AN EXAMINATION OF THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
AS DISCERNED THROUGH SELECTED LITERATURE IN THE
ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN CANADA AND
THE UNITED STATES, 1919-1960

by

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We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

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April 1983
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ABSTRACT

This study examines the origins and the evolution of the community development concept in the Canadian and American adult education movement as discerned through selected literature in the period 1919-60. The concept is defined as the combination of adult learning and social action aiming to educate the citizens for collective co-operative enterprises in local control of local affairs. The study was undertaken in order to explain a fundamental concept in the movement.

The historical method of investigation is employed. The community development concept in the adult education movement is identified, described, and analysed chronologically, and the main areas of thought and debate that produced the concept are explained thematically. The evidence used in this study was obtained from a systematic study of the adult education literature relying in large part on Canadian and American adult education journals. This was a single archive study in that all sources used are housed in University of British Columbia libraries. Another limitation was the total reliance on the written word.

It was learned that the origins of the concept lie in the early years of the movement when adult educators searched for a guide for general social improvement in Canada and the United States. The concept was a product of four themes or subjects of thought--adult education for social improvement, the nature of community, the value of socio-economic co-operation, and the relationship between education and social action.

The concept evolved from a general notion in the thirties into a specific method of adult education in the late fifties. It was a recurring
theme because many adult educators perceived voluntary co-operative action as the democratic way to get people involved in participating in social change processes during the rapid and broad socio-economic changes that typified the period under review. The concept was controversial particularly in the thirties and in the fifties. An emphasis on the collective versus the individual and a stress on the active involvement in social change versus the neutrality in social change created incompatible divisions in the movement.

This study concludes that the issues associated with the community development concept in the adult education movement will recur because the values involved are fundamental in the search for an improved quality of life through adult education.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The body of the study contains some abbreviations for frequently cited organizations. The first time that the organization is cited it is immediately followed by an abbreviation that is used subsequently.

The following abbreviations are used to signify journals, organizations, and institutions cited in the footnotes and in the body of the study.

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<td>Adult Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AEA</td>
<td>Adult Education Association of the United States of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>AEJ</td>
<td>Adult Education Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>Adult Leadership</td>
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<td>ALg</td>
<td>Adult Learning</td>
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<tr>
<td>AAEE</td>
<td>American Association for Adult Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAAE</td>
<td>Canadian Association for Adult Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSLEA</td>
<td>Centre for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults</td>
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<td>CDR</td>
<td>Community Development Review</td>
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<tr>
<td>FFT</td>
<td>Food For Thought</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAE</td>
<td>Journal of Adult Education</td>
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<td>WAAE</td>
<td>World Association for Adult Education</td>
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<td>Workers' Educational Association</td>
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The community development concept in the adult education movement in Canada and the United States implies a combination of adult learning and social action aiming to educate citizens for collective co-operative enterprises in local control of local affairs. The concept is a fundamental part of adult education and embodies the social improvement goal of the movement. Adult educators have aimed to better society by advocating collective co-operative action involving citizens directly in all aspects of local life. They have been primarily interested in the educational processes needed to make such action efficient and effective. That interest was personified in the community development concept.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to identify, describe, and analyse the community development concept in the adult education movement chronologically, and to explain thematically the main areas of thought and debate from which the concept evolved. The study is intended to answer three questions--

1. How did the community development concept evolve in adult education?
2. Why has the concept been a recurring theme in the adult education movement?
3. To what extent and in what ways have different views of the community development concept held by adult educators been reconciled?

Answers to these questions may explain one dimension of the adult education movement by tracing the origins of a fundamental concept in the movement. That explanation provides a link with the past by identifying the
community development concept as an area of adult educations' interest from the beginning of the movement. The link gives adult educators evidence of their predecessors' contributions. In this way the knowledge base of present adult educators is enlarged thereby providing them with more information about the present and a broader experience with which to plan for the future.

The Problem

Much of the rich past of the adult education movement has not been interpreted historically to help adult educators to find their professional and philosophical origins. Themes in the movement have not been studied in the sense of explaining the origins and evolution of an idea over time and place in light of the climate of opinion in the movement and in society in general. The closest approximation is Malcolm S. Knowles' History of the Adult Education Movement in the United States which is of particular use for the identification and description of the many and varied aspects of the field of adult education that evolved into institutions and organizations. It did not claim to be a thematic analysis of the movement.

In 1938, Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, assistant professor of education at Columbia University Teachers College, commented on the absence of adult education history and predicted that the movement would be handicapped if the historical background was unknown. He wrote that:

Some adult education leaders evidently think there is nothing to be learned from the past....If adult educators wish to build on substantial foundations, if they wish to capitalize gains and to avoid mistakes, if they wish to understand the modifications that must be made in adult education to fit into the framework of a changed and changing society, if they wish to concentrate experimentation in untried areas without repeating failures of the past, then this attitude has no place in adult education today.2


There has been little response to Hallenbeck's appeal.

In 1964, Coolie Verner, professor of adult education at the University of British Columbia, identified shortcomings in the adult education movement and field of study that he attributed to the absence of historical research. He suggested that:

At the moment, adult education here is so preoccupied with day-to-day tasks that it has not established sufficient identification with its past, and thus has no affection for the literature which it has produced. Such disregard of its own materials infects others so that neither literary scholarship nor the book trade consider the early publications on adult education to be of value.3

In Verner's estimation, one consequence of the apparent disinterest in history was the

...persistent recurrence of the same problems generation after generation. In effect, each generation of adult educators begins anew so that the field becomes repetitive and circular rather than lineal and developmental.4

He thought that graduate professional education in adult education was impaired by the absence of historical consciousness. In 1978, he wrote that:

"Too little history on the use of earlier writing is introduced so that students are historical illiterates even though history is directly relevant to the present."5 It appeared that little progress had been made in the forty years spanning the statements of Verner and Hallenbeck.

Historical research has not attracted many adult education scholars. A symposium at the Adult Education Research Conference in 1978 noted the neglect of the history of the adult education movement in Canada and the United States. There has not been enough interest in the Adult Education Association of the United States of America (AEA) to warrant a special interest

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4 Ibid. p. 256.

section on history and historiography such as exists in the American Educational Research Association. The eight volume 1980-1 Handbook series of the AEA did not contain one essay on history.6 The absence of historical research in adult education is striking in light of the claim of Knowles that the roots of American adult education lie in colonial times and J. R. (Roby) Kidd's suggestion that adult education in Canada began in the early seventeenth century.7

Although there are no thematic histories of adult education that cover Canada and the United States, there are numerous monographs about various institutions and local history. For example, Alexander F. Laidlaw sketched a history of the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia with particular emphasis on the contribution of universities to adult education, and Joseph E. Gould wrote a brief description of the Chautauqua Movement.8 Norfleet Hardy's history of adult education in South Carolina is the best example of local history, wherein adult education is examined in the context of the social system of the state as it evolved from the latter part of the seventeenth century through the fifties.9 Historical essays appear occasionally in adult education journals. Robert A. Carlson analysed the Americanization campaign of 1875-1925 in the United States and Harold W. Stubblefield sketched the


9 Norfleet Hardy, Farm, Mill, and Classroom: A History of Tax Supported Adult Education in South Carolina to 1960 (Columbia, South Carolina: College of General Studies, University of South Carolina, 1967).
role of adult education in citizen training after World War II in the same country.\textsuperscript{10} No histories have incorporated these surveys into an interpretive whole.

Webster E. Cotton provided a useful though threadbare division of adult education in the United States into three periods.\textsuperscript{11} He suggested that the first period from 1919 to 1929 had been typified by an idealistic tradition that included the view that adult education was an instrument of social reform. In the second period, from 1930 to 1946, he viewed the idealistic tradition as beginning to fade in the face of the strains of depression and war, and while adult education was beginning to be institutionalized and professionalized. The third period from 1947 to 1964 he characterized as a time when professional adult educators dominated the movement and endeavoured to establish adult education as a distinct profession, and to make operational the goals clarified during the fifties. Cotton made no reference to social reform apart from the twenties and the thirties.

The idea of a social reform tradition was taken up by Ronald L. Faris in a study of adult education in Canada from 1919 to 1952.\textsuperscript{12} He showed that the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) under the directorship of E. A. (Ned) Corbett had included a vocal minority of members who wanted the Association to become an agent for social change. Faris concluded his study by stating that the social reform element had left the CAAE by 1950 and he gave no indication whether it returned subsequently.


\textsuperscript{11}Webster E. Cotton, \textit{On Behalf of Adult Education: A Historical Examination of the Supporting Literature} (Boston: CSLEA, 1968), pp. 3-12.

None of those monographs was intended to trace the origins of concepts in adult education in a manner adopted in this study. Moreover, none was concerned about analysing the continuity or discontinuity in thought between Canadian and American adult educators, between one generation and another, or between institutions and organizations. In the absence of recorded interpretation, common threads in adult education that span time and place may be lost to present adult educators. For example, if one were to rely on Cotton's observation that social reform in adult education had faded after the thirties and to rely on Faris' observation that the social reform element had left the CAAE by 1950, one might conclude that social reform had been, but was no longer, a concern in adult education. However, as this study shows, the community development concept represented the main social improvement idea of adult educators during the first four decades of the movement. Adult education for social improvement implied social reform.

Verner's notion that the field of adult education may be repetitive and circular rather than lineal and developmental because of the absence of historical research can be illustrated by a study of the community development concept in the adult education movement. Similar questions and answers about major issues within the concept seem to have appeared regularly with no indication of their roots. The concept may have been treated as a new phenomenon each time it appeared in the literature.

An awareness of the fact that the community development concept exists in the adult education literature and has existed since the early years of the movement helps to solve the continuing problem of ambiguous terminology in adult education by showing that whatever the term, the concept was the same. In 1980, Robert D. Boyd and Jerold W. Apps, professors in the department of continuing and vocational education at the University of Wisconsin, introduced a section in their book on the community transactional mode by noting that
the term community transactional mode was used synonymously with the terms community development, community problem solving, community learning, community analysis, community decision making, community education, social change, community action, resource development, and community organizing. They observed that:

The problem of ambiguous terminology is not new to adult educators. But clearly we need to develop terms that respect the differences between educational intentions and efforts at social change. Such a distinction will allow us to study the relationships between education and social change.

It is suggested here that rather than new terms, what might be more useful is a recognition of the presence of one concept that incorporates a variety of terms.

**Scope**

The adult education movement is studied here in the Canadian and American context. The movement in Canada and in the United States is treated as one since the influences between the two are frequent and complementary. The free and easy movement by adult educators between the countries, their contributions to the literature published in both, and their readiness to draw on examples from each other's experience to support their arguments make a distinction between Canadian and American movements unsuitable for this study.

The community development concept and the adult education movement transcend

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14 Ibid.

15 The suggestion that some intellectual developments in Canada and the United States were complementary has been made elsewhere. Neil Sutherland, Professor of Education at the University of British Columbia, suggested that there was a "transnational" Canadian-American professional community in the fields of education, public health, and social welfare during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Forming the Twentieth-Century Consensus (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 234-5.
political boundaries. Differences between the two countries and within
sections in each are a matter of variance of practice in the field of adult
education. In this study of the adult education movement that variance
is not a primary concern.

The philosophical underpinnings of the community development concept
are much the same throughout Canada and the United States with one exception.
One-third of all Canadians are French-speaking, and influenced by French
culture and by developments in Quebec they have conceived of animation sociale
as a notion similar to the community development concept. Two commentators
about animation sociale have suggested that it is unique to Quebec. In 1970,
Pierre Gelineau, noted as a member of the Institut de Formation Sociale in
Sherbrooke, Quebec, wrote that: "Little has been written or said in English
on animation, although much literature exists on community development." He added that: "Social Animation has come into existence mainly since the
post-war and reconstruction years in France." Gelineau looked to experiences
in France for inspiration rather than to community development in the rest of
Canada and in the United States. In 1971, Michel Blondin, who had written
extensively on animation sociale and was working at the time in Latin America,
noted that "there is very little animation sociale outside Quebec."

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16 For example, agricultural extension is organized differently in
Canada and in the United States. The Co-operative Extension Service in
the United States is a national system of adult education in that activities
between the United States Department of Agriculture, the states, and the
universities are co-ordinated. Agricultural extension in Canada varies from
province to province and there is no formal co-operative arrangements
between them, or between them and the federal government.


18 Ibid.

19 Michel Blondin, "Animation Sociale," in Citizen Participation: Canada,
According to Blondin and Gelineau, *animation sociale* is uniquely French and a product of Quebec. No attempt has been made in this study to compare *animation sociale* and community development or to determine the validity of Blondin's and Gelineau's statements.

The time covered is from 1919 to 1960. Many adult educators past and present have taken the 1919 Report of the British Ministry of Reconstruction's Adult Education Committee as the starting point of the adult education movement. Indeed, the authors of the Report said that it was a beginning. They suggested that adult education had been reborn at the beginning of the twentieth century and was a movement by 1919. They wrote that:

The environment, intellectual, social, and political, is far more favourable to all kinds of educational endeavour than it was fifty, or even thirty, years ago. The consequence has been that adult education, though its origins can be traced back, has undergone in the last fifteen years something like a re-birth....Sporadic efforts have become a movement. 20

The authors identified some of those sporadic efforts in nineteenth and early twentieth century in Britain as the early Adult Schools, the Co-operative Movement, Chartism, the Mechanics' Institutes, and the University Extension Movement. 21 In addition, they noted the educational activity of the Y's, the settlement movement, and the many womens' organizations. 22 Those efforts plus the large scale educational work among the soldiers of the Great War indicated the scale and diversity of adult education activities.

The authors of the Report viewed the movement as an international phenomenon. In addition to the detailed survey of adult education in Britain, they noted adult education work elsewhere in Europe, in the Dominions, and in the United States. The international nature of the adult education movement was verified by the establishment of the World Association for Adult

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21 Ibid. 22 Ibid., pp. 38-41.
Education (WAAE) in 1919.

The 1919 Report articulated a concern for social reform and social justice. In a recent comment on the Report, Harold Wiltshire, emeritus professor of adult education at the University of Nottingham, suggested that "remedial education in a wider sense—the remedying not just of an educational but a total social and economic disadvantage—is its major concern." The Report reflected a wide-spread belief in Britain and abroad that the world's problems that had caused the Great War had to be solved. It was hoped that the massive cost of the war would be justified in part by general social reform. In that spirit, the authors of the Report pleaded their case.

