

DOROTHY CLODE: COMMUNITY EDUCATOR

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis will primarily focus on the career of Dorothy Clode as an adult educator, examining her leadership and influence in professional adult education associations; her advocacy regarding provincial adult education policies; and her role in community development at Lake Cowichan and in the broader context of British Columbia, as in the Consortium on Economic Dislocation. The relationship of the role of a professional adult educator to the community development process will be examined, using Clode's career as a case study. The intention is to examine the nature of adult education practice, in terms of the daily concerns, issues and philosophy of a woman whose 18 year career spanned three dynamic decades in the recent history of adult education.

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CHAPTER 1

WHO IS DOROTHY CLODE?

Introduction

Who is Dorothy Clode? And why is she important to the field of adult education? These are the fundamental questions which this thesis intends to answer.

In doing so, a number of issues and themes emerge. But first, one of the reasons that this documentation of her career is important relates to the relative paucity of information about adult educators, as distinct from the field of adult education. This is especially so in the case of British Columbia, and with respect to the contributions of women in the field of adult education in B.C., with the notable exception Kalef's (1984) biography of Betsy McDonald.

But research into the lives of adult educators offers a great potential for the field at large, since it offers a means not only to discover the specifics of a particular practitioner's contributions, but also to provide a context in which to analyze and assess the relative importance and applications of theoretical debates and issues. All civilized consciousness benefits from knowing what battles were fought, by whom, how and why, and this is especially relevant to a newly emerging field of study and body of knowledge such as adult education.

Dorothy Clode's career offers such an opportunity. In studying her life and work, certain areas are of primary interest and importance (eg. individual aspects of her work); but behind these activities a number of theme areas are discovered, the most central of which is her

conviction concerning the role of adult education in relation to community development.

This relationship has been the subject of debate for many years. Against a background tradition of adult education as a movement committed to societal change and improvement, there has emerged a view which contends that educators must not and cannot change the world.

Clode's career offers an exciting example of the challenges frequently faced during the daily dilemmas of an adult educator. The intellectual awareness and practical experience of disparate theories, as exemplified and synthesized in Dorothy Clode's life and work, offers an example that is compelling and unique in the field. We are fortunate that such an individual exists, who has agreed to be the subject of this thesis as a case study representative of issues and ethics of concern to adult educators throughout this province during the dynamic decades which coincided with the most active period of her career.

Definitions

Discussion of Clode's career and contributions to the field of adult education inevitably deals with the field of community development, and this paper will look closely at her role as an adult educator in the community of Lake Cowichan as well as in the provincial Consortium on Economic Dislocation as examples of adult education addressing community development needs. Within these discussions, "adult education", "community education," "community development," and "community" itself are terms that must be clarified.

Adult educators have long been aware of a general tendency to use the terms "community education" and "community development"

almost interchangeably. There is a warm, congratulatory glow of community-based acceptance reflected in the association of adult education with community education, a declaration "that one is doing something inately desirable, as well as to describe practice" (Brookfield, p. 60). Frequently these terms are confused because programmes designed to respond to community needs assessments subsequently contribute to that community's growth and development. And, to add to the confusion, "community economic development" is a concept that reflects increasing acceptance that a community's educational needs are usually related to economic development, and cannot be limited to social development.

The word "community" is itself problematic, particularly if we appreciate that its definition cannot be solely in terms of geographical areas, or neighbourhoods. Within any locale, contemporary communities so defined will also consist of various, and varying, communities of interest, whether based on ethnicity, age, gender bias, income, or other mutual concerns.

However, for the purpose of this paper the term "community" will refer to the specific community of Lake Cowichan, except in the context of the provincial Consortium on Economic Dislocation. But, as the above discussion indicates, an astute adult educator will fully appreciate the implications of those various and often conflicting interest groups within the communities s/he serves.

The Report of the British Columbia Task Force on The Community College (1974) declared (p. 28) that "One of the prime functions of education is to assist individuals and groups to identify, assess and

meet their learning needs" and as part of "an innovative approach" to that end, "community education workers (social animators)" were proposed as part of a Community Educational Development Service (CEDS) in which they would have "special status", in order to "carry out imaginative plans and activities." It was recommended that this service "be established with staff directly responsible to an expanded standing committee of the college board to act as a regional Community Educational Development Council." This council was conceived of as having a membership representing community groups, interested residents, "at least one college board member and an appointee of each school district, many of which may be operating community schools." Despite the inclusion of a representative of school districts on this council, it is clear that this CEDS was a college based operation, since staff were college employees.

That same report defined Adult and Continuing Education as "programmes designed to provide learning opportunities to residents of the wider community (i.e. not just the college community) and to meet the educational needs identified by community educational development." In turn, this was defined as "activities designed to assist people within a college region to identify, assess, and meet their learning needs." These definitions (p. 8) appear to be subsumed in the Report of the Committee on Continuing and Community Education in British Columbia (1976) (familiarily known as the Faris Report) in its definition (p. 70) of community education as "a process by which individuals or groups are assisted to identify, assess, and meet their learning needs, and to

improve the quality of their community life." The current ministry of education definition of community education states that it:

. . .Comprises processes and programmes by which individuals or groups are assisted to identify, assess and meet their learning needs in order to improve the quality of community life. Community education programmes contribute to the resolution of such issues as mental illness, pollution, metrication, parent education and nutrition.

(Ministry of Education, 1980, form #CE120)

It is in this sense that community education will be used in this paper; that is, improvement of community life is a goal to be achieved by addressing special needs and minority interests.

The foregoing discussion indicated how closely the concept of community education relates to community development. Community development in this paper will be used in the sense that Lotz (1977, pp. 8-9) proposes, differentiating between individual and collective, so that community development is a "process enabling people collectively to achieve goals and to influence actions together rather than as individuals" (emphasis added). Lotz notes that the terms "change," "growth" and "development" are also often used interchangeably, but he suggests their qualitative differences can be viewed in terms of the question - "who stands to benefit?" from the proposed change, growth, or development, (p. 9).

The concept of professionalization will be elaborated in the context of discussion about the various views about the role of adult education

and social change, but for now professionalization will refer to the differentiation of emphasis "between adult education as a social movement and as a professional field" (Selman and Kulich, 1980). The rise of professionalization corresponded in time to Clode's career - the late 1960's through to the mid 1980's, and this particular concept illuminates the larger concerns and issues relevant during that period. For it will be shown that in Clode's career, the "creative tensions" between both trends are represented, and ultimately balanced. While she was a proponent of the human potential movement of the 1960's, and was very effective in professional organizations and in lobbying activity, at the same time the focus of her professional activities was always primarily on the community, not the institutions which served it.

Methodology

Adult education is a field of study which can be approached through various disciplines, such as sociology, philosophy, psychology and history. Each of these suggests a particular method of inquiry, but it must be appreciated that this is not merely a choice among equal alternatives leading to the same conclusion, but that the method chosen inherently raises different fundamental questions and directs not only how, but which issues may be addressed (Shulman, 1981).

The primary objective of this paper is to document Clode's career. A historical case study approach will be used, which is a method particularly well suited to such an inquiry. Unlike quantitative approaches used in "hard sciences," this qualitative approach is limited for predictive purposes, but can be seen as an "inferential bridge" (Shulman, p. 9) so that generalizations can be made, using a particular

case as an example representing a class of phenomena. "Case studies are particularly suited to investigating problems related to processes and dynamics of adult education practice" (Merriam, 1988, p. 222) and to study "an instance of a larger concern, issue, or problem." It "might also be selected because it is in and of itself intrinsically interesting" (p. 217). Clode's career qualifies on all three counts.

This study will use data collected mainly from primary sources, and, as is frequently the case in historical research, both internal and external criticism are considered. In order to establish validity, not only from Dorothy Clode herself, but also views were sought from a number of colleagues and associates, from both colleges and school districts, as well as ministry representatives and other members of the community familiar with her work.

Structure

Chapter 2 will provide biographical information, including Clode's philosophical premises relating to the goals of adult education, as well as personal influences. Chapter 3 will provide a brief overview of the recent history of adult education in B.C., setting the stage at the time when Clode entered the field in 1968, and will describe aspects of the socio-economic and political context in which Clode worked. It will then look at Clode's contributions and leadership in professional associations, particularly the British Columbia Association of Continuing Education Administrators (BCACEA), the Northwest Association of Adult Education (NWAEA), and in connection with Early Childhood Education provincial articulation committees.

Chapter 4 falls into two parts; the first providing an overview of some of the theoretical issues about the relationship of adult education to community development; and the second proceeding examples from Clode's practice as an adult educator which involve participation in community development, both in Lake Cowichan as well as the larger provincial community. Particular attention will be paid to her role in the development and implementation of the provincial Consortium on Economic Dislocation in 1982.

Guiding questions will be: (Mial in Hoiberg, 1956)

- What are the roles an adult educator plays in the initiation and operation of community development programmes?
- What is the nature of an adult educator's relationship to the organization(s) through which citizens study and take action?

The final chapter will summarize and synthesize the collected views about Clode's career and her contributions to the field.

Data was gathered primarily from interviews with the subjects: Clode, her colleagues and associates (listed in Sources). The majority of interview questions (Appendix A) were designed to be open-ended, and were intended to discover the guiding principles with which Clode worked, and to describe what she did, how, and why. In addition, specific questions intended to clarify discussions about ministry policies were directed to ministry officials, and also to administrators in both college and school district adult/continuing education. There may be some bias and redundancy in those various views, but it is felt that this will add depth and indicate something of the texture of the times.

A word about style may also be appropriate. Portions of interviews have been edited, not only to relate specific details, but also to try to impart some sense of the speaker in a relatively relaxed and informal discussion about a topic and/or person with whom there was personal and professional interest. Hopefully, quotations and references to those conversations will add vitality to this word portrait. The reader may also notice that in sections relating to Clode's personal background, both biographical and philosophical, the approach used may at times may be anecdotal and journalistic. This is not intended merely to challenge "all the male-dominant conventions about what can be talked about in an academic setting," determining the "series of rules, expectations and power dynamics" (Rockhill,1986) usually constraining any scholarly exercise. Rather than try to fit Clode into any confining academic exercise, the researcher attempted to let her tell her own story, corroborated by her peers, so that we may learn something of her reality, and of her vitality.

CHAPTER 2

PERSONAL PROFILE

Biographical Background

The Clode home is a house on a hill, deceptively small in appearance, in a not-too-aspiring middle-class neighbourhood where kids ride bikes, their big brothers and sisters 'hang out' in muscle cars, dogs pant, cats preen, and everyone knows Dorothy. A relatively recent landscape feature on the front lawn are three cement culverts, about 30" wide filled with dirt and planted to produce crops of tomatoes, strawberries, and petunias, or whatever else is fancied in this household. The earlier minimalist landscape design includes a few low shrubs, a small tree, and a front lawn that appears to be less than someone's pride and joy and which extends to a shady backyard, densely enclosed by indigenous growth, but with room for a barbeque. A wood pile is handy to the entrance - this is a household that appreciates comfort and convenience, and does not set great store in keeping up appearances.

Leaving behind the front entrance where outside gear can be stored, and where a small cache of wood lies in wait for weather's worst, on entering the front room, evidence of those alternative pleasures is everywhere. This room's dominant effect is of comfort; one chair is next to the cozy wood heater; others are situated so chatting is easy or ready for reading any of the innumerable books and magazines that stuff the wall cabinet, and strew the small tables. Houseplants of the type that thrive on neglect share shelves under windows with a few that may have seen better days but hang on for the sake of good

company, not to mention the newest arrivals - floral tokens of fond wishes from friends and family on some recent special occasion.

There are no mirrors here. Walls are decorated with photos, some cracked and faded, some fresh Polaroid portraits, congenial and genealogical records. Pictures printed by family and friends are democratically arranged along with famous painters (e.g. Joe Plaskett, who was also a family friend) including one of Clode, (portrayed by Ann Batchelor) when she was eight years-old. There are other mementoes, souvenirs from far-away places visited by Clode as well as hand-crafted efforts from closer to home; Northwest native carving; erotic Greek gods; a keyrack - the painstaking woodworking efforts of a son perhaps, or a granddaughter - next to the intricate and esoteric wares from the Far East and the Dark Continent.

Magazines representing eclectic interests (e.g. Harrowsmith; Scientific American; Chatelaine; National Geographic) are in slippery slopes alongside afghan-cosseted chairs (the reclining kind). And there are books and more books, for fun, as well as for serious consideration, visible everywhere, including the bedroom (the lair of an insomniac, perhaps?)

The commodious kitchen and adjacent dining room are well equipped with a table that can easily accommodate healthy numbers and hearty appetites. Although the layout is open and inviting, it does not appear that the culinary arts are this family's focus; rather, it is the living room that is the apparent heart of this household.

Indeed, this place, with its sense of life's fullness and simple satisfactions, is perhaps the best setting in which to conjure the image

of a woman who, for over 35 years, was a close part of her community. And it was this foundation of an integral relationship of home and community that provided the basis for her 18 year career as an exceptional adult educator.

Rather than separate her private from her public and official life, Clode early learned that it was difficult, if not impossible, to try to categorize neatly her interests and functions in such a setting. How many of her contemporaries, to say nothing of today's 'professional' adult educators, would cheerfully list a home phone number along with information about programmes, registrations, and office hours? For Clode, this was unquestionably the way it was, and so her living room became an extension of her office, and presumably, vice versa.

