. "Some Reflections on Graduate Professional Education in Adult Education." The Canadian Journal of Higher Education 8, no. 2 (1978): 39-48.

Verner, Coolie. "Some Reflections on Graduate Professional Education in Adult Education." Paper presented at the University of Wisconsin, 1974.

Verner, Coolie. Review of The Design of Education, by Cyril O. Houle In Adult Education 23, no. 4 (Summer 1973): 304-305.

Verner, Coolie. "Cultural Factors and Communication." Adult Leadership 18, (March 1970): 268-270, 298.

Verner, Coolie. "Discussion: The Social Consequences of the Modernization of Agriculture." In Rural Canada in Transition, eds. M. A. Tremblay and W. J. Anderson, 219-224. Ottawa: Agricultural Economics Research Council, 1966.

Verner, Coolie. Review of Compulsory Mis-Education, by Paul Goodman. In Adult Education 17, no. 1 (Autumn 1966): 49.

Verner, Coolie. "Research-Based Publications, 1955." Adult Education 6, no. 4 (Summer 1956): 226-233.

Verner, Coolie. "Research." Food For Thought 16 no. 5 (February 1956): 214-221.

Verner, Coolie. "U.S. Research Review." Adult Education (U.K.) 28 (1956): 315-321.

Weir, G. M. "In British Columbia." Journal of Education (June 1939): 250-253.

Whaley, Russel and T. Adolph. "Attitudes Toward Adult Education." Adult Education 15, no. 3 (Spring 1967): 152-156.

Miscellaneous Journals, unattributed publicaitons:

ACE Newsletter 2, no. 3 (1973).

ACE Newsletter 2, no. 4 (1973).

ACE Newsletter 2, no. 5 (1973).

ACE Newsletter 3, no. 2 (1974).

EDFACS Bulletin, 10 January 1980.

Food For Thought 10, no. 1 (October 1949): 2.

Food For Thought 10, no. 3 (December 1949): 1-4.

Food For Thought 10, no. 4 (January 1950).

Food For Thought 10, no. 7 (April 1950): 31.

Food For Thought 11, no. 2 (November 1950): 3

Food For Thought 11, no. 4 (January 1951): 1.

Food For Thought 11, no. 5 (February 1951): 6.

Food For Thought 11, no. 6 (March 1951): 20.

Food For Thought 11, no. 8 (May 1951): 1.

Food For Thought 12, no. 1 (October 1951).

Food For Thought 12, no. 8 (May 1952).

Food For Thought 13, no. 1 (October, 1952): 8-9, 24-27.

Food For Thought 13, no. 2 (November 1952): 19.

Food For Thought 13, no. 5 (February 1953): 17.

Food For Thought 15, no. 1 (September-October 1954).

Food For Thought 15, no. 2 (November 1954): 10-15.

Food For Thought 16, no. 1 (September-October 1955): 6, 26-30.

Food For Thought 16 no. 3 (December 1955).

Food For Thought 16, no. 4 (January 1956): 191.

Food For Thought 17, no. 1 (September-October 1956): 40.

Food For Thought 17, no. 3 (December 1956): 119.

PACE Newsletter 1, no. 4 (1975).

PACE Newsletter 4, no. 2 (1975).

PACE Newsletter 4, no. 4 (1975).

Secondary Sources

Books:

The Journal of Agricultural Economics Research [special issue] 1, no. 2 (January 1949).

Andrews, John and W. Todd Rogers, eds. Canadian Research in Education: A State of the Art
    Review. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1982.

Ary, Donald, Lucy Cheser Jacobs, and Asghar Razavieh. Introduction to Research in Education 3rd
    edition. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985.

Axelrod, Paul. Scholars and Dollars: Politics, Economics, and the Universities of Ontario, 1945-
    1980. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Barman, Jean. The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia. Toronto: University of
    Toronto Press, 1991.

Barman, Jean. _Growing Up British in British Columbia_. University of British Columbia Press, 1984.