The hopes for social reform captured in the Report and that personified the general climate of opinion in the immediate post-war months were short-lived. The Report was published in November 1919, and "missed the critically important tide of post-war euphoria." The British economy slipped into a series of crises starting in 1920 and the innovative recommendations in the Report had little chance of being implemented. Moreover, according to Wiltshire: "The Ministry of Reconstruction, whose interest in educational matters had never been welcomed by the Board of Education, was dismantled even before the Report was published, and the Board of Education sought neither to keep the Ministry's Adult Education Committee in being nor clearly to associate itself with that Committee's recommendations."

The Report did not have an immediate impact in Britain or elsewhere.

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25 Wiltshire, p. 22.
According to Bernard Jennings, professor of adult education at the University of Hull, in an essay on the reception of the Report, the Report was cited a few times in the early twenties and then disappeared from the literature until the fifties.\(^{26}\) He concluded that it became "an instant classic without ever becoming news."\(^{27}\) To some extent then, the significance of the Report has been determined retrospectively.

There was renewed interest in the Report in the fifties. Its significance was shown when an abridged version was published under the auspices of the Canadian, American, and British adult education associations in 1956. R. D. Waller, professor of adult education at the University of Manchester, credited Canadian and American energy and enthusiasm to the revival of interest in the Report. In so doing, he observed in an analytical introduction to the 1956 edition, "the new world herewith giving back to adult education in the old world its most celebrated foundation document."\(^{28}\) Waller held the Report in high regard. He stated that:

> This great report has no parallel and now never can have, adult education having become so extensive and many sided. Its outstanding quality is comprehensiveness in conception and execution; it is a work on the grand scale, a history, survey and philosophy of adult education. It is certainly the most notable and useful monument in our adult education literature.\(^{29}\)

In 1968, Webster Cotton, a member of the department of social sciences in university extension at the University of California at Los Angeles, suggested that the Report "not only introduced a new concept of adult education but also


\(^{27}\) Ibid., p. 44.


\(^{29}\) Ibid., p. 22.
a new era in adult education—the era of modern adult education." In his estimation: "For the first time it was authoritatively and articulately stated that adult education is a permanent national necessity and therefore should be both universal and lifelong." No other event has been singled out as the seminal moment in the adult education movement in Canada and the United States. The significance of the Report was indicated most recently by a reprint edition published in 1980.

For the purpose of this study the emphasis of the Report on social reform makes it a useful point from which to commence the search for the community development concept in the adult education movement. The community development concept as herein defined represents the social improvement goal of the movement, a goal articulated in the Report. It may have been the earliest treatise in English on adult education that suggested social improvement as a broad goal for the many and varied dimensions of the movement. Of course, by starting the study in 1919, the rich background from which the movement grew has not been covered.

The year 1960 is taken to be the terminal date for this study. The community development concept was articulated as an adult education process in the fifties and was embodied in the term community development. The term appeared in major publications of the AEA in 1960 and the CAAE in 1963. The 1960 Handbook of Adult Education in the United States contained many references to the community development concept in addition to a chapter on community development.

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30 Cotton, p. 1. 31 Ibid.

32 The 1919 Report.

33 Below, p. 272.

in 1963, observed that: "We have now entered an era of 'community development.'" Elsewhere, community development figured prominently in An Overview of Adult Education Research, an analysis of research in non-vocational adult education published in 1959. In the same year, Verner presented his conceptual scheme of adult education processes to the Commission of the Professors of Adult Education, an affiliated organization of the AEA, wherein community development was portrayed as an adult education method. Clearly, the community development concept had been incorporated into the adult education literature by 1960.

The year 1960 is a point of demarcation in another respect. It separates the experimental and small scale community development activities of the forties and the fifties from the large scale community development programs of the sixties and the seventies. Vast amounts of money were spent in Canada and in the United States in the sixties and the seventies on a wide range of community development projects that aimed to alleviate poverty and inequality. The magnitude of those projects and the role of adult educators in them warrants a study of its own.

**Definition of Terms**

The basic terms used in this study require definition precise enough to guide the reader and abstract enough to be free of the constraints of time and place. Definition is problematic because adult education and community development, both multidisciplinary and multifarious areas of study and


practice, were emerging rather than established fields in the period under review. Nevertheless, it is assumed that contributors to the literature meant much the same thing when addressing basic concepts despite their imprecise terminology. The following definitions are fundamental assumptions forming the boundary of the inquiry and are the responsibility of the author.

**Adult education** is defined as the study and practice of the processes that assist adults to learn. The distinction between study and practice serves to differentiate two areas of activity. The **adult education field of study** is a distinct area of research and training in which people are concerned with building a body of knowledge about the practice of adult education and in diffusing that knowledge to practitioners. The **field of adult education** is a distinct area of social practice in which the processes that assist adults to learn operate within a particular socio-economic and cultural environment that may be separated politically by national, state, and provincial boundaries, or institutionally by university, union, and religious organizations.

The **adult education movement** is defined as a social philosophy that permeates societies with the notion that learning is a lifelong process that must be facilitated by social institutions through provision of opportunities for all adults to continue their education throughout life to the end of

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38 There are numerous definitions of adult education. The authors of a major UNESCO publication, after surveying education developments throughout the world, noted that "there are many possible definitions of adult education." Edgar Faure et al., *Learning To Be: The World of Education Today and Tommorrow* (Paris: UNESCO, 1972), p. 205. The authors, representing several countries, left the term undefined.

enhancing individual self-actualization and developing a better social order. Provision of educational opportunities throughout life is the means to the ends of individual and social improvement, the criteria of which vary according to time and place. The dual goals of the movement were first articulated in the 1919 Report wherein the purposes of adult education were said to be personal development and social service.\(^\text{39}\)

There are many references in the adult education literature to the adult education movement as a social movement but the nature of the phenomenon is never explained.\(^\text{40}\) For example, Knowles' history of the movement did not make clear whether the movement was of a social, political, or philosophical variety, or none of these. The movement has been described as a point of view that affects social movements and institutions. Two adult educators wrote in 1941 that: "Adult education, in short, is not so much a separate movement carried on by specific institutions as a point of view which

\(^{39}\)Final Report, p. 168. The Report stated that: "Adult education aims at satisfying the needs of the individual and at the attainment of new standards of citizenship and a better social order." Ibid.

\(^{40}\)The nature of social movements has been studied by a number of scholars. Samuel D. Clark, professor of sociology at the University of Toronto and an historical sociologist, designed a theoretical model of social movements that explained their rise and careers. See Samuel D. Clark, "General Introduction," in Prophecy and Protest: Social Movements in Twentieth-Century Canada, ed. Samuel D. Clark, J. Paul Grayson, and Linda M. Grayson (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing, 1974), p. 5ff. He suggested that social movements usually lasted only for a few years since changing conditions rendered the movement's rationale redundant after a time. Accordingly, if the adult education movement is perceived to have lasted many years it would not fit Clark's criteria of a social movement. Other scholars have suggested that social movements can exist over time and may be timeless in nature. For example, Roland L. Warren, professor of community theory at Brandeis University, suggested that social movements existed independent of time constraints. See Roland L. Warren, Social Change and Human Purpose: Toward Understanding and Action (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1977), pp. 273-4. Since time is a major factor in historiography, Clark's perception of social movements may be more useful to the historian than Warren's.
is beginning to permeate institutions and practices."\(^{41}\) The same notion was advanced by Nicholas P. Mitchell, dean of the College of General Studies at the University of South Carolina, who wrote in 1967 that:

The neglect of adult education as an important segment of history stems from its nature. Although it is not a social institution, it permeates every institution as a marginal function and activity. It is not a social movement yet it is a part of every movement, and indeed is often the principal force which makes a social movement move. It is not a significant event because it permeates the whole structure of society and its significance in history is obscured by the events it produces.\(^{42}\)

That notion reflects well the amorphous nature of the adult education movement and yet emphasizes the significance of the movement as a constructive influence on social movements. Therefore, for the purpose of this study the adult education movement is regarded as a social philosophy -- as a point of view that permeates all of society.

One part of the social service dimension in the adult education movement has been an aim to improve society through advocacy of collective co-operative enterprises in local control of local affairs. Adult educators have been primarily interested in the educational processes needed to make those enterprises efficient and effective. That interest was captured in the community development concept, which may be defined as the combination of adult learning and social action aiming to educate citizens for collective co-operative enterprises in local control of local affairs. That concept was adult education's contribution to the field of community development.

**Community development** is defined as the study and practice of the processes of collective co-operative management of local change in which broad participation characterizes planning, organizing, and decision making for the purpose of extending and broadening local control of local affairs. This


\(^{42}\)Nicholas P. Mitchell, *Introduction to Hardy*, p. ix.
definition has been gleaned from the many and varied definitions of community development from several fields of study. Since the fifties, community development has become recognized as the legitimate concern of specialists in social work, sociology, agricultural extension, the health sciences, anthropology, and urban planning—to name only a few. Moreover, community development has been an international activity and a major concern in the United Nations. As a result, definitions and perceptions of community development have varied widely.

One frequent contributor to the community development literature has been Irwin T. Sanders who was a sociologist and an early theorist of community development. He believed that community development had evolved far enough in 1957 to permit a statement about "theories of community development." He suggested that community development could be viewed in four ways: as a process through which communities change; as a method that directs the process to a particular end; as a program that adds specific content to the method; and, as a social movement or a crusade to stress and promote the "idea" of community development. As a movement, he noted that:

It is more than a mere program, important as programs are, but is rather a special kind of program that holds unusual promise and one worthy of unabashed commitment by those who want to see rural revolutions take place in underdeveloped countries or who want to see poverty and illness alleviated among the great masses of underprivileged humanity.

Sanders viewed community development as a reform movement rather than as a revolutionary movement according to the distinction made by Herbert Blumer in 1951. Blumer, a sociologist and a pioneer in the systematic study of the nature of social movements, regarded a reform movement as seeking to change some specific phase or limited area of the social order while accepting

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44 Ibid., pp. 30-2.
45 Ibid., pp. 32.
the basic tenets of that social order. The primary function of a reform movement is "probably not so much the bringing about of social change, as it is to reaffirm the ideal values of a given society," Blumer concluded. His notions about reform movements were reflected in the perception of the community development movement advanced by Sanders.

Sanders's interpretation of community development as a social movement was unchanged in 1970. For the purpose of this study his perception of community development as a social movement commencing in the mid-fifties and continuing through the sixties is assumed to be valid. Therefore, in addition to being a field of study and practice, community development may also be viewed as a social movement. It is further assumed that the movement that Sanders envisaged was a reform movement based on the criteria suggested by Blumer. Sanders's interpretation has not been refuted in the community development literature or in the adult education literature on community where he is often cited. Therefore, the community development movement may be defined as a social reform movement committed to decentralization of socio-economic and political power in order to produce local control of local affairs.

**Procedure**

The historical method of investigation has been employed. The study is a biography of the community development concept in the adult education movement and falls within the intellectual history branch of historiography. It analyses key concepts that were the distinctive intellectual features in the views of many adult educators who contributed to the community

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47 Ibid., p. 213.

The study examines the community development concept in the socio-economic and political environment in Canada and the United States, and to the climate of opinion in the adult education movement. The approach tends to be abstract rather than concrete. It is concerned with generalities and principles rather than particulars. Emphasis is placed on and limited to what has been said about the concept rather than on the direct study of the practice of community development. Furthermore, emphasis is placed on and limited to what has been said about the adult education field and movement rather than on a description of institutional and organizational developments.

Historians rely on two forms of criticism—external criticism that addresses the problem of authenticity and internal criticism that addresses the problem of credibility. External criticism has not been a major factor in this study since the articles and books that have been examined are what they purport to be. Internal criticism of the evidence has been directed mainly to selecting what appeared to be a consensus in the literature with regard to the community development concept. The literature was surveyed with an eye to the frequency of the concept and to how representative it was in relation to other concerns. This was done to determine one intellectual feature of adult educators as a group. The ideas presented in the literature and incorporated into this study have been treated equally in the sense that

49 According to Felix Gilbert, there are various methods in intellectual history. He wrote in 1971 that:

In many respects the methods available for the analysis of the evaluation of the mind of an individual and for the establishment of the distinctive intellectual features of a group are the same. But there are also methods particularly appropriate to the one or the other. If the genetic method is especially suited for a biographical study, a chief requirement in the discussion of intellectual development and trends is the analysis of key concepts.

there has been no overt evaluation of those ideas by analysing their origins and evolution in each individual. Individual competency has not been addressed systematically.

Research Process

There were two parts to the research process—search and re-search. The purpose of the search phase was to describe the subject under investigation and the purpose of the second phase was to analyse and explain the subject thematically. The search phase dominated the early part of the process and the re-search phase was prevalent in the latter part although at times the phases occurred simultaneously.

The research process commenced with a survey of the national and international literature on community development housed at the University of British Columbia in order to acquire an acquaintance with the many approaches to the subject. Community development had been identified as a field of study and practice in the late forties according to Sanders, and the literature survey began there. At the same time adult education journals

50 International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968, s.v. "Community Development," by Irwin T. Sanders. The first large scale organized program in community development evolved from British plans to withdraw from their colonies. In 1948, the Cambridge Conference on African Administration described community development as

...a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community, with the active participation of and, if possible, on the initiative of, the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure active and enthusiastic response to the movement. Mass Education embraces all forms of betterment. "Editorial Note," Mass Education Bulletin (December 1949):2.

The emphasis on community development resulted in the establishment of the Mass Education Clearing House at the University of London's Institute of Education where the Mass Education Bulletin commenced publication in December 1949. The title of the journal was changed to the Community Development Bulletin in June 1951 and the title of the Clearing House changed to the Community Development Clearing House in 1952. According to an editorial note:

This change of name implies neither a change of policy nor a change in subject-matter. It merely brings the name of the Bulletin into line with present day terminology. When in 1944 the Colonial Office Advisory
were included in the survey in order to determine when community development appeared in the adult education literature. The survey was the first part of the search phase. A broad familiarity was obtained of community development projects and principles recorded by social scientists in general and adult educators in particular. The community development literature was substantial by 1964 when the first volume of the Community Development Abstracts was published and assumed even larger proportions in 1972 when the second volume was published. However, the Abstracts included few publications by adult educators and ignored many articles related to community development that had been published in adult education journals. Therefore no reliance was placed on the Abstracts.

There has been no attempt to include all of the findings of the first part of the search phase in this study. Contributions to community development from the many fields associated with it and from the many countries that have practiced it warrant separate studies. Therefore, this study can claim only to be a perspective of community development from the point of view of one group of professionals in two countries.