There is also an urban setting in which some of the more cosmopolitan aspects of Clode's personality are highlighted. In her West End Vancouver apartment, the decor still reflects something of her interest in the exotic and unique, but there is a sense of a more selective display of favourite things - a special shell collection in a beautiful oriental cabinet; raku lamps; a fabulously carved oak side board, displaying the woodworking talent of an English uncle; oil portraits of long-departed relatives whose efforts to appear suitably sombre cannot deny the same suggestion of a smile that their descendant still displays. This 'home away from home' had earlier belonged to a brother, but is now often used by Clode when she visits Vancouver 'to keep up with things,' take in a play or visit friends. It was in these two settings, with generous pots of tea, cookies to crumble

and homemade muffins to munch, that this researcher asked Clode to talk about her life and work.

Clode described herself as "one of the few people actually born in Vancouver" with perhaps a bit of pride. She recalled that her family lived in a 17 room house directly across from the Hotel Vancouver on Burrard Street, just down the street from Faris' garage where the father of twin boys, one of whom would re-enter her life many years later, took care of the family car - "a 1923 Star." Clode attended nearby Lord Roberts public school in the West End and King George high-school before going on in 1937 to the University of British Columbia. She worked at the mental hospital at Essondale from 1940 until 1943, when she graduated as a psychiatric nurse with the highest marks in her graduating year. While training at Essondale, Clode was enrolled at the University of Manitoba and in 1944 she returned to university, this time graduating (1946) in Home Economics.

Clode worked between academic sessions at service canteens and hospitals as a dietician aide, and nursed weekends in Winnipeg while completing her B.Sc. degree, working "weird hours" and managing on a stringent student budget. Her early experiences included three years as a psychiatric nurse, in this occupation following in her mother's footsteps. This may in part explain her ongoing interest in mental health and in helping people. Clode remembers that, as a child during the depression, it seemed that their door "must have been marked" since so many came for food and other help her family could provide. She recalls, "no one was ever turned away."

She met her husband, Ernest Clode, while he was in the R.A.F. and they were married in 1943, but it was not until 1948 that he demobilized and returned to Canada. In order to do something different from his recent background as an aerial torpedo expert, he took advantage of a scheme for ex-servicemen that trained him as an industrial education teacher and in September 1948, he was "thrown to the wolves." They had chosen Cranbrook from the available options since it had a hospital and Clode was expecting their first child. In 1953, after five years and two more children, they moved to Lake Cowichan, which had recently opened a well-equipped school shop, the biggest in the province.

Lake Cowichan is a town on Vancouver Island that is about 30 miles inland from Duncan. At that time, as now, there was a population in the town itself of about 2,500, with about 6,500 residents in the entire school district catchment area. Clode recalled that there were few cars, but it was a bustling town in 1953, with "three big mills, a multitude of gypo logging outfits, shake cutters, and then a copper mine started up," increasing population to about 6,700 by 1957.

The principal of the high school, Jack Saywell (father of Bill Saywell, future president of Simon Fraser University) had already initiated a citizenship and English class for New Canadians, but he thought it would be "a great idea" for Mr. Clode to offer a metal-working class at night. In 1953, this somehow became the "in thing" to do, and it was attended mainly by doctors, lawyers and mill managers. In that same year Dorothy Clode was also discovered to be an excellent resource as a teacher substitute, and she was soon asked to offer

sewing and cooking classes at night too. Again, these classes were attended by a somewhat exclusive group, made up of the wives of doctors, lawyers, and mill managers. In fact, these classes were not generally advertised to the public and publicity was strictly by word of mouth.

Clode also worked as a substitute teacher, often for long periods, in the day school as well as working with adults at night. In addition to these paid positions, she took part in a number of volunteer activities such as the Parent-Teacher Association (there were four little Clodes in school). Her special interest in "what makes people the way they are" led her to work for the Canadian Mental Health Association. Clode established a local branch of that organization and served as Charter President in 1957. Later, she became a provincial board member and served as president on two separate occasions. Clode also sat on the national Canadian Mental Health Association board as the B.C. representative for ten years.

In fact, after many hours in sessions with this researcher, when asked to recall any particularly significant success in her career, it was not an adult education event that was foremost in Clode's mind, but that through her efforts, after a long period of lobbying, a psychiatric bed ward was made available at the local hospital (Clode, July 14/88, interview).

In 1966, Ernest Clode developed serious health problems. Dorothy took over his day school drafting classes, as well as the night school operation which was then a half-time position. Shortly before his death, Ernest Clode submitted a brief which urged the school board to make

the night school position full-time. Although she was an experienced instructor, familiar with the system, Clode claimed her success in getting that position was in part because she could be hired full-time for the same salary that had been paid to her husband for half-time, because of scale differential.

After her husband's death in March 1968, Clode worked full-time as director of adult and continuing education, and continued to participate in her other community interests. As the B.C. representative of the Canadian Mental Health Association, she would attend national conferences, having been granted a long-weekend off from work, and then make up the time. And of course, in addition to these responsibilities her family of four growing children would require as much time and energy as any single parent could provide.

Personal Characteristics

With characteristic understatement, Clode recounted an anecdote that gives some idea of her energy and commitment in the face of odds that might have deterred others. The winter of 1969 was considerably harsher than usual in the Cowichan Valley, and by January tire chains were necessary to negotiate the heavy snow-drifts, and ice along the thirty mile stretch from Lake Cowichan to Ladysmith. There, the climate shifted back to the wintry wetness more often found along the east coast of Vancouver Island, so that chains then had to be removed, not only to prevent damage to the tires, but to comply with the town's ordinance. Then, chains had to be put on again to negotiate the stretch of road from Ladysmith to Nanaimo where she would catch the ferry to downtown Vancouver, and then go by bus to U.B.C. for a three hour

class in the adult education graduate programme.¹ Clode would return by the last ferry leaving at 2:00 am, drive back to Lake Cowichan by equally hazardous roads, and then, after a quick "good morning" check with her children, Clode would go directly to work. Again, in order to compensate for time away from work, Clode arranged to work weekends at the local recreation centre where many of the continuing education activities took place.

When asked how, as a single parent, she managed to run a household with four children, complete her graduate studies, maintain a responsible full-time job as well as numerous other roles in community organizations, Clode replied "you just did it, that's all." This was without any suggestion that she felt sympathy was warranted. But, it is this kind of experience that no doubt enabled her to empathize with familiar problems faced by other single parents, particularly as adults taking on student roles.

Clode's characteristic avoidance of personal accolades has been noted by a number of her admiring colleagues. Bill Day, President of Douglas College, recalls that Clode was "a joy to work with" on the BCACEA executive. She was:

. . .A great partner, and that of course was the kind of skill she evidenced in the community. If

¹ Since the UBC library closed at 11:00 p.m. and the last ferry to Nanaimo did not leave until 2:00 a.m., Clode often sat with a coffee and studied in some of the late-night cafés downtown. Her scholastic pursuits aroused the curiosity of other women, or "working girls" as they described themselves. Clode would respond to their queries, and got to know them; there was one woman particularly who impressed Clode when she divulged that she, too was "working" her way through college.

you're a great partner, things tend to come your way. Because she had no ego, she had no need for Dorothy to be viewed as the prime mover, or to be famous. Again, that is the prime need for a community development person. In fact, the reverse is true: to the degree you get credit, you kill yourself in community development, and Dorothy never had that need.

She is a marvelously self-confident person, and therefore she's very attractive - people swarm to her. So her capacities that served her so well on the executive (of the BCACEA) were those that served her very well in the community.

(W. Day, July 14/1988, interview)

Bill McGown, former director of adult and continuing education for North and West Vancouver school districts, commends Clode as "thoughtful; innovative. You could count on her to have a sensible opinion on most things;" and it was apparent that she came to meetings well prepared (McGown, June 22, 1988, interview).

Nick Rubidge, formerly director of the Division of Continuing Education in the Ministry of Education, noted that from a Ministry perspective, she was seen as a valuable resource, and "We. . . would seek her input. . . try to get her involved because she was prepared to put in the effort," (Rubidge, June 24/1988). He also said that Ron Faris, former Executive Director of adult education for the Ministry of Education, recognized in Clode a real commitment to and rootedness in

her community. He saw her as a "classic example of what can be done at the grassroots level" (Rubidge, interview) in terms of community development. This quality of hard work and persistent pursuit of policies and programmes which addressed community needs, particularly those of disadvantaged groups, set her apart from some of her colleagues who failed to follow through on their rhetoric about social development.

But should the reader imagine Clode's dogged determination as dreary, her colleagues did not find it so, for many have remarked upon her cheerfulness and good humour. Jindra Kulich, former director of the Centre for Continuing Education at U.B.C., recalled a tour he led in 1972 to Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Austria for a group of 15 Canadian adult educators, of whom Clode was one. Her good humour was an invaluable aid in smoothing over some of the rough spots on that trip, and she "was very much in tune with people we were visiting and discussing with," (Kulich, June 24, 1988, interview). He remembered Clode as "always considerate and kind" but also saw that "she was no pushover." For instance, at a border crossing, where an official refused to buy back their remaining currency of that particular country, this same very "motherly"-looking lady could be seen pounding the counter and loudly demanding that their money be changed (it didn't work!) and Kulich described her as "'incensed' at any injustice being done" (June 24/1988, interview).

Feminist Facets

Clode generally did not appear to her colleagues as a feminist. One noted "she never pushed for feminine recognition just 'people'

recognition. She wanted her ideas appreciated and she was appreciated for her contributions," (McGown, June 1988, interview). Clode did not seem to insist on being heard "just because" she was a woman, unlike others who were then "jumping up - demanding to be heard," not because "they had something worthwhile to say," but on the basis of gender (McGown, interview). Others also remarked on her matter-of-fact, capable approach which fitted well with her colleagues, most of whom were men. "She did not sit back; she came prepared for meetings and was as capable as anyone" (Hambrook, June 1988). And, although he "takes his hat off to all of them" Coulson said, "Clode 'was really outstanding' among her peers; also she managed to 'put them in their place' if there were any lapses of etiquette, reminding them that 'ladies were present.'" (June 28, 1988, interview). Bill Day pointed out that part of Clode's uniqueness was that she was a woman, and, more than that, that she was "a woman not just passing through" but one who became part of the establishment.

Generally, although she was well aware of the problems peculiar to women, and particularly to single parents, Clode did not think that being a woman had been any real detriment in her career. However, she chuckled with some satisfaction in relating how her nomination for president of the BCACEA had been initially received with little more than polite enthusiasm from the "old boys' network." They were soon more than a bit surprised to find that Clode's supporters, many of them women who had recently entered the ranks of adult educators as programmers, had won her that office. Indeed, one member of that network ruefully remarked that this swelling of the ranks with women

left him at one point feeling "as if I had lost my place at the table" (McGown, June 28). In another conversation, Clode referred to the satisfaction obtained in matching wits with those who did not know her, seeing only a rustic from the country, unaware that beneath that matronly exterior lay a sharp, inventive, and analytical mind. She felt that perhaps her academic achievements (M.Ed., Adult Education Dept., U.B.C. 1970) also helped to alleviate any doubt that might be harboured about her professional qualifications.

Influences

When asked who she saw as particularly influential in her career, Clode responded with enthusiasm about Al Cartier, who had been director of the Department of Adult Education within the Ministry of Education throughout most of the 1960s and early 1970s. Clode saw him as a "man with a dream" (July 14/1988, interview). Early in her career, Cartier suggested to her that perhaps she could be more imaginative in choosing titles for courses in order that these could then be eligible for funding, and suggested that this would be consistent with all those others' reporting procedures. For instance, one college found that Chinese cooking as a general interest course was not eligible for funding, but as Foods 403, it could (and did) receive the government subsidy as a vocational course. Cartier claimed this practice was widespread, and urged Clode not to let her honesty be a disadvantage in her operations. "So, all sorts of things. . .began to have interesting titles that were fundable," (Clode, July 14).

Cartier was a man "with a strong social conscience" and a "very broad view" on a lot of things. He was one of the first people in

government to explore the dimensions of what was generally called Communications, in the sense of "enlarging horizons and expanded consciousness," which was part of the personal development and self-actualization programming that characterized the late 1960s and 1970s. Cartier did a lot of Communications work with the Catholic church and he also occasionally offered development seminars as part of the Lake Cowichan continuing education programme. Clode recalled a particular event: Cartier and a friend of his, then the director of Child Welfare, set up a weekend "marathon" for delinquent teenagers in the local high-school. Clode recalled, "They had to bring their sleeping bags and I had to feed them all for three days and nights," but school trustees soon demanded an accounting as to "Why they were bringing in sleeping bags on a Friday night?" Clode was delighted to assure them that this event was sponsored by such highly placed officials!

Ultimately, it was her abiding "interest in people (which was) the main thing" that both formed and formalized her own development. Communications appeared as another aspect of that ongoing interest in conjunction with mental health, which was "always in the background" of her work in adult education. She "had been the provincial president (of the Canadian Mental Health Association) a couple of times," and "on the national board for a good many years, too." Finally, it was her earlier work in psychiatric nursing that Clode described as training which was "infinitely. . .valuable" in "learning how to cope with all sorts of people"; it had "prepared her for just about anything" (even adult education!).

Philosophy

Consistent with these influences and new interests in helping people, Clode declared (July 14/1988) "I guess my personal philosophy is to try (to) do what you could." There are "some things that you can't do much about, and other things that you can do a little bit about, and some things you can do quite a bit about." Doing the best you can is "really what life is all about. . . coping with what you have to work with - trying to stretch it, enlarge it, essentially working within confines, and doing what you can, with what you can."