Berger, Carl. _Science, God and Nature in Victorian Canada_. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Bergevin, Paul. _Adult Education in Sweden_. Bloomington: Bureau of Studies in Adult Education, 1961.

Bledstein, Burton. _The Culture of Professionalism_. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1976.

Bruneau, William A. _A Matter of Identities: A History of the UBC Faculty Association 1920-1990_. Vancouver: UBC Faculty Association, 1990.

Brunner, Edmund de S. et al. _An Overview of Adult Education Research_. Chicago: Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 1959.

Calendar. Burnaby: Simon Fraser University, 1981-82.

The Canadian Who's Who V, 1949-51. Toronto: Trans-Canada Press, 1951.

The Canadian Who's Who VII, 1955-57. Toronto: Trans-Canada Press, 1957.

The Canadian Who's Who XI, 1967-1969. Toronto: Who's Who Canadian Publications, 1969.

Cassidy, Harry. _Social Security & Reconstruction In Canada_. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1943.

Clague, Michael and others. _Reforming Human Services_. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984.

College Standards. Vancouver: The Academic Board for Higher Education in British Columbia, 1966.

Corbett, E. A. _We Have With Us Tonight_. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1957.

Coady, Moses. _Masters of Their Own Destiny_. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939.

Creighton, Donald. _Harold Adams Innis: Portrait of a Scholar_. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957.

Creighton, Donald. _The Forked Road: Canada 1939-1957_. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1976.

Dawson, R. MacGregor. William Lyon MacKenzie King: A Political Biography Vol. 1. 1874-1923. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958.

Drummond, W. M. and W. J. Anderson. A Review of Agricultural Policy in Canada. Ottawa: Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada, 1966.

Faris, Ron. The Passionate Educators. Toronto: Peter Martin, 1975.

Fisher, Donald. The Social Sciences in Canada: 50 Years of National Activity by the Social Science Federation of Canada. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991.

Fisher, Robin. Duff Pattullo of British Columbia. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Gidney, Robert and Winnifred Millar. Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth Century Ontario. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

Godfrey, Ellen. By Reason of Doubt: The Belshaw Case. Toronto/Vancouver: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1981.

Gordon, Terence. Marshall McLuhan: Escape into Understanding. New York: Basic Books, 1997.

The Greater Vancouver and New Westminster City Directory. Vancouver: Sun Directories, 1949.

The Greater Vancouver and New Westminster City Directory. Vancouver: Sun Directories, 1955.

Griffin, John D. In Search of Sanity. London (Ontario): Third Eye Publications, 1989.

Hawthorn, Harry ed. A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: A Report on Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies. Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs, 1966.

Henderson's Vancouver Directory. Vancouver: Henderson Publishing Co., 1920.

Heron, Craig. The Canadian Labour Movement 2nd edition. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1996.

Hilgard, Ernest R., Rita L. Atkinson, and Richard C. Atkinson. Introduction to Psychology 7th edition. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979.

Jensen, Gale et al, eds. Adult Education: Outlines of An Emerging Field of University Study. Washington: Adult Education Association, 1964.

Kett, Joseph F. The Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties. Stanford: The Stanford University Press, 1994.

Kelly, Thomas. A History of Adult Education in Great Britain 3rd edition. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992.

Kidd, J. Roby ed. Learning and Society: Readings in Canadian Adult Education. Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1963.

Kidd, J. Roby. Adult Education in the Canadian University. Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1956.

Kidd, J. Roby. Roby Kidd: Adult Educator, 1915-1982. OISE Press, 1995.

Kilian, Crawford. School Wars: The Assault on B.C. Education. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1985.

Litt, Paul. The Muses, The Masses, and the Massey Commission. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

Logan, Harry. Tuum Est. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1958.

Macdonald, John B. Higher Education in British Columbia and a Plan for the Future. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1962.

Macht, Mary Wirtz and Jean K. Quam. Social Work: An Introduction. Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1986.

MacPhee, Earle D. History of the Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration at The University of British Columbia. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1976.

Magnusson, Warren et al, eds. The New Reality: the politics of restraint in British Columbia. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1984.

Marsh, Leonard C. Report on Social Security for Canada for the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction. Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1943.