The second part of the search phase, guided by the descriptor community development, was comprised of a systematic examination of the Canadian and American adult education journals and books published in the late forties and in the fifties. The term community development was little used at the beginning of the fifties but appeared regularly at the end of the decade. The term had not appeared in the 1948 Handbook of the American Association Committee issued its report on "Mass education in African society,"...the word community development was certainly not in common use in the British Commonwealth. Now it has come to signify several of the principal ideas suggested by the Mass Education Report and is in widespread use over a large part of the Commonwealth and the United States. Community Development Bulletin 2 (June 1951):41.

for Adult Education (AAAE), the percursor of the 1960 Handbook of the AEA, or in the CAAE's first anthology published in 1950.\textsuperscript{52} The second part of the search phase had two results. First, information was collected about community development from an adult education perspective and an extensive bibliography was compiled. Second, it was evident that the term community development often was used interchangeably with terms such as community organization and community-wide adult education.

The first part of the re-search phase was another examination of the adult education literature guided by the descriptors community development, community, community organization, and community-wide adult education. It seemed that no matter what the terminology, adult educators in Canada and the United States shared a similar concept. Moreover, that concept appeared to be a major factor in the adult education movement. During this part of the re-search phase, a definition of the community development concept was designed to incorporate the various dimensions attributed to community development by adult educators.

The second part of the re-search phase commenced with a bibliography and a definition of the community development concept. The adult education literature of the fifties was re-examined in order to identify the concept and to explain and interpret its meaning. The second part of the re-search phase concluded when it was realized that explanation and interpretation were handicapped by the author's incomplete understanding of the adult education movement prior to the fifties. There were two results of this phase. First, the community development concept was more extensively a subject of inquiry in the literature than had been indicated during the first two parts of the search phase and the first part of the re-search phase that had been guided by various

descriptors. Second, it was clear that the concept in the adult education movement could not be explained without a study of the literature from the beginnings.

The third part of the search and re-search phase were systematic examinations of the adult education literature from its beginnings as a distinct body of knowledge in the twenties through the forties. A conscious effort was made to alternate between reading Canadian and American literature in order to guard against a reliance on the one or the other in the historical analysis.

Sources of Evidence

The adult education literature includes published materials clearly associated with adult education in Canada and the United States in that adult education is the subject of the documents, as well as materials written by adult educators in journals and books primarily concerned with other fields. All the materials used in this study are located at the University of British Columbia.

Adult educators are persons associated with the Canadian and American adult education movement. They are identified through contributions to the adult education literature and through participation in the AAAE formed in 1926, the CAAE in 1935, and the AEA in 1951. Prior to those years they are identified with the assistance of bibliographies in early books about adult education such as Joseph K. Hart's textbook published in 1927, and bibliographies and book reviews in the journals of the adult education associations that began publication in the United States in 1929 and in Canada in 1936. Five single volume handbooks on adult education were published by the American associations from 1936 to 1970 and an eight volume

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handbook series in 1980-1. Three anthologies were published by the Canadian association in 1950, 1963, and 1978. Contributors to the handbooks and anthologies are regarded as adult educators.  

The largest single source of evidence in the form of articles, notes, bibliographies, footnotes, book reviews, conference summaries, and biographical sketches on contributors and prominent educators is in the journals of the AAAE, the AEA, and the CAAE. Journals of the AAAE were published successively from 1929 to 1950 under the titles Journal of Adult Education and Adult Education Journal, and by the AEA under the titles Adult Education since 1951, Adult Leadership from 1952 to 1977, and Lifelong Learning: The Adult Years since 1977. Journals of the CAAE have been published successively since 1936 under the titles Adult Learning, Food For Thought, Continuous Learning, and Learning. Community development journals began publication in the United States in 1956 and contributions from adult educators are included as adult education literature. Also included are books about community development written by adult educators.

Adult educators who have contributed to the community development concept in the adult education literature may know of documents that have not been identified in this study or who could contribute their recollections and impressions to enrich the data base. However, given the wealth of evidence that exists in print, and given the constraints of time and opportunity to meet those contributors, it was decided to forego the process of searching out and contacting those adult educators and to rely solely on documents housed in one library. Therefore, the only procedure employed for collecting evidence was a library search. This reliance on one research procedure is a limitation of the study.

54 A whole range of people undoubtedly exist who might lay claim to being an adult educator but who have been excluded from this study. They include those who have not written in the literature used herein and those who have not written at all.
Historical research in adult education faces a basic limitation. There is neither a central depository housing adult education documents nor is there a published guide to the location of documents. Verner's note in 1964 that adult education "has no affection for the literature which it has produced" emphasized the dilemma. He tried to improve the situation by building a collection himself. The product of his effort, some 3300 items, was transferred to the University of British Columbia Library in 1976. That collection is housed in the Coolie Verner Memorial Reading Room at the university. It plus materials housed elsewhere in the University of British Columbia library system provided all the evidence used in this study. Therefore, this study essentially was a single archives study relying in part on one adult educator's judgment on library acquisitions. Coolie Verner was a major contributor to the adult education literature in the fifties and to the development of adult education as a field of study in the same decade.

This study is concerned with the community development concept in the adult education movement, with a particular idea within a social philosophy. Wherever the idea appears in the literature, the document is a primary source.

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56 Above, p. 3.

57 The collection comprised 605 monographs, 242 bound volumes consisting of 2000 pamphlets, 325 volumes of various government publications, 27 volumes of United States government publications, 12 volumes of reference works, 10 volumes of bibliographies, 192 miscellaneous pamphlets, and 123 issues of periodicals. This information was supplied by the librarian in charge of reading rooms at the University of British Columbia.

58 Coolie Verner's contributions to adult education and to other disciplines are outlined in Gary Dickinson, *Contributions to a Discipline of Adult Education: A Review and Analysis of the Publications of Coolie Verner* (Vancouver: Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1979). Verner was most active in the AEA in the fifties. He established graduate programs in adult education at Florida State University and at the University of British Columbia. He made 172 contributions to the literature of adult education (Ibid., p. 6).
Wherever the ideas of one are interpreted by another, the document is a secondary source for this study. For example, James Truslow Adams's history of adult education based on the twenty-seven volume AAAE social significance series is not used to interpret the series because it is a secondary source in relation to the series. At the same time, Adams's history is a primary source since it is a perspective of adult education at a particular time and place.

Plan

Chapters two through five are arranged chronologically in four periods. They introduce the literature for each period, noting important publications, conferences, and events, with an explanation of how and why the adult education movement developed the way it did during each period. Chapter II covers the formative years of the movement from 1919 to 1929. The origins of the movement and its early years are sketched with particular attention given to adult educators' social consciousness. The early literature is introduced and analysed in order to explain the early goals of the movement.

Chapter III covers the years 1929-41 when Canadian and American adult educators were preoccupied with social improvement in the face of socio-economic depression. Their solutions for the troubled times are examined. The adult education literature grew rapidly in this period largely due to the financial support provided by the Carnegie Corporation. The sizable literature is a rich source of discussion and debate about fundamental issues in the adult education movement. Those issues are introduced and analysed in the context of the times.

Chapter IV covers the period 1942-51 when adult educators were mainly involved in war-time activities, and planning for and implementing programs for post-war reconstruction. Those plans kept the burgeoning social consciousness

59 Below, pp. 135-6.
of adult educators at the forefront of inquiry and discussion. It is shown that out of that consciousness there grew a wide-spread interest in adult education working to restore grass roots democracy in Canada and the United States. The literature continued to grow in these years although there still was little empirical research reported.

Chapter V covers the years 1951-60 when adult educators discussed their role in community development and the place of the community development concept in adult education. The many attempts to articulate the community development concept are examined, as are the controversies that ensued. By 1960, community development had become the subject of commentary in many adult education publications and was clearly established as a part of the adult education movement.

Chapter VI examines the themes that commenced in the twenties and continued through the fifties, from which evolved the community development concept. Four themes are discussed—adult education for social improvement, the nature of community, the value of socio-economic co-operation, and education for social action. Each theme is analysed in order to show how, when, and why it was topical in the literature and how it contributed to the community development concept.

Chapter VII is the concluding chapter. The results of the study are explained by answering the three questions posed above, namely: 1. How did the community development concept evolve in adult education? 2. Why has the concept been a recurring theme in the adult education movement? 3. To what extent and in what ways have different views of the community development concept held by adult educators been reconciled? The significance of the study is indicated by noting the present state of the community development concept in the literature and by analysing the study's contribution to the history of adult education. The limitations of the study are examined in
terms of the methodology and the scope of the investigation. The implications of the study for the adult education field of practice, for the field of study, and for further research are explored.
CHAPTER II

FORMATIVE YEARS OF THE MOVEMENT (1919-29)

Introduction

The adult education movement in Canada and the United States evolved from indigenous variations on an international theme. Initial inspiration came from international interest in adult education centred in Britain after the Great War. Once inspired, Canadians and Americans quickly discovered a vast and varied array of adult education activities at home that had existed for some time or that were emerging.

The movement was inspired by two events in Britain in 1919. First was the publication of the 1919 Report. Second was the formation of the WAAE based in London and stimulated by an international feeling among the founders that the new world that was emerging from the destruction of the old order by calamitous war called for educational innovation and co-operation. The WAAE provided an international forum for the dissemination of information through a series of bulletins commencing in 1919 and through a world conference on adult education in 1929.

As part of the international effort to disseminate information about adult education, C. M. MacInnes, a Canadian resident of Britain who represented Canada in the WAAE, compiled the first description of adult education in Canada published as part of a larger study in 1925.¹ MacInnes underlined the newness of the adult education movement in Canada but noted that several

¹C. M. MacInnes, "Canadian Adult Education in 1925," in Kidd, Learning and Society, pp. 4-21. This is an abridged version of a book edited by MacInnes entitled Adult Education in the British Dominions published in London in 1925.
institutions had been engaged for some time in the education of adults. A similar sense of newness and the discovery of a rich past was reported in the first project to describe adult education throughout the United States. That project was initiated and funded by the Carnegie Corporation commencing in 1924, and the project's first-fruit were published in five books in 1926. Also in 1926, and also initiated by the Corporation's largesse, the AAAE was established as the first national association in Canada or the United States aiming to co-ordinate inquiry into adult education. The Association's formation of a quarterly journal in 1929 initiated a regular outlet for American and occasional Canadian views, research, and information about adult education. By the end of the twenties a new journal, association, and rapidly growing body of knowledge identifiable as adult education literature provided a sense of unity to the numerous adult education activities in Canada and in the United States.

Those events took place during a time of general socio-economic well-being in Canada and the United States. Economic conditions were stable for most people in the twenties and industrial growth continued apace. That growth was directed mainly by individuals and corporations with little government interference. The social milieu encouraged individual free enterprise.

**Beginnings (1919-25)**

The adult education movement in Canada and the United States was initially inspired from abroad in the sense that events in Britain triggered events at home. Once Canadians and Americans knew what to look for and where to find it they discovered adult education in all parts of their countries, in many institutions and organizations, and in several forms. Early adult educators believed that educational innovation was demanded by many changes in the post-war period. In general they viewed their goal to be the provision of
educational opportunities for all adults throughout life, although some emphasized specific sections of society as their priority.

Foreign Influences

The adult education movement was an outcome of the Great War and of events centred in London in the year following its conclusion. In the first sketch of adult education in the United States printed in a bulletin of the WAAE, it was noted that:

Adult education as a conscious national movement, conscious of unique aims and methods and of its own identity distinguishable from other forms of education, is of post-war growth, sprung from the dislocation in minds and habits, and the resulting spirit of inquiry and criticism common to all countries deeply affected by the World War.  

Canadians and Americans were among the representatives of several countries deeply affected by the war who came together at the inaugural meeting of the WAAE in London in March 1919. All representatives were enthusiastic about the need for and the potential of adult education as an educational strategy to revive a shaken world. They had seen earlier versions of the 1919 Report and were inspired by the Report's optimism about the central role of adult education in all forms of future development all over the world. Canadians and Americans pledged their support to the international movement articulated in the Report and championed by the WAAE before they had themselves organized a national movement.

The events of 1919 were cited several times during the twenties as the point of departure for the movement in the United States. Judson T. Jennings, librarian of the Seattle Public Library and president of the American Library Association (ALA) in 1923-4, borrowed excerpts from the first publication of


the WAAE issued in 1919 as his only reference while explaining librarians' interest in adult education to the 1924 annual meeting of the Pacific Northwest Library Association held in Victoria, British Columbia. Also in 1924, Beatrice Winser, assistant librarian of the Newark Public Library, noted the influence of the 1919 Report upon the report of a survey of the role of the library in Newark's industrial scene. Emma Davis, a librarian in the Dayton Public Library, gave a paper before the Ohio Library Association in 1924 about her study of adult education agencies and referred to the Report and its recommendations regarding libraries. Frederick P. Keppel, president of the Carnegie Corporation from 1923 to 1949, singled out the Report in 1926 as the lodestar for adult education in the United States. Likewise, Morse A. Cartwright, director of the AAAE from its inception in 1926 to 1949, noted the importance of the Report in his survey of adult education in the United States published in 1919. He suggested that "increasing recognition of the British movement" was a major reason for American inquiry into adult education in the twenties.

Commentators on the emerging adult education movement in Canada drew on the British experiences as a source of inspiration for local development, although no reference either to the 1919 Report or to the WAAE has been found.

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5 Beatrice Winser, "Results Are Not Easily Measured," Library Journal 49 (November 1924): 931.


9 Ibid.
in the literature searched for this study. It seems likely that Albert Mansbridge would have made the Report's existence known during his 1922 visit to Canada and the United States. Mansbridge was a member of the committee that wrote the Report, was the founder of the worker's Educational Association (WEA) in 1903, and was the first president of the WAAE.

Indeed, it may have been that the rich and varied adult education tradition in Britain was known in Canada and the United States. Perhaps it was known that adult education in various forms had been established in Britain in the eighteenth century. In that century, adult education had been conceived as a way to reduce poverty and to eradicate sin by equipping the poor with minimal skill in literacy so that they could read the bible. Adult schools were established during the early nineteenth century. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of adult education in Britain in modern times was the contribution of the universities.  