This researcher questioned Clode about "liberal" versus "liberating" adult education, and particularly how Clode viewed the "greater good" in terms of the individual versus the collective. Always to the point, Clode replied,

You can spend a lot of time working on the community and it comes to nothing, because the community isn't ready for whatever it is you think they need. You have to face that fact that you can spend a lot of time and energy and it comes to no fruition. Now you can only afford to do that a few times in the course of a year. You've got to spend some time doing the things you're paid to do and showing some sort of results so that next year you'll be there again. And, that's the practical part of it. You have to do so much of this regular programming in order to be able to afford the luxury of doing things you think are necessary or

the things that you see as gaps in the community or, particular needs in the community.

I'm really a pragmatist rather than a theorist, and so I've always been interested in something I can learn today and use tomorrow. But I also recognize that there are some things that you have to do on a higher level, that won't come to fruition for three or four years, and you can work on those as well, but for the here and now you have to have something that will work much quicker.

(July 14, 1988, interview)

As an example of this pragmatic approach, Clode described how her regular consultations with other agencies would sometimes identify a particular need. One instance involved a young man who had been something of a local problem. He had been diagnosed as dyslexic after many years in school; he lacked literacy skills and was chronically unemployed. He wanted to enter the army, but was unable to pass the entrance exams. Clode saw this as an opportunity for her to do something, "to turn a potential problem into a taxpayer." She arranged with a local special education teacher to tutor him, saying, "these were things worth putting extra money into, but of course you had to have that extra money to do it." The young man did achieve his goal of an army career.

So, within this seemingly simple success story, there is evidence of many skills - consultation within the community for ongoing needs assessment; knowledge about community resources and who can help;

realistic appreciation of potential funding limitations; and, fundamentally, a belief in an ability to achieve our goals, despite apparent obstacles.² At that time, restrictions included the fact that ministry policy required a minimum of ten students in order to establish a class. But the creative programmer in Clode again rose to the occasion.³

A proponent of lifelong learning, Clode thought all education should "equip a person for life" but noted that you can "only teach so many skills." Even though "now, we may re-train seven times during a life-time," it is ultimately attitudes that are essential to survival, particularly if we are to avoid the devastating effects of obsolescence (March 24, 1988).

When asked if she considered her role as an activist as ultimately effective as in the food bank, (see pp. 75-77, following) for example, Clode replied that she saw it as a limited social action in the sense that it was responding to a present need; nevertheless, "you are providing (people) with a process and it's ultimately that process they remember." People thus enabled can move from a passive to an active role in obtaining their rights, "no longer afraid of bureaucrats" and learning to be effective in reaching goals by enlisting support from others.

² And, "It also demonstrated a willingness to devote much time and effort to solving an individual's problem," (G. Selman, personal communication, September 1988).

³ Clode related that at one point in her career she had inquired of Bill Day how to start an ABE class. Day replied: "You start with the first student." Clode followed his advice, but added wryly that she "didn't know he had money to start" (referring to the substantial subsidy approved by the school board in Day's district) "whereas we didn't."

Did she see herself as a radical? Clode laughed - "That depends on what group I'm in!" But she did see "adult education (as) a subversive activity," which explained why "we never had very much funding because they didn't want to fund activist groups that persuaded people to ask for this - or that - all of which would cost more money," for, "if you are involved in meeting somebody's need, it nearly always involves battling somebody's establishment."

In February 1988, S.D. #66 (Lake Cowichan) officially opened the *Clode Centre* on the high-school grounds in Lake Cowichan. This ceremony was attended by family, friends, neighbours, colleagues and ministry representatives, all of whom were there to pay tribute to Clode, as well as to celebrate their good fortune at having had such an excellent resource in that community for so long.

The following citation read during the presentation of her honorary life membership at the annual general meeting of the *Pacific Association of Continuing Education* is a succinct summary of, and tribute to, Clode and her career.

Dorothy Clode

Dorothy Clode is perhaps the best known adult educator in B.C., a tribute in part to her personality and leadership capacity, but a result also of the fact that her contributions span such a wide spectrum of the field. She was for many years Director of Adult Education for the Lake Cowichan School District. This placed her in two different streams within the field. On the one hand she was an administrator within the public sector where she exercised effective leadership and among other things, served as President of the B.C. Association of Continuing

Education Administrators. On the other hand, she worked in a school district which served relatively small communities, where program and services had to fit closely with the other concerns of community life. Dorothy emerged as one of our most remarkable practitioners in what we can appropriately term community education, with adult education as part of the fabric of community life. In the last several years before her retirement, and drawing on her standing in both of these aspects of the field, Dorothy served as well as the Chairperson of what was called the Adult Education Consortium of Economic Dislocation, known to its friends as the "tough times consortium." With the assistance of funds from government, activities and services were organized of particular relevance to those districts in the province where times were toughest, unemployment rates the highest, and the most people in real distress. Dorothy Clode's outstanding leadership of that effort was in some ways the capstone of her career and but the latest of many outstanding contributions to adult education in British Columbia. What must be added in view of the occasion of this joint conference is that Dorothy is a Past-President of the NWAEA, having served in that capacity in 1982-83, and has been editor of the NWAEA newsletter since 1980.

PACE is pleased to award an honorary life membership to Dorothy Clode.

(PACE, 1987)

CHAPTER 3

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Setting The Scene

Clode's career began in 1952 when she first taught adults in night school classes, but it was in 1968 that she became an administrator and began to actively participate in professional organizations.

In 1968, in becoming Director of adult education in her community, Clode joined a group of professional practitioners who administered nearly 8,000 school district courses. The sixties had been a period of "rapid growth and development of adult education in the province" in which B.C. led the rest of Canada, largely as a result of the "outstanding" offerings of school boards (Selman, 1980; p. 319). Enrollment rose from 40,000 in 48 districts at the beginning of the decade to 160,000 in 69 districts by 1970. By 1969, nearly 75% of those enrolled were in rural districts, whereas at the beginning of the decade the majority of enrollment had been in urban centres.

In the aftermath of *Sputnik*, by the mid-1960s, there was a burgeoning of post-secondary institutions across North America. By 1971, there were eleven colleges in B.C. (Report, 1974, p. 46). During the brief period while the NDP were in power, Dr. Ron Faris was hired as a consultant to set up a Task Force⁴ to study and make

⁴ It is interesting to note that only two members of this commission/task force represented school district adult education, whereas nine were linked to community colleges; the remaining two members represented universities including the adult education department at U.B.C. (p. 7). It is not surprising that this select group would share some of Faris' observed predisposition toward college coordinated adult/continuing education.

recommendations regarding the implementation of a regional college system in B.C. Faris had previously established a very successful regional college system in Saskatchewan where there had been no school district activities similar to those in B.C. It was not surprising, then that school board offerings should be subsumed, and that colleges specifically would be given responsibility for "innovative" community education, using "social animators" whose "special status. . .[enabled them to] carry out imaginative plans and activities," (Report, 1974; p. 28).

Despite a statement that recognized, albeit briefly, the "essential roles historically played by school districts" (Report, p. 27), and a recognition of the inadequate funding in the past (p. 28), this "new thrust" gave authority to the colleges for what had previously been school district prerogatives.

The Task Force was concerned about the existing provision of services by school districts, noting that the permissive nature of the Public Schools Act did not ensure provision in rural and sparsely populated areas, and that there was little or no consideration of public and private organizations' adult education activities. The Report recommended that community colleges become "the public agency responsible for the funding, provision, and (or) coordination of adult and continuing education in each college region" (Report, p. 27).

Although many of these recommendations were not implemented, so that school districts which wanted to continue in adult and continuing education did so, the overall direction of the recommendations was toward a phasing out of school districts in that area of programming.

Needless to say, this was viewed by many school district administrators with less than enthusiasm, and perhaps some anxiety and mistrust.

One of the recommendations made was: "That the Department of Education establish a project fund and also Community Educational Development Councils (CEDC) to apply directly to the Department for special community educational development grants on a project proposal basis," (Report, 1974, p. 29). This was the inception of what later became known as Special Project Grants, which were available ultimately to both colleges and school districts.

The implementation of the Special Project system had a dramatic impact on community development throughout the province. These grants made possible a range of diverse and creative projects to meet special needs and interests, until funding was eliminated in 1981.

In 1976, another major report was commissioned. The "Report of the Committee on Continuing and Community Education in British Columbia" (1976) frequently termed as "The Faris Report" or "The Golden Book." This was perhaps a response in part to the request from adult educators that the earlier Report (1974) be clarified. The Pacific Association of Continuing (PACE) and the British Columbia Association of Continuing Education Administrators (BCACEA) had submitted similar briefs; that of the BCACEA submitted in December 1974 (quite likely in response to the anxieties raised in the 1974 Report). It was also "asked the Ministry of Education to establish a commission on task force to study and recommend philosophy and future directions for continuing education in B.C.," (Cassidy, 1984, p. 40).

Clode was among the twenty-three adult educators selected to serve on the committee. Although only three school districts were represented, this committee had a more eclectic make-up than that of the previous one. There was a good public response to the proceedings (eg. a 41% response rate to the 630 questionnaires distributed at 19 province-wide public meetings and a total of 147 briefs submitted). In consequence, the committee made 110 recommendations, all of which were consistent with the establishing of a life long-system of education in which adult and continuing education would move from the "margin" and have greater priority.

Despite the brave beginnings of the 1974 Report and this subsequent attempt to establish public policies, there were serious limitations "partially as a consequence of the restriction of the Faris Committee's mandate to the area of continuing education," (Cassidy, p. 49). Although one of the Committee's recommendations reiterated that a special projects fund be created, the limited mandate did not focus as the earlier report had on the colleges' major role in community development. In fact, the recommendation regarding regional adult education coordinating councils did not refer to colleges at all, but to "representation from all public adult education programming agencies," (Report, 1976, p. 13).

However, the ultimate inadequacy of the Faris Report was that, "The committee was apparently unable to develop a vision of how the educational system would be restructured to accommodate and realize the life-long learning perspective it so heavily emphasized," (Cassidy, p. 49).

Response from the ministry was "slow and uneven". In 1981, Faris indicated that "approximately 33% [of the recommendations] had received a "significant response," (Cassidy, p. 51). These included the implementation of the Special Projects system, and a provincial Advisory Committee on Adult and Continuing Education was established.

Despite the lack of clearly defined public policies regarding adult and continuing education, Faris, as Executive Director of the Continuing Education Division of the Ministry of Education, for many years had a dramatic impact on adult education in this province. Although Clode would be among those who welcomed many of his policies, especially those which were intended to advance and support the adult educational component in community development, there were significant differences in her view as to how those policies should be implemented.

Briefly, Clode's view was that Faris deliberately set out to eliminate school boards' adult/continuing education operations, preferring that colleges have primary jurisdiction for such programmes. There were a number of specific incidents which she cited that suggested colleges got preferential treatment; for instance, when funds had been allocated for specific programmes or projects, and were spent elsewhere, ministry officials gave colleges a symbolic "slap on the wrist," but did not monitor and enforce colleges' continuing education budgets in the same way as ministry procedures required of school districts. Clode also identified the colleges' practice of classifying as vocational a course that more readily would be categorized as a non-fundable general interest activity. Although schools were also prone to

this practice, it seemed to be more prevalent and less monitored in the college system.

These were specific incidents of what Clode saw as infractions, but her perception of general ministry bias toward colleges was shared by many of her colleagues in both the college and school district systems.

The British Columbia Association of Continuing Education Administrators (BCACEA)

The British Columbia Association of Continuing Education Administrators (BCAEA) was the organization through which Clode directed her efforts along with her peers, to influence ministry policies.

Dorothy Clode was invited as a guest speaker at the inaugural convention of the BCACEA at Harrison Hot Springs in 1965; she spoke as the B.C. representative of the national executive for the Canadian Mental Health Association. This involvement with the BCACEA continued throughout her career as an adult educator. Clode was the Vancouver Island representative for many years and she served on the executive as the head of the curriculum development committee until her retirement in 1985. In 1975, Clode was the BCACEA delegate at the conference on the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Edmonton (BCACEA minutes, June 1975). She also served as president in 1976-77. In 1986 Clode received an honorary life-time membership and she continues to attend annual conventions and maintain an interest in the organization's affairs.

Clode described that organization as one primarily concerned with administration and financing of adult education in the provincial context,

with a focus on support for the practitioner. This support was essentially pragmatic since members were interested in "learning today something they could use tomorrow." When asked about this potentially parochial focus on professional concerns, Clode replied that this ultimately benefited the adult learner; since without this support for the people in the "trenches," there would be less for those learners.⁵

At its inception in 1965, the BCACEA was mainly made up of members from school district adult education programmes, which had a strong presence in the provincial system. In 1962-63, 68 school districts provided 3,070 classes for 70,405 participants; of these, over 59% attended classes outside the Vancouver area. Evidently, adult education was seen less as "peripheral" and increasingly "as an integral part of (school boards') educational services" (Cartier, 1964; pp. 29-30). By 1970, "there were 29 full time and 13 half time directors" in 69 school districts and enrollment has risen to 162,140 (Cartier, 1971; p. 80).

In discussing her various roles as a general member, as the Vancouver Island representative, and as president, Clode indicated an ongoing concern with the effects of ministry policies on adult and continuing education generally, and school districts particularly. Many of the briefs sponsored by BCACEA were in response to what was perceived by the school districts as a bias in funding and other policies

⁵ Unfortunately, "the view from the field" suggests that the BCACEA was mainly interested in institutional welfare (G. Selman, personal communication, September 1988).

that directly benefited colleges, but which often excluded school districts.