McDonald, Robert A. J. Making Vancouver: Class, Status, and Social Boundaries 1863-1913. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996.

McKillop, A. B. Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario 1791-1951. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

McLaren, Angus. Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada 1885-1945. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1990.

McNaught, Kenneth. Conscience and History: A Memoir. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Mitchell, David. W. A. C. Bennett and the Rise of British Columbia. Douglas & McIntyre, 1983.

Perkin, Harold. The Rise of Professional Society: England Since 1880. London: Routledge, 1989.

Porter, John. The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

Pue, W. Wesley. Law School: The story of Legal Education in British Columbia. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Faculty of Law, 1995.

Rees, William E. The Canada Land Inventory in Perspective. Ottawa: Lands Directorate, Ministry of Fisheries and Environment, 1977.

Ringer, Fritz. Fields of Knowledge: French academic culture in comparative perspective 1890-1920. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Robin, Martin. The Company Province (2 vols.). Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1972-73.

Roy, Patricia. Vancouver: An Illustrated History. James Lorimer & Company, 1980.

Rudolph, Frederick. A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977.

Selman, Gordon and Paul Dampier. The Foundations of Adult Education in Canada. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 1991.

Selman, Gordon. A History of Fifty Years of Extension Service by the University of British Columbia 1915 to 1965. Toronto: Canadian Association of Adult Education, 1966.

Selman, Gordon. Felt Along the Heart: A Life in Adult Education. Vancouver: Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1994.

Shelford, Cyril. From Snowshoes to Politics: A British Columbia Adventure. Victoria: Orca, 1987.

Shrum, Gordon. Gordon Shrum: An Autobiography. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 1986.

Smith, J. David. Minds Made Feeble: the Myth and Legacy of the Kallikaks. Rockville: Aspen Systems Corporation, 1985.

Snell, James G. The Citizen's Wage: The State and the Elderly in Canada, 1900-1951. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Stapleton, John J. et al. Education Research: Aims, Problems and Possibilities. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1982.

Stewart, Lee. "It's Up to You": Women at UBC in the Early Years. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990.

Sutherland, Neil. Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Timlin, Mabel Frances. The Social Sciences in Canada: two studies. Ottawa: Social Science Research Council of Canada, 1968.

Tyler, Ralph W., Robert M. Gagné, and Michael Scriven, eds. Perspectives of Curriculum Evaluation. American Educational Research Association Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967.

UNESCO. Thinking Ahead: UNESCO and the challenges of today and tomorrow. Paris: Unesco, 1977.

The Vancouver City Directory. Vancouver: B.C. Directories, 1957.

Waite, Peter B. Lord of Point Grey: Larry MacKenzie of UBC. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987.

Wall, Robert N. Bridging the Gap. Sydney: The University College of Cape Breton Press, 1984.

Wrigley's British Columbia Directory. Vancouver: Wrigley Directories, 1927.

Chapters in Books:

Abel-Smith, Brian. "The Beveridge Report: Its Origins and Outcomes." In Beveridge and Social
Security: An International Retrospective, eds. John Hills, John Ditch, and Howard
Glennerster, 10-22. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Andrews, John and W. Todd Rogers. "Summary and Recommendations." In Canadian Research in
Education: A State of the Art Review, eds. John Andrews and W. Todd. Rogers, 7-32.
Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1982.

Barman, Jean and Neil Sutherland. "Royal Commission Retrospective." In Children, teachers, and
schools, eds. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland, J. Donald Wilson, 411-426. Calgary: Detselig,
1995.

Bellamy, Lesley Andres and Neil Guppy. "Opportunities and Obstacles for Women in Canadian
Higher Education." In Women and Education, 2nd ed., eds. Jane Gaskell and Arlene McLaren,
163-192. Calgary: Detselig, 1991.

Brehaut, Willard. "The Selection of Education Thesis Problems." Education 4, 43-47. Toronto: W.
J. Gage Limited, 1962.