British influence in Canada was clear during the twenties. Father James (Jimmy) Tompkins, who provided the inspiration for what became known as the Antigonish Movement, referred in 1921 to British university extension and the WEA as useful guides for a new educational approach in Nova Scotia. Editorials in the *Ontario Library Review* in 1924 and 1925 stressed the importance of librarians in the adult education movement and noted that adult education was "a subject of special interest throughout the English-speaking world of late" and was "receiving special consideration by educators on

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both sides of the Atlantic." Peter Sandiford, professor of educational psychology at the University of Toronto, in an address before the annual meeting of the Pacific Northwest Library Association in 1924, commented enthusiastically about adult education in general and the British and Canadian WEA in particular. He advised the assembled librarians to "thrash out the question of the possibilities of getting workers out in rural districts to form Workers' Educational Associations to foster the reading of the great and good books of the English Language." Sandiford's hopes for the WEA were shared by MacInnes in his 1925 description of adult education in Canada. Above all else, MacInnes believed that the WEA based on the British model and centred in Ontario would be the model for adult education in Canada.

Adult educators in the United States also cited the work of the British WEA. Keppel had singled it out as an influence on him during the early twenties. Alfred L. Hall-Quest, who undertook a survey of American university extension on behalf of the Carnegie Corporation during 1924-6, referred to a 1920 report prepared at the request of the WEA in Britain as an example of what he perceived to be a new thrust in university extension. He wrote that: "The report refers to twin motives that impel men and women to seek education, one of these being fuller personal development, the other being partly social in the sense that education will help them to understand and aid in the solution of the common problems of human society." Hall-Quest


13 Peter Sandiford, "Adult Education—The Problem and Its Possibilities," in Proceedings, p. 34.

14 MacInnes, pp. 20-1. 15 Keppel, pp. 22-3.

16 Alfred L. Hall-Quest, The University Afield (New York: Macmillan Co., 1926), p. 27. The report referred to was Arthur Greenwood's The Education of the Citizen published by the National Adult School Union, London, 1920. Greenwood was one of the secretaries to the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction.
suggested that social improvement in addition to individual development exemplified the new goals of university extension. The WEA and other British innovations in adult education related to organized labour also were cited by Nathaniel Peffer who, like Hall-Quest, spent 1924-6 researching and writing about adult education in the United States at the request of the Carnegie Corporation. According to Peffer, the impulse behind the movement for workers' education in the United States "undoubtedly has its springs in the English example." 17

It was clear that Canadians and Americans were influenced by events in Britain after the Great War, in particular the 1919 Report, the formation of the WAAE, and the continuing development of the WEA, but commentators had not dealt on those events and were primarily concerned with where and how adult education functioned in their own setting. Foreign developments appeared to be symbolically important in that they demonstrated what could be done and why, rather than how. The only adult educator who emphasized a foreign model for domestic use was MacInnes who suggested that adult education in Canada had to await developments in Britain. 18 With regard to a national adult education organization, he concluded that: "Such an organization must grow from the bottom—that is to say, there should first be a Workers' Educational Association, well supported by working-class opinion and organized labour, in several provinces before the federal organization comes into existence." 19

His conclusion was incompatible with the realities of Canadian conditions that were rural with few people in a vast area with little prospect for organized labour on the British scale. No other early commentator on adult education in Canada and the United States had been as convinced as MacInnes

18 MacInnes, p. 20. 19 Ibid., p. 21.
of the utility of the WEA model or other foreign design, and most stressed the importance of indigenous developments.

Therefore, while Canadians and Americans were inspired by British events and have dated the beginning of their movement to the 1919 Report, most had been preoccupied with events at home from the outset. They discovered a wealth of adult education institutions and activities once they began to look for them.

Domestic Foundations

The key event in Canadian and American adult education in the early twenties was the Carnegie Corporation's decision in 1924 to fund an inquiry into the state of adult education. Its significance lay in the fact that it was the first large scale project that aimed systematically to collect and analyse data about the new phenomenon called adult education. It was certain that adult education was regarded as new, although once defined and identified it also was certain that it had existed for some time. Also topical was a growing belief that social issues could and should be addressed by adult educators.

Adult Education Discovered

Cartwright observed in 1928 that prior to 1924 no one had thought of labeling the extensive educational activity for adults as adult education. Not only were the activities extensive but they had a long history since, in his words: "It is not a far cry from the modern interest in adult education in America to the New England town meeting." Certainly there were numerous institutions, organizations, and programs engaged in adult education work throughout the history of the United States, although they had not been

21 Ibid., p. 92.
interpreted as such or linked together prior to the twenties. The period prior to the Great War back to the Civil War had been characterized as the "diffusion of organizations." During that period, a number of new institutional forms of adult education either were created or became firmly established—correspondence schools, summer schools, university extension, and national voluntary associations. The general character of adult education content shifted from general knowledge to several specific areas of emphasis—vocational education, citizenship and Americanization, the education of women, civic and social reform, leisure time activity, and health.

Cartwright detected the roots of adult education in New England but credited old England with inspiring American interest during the early twenties, alluding to "echoes of reawakened British interest." Inspired by those echoes, "some few Americans, and chief among them Mr. Keppel, became aware of the fact that not only might America be practicing adult education but that she might also have a genuine contribution to make to this field of thought." In Cartwright's opinion, Keppel was the main force behind adult education in the United States. He also added an insight into Keppel's motivation: "Mr. Keppel has confessed that his imagination was captured, first, through the traditional Carnegie interest in libraries, books, and reading, and second, as he later explained it, because 'adult education was the only kind of education Andrew Carnegie ever had.'" In Cartwright's estimation then, the adult education movement in the United States stemmed from a British idea and the imagination of Keppel inspired by the example of Andrew Carnegie.

In 1924, the Carnegie Corporation invited several individuals from

22 Knowles, History, p. 36. 23 Ibid., p. 75.
24 Ibid., p. 93. 25 Ibid. 26 Ibid.
prestigious jobs and wide interests to serve as an advisory committee to formulate a strategy to study adult education. Cartwright introduced the committee members as follows:

Its chairman is Dean James E. Russell of Teachers College, Columbia University, who perhaps has been intimately concerned with advanced educational thought in this country for a longer period than any other individual. It includes Dr. Charles A. Beard, writer, poet, and professor; Everett Dean Martin, at the head of the People's Institute of the Cooper Union of New York; Dr. Alfred Cohn, medical research expert of the staff of the Rockefeller Institute; C. R. Dooley, personnel manager and educational director of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey; E. C. Lindeman, secretary of the American Country Life Association, teacher and writer on sociological questions; John Cotton Dana, librarian of the Newark Public Library; Mrs. John C. Campbell, organizer of educational effort among the southern mountain whites; William Allen White of Kansas; Dr. Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History, and some twenty others of equal importance all concerned in effort in various sections of the field of adult education.

It is uncertain if there were any Canadians on the committee although Father Michael M. Coady, recalling the early years of the Antigonish Movement of which he was an architect, remembered the Corporation's "calling Jimmy Tompkins to a conference in New York in 1924." Upon the advice of the advisory committee, the Corporation authorized a series of five studies into adult education commencing in the autumn of 1924. Four of the studies were undertaken by individuals and the fith by a special commission of the ALA.

The most ambitious study in the series was undertaken by the Commission on the Library and Adult Education appointed by the ALA in July 1924. There were three dimensions to that study that set it apart from the other four. First, the Commission included one Canadian in addition to six Americans and this international flavour led to inquiry about adult education throughout Canada and the United States. Second, as an official body of the ALA the

commissioners were supported by an established professional organization of librarians in Canada and the United States. Third, the journal of the ALA was available to disseminate information and encourage feedback, and in addition, a special bulletin commenced publication in November 1924. No other group of adult educators was as well endowed with organization and resources. The journal and bulletin of the ALA served to disseminate information about adult education throughout Canada and the United States prior to the establishment of an adult education journal in 1929.

Adult education was a major subject of inquiry in library journals in the autumn of 1924. All commentators regarded adult education as a new phenomenon. Charles F. D. Belden, librarian of the Boston Public Library, observed that: "The problem of adult education is so comprehensive and so comparatively new to most libraries that we are all feeling our way as best we can." A similar view was held by Electra C. Doren, librarian of the Dayton Public Library, who wrote that: "We have done little more than to get a goal and to define the phrase 'adult education' in terms of local conditions."

Librarians were primarily interested in the role of the library in adult education and perceptions of that role varied. Clarence E. Sherman, assistant librarian in the Providence Public Library, suggested that there were two important groups to consider. First, were those who possessed an education, whom he called the privileged, and second, the "great mass of adults" with little education including the foreign born and the native born

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29 The Commission on the Library and Adult Education of the ALA published a series of bulletins under the heading of Adult Education and the Library from November 1924 to October 1930. They were distributed to all members of the ALA.


illiterate, whom he termed the underprivileged. Sherman recommended that the second group had to be considered first because "they need it most." Davis also grouped adult learners into two categories although she reversed Sherman’s priorities. She suggested that the war on illiteracy and the Americanization work among the foreign born already were well established. In addition, she believed that the working classes also were well served by adult education. In her opinion:

The American working man is being taken care of; what about the whole adult world? The white collar class, the small merchant, the salesman, the professional man, mothers, the social alien who by reason of race or religion lives in a different sphere— in a community but not of it, bound by prejudices from which education alone can release him? The answer to this is the public library.

Librarian interest in adult education extended beyond their own institution and library journals contained articles written by adult educators from other agencies. Some of those agencies were described in the November 1924 issue of the Ontario Library Review that was devoted to adult education. F. P. Gavin, director of technical education in the Ontario Department of Education, sketched the adult education activities in evening classes carried on by local school authorities and W. J. Dunlop, director of university extension at the University of Toronto, wrote about adult education as "the primary purpose of university extension." In the same issue, E. W. Bradwin outlined the work of Frontier College where he was employed.

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33 Ibid.


35 Davis, p. 1073.

and which had been founded in 1900 by Alfred Fitzpatrick. Fitzpatrick himself had written a comprehensive description of the college published in 1920, at which time he was its principal. The term adult education had not appeared in his book, further proof of its newness in the early twenties.

A variety of institutions in the United States were identified as adult education agencies by Morse Cartwright when he introduced the Carnegie Corporation's project to the readers of the Library Journal in 1925, at which time he was employed by the Corporation. He explained that:

Adult education, as we view it, includes everything from the newspaper and radio educational activity up to the more specialized fields of university attempts to leaven the lump, mechanics' institutes, people's colleges, open forums, chautauquas, lyceums, lodge and religious organization instruction and the like, and back again to "fake" psychology courses, psycho-analytic clinics and the "university" (heaven protect the name) which for eight dollars will supply the walls of your home with a doctor of philosophy diploma.

Cartwright suggested that one purpose of the Corporation's project was to discriminate between legitimate and questionable institutions.

A similar pot-pourri was identified by MacInnes in his 1925 description of Canadian adult education. He had been particularly interested in university extension and WEA activities and reported considerable activity in the one all over the country and had hopes for the growth of the other. In addition, he made mention of the Chautauqua, service clubs such as the Rotary, Kiwanis, Gyro and Elks, the Y's, adult schools of the Society of Friends, home and school clubs, and Women's Institutes. He noted the "educational work of

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38 Alfred Fitzpatrick, The University in Overalls (Toronto: Hunter-Rose Co., 1920).
39 Cartwright, "What is Adult Education?", p. 743.
40 MacInnes, pp. 19-20.
a more specialist or propagandist nature" carried on by the United Farmers of Canada and the Labour Party. MacInnes concluded that the working classes in Canada remained under-serviced by adult educators and was "still in dire necessity." MacInnes's perception of the educational needs of working class adults was different from Davis who had believed them to be well met. Whichever perspective was held, it was evident that the educational needs of a particular social group were noted by two early commentators. Indeed, an attribute of the new phenomenon known as adult education was its concern with broad social issues. Rapid socio-economic change in the immediate post Great War years required educational innovation and adult education was perceived to be that innovation.

Early Goals

The earliest message in the adult education literature after the war was that changes in the provision of education were demanded by a changed and changing society in Canada and the United States. Adult educators declared that society could no longer function well without provision of educational opportunities throughout life for all. At the same time, special attention was given to the working classes.

Tompkins identified six influences in 1921 that created a fertile field for agricultural and general university extension. First, there were many returned soldiers "eager for instruction" who could not go to college and would not attend schools. Second, the general increase in wages and shorter work hours gave people time and money for self-improvement "far beyond what they have ever before enjoyed." Third, rather than spending time and money on

41 Ibid., p. 20.
42 Ibid.
43 Tompkins, pp. 5-6.
"various forms of dissipation," the enactment of Prohibition had removed a
major source of temptation. Fourth, the farmers' movement and various labour
programs "show clearly that the people as a whole are seeking for better
living, and a more active and dignified part in the nation's life." Fifth,
the participation of women in the war effort and their achievement of the
Franchise made them especially eager for self-improvement. And sixth, there
remained a large number of people aged sixteen to twenty-five years who
required intellectual training they had missed. According to Tompkins then,
a large number of adult learners were ready, willing, and able for a new
educational experience that could be met through a new approach to
extension.

Alfred Fitzpatrick also was concerned about extending university
resources to Canadians who had little chance of utilizing those resources on
campus. He had founded Frontier College in 1900 as a vehicle to extend those
resources via student-worker volunteers who spent the lengthy summer break
from universities and colleges working with and instructing new Canadians at
their work-place in the wilderness. Fitzpatrick described the unique work
of the College in 1920 and declared that "most people will now admit the
general principle that education is for all men, and not for any one
privileged class." Similarly to Tompkins's observations, Fitzpatrick pointed
to universal suffrage and economic changes as the stimulants for a new
approach to educating adults. He wrote that: "A new industrial system calls
for new educational development, and particularly for the re-adaptation of the
universities."

Morse Cartwright, while reflecting on the rapid establishment of adult
education as an integral part of the education life of the United States,

44 Fitzpatrick, p. 46.
45 Ibid., p. 107
recalled that:

Perhaps the chief reason for this auspicious beginning may be discovered in an examination of the dilemma in which American general education found itself in the years following the close of war. The machinery of school, college and university had commenced to creak under the strain of enormous enrolments. Over-emphasis on vocational training had placed an all-too-serious brake on cultural advancement. Over-specialization in the professions, an overloaded credit system, and an entanglement of education objectives and material prosperity had confronted American education with a possible breakdown. The ultimate aim of any education may be said to lie in the enrichment of the lives of the individuals who undertake it. The complexities of our civilization had direly threatened this objective. An educational change was impending, and a tremendous expansion of the period of learning seemed the way out.