By the early 1970s, because of the increased number of colleges, as well as their enlarge role in adult and continuing education, the make-up of the BCACEA membership began to shift. Despite the increasing predominance of college administrators, the organization continued to submit and support briefs that advocated on behalf of school districts' concerns. This seeming anomaly reflected that fact that many of the BCACEA members who were college representatives had formerly worked within the school district adult education system, and were sensitive to school district concerns. Consequently, consensus was usually possible.

Nick Rubidge, formerly with the ministry's Department of Continuing Education, recalled (June 1988, interview) that there was a distinct group of school district administrators when he had entered the field, some eighteen years ago. Most of them had come up through the school system, and as senior administrators, had taken on adult/continuing education duties as the "apex" (rather than "terminal" stage) of a career. Few had any academic grounding in adult education; Clode was one of the few exceptions (i.e. M.Ed in Adult Education, U.B.C., 1970). So, as the college system began to expand, hiring young, professionally trained adult/continuing education programmers, it was understandable that the old guard would be reluctant to admit to the "inner circle" these inexperienced upstarts. But, Rubidge pointed out that Clode was again the exception in that "she was very approachable."

Those were also a number of former school district adult/continuing education administrators who went into the expanding college system, in part a reflection of the number of school districts that opted out of adult/continuing education as the colleges took on that role. But, Rubidge indicated that many college principals did not share any of their enthusiasm for these "frivolous" and "marginal" activities since they saw the essential role of the college system as a traditional academic one. Only because of the legislated mandate was there any support for these programmes at some colleges.

This academic bias was to some extent reflected in the legislation that gave colleges a far greater degree of autonomy in the sense that, unlike school district adult/continuing education, there was little or no accountability for how adult/continuing education allocations were spent. Rubidge suggested that, in addition to the tradition of academic freedom in institutions of higher learning, this was also politically astute; when people can't get into the classroom, for example, it is the institution, not the government, which the public sees as responsible.

Although school district administrators felt that ministry policies favoured colleges, Rubidge pointed out that, in terms of dollars allocated specifically for continuing education functions, funding was virtually the same for each system. Furthermore, because of Ministry support for small school districts such as Lake Cowichan, additional funds were provided when reduced school budgets threatened to eliminate adult/continuing education programmes. A case in point was the funding for the Consortium on Economic Dislocation; Rubidge said that

this was directly a result of Faris' attempts to ensure that Dorothy Clode's position was maintained.

Rubidge proposed that this split, perceived to be between colleges and school districts, was actually a distinction between rural and urban districts. The 'big boys' (as Clode described the lower mainland school district administrators), according to Rubidge, were particularly successful at promoting general interest programmes, but had not appeared as committed, or capable, in the area of community education, for example, programmes for seniors, single parents, women's re-entry and other minority interests.

Smaller, rural districts did provide such programmes and Clode was particularly effective in that regard. Consequently, Rubidge said that Faris and other ministry officials would frequently consult with her about community education projects; she was highly regarded as someone closely involved in her community; her views and her commitment were respected.

Bill Day, the present President of Douglas College, was one of those who had formerly been a school district adult and continuing education administrator. He agreed that there appeared to be bias toward colleges. He reiterated⁶ (July 1988, interview) an earlier statement that when he first knew Faris, Faris had declared that he intended to eliminate school district continuing education operations. However, Day indicated that he thought Faris' logic was based on the

⁶ Similar remarks were previously made by Day at a dinner and 'roast' given by the BCACEA in the spring of 1987, after Ron Faris had left what remained of the continuing education department of the Ministry of Education.

fact that in a provincial setting in which there were too few resources, it made sense to steer colleges into developing programmes for disadvantaged groups. Although school district programmes were "very responsive, vital and freewheeling" this reflected more of the pressures of a market economy, resulting in programmes heavily geared to consumer, user-pay interests. Day faulted the school district administrators for failing to recognize that the higher costs associated with colleges (eg., faculty-scale wages, higher administrative costs) were part of a student support system; he suggested that many school district administrators felt these costs were excessive and unnecessary, reflecting that they were concerned only with the product, not with the support services required to effectively deliver and back up the product.

Although these views suggested Day's understanding of Faris' objectives, he was critical that the department under Faris' leadership had failed to systematically initiate community development. Special Project funding was a move in that direction; however, the tiny amount of money involved (at the local level), and the permissive nature of the legislation resulted in many colleges and school districts choosing to ignore that area of programming.

Others (eg. Hambrook, McGown) also indicated they shared Clode's view that colleges got preferential treatment. Coulson (interview, June 28, 1988) suggested that the ministry jealously retained its power over the local school system, requiring that school districts had to ask for permission to develop programmes, despite general recognition that this ability to respond quickly was one of that system's virtues. Also,

Coulson noted that the entry of colleges into part-time vocational courses vastly reduced the school system's ability to generate funding from these popular activities, which were also eligible for ministry subsidies. It appeared that the colleges had an unfair advantage in that regard.

Jindra Kulich (interview, June 24, 1988) was still of the opinion that it was unfortunate that adult/continuing education had gone into the colleges and he saw the steady erosion of adult/continuing education by the school boards as a regrettable result of policies reflecting Faris' low opinion of those operations. As a result of "friendly persuasion" to hand over that role to colleges, approximately 60 boards gave that responsibility over to colleges. When asked if he would concur with one ministry official's view that the perceived split between colleges and school boards was more realistically one based on rural vs. urban divisions, Kulich was adamant in pointing out that it was the rural school based system which had largely been destroyed. He said that it was primarily the larger centres of population that continued to be represented by most of the remaining school districts' adult/continuing education operations. Kulich did concur with another school district administrator (Hambrook, interview June 22/88) that adults often feel comfortable in a familiar local school system, rather than in an imposing college or university. And, although all would agree that putting big people in little seats should be avoided, Kulich wondered if the lecture hall at U.B.C., for instance, was really any better suited to adult learners' needs. In fact, many colleges in rural areas actually depend on local school facilities for course offerings. Kulich felt that, thanks to

Clode (and others) school district adult/continuing education continued "pointing out how it can be done, and should be done." He felt that it was futile to try to "parachute" things into a community; rather, the community support base was an essential part of adult/continuing education programming.

On the other hand, Day had pointed out (interview, July 12, 1988) the great difficulty that many school board operations had in community development programming. And, although it was one thing to be aware of needs, it was quite another to implement responses. Most school boards lacked the sophistication for successful community development projects. (He also agreed that many colleges also lack skills in that area.)

There was some basis for Faris' concern that school districts had not provided comprehensive adult education services throughout the province. Funding policies could provide an impetus for both colleges and school districts. Ministry subsidies helped offset costs of academic and community interest courses, which were expensive to run, particularly in rural areas. Urban districts had to "pay for the merry-go-round with what (was) made on the racetrack" (McGown, June 1988, interview,), but they, too, had to use revenue from subsidized vocational courses, which were often money-makers, as well as from popular user-pay general interest courses in order to offset losses on minority interest courses. Bill Day, however, argued that it was a "cop-out" for school districts to depend on general interest programmes to subsidize ABE/ESL, for instance. He proposed that school board operations would be better advised to set programme priorities and

maintain funding to support these accordingly. But for many school district administrators, it was necessary to use revenue from one area to subsidize programmes in another category.

In describing the evolution of the BCACEA, Clode noted that there has always been a "marginal" aspect to school district adult/continuing education operations, since budgets had to be requested yearly from school boards that operated with a provincial mandate for adult/continuing education that was only permissive, that is, optional. Consequently, there was the constant threat that their adult/continuing education operation could be eliminated by schoolboards because of insufficient funds. Despite evidence (noted above) of the public demand for these adult services, this tenuous aspect was intensified with policies that later strengthened the colleges' role in adult/continuing education.

Clode suggested that some colleges were originally primarily interested in "esoteric, high-brow" offerings and were content to let the school districts "take care of the rest." This was particularly true for the lower mainland, resulting in continuing education services provided mainly through North and West Vancouver, New Westminster, Burnaby, and Vancouver School Boards. In other parts of the province, there was more competition⁷ between school districts and colleges, except where colleges had taken over. Clode noted that out of that organization a group of deans and directors was formed which met to

⁷ Clode recalled with amusement how some directors "guarded their 'little black book' with their lives" since these contained information about instructors and other programme resources.

discuss college related concerns and a similar informal organization of provincial school district directors met separately on an ad hoc basis. Consequently, the entire membership met only at annual conventions, but the regional meetings included representatives of both types of institutions as did the executive. However, Clode insisted on the necessity for regular contact and she vigorously pursued every opportunity to find out what was going on throughout the province, particularly in response to what was being funded for the colleges in order to make sure school districts didn't miss out.

In discussing ministry policies, Clode was critical of the "almost open-ended" system of college funding. With little or no direct control from the ministry, the colleges' response to an occasional "slap on the wrist" was correspondingly superficial. Clode noted remarks by Al Cartier about some of the "creative" ways in which colleges would attribute general interest courses to a vocational category in order to be eligible for higher government subsidies. Also, she said special project grants were diverted; for example, substantial grant monies were allocated to one of the colleges to set up Knowledge Network resource facilities, but nothing was done in that regard for several years and Clode suggested the grant probably went into general revenue. In contrast, school district adult/continuing education budgets were allocated according to specifics identified on budget forms reported directly to the ministry, and there was much tighter control in accounting.

Clode noted that when the "crunch" came (that is, the major budget cuts in 1980-1981),

The first thing that colleges did was cut continuing education, cut their outreach, cut off their services to all the contributing (school) districts and just retreat to their main campuses, so if they had been handling ALL the continuing education funds we would have got very little. (July 14, 1988)

Clode's view was that "distrust" of this potentially vulnerable situation led some school districts to continue provision of their adult education/continuing education services and to reject the college-based proposals. Clode also suggested there is evidence that with continuing restraint of provincial funds, school districts' adult education/continuing education will continue to be strengthened through local taxation. She pointed out that in the last few years a number of school districts have re-established adult education/continuing education programmes (eg. Sooke, Campbell River) and more are anticipated.

Under her leadership, attempts were made to overcome the potentially parochial interest of the BCACEA membership. Approaches were made to related organizations such as the Adult Basic Education Association, community schools, and the Teachers of English as an Additional Language to invite them under the BCACEA "umbrella." These efforts were largely unsuccessful. However, the more broadly based Pacific Association for Continuing Education was already more successfully doing the same thing (Quinn, 1988).

Despite the divisive forces within the organization, Clode felt that the BCACEA had considerable success in supporting its members and influencing ministry policies. As an example, Clode referred to the brief

prepared by the BCACEA executive in 1981 in response to the ministry's major reductions of continuing education budgets. Clode attended the subsequent meeting with the Minister of Education, Bill Van der Zalm and made a special plea for school districts and rural areas. Clode thought that those concerted efforts had been effective in persuading the ministry to eliminate the 19% cut proposed for the following year's budgets.

Clode's astute perceptions of the implications of policies and her willingness not only to speak out but also to devote considerable time and energy advocating equitable policies and programmes, have undoubtedly contributed significantly to the strength of the BCACEA and the institutions its members represent.

The Northwest Association On Adult Educators (NWAEA)

The NWAEA is another association of adult educators in which Clode participated for many years. When Clode joined in 1968, that group was relatively new, having been started in 1966. One of the originators was John Niemi, a professor of Adult Education at U.B.C., whom Clode had met while she was undertaking graduate studies in that department. Niemi encouraged students to participate in professional development activities, such as conferences.

The geographical range of the NWAEA membership extended beyond B.C.'s borders to include Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana and Alaska, as well as Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba; more recently the Northwest Territories was also included as a member. Its function Clode described in terms of "advancement of continuing education in the northwest" and its membership included a wider interest group than the

BCACEA; that is, academics, graduate students, practitioners and administrators and others interested in the organization's aims and member networks. This organization focused on the adult learner more directly than in the BCACEA, and Clode noted that this organization also provided a useful forum for exchange of practical ideas and networking among members.

Clode was elected B.C. representative on the executive for four terms. She also served as president-elect during 1980-1981, and as president in 1981-1982. This two year term was to ensure continuity in the organization of the annual convention. She was responsible for the Banff conference in 1981 and the Anchorage conference in 1982. In both cases, she was the NWAEA officer responsible for liaison with local groups sharing those joint conferences: the Alberta Adult Education Association and the Alaska ABE Teachers Association.

Because membership fees were low (\$8.00) there was little or no money to pay for travel costs of executive and committee members, but Clode was successful in getting the approval and financial support of her trustees in order to be able to take on these commitments. However, Clode observed that another unfortunate result of ministry budget cuts was that many of the institutions stopped funding representatives to attend regional meetings and as a result attendance dropped.

Clode edited the association's newsletter for the five year period 1982 to 1987, then an editorial board took over this task. Clode continues to participate as a member of that board. The publication

itself Clode described as "sporadic" for the first few years but was maintained at five issues per year during her stint as editor.

Her President's message in the *Newsletter*, Nov. 1982, #51, summarized the services which membership provided: an annual conference; opportunity for graduate student research exchanges; project search; special project information; legislative affairs; awards; and general fostering of cooperation throughout the northwest.