Carlson, Robert. "The Nature of Adult Education." In Yearbook of Adult and Continuing
Education, ed. Phyllis M. Cunningham, 82-86. Chicago: Marquis Academic Media, 1980.

Carr, D. W. "Agriculture." In Canadian Annual Review for 1965, ed. John Saywell, 401-409.
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966.

den Otter, A.A. "Bondage of Steam: The CPR and Western Canadian Coal." In The CPR West: The
Iron Road and the Making of a Nation, ed. Hugh A. Dempsey, 191-207. Vancouver: Douglas
and McIntyre, 1984.

Dunn, Timothy A. "The Rise of Mass Public Schooling in British Columbia." In Schooling and
Society in Twentieth Century British Columbia, eds. J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones,
23-51. Calgary: Detselig, 1980.

Friesen, John K. "West Coast Venture." In Pioneering a Profession. Vancouver: Adult Education
Research Centre, UBC, 1973: xxv-xxxi.

Gleason, Mona. "Internalizing the Ideal: The Goals of Good Parenting." In Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Griffith, William S. "The Impact of Intellectual Leadership." In Adult Education: Evolution and Achievements in a Developing Field of Study, eds. John Peters, Peter Jarvis and Associattes, 97-120. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1991.

Hopmeyer, Estelle et al. "Canada." In International Handbook on Social Work Education, eds. Thomas D. Watts, Doreen Elliott, and Nazneen S. Mayadas. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995.

Inglis, G. B. "Harry and Audrey Hawthorn: An Appreciation." In Papers in Honour of Harry Hawthorn, eds. V. C. Serl and H. C. Taylor, 1-9. Bellingham: Western Washington State College, 1975.

Irving, Allan. "The Development of a Provincial Welfare State: British Columbia 1900-1939." In The Benevolent State, eds. Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert, 155-174. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987.

Jones, David C. "The *Zeitgeist* of Western Settlement: Education and the Myth of the Land." In Schooling and Society, eds. J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones, 71-89. Calgary: Detselig, 1980.

Kliebard, Herbert M. "The Rise of Scientific Curriculum-Making and its Aftermath." In Forging the American Curriculum. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Kreitlow, Burton W. "Research and Theory." In Handbook of Adult Education, eds. Robert Smith, George Aker, and J. R. Kidd, 137-149. New York: MacMillan, 1970.

Larson, Magali Sarfatti. "The Production of Expertise and the Constitution of Expert Power." In The Authority of Experts, ed. Thomas L. Haskell, 28-80. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.

Michener, Ralph. "Education." In Canadian Annual Review for 1968, ed. John Saywell, 365-378. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969.

Millet, David. "Canadian Sociology on the World Scene." In National Traditions in Sociology, ed. Nikolai Genov, 38-54. London: Sage Publications, 1989.

Morgan, John S. "Welfare." In <u>Canadian Annual Review for 1965</u>, ed. John Saywell, 438-448. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966.

Moscovitch, Allan and Glenn Drover. "Social Expenditures and the Welfare State: The Canadian Experience in Historical Perspective." In <u>The Benevolent State</u>, eds. Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert, 13-43. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987.

Nielsen, Waldemar A. "Danforth and Kellogg: Fine But Flawed." In <u>The Big Foundations</u>. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.

Perkin, Harold. "The Historical Perspective." In <u>Perspectives on Higher Education</u>, ed. Burton Clark, 17-55. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984.

Prince, Michael J. "At the Edge of Canada's Welfare State: Social Policy-Making in British Columbia." In <u>Politics. Policy. and Government in British Columbia</u>, ed. R. K. Carty, 236-271. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996.

Selman, Gordon and Paul Dampier. "The Canadian Movement in Context." In <u>The Foundations of Adult Education in Canada</u>, eds. Gordon Selman and Paul Dampier, 35-69. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 1991.

Selman, Mark. "Some Philosophical Considerations." In <u>The Foundations of Adult Education in Canada</u>, eds. Gordon Selman and Paul Dampier, 18-34. Toronto: Thompson Education Publishing, 1991.

Sewell, James P. "Regeneration? (1960-1972)." In <u>UNESCO and World Politics</u>. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.