Cartwright viewed the adult education movement as the innovation needed to up-grade an educational system that had fallen behind changes in other areas of society. He joined Fitzpatrick and Tompkins in perceiving the immediate post-war years as demanding changes to make education lifelong and available to all.

In addition to considering the general goal of universal lifelong education, early commentators gave special attention to the working classes. In part, that attention was due to the emphasis on the working classes in the 1919 Report and to the activities of the WEA that were cited as guides in Canada and the United States. Furthermore, labour unrest in the two countries in 1919 focused attention on to working class demands and conditions. There had been massive suppression of strikes ignited by fears in the Canadian and American governments that labour was dominated by foreigners and Bolsheviks.

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47. Above, pp. 29-33.

Adult educators responded to the labour unrest by suggesting that the extension of educational opportunities to the working classes would forestall the spread of revolutionary ideas while preparing workers to better themselves individually. MacInnes suggested that the education of working class adults, especially the foreign born, would prevent outbursts such as occurred in the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919, and he looked to the WEA to take the lead.\textsuperscript{49} The Workers' Educational Bureau was established in the United States in 1921 to co-ordinate the rapidly growing movement for working class education.\textsuperscript{50} The new interest in educational opportunities for the working classes was exemplified in the establishment of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry in 1921.\textsuperscript{51}

Davis indicated the extent of the interest in the working classes during the early twenties when she wrote:

The 1924 definition of "Adult Education" seems to be "Working-Class Education." As interpreted by workers in the field of education, the movement is definitely connected with, almost limited to, the labor group.\textsuperscript{52} She believed that adult education had to be directed to all sectors of society and not just to one group.\textsuperscript{53} In her view, adult education was "too broad a term to be thus limited."\textsuperscript{54} Moreover, Davis detected a danger in over-emphasizing the needs of one social group and cautioned that: "Too much emphasis on working-class education will defeat the ends of education itself and cannot fail to develop class consciousness, in this case labor class consciousness."\textsuperscript{55} In her opinion apparently, class consciousness was

\textsuperscript{49}MacInnes, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{50}Trade unionism in the United States reached a high point in terms of membership in 1920: see Mark Perlman, "Labor in Eclipse," in Braeman, Bremner, and Brody, p. 105.

\textsuperscript{51}Hilda W. Smith, Women Workers at the Bryn Mawr Summer School (New York: Affiliated Summer Schools for Women Workers in Industry and AAAE, 1929).

\textsuperscript{52}Davis, p. 1072. \textsuperscript{53}Above, p. 37. \textsuperscript{54}Davis, p. 1072. \textsuperscript{55}Ibid.
undesirable and in this she reflected the climate of opinion in Canada and the United States in the early twenties, opinion that reacted negatively to any suggestion that social classes existed or should exist. Another reason for down-playing working class education may have been the fact that a strong anti-union sentiment developed in the two countries in the early twenties.\(^{56}\)

Canadians and Americans, after being stimulated by events in Britain in 1919, discovered adult education in many places in North America once they knew what to look for. Once the search for adult education began, it was clear that local conditions called for indigenous approaches. Early emphasis on working class education in part stimulated by the British example and in part by domestic conditions had faded by mid-decade. The aim of the adult education movement was perceived to be provision of education throughout life for all adults rather than for any one section of society.

**First Fruits (1926)**

The year 1926 stood out for two reasons. First, several books were published that provided descriptions of various adult education institutions and activities plus philosophical observations about the adult education movement. Second, a national organization was formed in the United States that gave adult educators a vehicle to co-ordinate inquiry and a symbol of the unity of their broad interests. The Carnegie Corporation's interest in and willingness to fund that inquiry was the common thread throughout these events.

**Literature**

Eight books were published in 1926, five of which were the direct result of the Carnegie Corporation's sponsorship of research into adult

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education that commenced in 1924; two were written by individual members of
the Corporation's advisory committee selected the same year, and one was a
collection of essays written by the president of the Corporation. These books
contained detailed descriptions of how and where adult education functioned,
and why it was important. The sudden appearance of adult education as a
topical subject in print was not without its dangers however, and several
commentators warned that adult education might simply be a passing fashion.

Five books under the heading "Studies in Adult Education" were published
in 1926, four under the direct auspices of the Carnegie Corporation and one
by a commission of the ALA sponsored by the Corporation. Owen D. Evans
described vocational education in the United States and concentrated on
co-operative classes, apprentice training, public evening schools, continuation
schools, and guidance agencies. Hall-Quest sketched various aspects of
university extension in the United States. John S. Noffsinger outlined
past and present developments in correspondence schools, lyceums, and
chautauquas. Peffer described various institutions and their adult education
offerings of a cultural nature. He included forums, institutes, individual
schools, national associations, corporation education programs, museums, and
workers' education. The ALA compiled the most impressive study in the series.
In addition to its comprehensive data from across the United States, the
study included a chapter that sketched adult education activities in Canada.

57 Owen D. Evans, Opportunities for Young Workers (New York: Macmillan
Co., 1926).
58 Hall-Quest.
59 John S. Noffsinger, Correspondence Schools; Lyceums, Chautauquas (New
60 Peffer, New Schools. 61 Above, pp. 35-6.
62 W. O. Carson, "Canadian Considerations," in Libraries and Adult
pp. 93-102.
and an extensive bibliography of American, Canadian, and British materials related to adult education. All five books underlined the importance of lifelong education to the socio-economic and political well being of all citizens.

The other three books published in 1926 were less descriptive and more philosophical than the Studies in Adult Education series. Everett Martin, a member of the advisory committee, described at length his meaning of liberal education that he defined as "the kind of education which sets the mind free from the servitude of the crowd and from vulgar self-interests." He looked to adult education, which he observed was "now becoming an important interest in American life," to provide new methods and aims to transform the educational system. Keppel's observations were similar to Martin's in that he suggested that the impetus and facilities to encourage people to study the arts and sciences continually throughout life for the sheer pleasure of learning was lacking in the United States. He also noted the newness of adult education and regretted that he could "not quote from any representative American document in this matter, because we have not as yet nationally recognized the importance of education for adults." In the absence of such a document he found direction in the 1919 Report. Eduard Lindeman, also a member of the advisory committee, wrote with conviction about the prospects for adult education. He declared that:

A fresh hope is astir. From many quarters comes the call to a new kind of education with its initial assumption affirming that education is life—not a mere preparation for an unknown kind of future living. Consequently all static concepts of education which relegate the learning process to the period of youth are abandoned. The whole of life is learning, therefore education can have no endings. This new venture is called adult education.

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64 Ibid., p. 5. 65 Keppel, p. 22. 66 Ibid., p. 21.
Lindeman, Keppel, and Martin stressed the newness of adult education and the hope that it would usher in a new era for education that emphasized the value of lifelong education for all.

The eight books went a long way to allay the concern expressed by Keppel that the United States lacked adult education documents. The authors claimed a vast domain for adult education, provided facts and figures about various institutions and activities, and were enthusiastic about prospects for the future.

Adult educators perceived two dangers in the burgeoning interest in their movement. First, was a fear that adult education would be usurped by partisan forces. Martin expressed that fear when he observed that: "We do not know at present whether the alleged general interest in adult education is evidence of a spontaneous and growing desire for knowledge, or is something promoted, worked up by interests which would 'educate the masses' in order to attain certain economic ends, individual or social." Keppel had a similar reservation. He believed that many projects, which he termed "pointed education," were really missionary rather than educational and he cited as examples Americanization, citizenship, and workers' education. He was cautious of any form of adult education that appeared to contain any hint of propaganda, however well meaning. After all he warned: "If pointed education were real education, we could learn more from Soviet Russia just now than from any other country, for Moscow is conducting a nation-wide campaign in the teaching of adults." The ALA articulated the position advanced by Keppel and Martin. They suggested that the most important feature of adult education work was: "A full allowance for individual differences, alike in

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68 Martin, Liberal Education, pp. 311-2.
69 Keppel, pp. 20-1. 70 Ibid., p. 21.
temperament, outlook and knowledge; the avoidance of any tendency to bring about a conformity to type; the safeguarding against anything savoring of standardization or institutionalism; and the preservation of the voluntary spirit."\textsuperscript{71}

The second danger was that adult education would simply be regarded as a fad in an era when fashionable phenomena were plentiful. Lindeman observed that adult educators were developing programs, organizations, and institutions without sufficient knowledge and in the absence of resources and influence to bring their plans to fruition. In his words:

\begin{quote}
We have become habituated to a method of achievement which is in essence antithetical to intelligence. We measure results quantitatively. We could have an adult education movement in America almost overnight; advertising psychologists and super-salesmen could "put it over" for us for a cash consideration. But, what gets "put over" never stays "put." The chief danger which confronts adult education lies in the possibility that we may "Americanize" it before we understand its meaning.\textsuperscript{72}
\end{quote}

Peffer had similar concerns in the United States of 1926. He wrote that:

\begin{quote}
All the intellectually restless, uprooted, unadjusted and over-energetic who give motion and momentum to our fads or make fads of ideas seriously conceived and modestly broached--psycho-analysis, Americanism, Nordicism, reformism or calories--all such have taken notice of adult education....Like any other idea, adult education is in as great danger from over-enthusiasm as from apathy. It will grow fast enough; what is to be feared is that it will grow too fast.\textsuperscript{73}
\end{quote}

Peffer and Lindeman thought that time, experiment, and much reflection was required to prevent adult education from going the way of all fashions.

Thus adult educators in the year 1926 had cause for concern as well as reason for enthusiasm about the dimensions of and potentiality for their newly discovered movement. What seemed to be missing was a means to direct the enthusiasm and to co-ordinate the activities that had been identified throughout Canada and the United States. The formation of the AAAE in the

\textsuperscript{71}American Library Association, p. 21.

\textsuperscript{72}Lindeman, \textit{Meaning}, pp. xviii-xix.

\textsuperscript{73}Peffer, \textit{New Schools}, pp. 249-50.
same year seemed to supply the missing element.

Organization

The WAAE was the first adult education association to provide a forum for the various institutions and activities engaged in the education of adults in Canada and the United States. Perhaps inspired by the World Association, and clearly inspired by the development of schools for adult workers in Europe, the Workers' Education Bureau was established in 1921 as "a coordinating agency for the whole movement" for the education of industrial workers. Davis noted that: "Nothing approximating a national organization for adult education" had existed prior to the formation of the Bureau. Again perhaps inspired by European events, and Keppel acknowledged the influence of those events, the Carnegie Corporation sponsored the formation of a national association for adult education in the United States in 1926.

The establishment of the AAAE, its purposes, goals, policies, membership, organizational structure, program, and finance have been outlined elsewhere. Three points stood out. First, the influence of the Carnegie Corporation was pervasive during the events leading up to and in the actual design of the AAAE. Second, the individuals who moulded the Association were selected by the Corporation and represented an intellectual elite rather than the average adult education practitioner. Third, the Association pledged to represent all types of adult education while remaining non-partisan, although excluding "adult education for profit."

The Carnegie Corporation's efforts on behalf of the newly discovered adult education movement were rewarded in 1926 with the publication of

74Smith, p. 246. 75Davis, p. 1073.
76Knowles, Movement, pp. 190-210. 77Ibid., pp. 192-3.
78Ibid., p. 195.
several books and the formation of a national association in the United States. Within a year, in effect, adult education had been brought to the attention of people across Canada and the United States through the medium of the printed word.

Expanding Horizons (1926-9)

Adult educators claimed a hotchpotch of subjects, techniques, organizations, and institutions. Subject areas ranged widely—parental education, alumnae education, workers' education, leisure education, and the more traditional literacy education and vocational education. New techniques such as group discussion were introduced, while new devices such as film and radio were believed to hold great potential. Adult education organizations grew rapidly in the United States and several states established state-wide associations following the lead of the AAAE. Cartwright reported the Association "in active contact on adult education matters with about 400 organizations, each of more than local scope" in 1928. Institutions grew and established institutions were interpreted as adult education agencies—co-operative extension, university extension, voluntary associations, libraries, museums, and trade unions; plus specific institutions like Frontier College, Women's Institutes, Chautauqua, and the Y's.

Adult educators also began to write about the goals of their movement. Initial emphasis was placed on individual self-actualization although older notions of crass individualism were outmoded. More and more attention was directed to collective improvement in so far as social units were seen to be capable of improvement through adult education. By 1929, most adult educators perceived their goals to be both individual and social improvement, although some stressed one over the other.

Dual Goals

The general aim of the adult education movement was the provision of educational opportunities for all adults throughout life. The primacy of the individual pervaded that aim although the old Social Darwinian notion of individualism had all but disappeared. Keppel emphasized the primacy of the individual when he defined adult education as "the process of learning, on the initiative of the individual, seriously and consecutively undertaken as a supplement to some primary occupation." The idea of individuals as ends in themselves was the consensus at the annual conference of the AAAE held at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania in 1928. Robert J. Leonard, of Columbia University Teachers College, suggested that the major area of needed research pertained to the individual and Charles R. Mann, director of the American Council of Education, emphasized the "special personal skill of individual students" as the main concern for adult education. According to George W. Coleman, president of the Open Forum National Council and director of Ford Hall Forum in Boston, "the aim of adult education is the continuing development of the individual and his satisfactory adjustment to the life of his time and place."

At the same time, other adult educators warned against over-emphasizing the individual. Lindeman observed in 1926 that: "From many sources of social theory and social practice comes the insistent appeal to bring people together, to overcome individualism." He saw a challenging opportunity to improve

80 Keppel, p. 11.
82 George W. Coleman in Digest of the Proceedings, p. 84.
83 Lindeman, Meaning, p. 94. American intellectuals moved away from the nineteenth century emphasis on individualism during the early years of the twentieth, emphasizing the notion of social responsibility. According to Henry Steele Commager:

It is sufficient to note that the phenomenon of socialization was a
collective as well as individual enterprises since, he argued, intelligence was a duality of the individual and the social. He explained that:

Adults who go forth on the long road which leads to intelligence will discover before they have traveled far that mere self-improvement is a delusion....Functional intelligence is social in its origins, in its materials and in its uses. Consequently, we do not pursue the path of learning solely for the purpose of putting more knowledge into our own behavior. Knowing-behavior, which is intelligence, is social in two directions: it takes others into account and it calls forth more intelligent responses from others. If then learning adults wish to live in a social environment in which their intellectual alertness will count for something—they will be as eager to improve their collective enterprises, their groups, as they are to improve themselves.84

Joseph Hart joined Lindeman in viewing the age as too demanding and complicated to be approached solely by individual efforts. Hart, professor of education at the University of Wisconsin, wrote in 1927 that: "We shall need education not merely of the deficient individual alone, but of the deficient community and of the deficient social order."85

Neither Hart nor Lindeman suggested that emphasis on the collective should replace emphasis on the individual; rather, they believed that adult educators should serve both the collective and the individual. Lindeman valued the individuality, uniqueness, and difference of intelligent personalities, and believed they could develop best when participating in a

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84 Lindeman, Meaning, pp. 164-5. 85 Hart, p. 25.
social environment. He had reservations about emphasizing the collective at the expense of the individual and insisted on a balance between individual and collective. He declared that: "Changing individuals in continuous adjustment to changing social functions—this is the bilateral though unified purpose of adult learning."  