Clode suggested that, although the mandate and membership were different in terms of focus, geography and political contexts, the benefits to B.C. members were significant. This she described in terms of a "north-south affinity," an exchange of ideas, solutions and methods that reflected similar social problems often found in single industry, isolated, and semi-rural areas and small towns characteristically found throughout the northwestern states and provinces.

Despite these shared concerns, there was not much help for B.C. or other Canadian members regarding government funding. American tactics were sometimes inappropriate; for instance, Clode observed that the typical American practice of political lobbying by taking a congress representative out to lunch had different implications in B.C. and in Canada.

Although he retired within two or three years after Clode became a member in 1968, Ron Bowcott (personal communication, June 1988), who also served on the board of the NWAEEA, recalled that "she was a very able and active member." No doubt he, along with other members, would be kept informed about that association's activities as "a recipient of the many newsletters which (Clode) put together" as Jindra Kulich (July

1988) noted. Kulich also shared Clode's view that the NWAEA was more a professional development interest group than the BCACEA characteristics, and, like the latter, had a rural and urban representation in its membership.

Clode's message as outgoing president is worth noting. Recalling that in 1980-81 there were severe cutbacks in education budgets, and that the hardest hit often were the rural, isolated areas already hard-pressed to provide adequate services, Clode's remarks reflected her characteristic response to adversity. She proposed that adult educators must "meet challenges and financial setbacks" and view those,

Constraints as opportunities to review, revise and restructure moderately efficient operations into more effective enterprises. In the final analysis, we cannot sink into the doom and gloom forecasted. We have to retain a positive view and search for alternatives. (NWAEA Newsletter, May 1982)

Clode also noted that "constraints (were) not new to continuing education. One of our strengths in the past has been our ability to meet changing conditions successfully," (NWAEA Newsletter, May 1982).

In May 1983 Clode, received the association's meritorious service award "in recognition of consistent, long term, outstanding service to the Association as Director, Conference Chairperson, President and Newsletter Editor." (NWAEA Newsletter, #53, May 1983).

Early Childhood Education Articulation

Strictly speaking, Clode was not a professional early childhood educator, but she took an active role in the provincial curriculum

articulation committee, particularly after colleges began to expand their early childhood education offerings, and remained involved until her retirement.

Clode points out that although it was the Ministry of Health that issued certificates to graduates of early childhood education programmes, the colleges began to pressure the Ministry of Education for higher entry qualifications for students entering their early childhood education programmes. Clode wanted to retain the existing qualifications, which were better suited to participants in part-time school district ECE programmes arguing that, "as long as they had basic language skills, good attitudes, and were flexible," the existing qualifications were sufficient pre-requisites. Clode also noted that colleges' full-time students tended to be younger, and as early childhood education graduates, they did not stay in the field very long, for despite the upgrading of college requirements, there had been no corresponding upgrading of wages.

As a representative of a rural school district, Clode had been invited to participate in the early childhood education articulation committee and in 1986, "after lots of difficulties and lots of meetings," the Ministry of Health distributed the fruits of those labours (Min. of Health) so that part-time early childhood education programmes would have the same core curriculum throughout the province. Clode had remained actively involved in that articulation committee until her retirement in 1985.

External Evaluation Team

Another of Faris' initiatives was the implementation of an evaluation process for school district continuing education operations. Substantial funding was provided by the Ministry to create incentive for districts to undertake this process. An Internal Team was appointed at the district level and their findings and recommendations were reviewed by the Ministry's External Evaluation Team.

In 1985, Clode was appointed to the Ministry Continuing Education External Evaluation Team that examined the Internal Committee's Evaluation Report on the continuing education operating of School District #45, Coquitlam. Later that year, she was a member of the External Education Team for School Districts #44 and #45 in North and West Vancouver. In 1986, she again assisted on an External Evaluation Team for School District #46, Sunshine Coast.

Summary

Despite the evidence of success in the school district based adult/continuing education that was operative throughout the province in 1975 when Faris joined the ministry, there were obvious gaps in programme areas related to community development and needs of disenfranchised groups. Admittedly, ministry policies fostered consumer-oriented course offerings, and also encouraged competitive rather than cooperative relations between institutions within both school and college delivery systems. And, at the same time as Faris' arrival on the scene, there was a dramatic growth in the college system resulting from pressures within and outside the provincial system. That is, there was a similar pattern of growth across Canada, reflecting the federal

policy initiatives that were trying to keep abreast of national training needs.

It was in part an unfortunate coincidence that the 'old guard' felt threatened by the appearance of so many new faces on the provincial scene, especially the coincidental emergence of professionally trained personnel in the college system, contrasted with the experience of most school district administrators who rose through the ranks.

And, even more unfortunate was the apparent confusion around the issue of the college versus school district split. Most of those interviewed were in agreement about the apparent bias of policies initiated by Faris for college adult/continuing education operations. The exception was Rubidge who suggested that the real division was between rural and urban programmes. Day also acknowledged Faris' rationale as having been based on the inability of school districts to address adequately particular needs, noting that during the 1970's, despite the blurred line between credit and non-credit courses on the educational ladder to success, community development was generally not even on that ladder.

However, Faris was "underwhelmed," as he put it, by the community education and community development efforts of both colleges and school districts when he arrived on the scene in the early 1970's (personal communication, July 10/1988). He clarified that colleges and school districts were essentially funded equally but differently, based on a system weighted for smaller districts which Rubidge had developed. He did not agree with the perception that colleges were less accountable to the ministry than were school districts. Colleges were required to

develop a five-year plan, and to meet annually with the ministry, as well as to submit a copy of their annual report. Self-evaluation was also ongoing. School districts, on the other hand, were subject to less scrutiny since there was only the approval of an annual budget which had already been ratified by their school board.

Faris defended his position by emphasizing that ultimately it was provision of the best, and widest, range of services for adult learners that was at the heart of his policy initiatives. And the college system was the best resource in most areas to provide that service, particularly in the area of community development programmes. Although Clode was an outstanding example of grass roots community development, Faris felt her to be an exception among many of her peers in both college and school district systems; too many of her colleagues were more concerned about careers and personal ambitions, Faris felt, and were apparently unable or unwilling to make a similar commitment to social justice goals.

Admittedly, most school district operations were poorly equipped to provide community development services, even though the Special Projects grants enabled many to explore this area creatively, to the benefit of the community at large, not just for the special interest groups served. Yet despite a mandate in this area, colleges remained relatively uncommitted, and community development along with other "frivolous" adult/continuing education offerings, were seen by college administrators as marginal to their real purpose and function as an aspiring educational institution.

Ultimately, it is commitment, or lack of it, to social justice goals that is the dividing factor between both the varying theories and

practices of adult education and community development, and the methods and policies of the different governing bodies. Clode's accomplishments go beyond reflecting her own personal choices and career development. They help illuminate that structures she worked within (and around).

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT - IS IT ADULT EDUCATION?

Part I - Theoretical Overview

In this chapter, the first section will provide an overview of some of the issues concerning the relationship between adult education and community development. Essentially, those issues and concerns have to do with ethics and values such as: the legitimate aims of education; education as a social control, or a force for societal change; professional objectivity or committed activism; plurality versus collectivity.

The second section of this chapter will focus on Clode's work in the area of community programming to illustrate her role as an adult educator in community development.

There is a significant body of literature which argues that the traditional remedial approaches to adults have been ineffective in reaching targeted groups because of a failure to appreciate inherent conflicting interests in that group and its community. Consequently, those most in need of "remedy" remain uninvolved. More important, the underlying conditions that created those needs are unchallenged and unchanged. In this first section, the context in which community development has evolved will be highlighted to demonstrate its long association with adult education.

The issues, concerns and ensuing debates are complex and it may be difficult to avoid a confusing patchwork of varying perspectives about the relationship of adult education to community development. Fortunately, Roberts (1982, p. 31) has proposed a model of adult education objectives that encompasses many of the issues.

That model is essentially a continuum ranging from remedial, through coping, personal development, social development to counter-cultural development. He noted that there is no clear cut distinction between these stages: "For instance, the movement of consciousness raising among women is aimed at both individual self-knowledge and growth, and changes in existing social relationships and structures." Roberts lists "some of the terms used for this kind of activity [as] community education, community development, animation sociale and animation communautaire," (Roberts, p. 33). Along with this succinct summary of adult education purposes, Roberts has proposed a brief typology of forces constraining adult education and adult educators at every part of the spectrum. Those constraints are characterized as: social philosophy; social structures; needs; and, resources (Roberts, 19982, p. 43).

Roberts' model provides an especially appropriate context in which to look at the various roles Clode took on in her career, particularly as an adult educator with a demonstrated commitment to social change.

There has been a lengthy tradition of adult education as a means for changing social conditions. According to Cotton (1965) the "era of modern adult education" was introduced by the 1919 Report of the Adult Education Committee of the British Ministry of Reconstruction. This seminal document was based on "a vision of adult education as a way out from sordid materialism, economic deprivation and ineffectual democracy" and,

Adult education was seen primarily as an instrument for bringing about social reform, social reconstruction, and

social progress - to realize the ideals of the 'good life' and the 'good society.' This 'idealistic' tradition represents a radical departure from the orientation of adult education before World War I, with its emphasis on making up the educational deficiencies of adults. (p. 7)

This idealism pervaded the field until the early 1930s; Cotton suggests that then a "new breed of 'professional' adult educators," reacted against "naive idealism," rejecting the idea of educators as social reformers. "They thought of themselves as educators rather than reformers. . .concerned with the life of the mind, . . .not as an instrument of partisan policies," (p. 5).

While these new self-proclaimed professionals did not necessarily reject the "deep social concerns or the missionary zeal of the social reformers" there was a rejection of the "undisciplined use to which these qualities had been put," (p. 5). Out of this criticism for the emotional and potentially partisan aspects of adult education in the service of social reform grew an increasing awareness of the need for a scientific study; that is, a methodology of adult education.

Consequently, professional associations and university credit courses about adult education began to appear (Selman, 1984, p. 13). Closely aligned with this disciplined approach was a resurgence of the liberal view of education. The life of the mind was to be nurtured; knowledge was of intrinsic value. This proposed 'value-free' education has generated lengthy debate among adult educators (eg., Paterson, 1973). And it is this controversy about the legitimate terms of education that

is at the heart of the relationship of adult education to community development.

Elias and Meriam (1982, pp. 43-69) have summarized a variety of characteristic approaches to adult education. These included: a traditional, conservative position which saw education as intrinsically valuable, and which rejected all but the established order of "knowing"; a humanistic position in which individual development and self-actualization were paramount; a progressive approach which saw that education could and should try to improve, not only the individual, but also the societal context in which that individual developed; a radical critique that claimed not only was adult education ineffective in attempts to change the world, but was itself part of the oppressive system which maintained the status quo by reproducing the values that enabled the means of production to remain in control of corporate capitalism.

Roberts (1979) also provides a typology of social philosophies. He proposes "two sets of dimensions: the democratic/authoritarian dimension and the individualistic/collectivist dimension," (p. 85). In between collectivist and individualistic categories, there is "pluralistic." For example, he describes Canada as a democratic/pluralistic type of society.

Within each of these positions and underlying all theory and practice of adult education there are basic assumptions which center around the acceptance or rejection of the need for societal change, and whether education is an appropriate tool to create change.

In 1955, responses from participants in a Symposium entitled "The Role of Adult Education in Community Development" (Hoiberg, Mial,

Johnson, Dickerman, Oliver, 1955) indicated substantial disagreement about the central vehicle for creating social change, as well as disagreement about the extent of professional detachment. Consistent with that era of professionalization, there was an emphasis on maintaining an objective viewpoint, in order to facilitate a holistic, consensual community. The adult educator becomes an arbitrator, conciliating differing community factions (p. 41).

This continuing search for professional objectivity is potentially dangerous, according to Lotz (1977) for adult education "has professionalized itself almost out of existence" (p. 123). This tendency to marginality is undoubtedly double-edged; those who do become immersed in pursuit of particular social goals are seen as activists, and in many circles they are seen to be only a small step from the lunatic fringe.

In addition to debate about extent of involvement in pursuing community goals, there has been controversy as to whether the best way to achieve societal change, (given that it is an appropriate adult education goal) is either through individual or through collective educational and learning processes. For example, Poston (in McGhee, 1956) argued that "basic social problems are not individually centred, they are community centred," to which McGhee (1956) responded contrarily that it was "through the process of community development you get at the development of the individual - not vice versa" [emphasis added].

Pyrch (1983) has provided a useful summary of changing perspectives about adult education's role in relation to community

development. He suggests that "fear of Bolshevism" may have been a significant factor in the "mission" of early North American movements such as at Antigonish and Highlander. But by the 1960's the concept of community development was firmly established in North American literature (p. 13) and no longer seen as experimental. Pynch suggests further that community development, like adult education, was an emerging field of practice, rather than a firmly established discipline; both had in common elements that emphasized improvement of both the individual and the collective, although there was a difference in emphasis rather than an absolute difference.

Although there was general agreement that community development was essentially "guided social change" (Lauderdale, 1971, p. 17) and, like education was not fortuitous, but had systematic time-limited goals, there was ongoing debate about the complex phenomena of change and how best to differentiate "between a process of community change. . .and a process of learning how to instigate such change," (Verner in Draper, 1971, p. 418). McLuskey (1960, p. 420) saw community development as an educational method involving several stages, one of which was "a combination of study and action." But Roberts (1982, p. 60) made distinction on the basis of learning process and learning outcomes; that is, the "difference between performance, which is observable, and learning, which is a non-observable, hypothetical concept." He proposed that there are two distinct roles relating to social change: that of an educator, and that of an activist (p. 38). For Kidd (in Draper, 1971, p. 40), this debate was a waste of time, declaring that the question for adult educators is "not, should we participate, but

how?" and in what ways can they continue that earlier tradition in which "involvement, participation. . .has been an accepted and fundamental principle," (p. 137) of adult education.