Shore, Marlene. "McGill University and the Tradition of Utility." In <u>The Science of Social Redemption</u>. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Shrimpton, Gordon. "A Decade of Restraint: The Economics of B.C. Universities." <u>The New Reality: the politics of restraint in British Columbia</u>, eds. Warren Magnusson and others, 258-268. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1984.

Struthers, James. "'Lord Give Us Men': Women and Social Work in English Canada, 1918 to 1953." <u>The Benevolent State</u>, eds. Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert, 126-143. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987.

Struthers, James. "A Profession in Crisis: Charlotte Whitton and Canadian Social Work in the 1930s." In The Benevolent State, eds. Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert, 111-125. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987.

Teager, Muriel and Mary McIvor. "The Early Years." In J.R. Kidd: An International Legacy of Learning, eds. Nancy J. Cochrane and Associates, 14-23. Publication of Monographs on Comparative and Area Studies in Adult Education, ed. Jindra Kulich. Vancouver: Centre for Continuing Education, 1986.

Thomas, Alan. "Adventures in Scarfeland: An irreverent and neurotic memoir." In Pioneering a Profession, xv-xxii. Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre, UBC, 1973.

Thornton, James E. and Richard O. Kavanagh. "The Professional Adult Educator: A Profile Developed From B.C.'s Adult Education Association." In Adult Educators and Their Associations in British Columbia, ed. Jindra Kulich, 11-20. Vancouver: Pacific Association of Continuing Education, 1986.

Turner, Jonathan H. "Sociology in the United States: Its Growth and Contemporary Profile." In National Traditions in Sociology, ed. Nikolai Genov, 220-242. London: Sage Publications, 1989.

Welton, Michael. "Reclaiming Our Past: Memory, Traditions, Kindling Hope." In Knowledge for the People, ed. Michael Welton, 1-19. Toronto: OISE Press, 1987.

Welton, Michael. "Mobilizing the People for Socialism: The Politics of Adult Education in Saskatchewan, 1944-45." In Knowledge for the People, ed. Michael Welton, 151-169. Toronto: OISE Press, 1987.

Reports, Monographs and Conference Proceedings:

Annual Report, Social Science Research Council of Canada/Le conseil Canadien de recherche en sciences sociales 1962-63 to 1982-83.

1978 Annual Directory of Doctoral Fellowship Holders. Ottawa: SSHRC, 1978.

Boshier, Roger, Bonnie Jean Thiesfeld, and Gary Dickinson. A Checklist of Studies by Adult Educators in the Pacific Northwest. Vancouver: Northwest Adult Education Association, 1978.

The Education Undergraduate Society. "Education Course Evaluation 1968-69." Vancouver: The Society, 1969.

Faris, Ron. Lifelong Learning for the 21st Century. Burnaby: Open Learning Agency, 1992.

Healy, Dennis et al. Report of the Commission on Graduate Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Ottawa: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 1978.

Moss, Gwenna. "A Brief History of the Development of Graduate Studies in Adult Education in Canada." Papers Presented to a Conference on Research in Adult Education. Vancouver: CAAE, 1980.

Pioneering a Profession. Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre, UBC, 1973.

The UBC President's Report 1980-81.

Report of the Committee on Continuing and Community Education in British Columbia. Victoria: Ministry of Education, 1976.

Report of the Education and Training of Teachers in British Columbia. Victoria: Ministry of Education, 1978.

Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Adult Education. Winnipeg: R. M. Fisher, 1947.

Report of the President's Review Committee on The Faculty of Education. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1979.

Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts. Letters and Sciences 1949-1951. Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1951.

The Report of the Commission on the Future of the Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia. Vancouver: Faculty of Education, 1969.

Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relationships. Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1940.

Selman, Gordon. The Invisible Giant: Adult Education in British Columbia. Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 25. Vancouver: The Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1988.

Selman, Gordon. Roby Kidd and the Canadian Association for Adult Education 1951-1961, Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 22. Vancouver: The Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1982.