The individual and social dimensions in the adult education movement were identified by others as well. Hall-Quest suggested that university extension must prepare people for social and individual responsibilities. Peffer saw a similar purpose in workers' education. He reported that in addition to self-improvement, "workers' education is adult education arising out of a social impulse and having a social purpose." Also commenting on workers' education, Hilda W. Smith, first director of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry from its inception in 1921 to 1926 when she became the director of the Summer Schools for Women Workers in Industry based in New York, noted in 1929 that the aim of the Schools was to make workers more responsible "for the solution of their problems through individual and group action."  

American contributors to international events in 1929 acknowledged the dual goals of the movement. A major topic of discussion at the World Conference on Adult Education held at Cambridge, England was whether adult education should stress the improvement of the individual or society. William H. Kilpatrick, professor of education at Columbia University Teachers College, in a paper read at the opening session of the conference, argued that individual and social factors were both important in adult education. He said that: "There is to be admitted no essential or theoretical opposition

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86 Lindeman, Meaning, pp. 56-7. 87 Ibid., p. 166. 88 Hall-Quest, p. 29. 89 Peffer, New Schools, p. 203. 90 Smith, p. 247.
between present and individual rich living, on the one hand, and the best preparation for future and group responsibilities and relationships on the other."  

John A. Lapp, professor of sociology at Marquette University, during a discussion on settlements and educational work, suggested that the role of social service agencies in adult education was to "provide access to the knowledge upon which social reforms are based" and to "give a chance for the development of personality." Elsewhere, Cartwright wrote in the International Handbook of Adult Education that adult education in the United States sought "to impress upon public consciousness the basic idea of continuous mind expansion and adjustment as necessary for personal growth and social progress."  

The notions of personal growth, development of personality, individual rich living, and self-improvement were descriptors of the self-actualization goal of the movement. The social improvement goal was more ambiguous. It was unclear if adult educators meant the same thing by social progress, social reform, group responsibility, and group action. One point of agreement seemed to be that adult education could not and should not aim to develop class consciousness in Canadian and American adults. Rather, adult educators alluded to the development of group and community consciousness as a way to help to improve society.  

Lindeman stressed the necessity for adult education to facilitate learners' participation in their communities. He had a profound interest in the community as the most important unit of human association. He wrote in hopeful anticipation of the arrival of the "community movement" that he viewed in 1921 as "an attempt on the part of the people who live in a small
compact group to assume their own responsibilities and to guide their own destinies."\(^{94}\) He was joined in that hope, as in other areas of inquiry, by Hart who wrote in 1927 that "the basis of education is community experience."\(^{95}\) One form of such experience was the process of organizing adult education agencies for collective co-operative action. Cartwright reported in 1928 that the "development of the field of community organization for adult education has taken place with satisfying rapidity during the year just closed."\(^{96}\) Community organizations referred to the linking of agencies interested in adult education to form councils or associations on a city or state-wide basis to co-ordinate activities. Cartwright noted such activity in Cleveland, Buffalo, Chicago, St. Louis, Brooklyn, Pittsburgh, Washington, Portland, Dallas, and state-wide particularly in Michigan and California.\(^{97}\)

Yet despite the consensus that adult education aimed to enhance individual self-actualization and social improvement, and the growing interest in the community as the best location for the implementation of the goals, there were signs of disagreement. Some adult educators feared that radical social change might be attempted under the guise of social improvement. Davis, Martin, and Keppel had expressed that fear.\(^{98}\) Hart believed that such fears had already produced a wave of intolerance in the United States. He reported that the search for the ultimate aim of adult education had led to a "region of controversy."\(^{99}\) He observed that:

Some of us have become afraid that our millions are going to be captured by "bolshevism" and we want to start campaigns to make sure that no one shall be caught in that fallacy. (At any rate we are going to make sure


\(^{95}\)Hart, p. 205.

\(^{96}\)Cartwright, "Annual Report 1927-8," p. 149. \(^{97}\)Ibid.

\(^{98}\)Above, pp. 42, 45-6. \(^{99}\)Hart, p. 256.
that our illiterates can read—safe books.) Some even hold that adult education is to be nothing more than teaching people to read good books, to vote on all occasions, to take some interest in public affairs (but not too much) and to express themselves on matters of local and general policy.\textsuperscript{100}

He cited fundamentalism in religion and chauvinistic organizations like the Ku Klux Klan as examples of intolerance within adult education agencies. Hart suggested that: "It is so much easier to teach people to be provincial, afraid, and prejudicial than to be cosmopolitan, courageous, and humane, that it seems an enormous task now to try to educate the adult generation to a world-mind."\textsuperscript{101} Lindeman took up the theme of a world-mind at the World Conference in Cambridge. "How can we substitute for the worn-out methods of force the new methods of tolerance?" he asked during a speech in which he analysed the problems of world co-operation.\textsuperscript{102} His answer was that humankind's natural communal instincts had to be encouraged in order to safeguard groups and communities. Therefore, he concluded, "one of the functions of an education movement for adults would be to teach us how to make this collective machinery operate without the use of force and coercion."\textsuperscript{103} Lindeman made his appeal for co-operation after summarizing the functions of the WAAE and reflecting on its future.

\begin{center}
Dualistic Positions
\end{center}

Lindeman detected a number of inconsistencies during the conference that he feared were potential sources of conflict in the adult education movement. He said that:

\begin{quote}
We have had the habit in this Conference of speaking as though extensive and intensive education were in opposition. We have spoken at times as though the functional point of view as distinct from the intellectual was exclusive, or that the one excluded
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{100}Ibid. \textsuperscript{101}Ibid. \textsuperscript{102}Eduard C. Lindeman in \textit{World Conference}, p. 510 \textsuperscript{103}Ibid.
\end{itemize}
the other.

We have talked at times as though adult education, unlike any other form of learning, was to be somehow purer and unpractical, unrelated to immediate need.

At other times we have talked of it as though it were the means and the medium for creating other ends.

We have talked at times as though you could have order without freedom, or freedom without order, as though to some people the value of orderliness was more important than that of freedom.

We have also spoken about adult education as being the means of personality development, and in the next breath about its use in social adjustment.

We have made dual statements of our purposes and re-statements which, it seems to me, need to be cleared up before we go much further. I do not believe the eclectic point of view is adequate. There is, of course, truth in all these dualistic positions, but a movement, if it is really to move, must follow some sort of gradient; it must be made up of principles which have something in common, which are inter-related, which do not deny each other or cancel each other out.\textsuperscript{104}

He concluded that adult educators had to search for basic unity of purpose within a variety of methods and goals, "but somehow a basic unity, not uniformity."\textsuperscript{105}

Lindeman's perception of dualistic positions at the conference was shared by Eric J. Patterson, head of the department of extra-mural studies at University College Exeter, and John W. Herring, field representative of the AAAE. They observed differences in ways of thinking about adult education among the four hundred people in attendance. One difference was in the relative emphasis on individual and society. They wrote that:

Groups of Scandinavians, Germans, and others expressed themselves as committed to the theory of adult education as a training for citizenship....While these countries can not fairly be said to hold that the individual exists for the state, nevertheless the growth of adult education has been stimulated primarily by an appreciation of the importance of the individual as a functioning unit of a political society. Such an attitude contrasts sharply with that of other groups who see education as a good in itself and regard the educated individual as an end in himself worthy of every effort.\textsuperscript{106}

\textsuperscript{104}Ibid. p. 509. \textsuperscript{105}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{106}Eric J. Patterson and John W. Herring, "Adult Education Abroad," JAE 1 (October 1929):401. Herring also was executive secretary of the West Chester Health and Welfare Council in Pennsylvania.
Another difference, according to the Anglo-American observers, was a distinction between the individual as an individual and the individual in a social role. They reported that:

A slightly different, although related, contrast may be drawn between those who see adult education as preeminently desirable for the industrial worker and those who view the educative process as something to be desired for the enrichment of all members of society. The object of the adult education movement may be in the citizen or the individual, in the worker or in the individual. Again, these 400 educationists split between two groups, one seeing adult education as the instrument for the propagandist, the social reformer, the builder of states, and the other viewing adult education simply as the means to richer living.107

Patterson and Herring grouped Americans with those primarily concerned with the individual and with the view of adult education as a means to richer living. "American adult education is grinding fewer and fewer partisan axes and becoming more concerned with the various possibilities of leading the Platonic 'good life,'" they suggested.108

The dual goals of the adult education movement were clear at the World Conference and in the view of American commentators about adult education in the United States. However, while the goals were seen to be dichotomous and incompatible abroad, they were not perceived the same way at home. The political climate in Europe in 1929 was alive with conflicting philosophies and growing hatreds. The climate of opinion in the United States was in the twilight of the prosperous, individually oriented free-enterprise business dominated social milieu of the twenties. The social improvement goal was acknowledged but not emphasized in that milieu. Then came the crash of 1929.

Summary

In a sense, the formative years of the adult education movement in Canada and the United States ended where they began—in an international conference in Britain. The main issues during those years seemed to be

107 Ibid. 108 Ibid., p. 402.
largely European—social reconstruction after the Great War and dualistic positions about the aims of the movement.

Canadians and Americans discovered a wealth of adult education institutions and activities once stimulated to do so. That discovery had been made possible by Carnegie Corporation direction and financing, and had significant results in the formulation of a distinctive literature and a national adult education organization in the United States. Adult education was regarded as a new phenomenon by all commentators and a good deal of energy was devoted to determining the goals of the movement. Those goals were identified as the enhancement of individual self-actualization and a better social order.
CHAPTER III

EMPHASIS ON SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT (1929-41)

Introduction

The second decade of the adult education movement was characterized by adult educators' efforts to help to overcome the socio-economic depression that overwhelmed Canada and the United States. This period was dominated by the Depression. Millions of Canadians and Americans were rendered unemployed and, on parts of the prairies in Canada and the United States, a period of drought destroyed farms and farm income. Local governments struggled to implement and keep up relief supplies to long lines of destitute people. The federal governments in both countries were obliged to spend more and more on relief, and became involved as never before in planning and directing make-work projects to keep people occupied. Nevertheless, the Depression lingered through the thirties and the economies of Canada and the United States remained weak until stimulated by the demands of World War II.

The priorities in the adult education literature shifted during the thirties from an emphasis on individual improvement to an emphasis on individual and social improvement. That shift was the result of a growing social consciousness in many adult educators that they had a responsibility to prepare learners to take over the management of their own environment and to overcome the Depression themselves.

The shift in adult education's priorities was accomplished only after lengthy and sometimes heated debate. The two main topics of debate were: the relative importance of individual and society, with growing numbers of adult
educators suggesting that both individual and society could be improved through co-operative activities in communities; and, the relationship between education and social action in the face of increasing pressures to tie adult education directly to social planning and change. Adult educators emphasized social improvement during the late thirties when socio-economic problems continued and as the threat of war grew. The need to co-operate during depression and war kept the debates in check although fundamental differences of opinion were always near the surface of discussion.

The community development concept was implicit in the notion of education and social action combining to direct social improvement through co-operative activities in communities. The concept reflected the aspirations of adult educators who sought a strategy to guide and a method to implement the social improvement goal of the movement. The concept was not encapsulated in a particular term or phrase during these years. The term community development seldom appeared in the adult education literature and was not used to describe a general program or idea.

Adult education in Canada and the United States was remarkably well off when the Crash occurred and throughout the thirties in the sense that the Carnegie Corporation continued its generous support of organizations, activities, and publications. Information about adult education had been fragmentary during the first decade of the movement despite the many publications and the emergence of a distinct adult education literature. With the creation of the Journal of Adult Education by the AAAE in 1929, information became available on a regular basis in a publication that averaged 500 pages per volume. Canadian contributions also were regularly recorded commencing in 1936 with the establishment of the journal Adult Learning by the CAAE. Both associations relied on Carnegie funding for their operations. Corporation support had been a connecting thread during the
twenties and became the life-line during the thirties when funds were scarce enough for all educational endeavours. A major result of that support was the publication of a twenty-seven volume social significance series by the AAAE from 1937 to 1941.

**Impact of Depression (1929-32)**

Adult educators faced an immense challenge with the outbreak of the Depression and in the serious strain on the socio-economic and political systems that accompanied it. They saw an active role for their emerging movement in relieving the stress of the times. In particular, they looked to the idea of the co-operative society to guide their activities.

As the Depression settled in, some adult educators commented on the general despair they saw around them but also expressed an optimism about the contribution their movement could make to relieve socio-economic distress. Nathaniel Peffer noted the despair in the United States in 1930 upon his return from a two year visit to China as a Guggenheim Fellow. He wrote that:

> A glance at recent American literature is revealing. It is a literature of perplexity....Our traditional standards shattered, we grope for new ones, and in vain. The sanctions of our forefathers are inoperative; the controls which worked without question are either ineffective or flouted. We move in chaos, following impulse but deriving no satisfactions. Mostly we have lost direction.\(^1\)

Morse Cartwright also recorded his impressions of the mood of the country. The United States was in the midst of "a vast, forbidding and potentially dangerous economic change," he warned in 1931.\(^2\) He predicted that "this upheaval undoubtedly will carry in its wake social changes of far-reaching portent."\(^3\) At the same time, Cartwright and Peffer thought that adult

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\(^1\) Nathaniel Peffer, "We May Yet Be Saved," JAE 2 (February 1930):28.

\(^2\) Morse A. Cartwright, "We Face a New Responsibility," JAE 3 (January 1931):5.

\(^3\) Ibid.
education was new, innovative, and energetic enough to serve as a guide through the troubled times. Peffer regarded education as an essential ingredient for survival, not traditional education via colleges and universities, but "if only by process of elimination, by informal, unorganized, extra-mural, and uninstitutionalized agencies that we call adult education." Cartwright introduced the encouragement of solutions to the problems inherent in social and economic change as a new policy of the AAAE in 1931.