Brookfield (1983) provided a typology of settings for adults learning within their communities, noting that "some of this learning will be the result of action undertaken by groups orientated towards social, political and economic objectives - credit unions, neighbourhood action schemes, tenants' associations, citizens' rights groups and mutual societies. Although these groups exist for other than educational ends, nonetheless their activities contain within them an active learning component" (p. 90). Again, Brookfield noted that the common element of improvement is a value judgement in both the adult education and community development context (p. 106). How values infuse the theory and practice of all adult educators is a central theme in his discussion of the distinction between "liberal" and "liberating" adult education. Who, and what, is the final arbiter of this improvement? Is it to be a normative transformation (p. 107), or is it to be a rejection of the consensual approach, in recognition of deep, inherent conflicts between different groups in society?

Brookfield agrees (p. 198) with those who see adult education as an integral part of community development but he rejects the "logical fallacy" (p. 175), which suggests that educators working within existing societal contexts must, by implication, accept those dominant values. He also makes a point that an adult educator's decisions in community practice will necessarily be constrained by contextual variables so that personal values and ethics must combined with a sense of realpolitik if

s/he is to survive (p. 202-203). This same perception is slightly varied in Keddie's (in Thompson, 1980, p. 45) view that, although adult education is more like than unlike the rest of the educational system in its form of cultural reproduction, it is not the individual adult educator whose beliefs or intentions that are questionable. It is, rather, that the "individualist ideology of adult education's functions - obscures the contradictions in the adult educator's role" and results in misplaced effort.

It is the work of Lovett which is cited by Brookfield as an example of "liberating" adult education. Lovett rejects the notion that traditional adult education has significantly altered the status quo. He sees community development as an essentially educational process (Lovett, Clarke, Kilmurray, 1983, p. 29) and one which requires direct involvement of adult educators in community planning and action. Lovett asks adult educators to "challenge the way things are, to break the cultural hegemony inherent in existing educational provision" that "merely exten[ds]. . .the prevailing liberal ideology in adult education, (p. 159). Indeed, Lovett sees the perennial failure to address and meet needs of disadvantaged groups as evidence that traditional adult education is inherently ineffective and ultimately supports an oppressive social system. For this writer, Lovett's critique assumes essentially class-based divisions in society, so it is not clear how action groups representing a cross-section of a community (eg. organizations to improve ferry schedules; peace activists; feminist groups) can fit into his view of class-based reality. However, it can be suggested that the shift from ardent amateurs to professional objectivity has resulted not

only in the increased remoteness from learners' realities, but may also result in potential detachment from responsibility for the circumstances ensuing from professional action, and more importantly, inaction.

Lovett's critique of adult education in the service of social change was largely based on his experience in the United Kingdom, although he was well aware of North American experiences such as Antigonish and Highlander (pp. 4-6). In Canada, although "many of the activities of developers and activists are not overtly educational," "most development and activist initiatives have a strong educational component in that their protagonists engage in the deliberate and purposeful acquisition of knowledge," (Brookfield, 1983, p. 9).

There has also been substantial criticism about the failures of those combined efforts in the Canadian setting. Throughout the 1960s especially, community development projects and activists proliferated. The Challenge for Change, Company of Young Canadians (CYC), Local Initiatives Programme (LIP) grants⁸ and the NewStart programme were initially counterparts to the American War On Poverty, but continued to address social needs across Canada. These activities often left a community disaffected and fundamental problems unresolved. Head (in Draper, 1971, pp. 20-21) notes that such programs often tried to help individuals to "escape" from conditions of poverty, for instance, but did nothing to change the conditions that created and maintained that

⁸ Clode got several L.I.P. grants to operate a Community Services Centre which later became a chartered association and was funded by local mill rate assessment. She also got a L.I.P. grant to provide an adventure playground and numerous New Horizons Grants for seniors.

poverty. While some of the approaches were innovative there was insensitivity, as well.⁹

Lotz (1977) also thought that many of these activities aimed at community development failed to deal systematically with structured change. These piecemeal efforts were essentially a limited undertaking by ardent amateurs, often with few skills and dependent on government funding. So, although these social animators' activities in many ways paralleled those of a community adult education programme, they remained relatively marginal. Despite their obvious commitment, involvement and participation in social change, their effectiveness was limited. Indeed, Lotz described these development programmes as government efforts to 'dry-clean' the poor in the process of creating dependency on government, thereby becoming amenable to what the government wanted rather than vice versa (pp. 36-37).

Although Lotz spoke generally about community development processes, it is clear that the 'sins' of government agencies could easily be those of many educational institutions if and when they fail to consider alternatives to institutional goals. And, realistically there must be acceptance that the goals of the learners may conflict with those of educational or other sponsoring agencies.

As the preceding discussion has pointed out, many adult educators (eg. Keddie, Lovett) as well as writers on community development (eg.

⁹ Some of the early efforts of the Challenge for Change program broadcast documentary film footage without having consulted with the subjects about the right to do so. Grierson, founder of the National Film Board was also said to be critical of the ethics of using film crews in as community change agents (Low, C., 1984 in The John Grierson Project).

Lotz, Head) argue for direct action by adult educators and community organizers. Those roles are not merely to facilitate community consensus. Rather, the educator and organizer must provide evidence of a commitment to the goals of the learning and development group. There may be a corollary that, to the extent that professional detachment is maintained, (of either adult educators or other professional community organizers), there will be corresponding distrust of "officials" by community members. And, difficulties in achieving group goals may reflect the degree to which those organizers maintain their professional stance which aligns them with their sponsoring institution while alienating them from particular community issues.

We can now look at Clode's practice with perhaps greater appreciation of the complexity of the social and political context in which she worked.

Part II - Community Programming

Introduction

In the following section, Clode's role as an adult educator in relation to community development will be illustrated by a number of examples of her community programming activities. In addition, Clode's role in the provincial Consortium will be described. There is no clear cut distinction between Clode's professional activities as an adult educator and her involvement with other community development activities originating in her personal interests.

When Clode entered the ranks of professional adult educators in 1968, there may have been wider acceptance than there is today of the primarily facilitative and consensus-seeking role of adult educators and

other community organizers. But, there was then, as now, awareness of differing communities of interest within every constituency. Like adult education, community development was in a similar quandary of how to determine whose interests were best served in attempts to remediate social inequity.

For Clode, perhaps those issues were not immediately apparent, or relevant, since her personal interests in community service was in the area of mental health. The special concerns of this interest group and remedies for its special needs could be more readily identified. Perhaps Clode did not originally envision how her personal interest in helping in that area of community service would eventually become integrally related with much of her professional career.

Obviously, there are significant differences in small town, rural settings that effect the style of any adult education operation. In addition, the particular situation existing in Lake Cowichan in those early years of Clode's career were unique. Because of the logging and mining resources, the area was relatively affluent, and the school district was handsomely supported by these industries which provided 90% of the tax base.

It was not usual for management personnel of those industries to take an interest in school district affairs, and many were trustees. Frequently, those personnel had come from larger, urban centres and, as trustees, they were able to see that funds were available to provide educational resources that enhanced the community's quality of life. For instance, Clode said that at one time there seemed to be an abundance of pianos and, as noted earlier, the high-school shop was one of the

best in the province. It was understandable that the well-educated urban outlook of trustees would be supportive of cultural and recreational amenities that a night school program could provide.

Clode described how her first experience as a night school instructor was mainly for an elite interest group. Well-educated and from a professional background herself, she would have much in common with those class participants. Clode was also a member of the I.O.D.E., and the Kinettes.

At the same time, Clode maintained her interest in mental health. In 1959, she had organized a local branch of the Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHC); she was the charter president of that chapter and was "re-cycled" as president six times. Clode served on the provincial board for sixteen years; she was president of the provincial chapter in both 1966 and 1975. She also served on the national board for ten years.

Understandably, these personal interests took up considerable time. But what is more interesting is the way in which those personal interests in her community meshed with her professional concerns. Clode attended the inaugural meeting of the BCACEA at Harrison Hot Springs in 1965. She had been invited as a guest speaker in her role as provincial president of the CMHC. Her speech urged the promotion of Family Life and other courses related to mental health. Thus, even before her 'official' designation as an adult educator, some of her professional programming interests were foreshadowed.

Under the auspices of the local CMHS chapter a number of projects were linked to programmes provided through the district's

adult education office. One of the first of these did not involve programming, but Clode did 'educate' a group of parents of handicapped children. At the request of the local health nurse, Clode set up a support group for parents of handicapped children to encourage them to let their children participate in a special school setting. Some parents were eager for such a facility, but it was Clode's efforts that finally persuaded others that their children would be better protected there than in isolation at home. This group of children was eventually integrated into the regular school setting. That move was very innovative at the time, but Clode revealed that lack of funds was the necessity for that 'invention.'

The projects of the CMHC chapter continued to grow, especially after the availability of new federal government funding (Local Initiatives Projects - LIP) eventually permitted greatly expanded services. In 1972, the CMHC group initiated the Lake Cowichan Community Services as a non-profit organization eligible for L.I.P. grants. The grants enabled a day-time drop in service for ex-mental patients; as well, those currently undergoing treatment could participate in programmes. Preventative programmes for stressed mothers, and for social isolates in the community were among services available. Clode described the evolution of those services:

Originally, the purpose was preventative mental health services for young mothers, for social isolates, and for physically and mentally handicapped. [There was a] rehabilitation program for ex-mental patients to encourage

them to integrate with community groups rather than running separate classes that continued to work with them as ex-patients, where they were further stigmatized.

We worked with Public Health and all the school agencies [to develop] a programme for children [such as a] developmental programme for preschoolers.

The craft programmes offered were vehicles to obtain these goals. It worked well, and we attracted members of the general public as well as those with special problems.

. . . We set up an independent board of directors, incorporated under the Societies Act (in order to qualify for grants in addition to the one in 1972 with which the CMHC established Community Services) and applied to the Regional District for funding. This involved lobbying the Village and regional district representative as well as making a plausible presentation to the Regional District. We were able to obtain $\frac{1}{2}$ mill funding which has been increased to 1 mill now.

We were able to obtain use of an old liquor store from the government for \$5 per year and moved our operations there as without grants

(i.e. - LIP grants no longer available) we could not pay the rent on the Community Hall.

In the new setting, we started renovating, using volunteers to build and paint. We set up offices for the Probation officers, for the Human Resources representative and were able to charge rent to the responsible agencies to cover our operating costs. We were able to present documented briefs. . .and obtained a Youth Counsellor and a part-time Seniors Coordinator.

We started up after school programmes for latch-key children; a young mothers programme; kindergym for kids; special sports programmes for kids identified by social workers as extra attention--usually from broken homes, single parent or blended families.

The youth counsellor works with kids in trouble, delinquents on probation, those with racial problems. We started a "Fun 'n Sun" summer programme for disadvantaged kids."

The Seniors Coordinator started up a Meals on Wheels service which continues to operate even though the government withdrew services of the Seniors Coordinator ten years ago, and we set up a self-help lunch program for social

isolates. (Personal communication, September 1988)

All of these programmes operated under the auspices of the Community Services originally sponsored by the CMHC chapter of which Clode was an active member. At the same time Clode was providing programmes in support of those services as part of her official adult education responsibilities. In addition to administering grant applications on behalf of Community Services, lobbying, organizing volunteers, Clode was also administering courses in arts, crafts, volunteer training, parenting, stress management and other subjects of interest for that particular constituency.

Clode's earliest programme offerings were relatively conservative, but as her experience and confidence grew there were more experimental courses. It was also due in part to the increased subsidy for community education activities that Clode was able to develop courses for special interests. Cartier had initiated a one dollar per hour subsidy while he was Director of Adult Education for the ministry. His successor, Faris, expanded that to three dollars per hour. Community education was defined in terms of programmes and learning activities of special interest groups. Examples of such programmes Clode offered included a self-help or support group for victims of childhood sexual abuse and a series of workshops for parents of handicapped adolescents about sexuality issues. Such programming was costly; it could be very time-consuming to develop and seldom would there be enough participants for it to be cost-recoverable. Faris' introduction of the Special Projects grant was intended to provide even greater impetus to

developing such programmes and to enable a more comprehensive response to community concerns.

Seniors Evergreen Centre

Clode described another example of the "symbiotic" relationship between her 'official' and 'unofficial' activities in the development of the Evergreen Seniors Centre. There was an evident need for a place where day-time continuing education programming could take place as well as a place for a day-time adult learning centre away from the high-school. At the same time, a group of seniors wanted access to an unused cottage in the center of town, across from the post office. Clode helped the seniors form a society and then approached the Village for access to the cottage, which they owned. It was arranged that the seniors could rent the cottage for a nominal fee for three years. Then, wearing her administrator's "hat," she arranged for the school district to provide cable for educational T.V. programmes; rent and fuel for use of the building to an adult education facility was also paid by the school district. The rent which the society charged the school district for its use of the facility enabled the centre to remain solvent.

(Although some seniors complained about having to share with the younger people using it, they were not willing, or able, to pay more.)