Selman, Gordon. The Canadian Association for Adult Education in the Corbett Years: A Re-Evaluation. Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 2. Vancouver: The Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1981.

Selman, Gordon. The British Columbia Division of the Canadian Association for Adult Education 1961-1971. Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 7. Vancouver: Pacific Association for Continuing Education, 1980.

Selman, Gordon. A Chronology of Adult Education in British Columbia. Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 14. Vancouver: The Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1977.

Selman, Gordon. Adult Education in British Columbia During The Depression. Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 12. Vancouver: The Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1976.

Selman, Gordon. A Decade of Transition: The Extension Department of The University of British Columbia 1960 to 1970. Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 10. Vancouver: The Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1975.

Selman, Gordon. Adult Education in Vancouver Before 1914. Occasional Papers in Continuing Eduation no. 9. Vancouver: Department of University Extension, The University of British Columbia, 1975.

Selman, Gordon. Allan Thomas and the Canadian Association for Adult Education. Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 24. Vancouver: The Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1975.

Selman, Gordon. _Towards Cooperation: The Development of a Provincial Voice for Adult Education in British Columbia_. Occasional Papers in Continuing Education no. 3. Vancouver: Department of University Extension, The University of British Columbia, 1969.

Faculty of Education Dean's Annual Report to the President and Board of Governors, June 1973.

The UBC President's Report, 1976-1977.

The UBC President's Report, 1979-1980.

Williams, Donald H. _Fourth Annual Report of the Department to Continuing Medical Education_. Vancouver: Department of Continuing Medical Education, 1964.

Write On: Adult Education Makes the Future. Vancouver: Adult Education Research Centre, 1985.

Unpublished Theses and Dissertations:

Clarke, Penney. "'Take It Away, Youth!' Visions of Canadian Identity in B.C. Social Studies Textbooks, 1925-1989. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1996.

Damer, Eric. "Town and Gown: The Early History of The Vancouver Institute." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1995.

DuGas, Beverly. "An Analysis of Certain Factors in the Diffusion of Innovations in Nursing Practice in the Public General Hospitals of the Province of British Columbia." Unpublished Ed. D thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1969.

Hunt, Ian. "Mutual Enlightenment in Vancouver, 1886-1916." Unpublished Ed. D. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1987.

Kennedy, Katherine. "John Friesen: Mentor, Humanitarian, Adult Educator." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1992.

Nelles, Wayne Charles. "From Imperialism to Internationalism in British Columbia Education and Society, 1900 to 1939." Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1995.

Michael F. Quinn. "A History of the Pacific Association For Continuing Education 1972-1987." Unpublished M. Ed. paper, The University of British Columbia, 1988.

Stuart-Stubbs, Megan. "Survey of the Graduates in Adult Education (1960-1988) at the University of British Columbia." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1990.

White, Judith M. "Survey of Graduates in Adult Education at the University of British Columbia." Unpublished M. A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1974.

Journal Articles:

Andrew, G. C. "The Canada Council—A National Necessity." Queen's Quarterly 61, no. 3 (Autumn 1954): 291-303.

Apps, Jerold. "Toward a Broader Definition of Research." Adult Education 23, no. 1 (Fall 1972): 59-64.

Anstey, D. G. "J.S.W.— Initials to Remember." ACE Newsletter 1 (1973): 3-4.

Barman, Jean. "'Knowledge is Essential for Universal Progress but Fatal to Class Privilege': Working People and the Schools in Vancouver During the 1920s." Labour/Le Travail 22 (Fall 1988): 9-66.

Boshier, Roger and Lynette Pickard, "Citation Patterns of Articles Published in Adult Education 1968-1977" Adult Education 30, no. 1 (Fall 1979): 34-51.

Boshier, Roger. "History and Significance of the Coolie Verner Reading Room at The University of B.C." Unpublished MS, 1992.

Bullock, Allan, Oliver Stallybrass, and Stephen Trombley, eds. Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought, rev. edition. London: Fontana, 1988. S.v. "Humanistic Psychology," by Ian M. L. Hunter.

Canadian Farm Economics 1, no. 1 (April 1966).