Alvin S. Johnson, director of the New School for Social Research in New York, suggested that changes were necessary before adult education could assume a direct role in social improvement. He warned in 1930 that adult education was not comparable in importance to primary, secondary, or professional education. He maintained that adult educators were characterized by a "sense of inferiority" while feeling themselves in "a class with the repairman." Nevertheless, argued this energetic supporter of the movement, because problems of the time were "vastly more subtle and complex" than an earlier age that had believed in a democratic solution of political problems through universal elementary education, demands on citizens "transcend the ordinary limits of the adolescent mind." Johnson concluded with the plea that: "Unless we can develop an adequate scheme of adult education we shall be compelled sooner or later to give up the ideal of democratic control and surrender the direction of our lives to the specially

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6 Ibid.
7 Ibid., p. 239. Johnson was the first chairman of the editorial board of the JAE. In 1938 he was appointed professor of economics and director of general studies at the Yale Graduate School.
Drawbacks in adult education and recommended changes were outlined in 1931 by Frank Lorimer, formerly a lecturer in social theory at Wellesley College and research director of a large scale survey of adult education in Brooklyn funded by the Carnegie Corporation and undertaken in 1929-30. "Adult education in America, at least in urban districts, has remained highly individualistic in character, and for the most part narrowly limited in its objectives," he concluded after the survey of adult education needs and resources in the second largest urban centre in the United States. He suggested that adult education was neither a social movement, as he thought it to be in England and Denmark, nor was it a far-reaching force in American communities. "Perhaps it is just beginning to become such a force," Lorimer added and, if so, "the test is the extent to which educational motives are becoming vital in community organizations."10

He recommended the development of four types of institutions for adults ranging from those with individual to those with social group emphasis. The first type of institution was the academic and vocational school, "adapted to the needs of individuals who have well defined educational objectives and who will seek out such schools for systematic study usually with a definite view to individual advancement."11 That was the most developed part of the field of adult education according to Lorimer. The second type of institution was comprised of "more or less impersonal instruments of mass culture" such as the media, libraries, and museums.12 Noting the vast importance of these "agencies" Lorimer suggested that "their efficiency is dependent upon more

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8 Ibid.
10 Lorimer, p. 194. 11 Ibid., p. 219. 12 Ibid., p. 220.
intimate types of educational service which will develop the intellectual interests and critical judgment of individuals."\textsuperscript{13} He labelled the third type "public neighborhood educational centers for adults" that offered learners programs other than those offered by the traditional educational institutions. The idea was to devote public funds to such centres, "a fairly radical innovation in American adult education policy" Lorimer added.\textsuperscript{14} Finally, he suggested, because "the intimacy of spontaneous group discussion, the social advantages of homogeneous groups, and comradeship of individuals knit together by like-mindedness, perhaps in the face of common opposition, are values that can seldom, if ever, be developed in public school programs," the fourth type of institution was essential.\textsuperscript{15} That type included independent community centres, educational clubs, study groups, church educational programs, and "other informal activities." Lorimer concluded by emphasizing the necessity for the provision of funds to support adult education that aimed at social improvement. He reasoned that:

\begin{quote}
In general, people will pay for types of education which lead to quick pecuniary returns or which answer to hobbies or interests that are already well developed. Where the public interest dictates the advisability of education along broader lines, some subsidy, either by the government, by other agencies, or by individuals is essential. The individual will pay for training which he recognizes to fit his individual needs. Education for social welfare must be subsidized by social funds.\textsuperscript{16}
\end{quote}

Lorimer believed that adult education had to serve the individual and the social group, and suggested that new financial arrangements were needed to accommodate the latter. No other adult educator had his experience of and data on the initial impact of the Depression on a large section of the population. His documentation was timely as were his recommendations for adult education for social improvement.

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Other adult educators suggested strategies with which to tackle socio-
\end{flushright}

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.  \textsuperscript{14} Ibid.  \textsuperscript{15} Ibid., p. 223.
\textsuperscript{16} Lorimer, p. 225.
economic problems. John Herring became convinced of the benefits of combining education and social planning after having directed the Chester County Health and Welfare Project in Pennsylvania, a project that was funded by the Carnegie Corporation under the auspices of the AAAE. The project, which operated from 1929 to 1932, combined county social planning with adult education and illustrated "in a nutshell, that planning, the most comprehensive of social tasks, should be undertaken with education." Herring concluded that:

"Educational processes take on a vibrant reality, possible in no other way, through the wedding of planning and education by which the problems of the common life become the students' curriculum and the educational process becomes the hand-maiden of the social planner."  

The notion of a co-operative society as the ideal way to survive the strains of socio-economic depression attracted several adult educators. According to Alvin Johnson in 1932:

It is difficult to live intellectually today. The war, and the post-war readjustment, the fever of the boom and the wasting plague of the depression have thrown into confusion the whole cosmos of fundamental values and principles. Many of them are good salvage, but they are taken as such only after a rational examination....Rugged individualism is still admirable in its place, but not on the dance floor or in the cooperative society.  

George B. Neumann, professor of sociology at the State Teachers College in Buffalo, introduced the notion of co-operation as a guide for both goals of the adult education movement during a debate on the relative importance of individual and society at the annual conference of the AAAE in 1932. He

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18 Ibid., p. 105.

19 Alvin S. Johnson, Deliver Us From Dogma (New York: AAAE, 1934), p. 58. This book is composed of a number of brief essays originally published as forwards in the weekly bulletins of the New School for Social Research. The essays are dated from 1929 to 1933 and the collection provides a useful preception of the depression years. The words cited above were taken from a forward dated December 1932.
It seems to me there is a word that has not been used and that is the word "cooperation." There is a difference between a team made up of fine individual players and a team made up of players who, in addition to their own skill, know how to play the game with one another. I think as individuals we can gain a far richer program of living if we learn how to work together. There is a vital question; namely to what extent does adult education contribute to superior cooperation for the securing of greater values than can be secured by the individual?  

Neumann and Johnson identified a need for and the obstacles before a co-operative society.

The concept of co-operation had its most practical implications in economics, and economic co-operation its most publicated success in the Antigonish Movement. The Antigonish Movement, as the extension program of St. Francis Xavier University was known, was based on projects that linked educational effort with co-operative economic action, a formula often credited to the inspiration of Jimmy Tompkins and Father Coady. The extension program began organizing study groups among the fishermen, farmers, and miners of eastern Nova Scotia by 1929 for the purpose of teaching the principles of economic co-operative activity to encourage the formation of credit unions and co-operative stores and factories. "Economic cooperation is the instrument by which the people could have piped down to themselves some of the wealth that flowed so generously in other directions," Coady suggested in his 1939 analysis of the Movement.  

Several years planning by Coady, Tompkins, and their colleagues at St. Francis Xavier to devise a strategy to raise the rural people of Nova Scotia from years of economic depression that had dogged them from the beginning of the century, had resulted in the establishment of the program in 1929 prior to the Great Crash.  

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21 Coady, Masters, p. 122.  
22 Events leading to the establishment of the program are outlined in ibid., p. 8ff.
optimism in 1921 about better conditions for the people of Nova Scotia had proved to be unjustified, especially in the rural areas of the province.\(^{23}\)

The Antigonish program was well under way when the Depression shattered the Canadian and American economies, and was viewed as a model by adult educators attracted to the concept of economic co-operation. Benson T. Landis, a student of co-operation for many years,\(^{24}\) visited Antigonish to study the program on behalf of the Carnegie Corporation in 1931.\(^{25}\) Canadians and Americans hosted Antigonish emissaries or visited St. Francis Xavier to view the program first hand throughout the thirties.

Interest in the notion of co-operation was a manifestation of adult educators' general concern with social planning and social welfare during the early years of the Depression. They were led by socio-economic conditions to direct most of their attention to the social improvement goal of their movement. Thus, by 1932, the dual goals of the adult education movement were more of a reality than they had been at the end of the twenties when individual self-actualization was the more apparent concern in Canada and the United States.

\(^{23}\) Above, pp. 39-40. The depressed conditions in Nova Scotia are sketched in Laidlaw, pp. 60-1.

\(^{24}\) According to C. E. Silcox, Landis was closely associated with the co-operative movement for many years having seen his first co-operative in 1911 in a purchasing association among Mennonite farmers in Pennsylvania. After visiting Antigonish in 1931, Landis told Silcox that he had just witnessed the finest piece of co-operative endeavour on the North American continent. C. E. Silcox, Review of A Cooperative Economy: A Study of Democratic Economic Movements, by Benson Y. Landis, FFT 4 (September 1943):18-9.

\(^{25}\) The Corporation had shown an interest in the Antigonish Movement some years earlier. Coady noted that it had invited Tompkins to a conference in 1924, and that it had contributed funds to support the extension department "in a time of great financial stress." Coady, Masters, p. 9. According to Alexander Laidlaw:

Early in 1932 an important recognition of the work came from outside. The Carnegie Corporation of New York made a grant of $35,000 to the University for the Extension Department, the amount to be distributed in payments over five years. In the depression years this
Issues of Debate (1932-6)

Lively debate highlighted the years 1932 to 1936. Adult educators sought answers to two broad questions. First, should the focus of adult education be individual needs or societal needs? Some adult educators stressed the one, some the other, and several perceived them to be equally important. Some commentators suggested that adult education centred in the community was the best way to serve both needs. Second, should adult educators prepare learners for social action? The question was an important one in these years when Canadians and Americans were interested in social planning and planned social change. Some adult educators answered in the affirmative, some in the negative. It seemed that the potential source of conflict that Eduard Lindeman had perceived at the World Conference in 1929 were appearing in Canada and the United States three years later.26

Individual or Social Improvement

The interest in social improvement by some adult educators in the early years of the Depression was matched by an affirmation of the primacy of the individual by others commencing in 1932. The points of view were debated during the seventh annual conference of the AAAE held in Buffalo in May 1932, at a time when deepening depression demanded innovation on all fronts. The debate set the tone in adult education for the rest of the thirties.

The editors of the Journal of Adult Education provided a summary of

was assistance of incalculable value; it assured that the new program would not be starved out in the beginning years. The Carnegie grant was given to St. Francis Xavier because of the confidence which the heads of the Corporation had in the men at Antigonish, and because they wished to encourage a unique educational experiment that would have application to other areas if it succeeded. This was the beginning of a friendly bond between the Corporation and the University that has continued to the present day.

Laidlaw, p. 73.

26 Above, pp. 55-6.
five discussions held during the conference, noting that two "clashes"
deserved special mention because "they took place at every discussion, no
matter what the subject or who the leader." They wrote that:

The first of these was the clash between those who believe that the
perfection of the individual is the supreme end of education and those
who believe it to be the functioning of a perfectly coordinated society.
The second was the clash between those who would "educate by ritual" for
predetermined ends and those who, putting their faith in intelligence
would educate for freedom and let the outcome be what it may. The
ritualists will always be known by their insistence upon teaching
something or doing something to change people; the advocates of freedom
speak of education as a process of development that takes place,
necessarily, from within.

Either the issues were unclear or the printed summary made them appear so.
Presumably the "ritualists," a negative term at best, wished to change
people's social roles along predetermined and by implication undesirable
paths. The "advocates of freedom," a positive term at least, wished simply
to enhance development from within along no path whatsoever. Assuming that
"development from within" meant individual change, the wish "to change" on the
part of the ritualists meant social change. The clashes bore a striking
resemblance to the issues that Eric Patterson and John Herring viewed during
the World Conference, suggesting that two and a half years of depression had
created within the United States divisions similar to those perceived earlier
to distinguish American from European adult education.

The main question before one of the panel discussions debating "social
values in adult education" was:

Can we educate for social values by trying to develop the finest type
of individual and by giving him every possible opportunity to express
his ideals in both his personal and his social life? Or must we make

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27 "Exemplification," p. 240. There was no indication of who wrote the
summary and that was normal procedure in the JAE, and responsibility is
assumed to rest with the editors.

28 Ibid.
all individuals consciously aware of social responsibilities and problems and incite them to active participation in the efforts to solve these problems. ²⁹

All participants reportedly agreed that the values in adult education were both individual and social. After all, said Mary L. Ely, joint editor of the Journal, "we are talking about the education of human beings, and they are social animals." ³⁰ Some participants wanted to extend Ely's notion. The chairman of the panel, Elmer Scott, who was executive secretary of the Civic Federation of Dallas, suggested that the social values of adult education should not teach people to be sociable, or merely to socialize the group, but should "make sure that the individual shall function for the sake of humanity in general." ³¹ Neumann added another dimension to the discussion when he declared that:

Every individual is tied up rather intimately with the social group, but there is a tremendous difference between the socially-minded individual and the individually-minded individual. In the one case the socially-minded individual thinks in terms of "we." He talks about what we shall do in order that life may be richer for us, while the individual thinks in terms of "I" and what "I" would be interested in doing. ³²

Individuals had to acquire a social consciousness according to Neumann, a notion that meant something more than Ely's view of the individual as a social animal.

Ralph Epstein used stronger language. Epstein, professor of economics at the University of Buffalo, saw a distinction between social and individual values. He asked: "Should we not say to adult classes and in adult education


³⁰ Mary L. Ely in ibid., p. 243. Morse A. Cartwright was joint editor of the JAЕ during its existence from 1929 to 1941, as was Mary Ely with the exception of the years 1936-8 when she was employed directly by the AAAE.

³¹ Elmer Scott in "Exemplification," p. 143. Scott was noted as executive secretary in 1928, 1932, and 1941, so it seems he held the position for at least thirteen years.

³² Neumann, p. 244.
work, we are not going to try merely to give information asked for and to stimulate thought, but we are going to try to indoctrinate people with a belief in and a desire for better social ideas?"  

Lyman Bryson opposed that suggestion, viewing the notion of indoctrination as anti-social and drastic. Bryson, a forum leader in Des Moines on leave from the directorship of the California Association for Adult Education, declared that: "I want to live in a society where everybody is himself if that is possible."  

Ely agreed with Bryson and voiced a fear of any emphasis in education "that makes us more concerned with what we do with other people than with what we are able to develop in ourselves."  

None of the participants in the Buffalo debate discounted the individual although Scott, Neumann, and Epstein emphasized social values while Bryson and Ely stressed individual values.