Clode suggested that the Village be approached since demographic changes perhaps should be considered; rather than spend \$30,000 a year only on playgrounds, funding of a separate seniors centre might be appropriate. A request that next year's village budget (i.e. 1988-89) providing operating expenses for the Evergreen Centre is currently

under consideration. Obviously, Clode has not yet retired from wearing a number of her community interest "hats."

Gum, Fish and Upholstery Tacks

It is clear that through her official and 'unofficial' interests, Clode met with representatives from other community service agencies and interest groups. In describing another instance of programming for specific community interests, Clode recalled her early efforts working with the local Nitinaht native band. Prompted by concerns expressed by local agencies about social problems, Clode set out "over 40 miles of the worst logging roads you ever saw." In meetings with band members, she learned that what they wanted was an upholstery course. She "got two off-beat instructors - no one would go out there by themselves the road was too bad." (Clode chuckled at how they sometimes all had to chew gum furiously to plug holes and keep out the rain in a 1946, rust-riddled jeep in which they travelled those roads.) These instructors "could relate to the problems of the women out there - one had five, the other had seven children. So - they taught upholstery, but they also taught family management, budgeting, nutrition - all the things that go with raising a family." Although she acknowledged she was lucky to have two such instructors, Clode agreed that she "knew what was wanted and where to find them."

When asked about whether this 'hidden agenda' might be seen as patronizing, or unethical, Clode replied that it was not so. Information about household subjects was provided in informal discussions throughout the duration of the upholstery course. There was a genuine exchange of ideas; on more than one occasion, the instructors would

arrive to find no one at the class. Rather than return, they would find out what was happening, and take part in the alternate activity. In that way, they learned about the native customs. For example, if fish were being caught, they joined in and subsequently learned about fish-smoking while offering information about canning methods.

With delight, Clode remembered the full-spread turkey dinner to which she was invited on the last day of the upholstery course. The band eventually took over management of such educational programmes from what was then the federal Department of Indian Affairs. After three years of running with only their own resources, they again asked Clode for assistance. With Clode's help, they were successful in lobbying the federal government for funds to build an elementary school. Native children no longer had to be bussed daily over sixty miles of rough logging roads. Clode also helped them set up a pre-school, and provided ECE training for mothers as staff.

Clode described her role as one which was to show them how to access government and other community resources, as well as how to develop their own resources.

The Food Bank Story

In the late 1970s, a particular series of events led to Clode's involvement in a project which is an excellent illustration of the overlapping roles and goals of an adult educator in relation to community development.

In response to an economy which was spiralling downward, the entire province seemed pervaded with a "doom and gloom" mentality. Lake Cowichan had a history of weathering economic storms, and despite

technological imperatives for increased production and decreased work force, mill management had a record of few confrontations with labour since personnel practices and attrition had kept in step with technological innovations. However, in 1980, only one week after having publicly assured the community that the drastic measures taken elsewhere in the province "can't happen here," local mills did shut down, resulting overnight in 40% unemployment; soon, nearly 70% of the local population was unemployed.

It was not long before a meeting was organized by local leaders, to be held at the local recreation centre, for public discussion about how to deal with this drastic situation. Clode recalled that, unfortunately, only a handful attended. Subsequently, Clode was asked for help in organizing a second meeting. This time "key people" were contacted by Clode - representatives of direct interest groups, including union, management and local business - and Clode spoke to many more community members directly, urging them to attend and explaining how their presence would be helpful.

At that second community meeting discussion of the current situation and "what do we do now?" led to the identification of the need for a food bank. Clode described her role in this undertaking as that of a "facilitator." In the aftermath of that meeting, Clode continued to contact community members directly, to clarify that this proposed food bank would not compete with existing small businesses. Unemployed workers would have less to spend, but what they did have would still support local businesses as much as possible. As director of adult education Clode arranged for courses in peer counselling, cashiering,

bookkeeping and general administration of food service, to provide training in all aspects required for operation of the Food Bank. In addition, Clode took responsibility for authorizing cheques issued on behalf of that new community service.

Clode recalled an incident associated with the food bank. An unscheduled visit from a deputy minister resulted in "quite a stir" when he was told Clode was not at her office, but at the local food bank. In reply to the official inquiry from Faris about her involvement in the food bank, Clode wrote what she thought was "a very persuasive" letter, not only describing her role in developing skills required for operation of the food bank, but also including a "few suggestions" for provincial action.

The Provincial Consortium on Economic Dislocation

That year, the ministry had announced that there would be an 80% reduction of continuing education budgets which would be phased in over a three year period. The initial cut of 15% had been made and a further 19% cut was expected in the next budget year. The budget which Clode had submitted earlier that year had been accepted by the ministry and programs were developed accordingly. When the revised allocations were announced, Clode feared their operation would no longer be feasible. Her letter pointed out that the unilateral cuts were a particular hardship in smaller, remote areas. Districts like Lake Cowichan had far fewer resources at the best of times than were available in larger centres.

This letter was passed on, and at the 1982 BCACEA convention, Deputy Minister James Carter's speech (written by Faris) indicated that:

In order to assist school districts with adult education operations acutely effected by the economic dislocation and high un-employment, approximately 1% of the school district adult education provincial funding was held back for distribution to districts in greatest need.

Simultaneously a consortium of interested School Districts and Colleges was solicited from those areas with unemployment above the provincial average of 12%. (BCACEA n.d. (1982))

The goals of the Consortium were:

1. To stimulate sharing of information on possible adult education responses to the impact of severe unemployment on communities.
2. To consider the recession--a provincial issue which extends beyond mandate of any one institution or agency.
3. To achieve most effective use of limited resources.
4. To promote inter-institutional cooperation and pooling of resources. (p. 1)

Clode agreed to be the Consortium convenor and worked closely with Michael Clague who was hired as a consultant. Clague described (July 12, 1988) the Consortium as, in part, "a typical Faris strategy to . . . encourage, prod and entice adult educators into really becoming community activists around local socio-economic issues - to challenge

(them) to go one step beyond whatever they were. And in this context, certainly Ron and Dorothy fitted like hand and glove."

Clague had not previously worked with Clode, but he found in her "a meeting of the minds" as a community worker.

She took a natural approach to how adult education worked in communities. On the one hand, you build bridges all over the place - to the disenfranchised, and the establishment and everyone else. But (those) systems and structures of adult education have to be tailored to the need - not the other way around. In this sense, she clearly was a non-institutional person. She supported any endeavor that promoted people's learning. (Clague, July 1988)

For two years, from the fall of 1982 to early 1985, Clague edited Tough Times News (TTN). This newsletter was originally developed in connection with the Consortium, to keep adult educators around the province in touch, particularly about special projects funded by the Consortium, but soon it was being requested by many more agencies, organizations and individuals who, in turn, provided items of interest for publication.

During the first year, most items for publication were channeled through Clode and she continued to be actively involved. Clague described her as, "Not only as a consultant to the consultant, but as re-assurer to the consultant" about the value of what they were trying to accomplish. Clague recalled that other members of the Consortium responded with "varying degrees" of interest. He said that Clode's

suggestions, her warmth and generosity, her leadership with the "establishment" and her general support for their work was "critical."

Because of the positive response to TTN from adult educators around the province and other community development groups, other publications were produced with Consortium funds. The Resource Kit for Tough Times was a selection of examples of programming ideas and methods for adult educators. Many of these had been "borrowed" from brochures and suggestions from around the province about what was working, and why, (or why not). The Household Economy was a resource guide that was designed as a simple tool to help family, or group of neighbours, identify their resources, in order to better handle reduced income.

In 1984, as the new executive director of the Social Planning and Research Council of B.C. (SPARC), Clague arranged that the publication of TTN would continue under those auspices, with remaining Consortium funds held in trust by Lake Cowichan, S.D. #66. There are no longer any Consortium (or other Special Projects) monies, but SPARC, a grant from the Ministry of Small Business and Industry, plus subscriptions, currently subsidize the descendant of that newsletter. The Community Initiatives Digest is published quarterly by Community Initiatives Publications (CIP), a publishing subsidiary of SPARC, and maintains its original mandate to inform adult educators, broadly defined, about socio-economic and community development issues. Clode was made an honorary member of the CIP editorial board and continues to contribute her expertise in that regard.

In addition to these publications, the Consortium did sponsor a variety of projects around the province. One of these was a three day forum organized through the adult and continuing education office of the Sunshine Coast school district (#66). Originally called New Directions, that forum presented displays, discussions and a theatrical production on the theme of alternate resource management, co-ops and other positive responses to challenge. The Lake Cowichan food bank continued to operate and was used as a training facility, helped by Consortium funds.

When a ministry official was informed about the range of activities sponsored by the Consortium he is said to have asked, "But is it adult education?", again concerned about the food bank specifically. Clague was reminded about how he and Clode were unsuccessful in attempting to have PACE take on responsibility for ITN. He was "incredulous" that, "There were so many hoops, and procedures, and considerations. . . put in our way." Among those considerations, apparently, was the question asked by one of the PACE board members - "But is it adult education?"

It is typically this confusion about the activities and the potential effects of what can be called adult education that takes us back to the central thread linking adult education and community development. When does community education for adults become community development? And why does it matter?

There are essential tensions inherent in any change activity; difficult enough for an individual to accommodate, but even more complex when engaged in collective activities. Who is empowered?

Whose rights are negated? These are seldom black and white distinctions but it is clear that adult educators are "political creatures who are constantly faced with the need to make choices regarding the allocation of resources and whose choices reflect personal biases or institutional preferences" (Brookfield, 1983, p. 69).

Clode was, indeed, a "political creature." As Clague commented, she was good at building bridges and creating allies.¹⁰ Clode was very much aware of the need to develop a strong support base, and did so in her home community throughout her career. She was keenly aware of building board support, particularly as she sometimes had to "bend the rules a bit." (One course had a dog and cat registered; their fees were paid by eight other participants, in order to comply with the ministry requirement of a minimum of ten participants.) Regular reports kept the board informed: "Here's what we did that was successful; here's what we tried and failed; here's what we're doing now that's going to be successful." This concerted public relations effort was well worth the trouble; Clode was rewarded by a board that trusted and respected her.

Clode's biases were often evident and it was her advocacy and conscientious efforts on behalf of her community that gained her the admiration and respect of her professional colleagues. Clode not only talked about helping people to help themselves--she did it.

¹⁰ Her longstanding interest in communications skills had been shared and supported by Cartier who provided workshops on that topic around the province including Lake Cowichan in the 1970s.

CHAPTER 5

AND WHY IS SHE IMPORTANT?

Recapitulation

When this researcher first undertook this project, it was with some apprehension that the topic might not warrant extensive investigation. Years previously, Clode had been a generous source of support and practical advice to the researcher, who at that time was newly immersed in administering an Adult and Continuing Education programme for a rural school district. Clode's retirement had been duly honoured by her peers (eg. the PACE citation), and there was other evidence that she had been highly regarded. For instance, at a farewell dinner given for him by the BCACEA, Ron Faris began his speech by commenting that all those who attended honoured him, especially Dorothy Clode.

But opportunities to meet with colleagues were relatively brief and infrequent, and it was not initially apparent that her friend and mentor, Clode, was a source of inspiration for many, if not all, of those who knew her work. So, it was with increasing appreciation of her subject that the researcher discovered the love and respect expressed by everyone to whom she spoke about Clode's career, including those who did not participate in interviews.

To compensate for any personal bias, the researcher interviewed representatives of various institutions in the field of adult and continuing education, including school districts, colleges, ministry officials, and other colleagues. Clode was by no means considered a saint; her outrage (and her failure to impress customs officials with her

dramatic expression of it!) was noted (Kulich) as was her somewhat abrupt way of dealing with those who "failed to get on board" (Day) in the process of professional committee deliberations; nor would she "suffer fools gladly" (McGown).

This high regard in which she was held by her peers in some sense may be seen as a "motherhood" issue; that is, it was easy to admire Clode. When Faris paid tribute to Clode, it was because she represented the finest tradition of adult education as a force for social change and justice, and typified the romantic notion of an adult educator doing battle with the forces of evil. Faris apparently saw no anomaly in this, despite the fact that Clode was often jousting with policies and directives he had initiated; Faris believed in and shared Clode's vision of a just and equitable society. But how those mutual goals were to be achieved within the existing provincial system and social context was the basis for contention.

They had different versions of tactics and resources to redress those wrongs. Clode thought that with more consideration for the inequitable distribution of resources, particularly in outlying areas, more school districts would have continued to offer continuing education programmes. With similar support systems and expertise, schools could (and some said should) be an integral part of "grass roots" community development since schools were already closely connected to community life. Unfortunately, those differences may have clouded the central issue, but there is no doubt that Clode and Faris were, and remain, committed to the same vision of a just society.

Faris recognized that Clode was committed to, and deeply rooted in, her community. This quality set her apart from many others in the field. Recognition of this outstanding quality, especially in an adult educator representing a school district, may have added to his disillusionment with others, especially those representing the college system, by their failure to take up the community development challenge. Clode, however, thought that the failure lay in ministry policies to fully support school districts in their potential to provide community programmes. Her views were shared by others (for example; Kulich; Coulson; McGown; Hambrook). One would expect that her views would be consistent with those of others in the school district system, but it was a representative of a college who pointed out that, although he shared Faris' view that school districts did not generally have the resources for community development, there was a failure on the part of the ministry to develop in any systematic way policies relating to community development. The Special Project system was intended to promote such programming, but Day said that it was too dependent on the initiative of the particular local institution.