Carlson, Robert. "Professionalization of Adult Education: An Historical-Philosophical Analysis." Adult Education 28 (Fall 1977): 53-63.

Clark, S. D. "Sociology in Canada: an historical overview." Canadian Journal of Sociology 1, no. 2 (1975): 225-234.

Collins, Michael. "The Mechanics Institute—Education for the Working Man?" Adult Education 23, no. 1 (1972): 37-47.

Cotton, Webster E. "A New Direction for Adult Education." Educational Horizons (Summer 1968): 147-152.

"Dean Goard Retires." ACE Newsletter 3 (1974): 7-8.

Dennison, John. "The Community College in Comparative and Historical Perspective: The Development of the College Concept in British Columbia." The Canadian Journal of Higher Education 9, no. 3 (1979): 29-40.

Dickinson, Gary and Dale Rusnell. "A Content Analysis of Adult Education." Adult Education 21, no. 3 (Fall 1971): 177-185.

Dickinson, Gary. "Principle Contributions of Coolie Verner to a Discipline of Adult Education." Adult Education 28 (Summer 1978): 223-234.

Dolman, Frank. "BTSD--The Neglected Child" ACE Newsletter 2, no. 3 (1973): 3-4.

Edwards, Paul ed. The Encyclopedia of Philosophy. New York: MacMillan, 1967. S.v. "Idealism," by H. B. Acton, 110-118.

Edwards, Paul ed. The Encyclopedia of Philosophy. S.v. "Psychology" by R. S. Peters and C. A. Mace, 1-27.

Friesen, Gerald. "Adult Education and Union Education: Aspects of English Canadian Cultural History in the 20th Century." Labour/Le Travail, 34 (Fall 1994): 163-188.

Friesen, John. "Recent Trends in Adult Education in Western Canada." Food For Thought 13, no. 1 (October 1952): 24-27.

Gleason, Mona. "Psychology and the Construction of the 'Normal' Family in Postwar Canada, 1945-60." Canadian Historical Review 78, no. 3 (September 1997): 442-477.

Griffith, William S. "Working Toward Adult Education Policy at the Local Level: The Content." PACE Newsletter 10, no. 1 (1980): 31-45.

Griffith, William S. "Adult Education Research—Emerging Developments." Studies in Adult Education 11 (October 1979): 125-144.

Hallenbeck, Wilbur C. "Edmund de Schweinitz Brunner: 1889-1973." Adult Leadership 22 (February 1974): 254.

Harris, R. Cole. "Locating the University of British Columbia." B.C. Studies 32 (Winter 1976-77): 106-125;

Hiller, Harry H. "The Canadian Sociology Movement: analysis and assessment." Canadian Journal of Sociology/Cahiers canadienne de sociologie 4, no. 2 (1979): 125-150.

Horn, Michiel. "Under the Gaze of George Vancouver: The University of British Columbia and the Provincial Government, 1913-1939." B.C. Studies 83 (Autumn, 1989): 29-65.

House of Commons. Debates, 22 April 1977.

Knox, Alan B. Review of Adult Education Theory and Method: A Conceptual Scheme for the Identification and Classification of Processes, by Coolie Verner. In Adult Education 13 (Summer 1963): 253.

Kreitlow, Burton W. "Needed Research." Review of Educational Research 35, no. 3 (June 1965): 240-245.

LaBar, C. and others. "Practical Reasoning in Corrections Education." Canadian Journal of Education/Revue Canadienne de l'Education 8 no. 3 (1983): 263-273.

Long, Huey B. and Stephen K. Agyekum. "Adult Education 1964-1973: Reflections of a Changing Discipline." Adult Education 24, no. 2 (Winter 1974): 99-120.

MacKenzie, N.A.M. "The Revolutionary Nature of the Modern World." Address to the Commerce Undergraduate Society Banquet, lecture series 15. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1949.

Mann, Jean. "G. M. Weir and H. B. King: Progressive Education or Education for the Progressive State?" Schooling and Society in Twentieth Century British Columbia, eds. J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones. Calgary: Detselig, 1980.