There was some disparity among those interviewed as to the willingness, ability and resources (or lack thereof) of school districts to promote community development. But, there was unanimous agreement that Clode did, in fact, lobby successfully on behalf of school districts and, in so doing, won the support and respect of colleagues, despite those differing views.

Another associate (Clague) mused about what this province would have been like had Clode ever had the opportunity to occupy a senior

position in the ministry. Her rootedness in and commitment to the community of Lake Cowichan, which was seen as a strength at the same time may have inhibited her career. (It should also be remembered that that kind of commitment and vision did not ultimately serve Faris' career well.) However, Clode herself said that, in fact, such an opportunity had presented itself, but she was not prepared to give up the benefits of raising her family in Lake Cowichan (Personal communication, September 1988). Despite this possible limitation, Clode has been described as "bigger than the district which she represented" (McGown). Her story is also bigger than a mere personal chronicle, for her life and work, especially her professional activities and community concerns, all relate to, and give greater understanding of a fascinating period of adult education history in this province.

Plurality of Practice

Throughout the foregoing, we have seen how Clode's personal and professional life clearly demonstrated her values and philosophy about helping. Adult education was a means to that end. Her advocacy and activism was another dimension of her role as an adult educator. As she helped people to make their own choices, as Roberts (1979) suggested the emphasis changed from that of education to community development. "In other words, community development adds an outcome of action to a process of learning," (p. 37).

One of the central tenets of Roberts' text (1979) is that community development workers will find it difficult to act without some model or paradigm about the way the world is, in order to undertake "the kinds

of action we call community development." Furthermore, he proposes there are basic assumptions in community development.

. . . That people are capable of both perceiving and judging the condition of their lives; that they have the will and capacity to plan together in accordance with these judgements to change that condition for the better; that they can act together in accordance with these plans; and that such a process can be seen in terms of certain values. (p. xv)

This basic assumption that, inherent in community development process is "a capacity for and a process of learning" (p. 34), implies a rejection of a mechanistic, behavioristic view of how that learning takes place. However, Roberts does suggest that there are different stages in community development; the first of these is the "creation" of community as the result of members' mutually identifying "tensions" of unmet needs in that community. During the second stage of community development, different types of learning take place (eg. acquisition of knowledge base), but Roberts stresses the importance of group dynamics and understanding the relationship of self to the group in that newly emerging community (p. 37). Such learning is particularly important for the community development worker, "First, to enable the worker to become a more effective person in relationships with the community, and second, to be able to use, judiciously and appropriately, knowledge of methods of self-understanding to help others understand themselves better and become more effective actors in the community." (p. 19).

This appropriate and judicious selection of methods and techniques for working with groups will attest to the community development worker's acquisition of the "correct Gestalt", either through self-learning in professional development, or because of intuitive "artistry" (p.88); that is, the worker will acquire "a cluster of values leading one to behave in specific ways," (p.19).

These "values" are also reflected in Roberts'(1979) typology of social philosophies. According to that proposal, those clusters would be within the democratic/pluralist or democratic/collectivist dimensions. If we combine Roberts' heuristic "continuum" between the primarily individual focus of adult education and the primarily collective focus of community development, (p.35) there is a much more complex configuration for an adult educator's values. Also, Roberts notes that the dominant approach of adult educationists to community development has been mainly in terms of the cognitive learning model; however, he notes that it is often difficult for adults to overcome their earlier educational experiences in which they were directed and controlled, and to readily participate as mature, self-directed learners. (pp.77-79). It is in the area of action on that continuum which ultimately is the means by which community development (and adult education) can be evaluated, for it is chiefly by observable actions that the success or failure of both learning and community development objectives can be assessed.

What can we observe about Clode in her role as an adult educator in relation to community development? In looking at Clode's life and work, it is clear that she took on many tasks and executed them ably.

It is important to appreciate that these tasks were undertaken for all the purposes that Roberts (1982, p. 31) ascribes to adult education, including that part of the continuum which has to do with counter-cultural development; that is, social change. Many of her official tasks were better suited to the community development part of that continuum proposed by Roberts. As argued above, Clode did not neatly divide her public and private life, nor was her role as an adult educator confined to providing programmes for individual interests and personal development courses. Not that these personal pursuits were disparaged: indeed, in the example of the dyslexic young man, it is evident that Clode took an exceptional interest in helping that individual meet his personal goals. And, Clode's concern about the raising of Early Childhood Education entry qualifications clearly demonstrated her awareness of the individual nature of programme participants' needs, and she argued for flexible "rules" that would not exclude anyone solely on arbitrary academic grounds.

But it is not this area of expertise in her role as an adult education programmer that won her professional acclaim; rather, it is recognition of her contributions to community development in the Lake Cowichan area, as well as her demonstrated commitment to principles affirming social activism that resulted in her being called upon by community members, colleagues, and ministry officials as a knowledgeable and practical resource in community development.

Clode professed a life-long interest in people; particularly, she was influenced by her participation in the growing trend to self-awareness courses during the 1960's. Her childhood, her earlier

experiences as a psychiatric nurse and her on-going involvement with community mental health organizations all were foundations for Clode's interest in social psychology, and perhaps pre-disposed her to participate in those self-awareness activities. In turn, those activities added to her skills and techniques for successfully working with groups, prime requisites for a community development worker, according to Roberts. And, although there is nothing in those interests that in themselves could do more than imply a democratic value system, there were repeated examples of her consultative style in working with community groups, and a complete absence of authoritarianism in any of her "expert" roles.

While Roberts and others have differentiated between the observable action of community development and un-observable individual learning, Roberts' model of community development (p. 36) is closely akin to individual learning in the cognitive model (pp. 71-74) he describes. The arbitrary distinction between action and learning does not admit that, in acquiring learning, of whatever type, there is a change and it is this change which may, or may not, be observable. In community development, there may be a long period in which unobserved, undetected change takes place, and it may be only as the result of a particular configuration of circumstance that this change is observed, described as action. For example, in recent years there has been a community of interest developing around environmental issues. But, there has been a very long period during which individual learning and collective efforts were relatively unknown and unobserved, and it is relatively recently that the cumulative effect of those individuals'

interests have become defined as a recognizable community of interests which in turn continue to be developed in relation to broader societal interests.

Brookfield has noted that, in general, adult educators have "chosen to talk of communities of interest. . .or communities of function"(Brookfield,1983, p.63) but he prefers a "locational" or "neighbourhood basis" of adult learning. (p.65) However, he points out that one of the roles of both community worker and community adult educator may be to initiate a sense of community. That this role is relevant to both those differentiated roles reflects "the plurality of practice and conceptual ambiguity which falls under the rubric of community education". (p.66) It is precisely this ambiguity that this writer suggests is a key concept in the relationship of adult education to community development. And, as outlined above, Clode moved in and out of various roles facilitating that spectrum, or continuum, between learning and action in the community.

Brookfield goes on to develop a typology , conceptualized as a continuum ranging between "liberal" and "liberating" approaches to community education (Chapter 4, above). The traditional liberal model of community education is essentially institutionally based, (rather than authentically community based) and assumes that community education can satisfy "needs of all members of a community at any one time"(p. 67); that is, there is an underlying assumption of the potential for consensus in an "organic, harmonious" community. Consequently, conflicting interests are not realistically considered in those utopian goals.

In contrast, the "liberating" model of community education:

. . .Emphasizes the in-equalities in terms of income, access to educational opportunity, and political power. Instead of acknowledging the existence of cohesive and harmonious elements in a community, writers in this tradition choose to concentrate on differences and disparities. Education, including adult education, comes to serve as a compensatory or readjustment mechanism concerned to promote the collective well-being of an identified disadvantaged or disenfranchised group. The community adult educator is seen as being forced to ignore the needs of one sector (for example, landlords) in order to serve the needs of another (for example, tenants' associations) Another feature of this school of theorists is the absence of clearly immutable distinctions drawn by such writers between education, development and action. Education becomes a political act and development and action are held to be interwoven and part of a broad movement to attain social justice. Thus, as a community adult educator identified with these views declares, "in the most important sense success will depend on the extent to which adult education

contributes to the process of social change" (Lovett 1971, p.13) (p.68-69)

Clearly, Clode would fit this view of an adult educator's role in relation to community development and social change. Clode has indicated her awareness that her activities may at times have been viewed by some to be subversive. Even if her role were strictly limited to merely facilitating others' actions in attaining the goals of specific interest groups, it would be irresponsible to suggest that this was ultimately unconnected to the actions resulting from her facilitation.

It has been pointed out that Clode also took on what might be considered the traditional, consensual approach to community education and development. Clague saw Clode's "bridge-building" as an outstanding skill; nevertheless, Clode was keenly aware that when people began to benefit from accessing resources for identified needs, there would inevitably be some costs to other parts of the community, or social system. Another aspect of Clode's work that seems to reflect a more traditional, liberal approach to community education and development is suggested in the account of an upholstery course for a local native band. For some, the "hidden agenda" relating to needs initially identified by outsiders may be viewed as patronizing. Brookfield, however, declares that it is "normal and inevitable" "for an adult educator to make moral or ethical judgements about what should be taught and what kind of society should be encouraged." Further, he suggests that the adult educator as an animatueur should promote "awareness of community deficiencies," as well as develop "the skills and knowledge necessary [for community members] to take action," (p. 84).

Faris shared Clode's view of the affinity of adult education with community development. More recently, he stated, "It is no coincidence that learning is an integral part of an effective social movement," (Faris, 1988). It is clear from earlier discussion (Chapter 3, above) that Faris' leadership was aimed at moving adult and continuing education in this province from marginality toward an integrated system for life-long learning. Unfortunately, there was limited support from the rest of the ministry for those goals.

The overall propensity in B.C. has been toward adult education programming that is market driven. Not unlike Alberta, the dominant social philosophy of B.C. politics has emphasized individualistic personal advancement in the "broad purposes of adult education," (Roberts, 1982, p. 61). It is, therefore, somewhat ironic that it has been largely due to the efforts of individuals like Clode and Faris that collectivist, social democratic goals have been promoted in B.C. adult education programming. Unfortunately, the achievements of such persons are ultimately vulnerable to the dominant power structure. The significant losses at all levels of education service in B.C. during recent years attest to the difficulty of maintaining programmes that are measured in terms of human potential rather than monetary expenditure.

Selman (1988, p. 157) has referred to the need for adult educators to develop "political clout" by aligning more closely with "those forces and social movements in our society which do command the loyalty " of supporters. In doing so, there will be again a personal bias or value judgement in each of those personal choices regarding political alignment. We can only hope to emulate those visionary individuals who,

like Clode, recognize that the achievement of social justice depends, paradoxically, on the potential inherent in collective means.

APPENDIX A: SAMPLE QUESTIONS

Asked of Dorothy Clode:

- please describe events that led to you becoming the director of Adult and Continuing Education
- how would you describe your philosophy relating to adult education?
- have your views about the role of an adult educator in relation to social change altered during your career?
- what is the appropriate role of an adult educator in terms of community development?
- is the role of an educator restricted to consultation, or is active participation in advocacy activities appropriate?

Asked of Colleagues and Professional Associates:

- how would you describe the major contributions of Clode to the field of adult education?
- how would you describe, characterize Clode's role in the leadership of the BCACEA (NWAEA, Consortium; in the community of Lake Cowichan?)

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Interviews

Bowcott, Ron. (June 23, 1988). Personal communication.

Ron Bowcott was former Director of Continuing Education; he was also a member of the NWAEA until his retirement in the early 1970s.

Clague, Michael. (July 11, 1988). Interviewed.

Michael Clague was Executive Director of the Britannia Community Services Centre in Vancouver's East Side from 1974 until 1978. He was hired as a consultant to the provincial Consortium on Economic Dislocation in 1982. From 1985 until the present, Clague has been Executive Director of the Social Planning and Research Council of British Columbia.

Coulson, George (Al). (June 28, 1988). Interviewed.

Along with Clode, Al Coulson was one of the members of the 1976 Faris committee on Continuing and Community Education in British Columbia. At that time he was head of Community Education Services for the Vancouver School District. He is presently a trustee for the New Westminster School Board.

Day, William (Bill). (July 12, 1988). Interviewed.

Bill Day was Director of Adult and Continuing Education for School District #42 (Maple Ridge) from 1958 to 1963 and in Surrey School District from 1963 to 1970. In 1975, he became Dean of Continuing Education at Douglas College; he has been President of that institution from 1981 until the present.

Faris, Ron. (July 10, 1988). Personal communication.

Dr. Ron Faris was originally hired as a consultant to the Ministry of Education in 1973. He became Executive Director of Continuing Education in the post-secondary department of the Ministry of Education in 1974. Since 1987, Dr. Faris has been Head of the National Literacy Secretariat for the Secretary of State in Ottawa.

Hambrook, Gordon. (June 22, 1988). Interviewed.

Gordon Hambrook was Director of Adult and Continuing Education for New Westminster School District for over twenty years until his retirement in 1986.

Kulich, Jindra. (June 24, 1988). Interviewed.

From 1961 to 1964, Jindra Kulich was Director of Adult and Continuing Education for School District #70 in Port Alberni. Since 1976, he has been the Director of Continuing Education for the University of British Columbia.

McGown, William (Bill). (June 21, 1988). Interviewed.

Bill McGown was Director of Adult and Continuing Education for North and West Vancouver School Districts from 1966 until his retirement in 1983.

Rubidge, Nick. (June 24, 1988). Interviewed.

Nick Rubidge was formerly Director of Continuing Education in the post-secondary department of the Ministry of Education. At the time of the interview, he was Manager of the Ministry's International Education division.