Even though the two sides did not appear too far apart, at least as recorded in the summary of the debate in print, the editors of the Journal concluded that definite divisions existed. In their words: "the two points of view--emphasizing respectively the individual and society--were never reconciled either in the panel discussion or in that of the combined panel and audience."

33 Ralph Epstein in "Exemplification," p. 244. Epstein's views were similar to those held by George S. Counts who wrote in 1932 that: "The control of the machine requires a society which is dominated less by the ideal of individual advancement and more by certain far-reaching purposes and place of social construction." See: George S. Counts, Dare the School Build a New Social Order? (New York: John Day Co., 1932), p. 27.

34 Lyman Bryson in "Exemplification," p. 246.

35 Mary L. Ely in "Exemplification," p. 246.

36 "Exemplification," p. 241. The extent of the division between proponents of individual and society is not clear in the adult education literature and will have to await analysis elsewhere. A systematic search of education and social science journals published in the thirties might be fruitful; for example, the journals Progressive Education and Social Forces.
Criticism of individualism continued throughout the thirties as adult educators emphasized social needs and the New Deal demanded more and more that life be planned collectively. The basic value of the individual as an individual was never abandoned however, and the debate in the literature concerning individual and society was one of relative emphasis rather than absolute difference. Lindeman again recorded his thoughts about the nature of individual and society in 1933, at which time he was professor of social philosophy at the New York School of Social Work, as a part of his "interpretation of the principles and methods developed by the 'Inquiry' during the years 1923-33." In his view, the Inquiry's dualistic conception of progress had to be invoked once more. He wrote that: "Social progress cannot be attained by emphasizing either the individual or the group but by regarding the two as being parts of an interacting whole." The notion of interaction offered a compromise between individual and society, and was adopted by others during the thirties.

After two years of New Deal large scale centralized economic planning and growing social welfare programs it was clear that times indeed had changed. Collective action for social goals was the order of the day. Bryson, who earlier had made known his stand for the primacy of the individual, wondered

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37 Eduard C. Lindeman, Social Education: An Interpretation of the Principles and Methods Developed by the Inquiry During the Years 1923-33 (New York: New Republic, 1933). Lindeman was commissioned by his fellow Inquirers to write this book and to explain their purpose and practice. The Inquiry, originally known as the Conference on the Christian Way of Life began its career in New York as an attempt by a number of intellectuals "to discover the chronic conflicts in American life, to reveal why the so-called Christian solutions were not applied, and thereafter to call the nation to an accounting." Ibid., p. 3. Contributors to the Inquiry included Robert H. MacIver, Bruno Lasker, William Kilpatrick, Alfred D. Sheffield, Joseph K. Hart, Julius Drachsler, and James T. Shotwell. Ibid., p. 11.

38 Ibid., p. 140. A similar point was made the same year by John Dewey, professor emeritus of philosophy at Columbia University, and John L. Childs, assistant professor of education at Columbia University Teachers College, in a "joint product of thought" written by Dewey. According to them, education "is a process of social interaction carried on in behalf of consequences which
in 1935 if "further expansion by the restless and clumsy methods of individual freedom may cost us too much."  

Bryson, who at the time of writing had left Des Moines and was visiting professor of education at Columbia University Teachers College, a position that was changed into a permanent one later the same year, suggested that "compromise" was "the most desirable solution to the conflict" between collective organization and individual freedom. He remained cautious however. He warned that "it is still necessary to see that the organization for collective action does necessarily restrain the initiative of those personalities who are capable of origination." Bryson added another dimension to the debate by stating that the choice was not between collective action and individual energy but rather "a choice between collective action by the direction of the state, and collective action in the volunteer associations that men build up for themselves." He was prepared to accept collective action agreed to by a number of individuals and not imposed by the state.

Bryson remained uncertain about the social improvement dimension in the adult education movement, reaffirming the primacy of the individual in his text-book published in 1936. In his typology of adult education functions, an imprecise term incorporating mode of action with purpose, he noted that "a constant growth in independent thinking power and in the capacity for the management of one's own program is an essential aim, implicit in all other purposes."

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Footnotes:

40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
Other adult educators had less difficulty in accepting the dual goals of the movement. The "dominant American hope" was to achieve "the unique blend of individual effectiveness and collective responsibility that will rescue democracy from dissolution" declared Carroll H. Wooddy, Bryson's colleague at the Des Moines forum project who served as a forum leader from 1932 until his death in 1935. William H. Stacy also was interested in democracy and adult education's dual goals as he made clear in the published version of his doctoral dissertation in 1935. Stacy, who shared with Wilbur Hallenbeck the distinction of being the recipient of the first doctorate degrees in adult education awarded in the United States, wrote that:

In a democratic society education has a dual function...If we are to have integration of adult education in America it must be stated in terms of progress which contribute to the welfare and happiness of individuals and at the same time strengthen and advance the social groups, the state, and nation, of which the individual is a member.

He maintained that adult education "is basically a program for advancing individual welfare and social progress" through the development of seven great arts—perfecting philosophies, advancing co-operation, using science, increasing income, improving uses of income, improving uses of time, and advancing beauty. In Stacy's view, development of those arts would give adult education an integrated philosophy that would lead to the integration

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44 Below, p. 79.
45 Carroll H. Wooddy, "Forum Facts," JAE 7 (June 1935):290. An obituary note in the JAE referred to Wooddy as having taught at Dalhousie University, Reed College, Washington State University, and the University of Chicago.
47 Stacy, p. 64.
of adult education institutions and agencies.

Similar to Wooddy's unique blend of individual and society and Stacy's integration of adult education to serve individual and society, Robert A. Falconer stated in 1936 that adult education sought ideas to create "wholeness" in society, a "unified human society in the welfare of which each individual will find his highest satisfaction." Falconer, president emeritus of the University of Toronto, offered those thoughts to the readers of the *Journal of Adult Education* as "A Canadian Point of View." Indeed, by 1936 Canadians had joined the debate in part through the *Journal* but more frequently in a journal formed that year by the CAAE, which had been established in 1935. The notion of wholeness was the basis of the adult education movement according to Henry F. Munro, president of the CAAE from 1936 to 1938. Munro, borrowing Lawrence P. Jacks' often quoted view of adult education's aim as "the development of the whole man in a world of whole men," suggested that within this notion lay "an ideal which implies a close interaction between the individual and society, each being incomplete without the wholeness of the other." Munro's idea of interaction was similar to Lindeman's vision of social progress as an interaction between individual and group.

The consensus in the adult education literature in the mid-thirties was that the dual goals of the movement were both important even though

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49 Events leading up to the establishment of the CAAE are sketched in W. J. Dunlop, "Editorial," *Alg* 1 (November 1936):3-4. The Carnegie Corporation provided a good portion of the funding for the association during its formative years. E. A. Corbett recalled that the assistance that the CAAE received from the Corporation amounted to annual grants from 1936 to 1944 of from $7000 to $10,000 per annum. E. A. Corbett, *We Have With Us Tonight* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1957), p. 176.

the times demanded that the social improvement goal be emphasized. There also were some adult educators who believed that the goals could and should be viewed as compatible rather than as mutually exclusive.

Community---The Middle Way

Lindeman suggested in 1933 that the community was the middle way between individualism and collectivism wherein individual and social goals could act in harmony at the ideal level of human association. He identified the centralized control of many aspects of life as the main reason for his interest in community. He had first expressed his fear of that control during the presidencies of Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge when the ideal of minimal government control was a guiding policy in the White House. With the coming of the New Deal in 1933, the guiding policy was one of massive government intervention thus changing the centralization drift into a tidal wave. Lindeman was joined by other adult educators in fearing centralized control and they encouraged local self-help programs to strengthen community resources as an alternative to that control.

Cartwright warned that centralized control could lead to fascism although he acknowledged the necessity for vigorous government action to fight socio-economic depression. "Observers of American social and political institutions have noted in the last few months an unparalleled transfer of democratic rights and privileges to the executive arm of the government," he reported in 1933. He was particularly fearful of the impact on education, and wrote that:

It is inevitable that changes in our political practices, even though temporary in nature, should have an immediate effect upon our educational

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51 Lindeman, Social Education, pp. 138-43.
procedures. The introduction into the educational structure of principles definitely Fascist in nature is already taking place....Already we are hearing the cry among supposedly enlightened people that "too many people are being educated" and that "our economic structure can not stand the expense of free education for all"....In self-protection, we should insist that all steps taken away from democratic principles in education, like the corresponding steps taken in civil government, be merely temporary. They are to be retraced in the opposite direction at the earliest opportunity.53

The earliest opportunity grew ever more distant. Bonaro W. Overstreet, lecturer, author, and frequent contributor to the Journal of Adult Education, commented in 1936 that "American adults do not like the extent to which political and economic power has, as it were, slithered from their grasp and lodged itself in places that seem well beyond the influence of the fairly intelligent and industrious citizen."54 "The crux of the whole matter," suggested William B. Duryee in the same year, "is to develop local leadership of the good-citizen and the good-neighbor type."55 Duryee, secretary of the New Jersey Department of Agriculture, believed that the best way to prevent increased centralization was to organize the "grass-roots" since "permanent good can come only if the effort is made on the basis of getting enlightened action by the people of the community themselves."56

Interest in local initiative had prompted adult educators to establish community organizations to co-ordinate adult education activities, a process well underway in 1928.57 A special conference on community organizations for adult education was held in conjunction with the ninth annual conference of the AAAE at Washington, D.C. in May 1934.58 Jacques Ozanne was puzzled

53 Ibid. Cartwright did not reference the quotations.
56 Ibid. 57 Above, p. 49.
58 Abstracts of addresses and a brief summary of discussions are recorded in JAE 6 (June 1934):333-6.
by the interest in community adult education councils and wondered if they were more than simply a new form of organization. Ozanne, a field representative of the AAAE in 1934, asked:

Of what significance are these organizations? Do they perhaps mark a turning point in the adult education movement, a change of emphasis from the institution to the community and the beginning of a period of more conscious growth? Will these new organizations bring about closer ties between agencies of education and the new social and economic forces that are remaking American life? Or do they reflect nothing more than the common American tendency to pile organization upon organization with little regard to either need or function.59

He answered the questions and provided an early analysis of one phenomenon that interested adult educators throughout the thirties and beyond—the community adult education council.

Ozanne noted that councils were inspired, "not without a tinge of sentimentality," in part by the idea of the old New England town meeting that held "a certain fascination for American social thinkers."60 Whenever a community activity of any sort is projected," he continued, "some idealist is almost certain to utter the hope that the new venture will succeed in recapturing that valuable element long lost to American life—a community-wide approach to social problems."61 Ozanne touched a significant point. The search for community had occurred in the United States periodically throughout its history.62 However, rather than simply "some idealist" in Ozanne's words, it may be that many people have at times perceived a need to find security in communal relationships especially in times of socio-economic stress.

In addition to philosophical reasons, Ozanne perceived encouragement

60 Ibid. 61 Ibid.
62 For an analysis of community in American history see Thomas Bender, Community and Social Change in America (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1978).
for the community-wide approach and councils in the spirit of the New Deal.
He observed that: "One can not escape the impression that a belief has been
gaining currency that the council's duty is to mobilize existing facilities,
preparatory to meeting a new situation arising throughout the country." The new situation was the New Deal's plan to organize all facets of American life to combat the Depression, and in this Ozanne saw an important role for adult education. Community adult education councils were seen as useful organizations to mobilize community resources; as settings where new approaches to adult education could be studied experimentally, and where a common philosophy for the adult education movement might evolve. For those reasons, Ozanne concluded that the councils were more than simply new organizations.

Adult educators' interest in community wide programs and councils resulted in the Des Moines forum project experiment. The purpose of the project was "to work out in one community a pattern that will show how the functions of organized public education in any community may be extended to include a vital program of adult education." The basic strategy of the project, set up in 1932 for a five-year period, sponsored by the AAAE and funded by the Carnegie Corporation, was to organize and conduct neighbourhood forums in all parts of the city of Des Moines where people were to meet regularly throughout the school year to study and discuss current economic and political problems. The experiment was supervised for the first year by John W. Studebaker, superintendent of schools in Des Moines, prior to his appointment as United States Commissioner of Education in July 1934. Studebaker remained enthusiastic about forums after he moved to Washington

63 Ozanne, p. 161.

64 "The Clearing House," JAE 5 (January 1933):92. The Clearing House in the JAE comprised short notes about adult education activities in the United States and abroad. The notes were contributed by unnamed members of the journal's staff.
and undoubtedly was a factor in the spread of the forum idea across the United States, a phenomenon studied by Ely and explained in print in 1937. An adult education council was formed in Des Moines at the termination of the project in 1937 to encourage and co-ordinate activities by integrating adult education agencies in a fashion that had been recommended by Stacy in 1935.

By mid-decade, the energies directed to adult education in communities were extensive and well supported by Carnegie funding. It seemed that Lindeman's notion of the community as the middle way between the individual and the collective in which individual and social goals could act in harmony had been taken up by others. Adult educators devoted more and more attention to the community as the decade wore on.

Co-operation--The Means

Adult educators perceived the notion of co-operation as a means to the end of individual and social improvement in the community setting. That notion had been of interest to them from the beginning of the Depression and earlier. There were formidable obstacles however. William Kilpatrick was concerned about the needs of a co-operative society in an era dominated by ideas antithetical to that society. "While cooperation in thought and action on the largest possible scale are thus inherently demanded for the success of our economic life," he stated in 1933, "our still dominating outlook and our business practice alike embody and express an older contradictory individualism." According to the authors of the first survey of Canadian


adult education in 1935, "it is almost a commonplace to say that scientific progress has outrun social progress; that in our social thinking and social behaviour we are still in the age of the cave-man." 69

The problem was that social inventions required co-operation whereas scientific inventions appealed to individual isolation. Peter Sandiford and his colleagues in the Canadian survey made a comparison to illustrate their point:

Compare, for instance, a social invention such as cooperative marketing or selling, or community chests for the support of social welfare organizations, with a scientific invention such as the radio. All of them are of undoubted value, but there is no comparison between their relative successes. Radio was a success from the start because it appealed to individual and family welfare; cooperation and community chests have had a hard row to hoe because they demand acceptance by a social group. 70

The medium had broader potential however, and six years later the Farm Radio Forum utilized the radio as part of a program to encourage co-operation in rural Canada. 71 The point made in the survey was useful nevertheless. The media serviced people in the privacy of their homes and in the darkness of the cinema rather than in community centres and tent chautauquas.

The most visible experiment in co-operation reported in the adult education literature continued to be the Antigonish Movement. Coady traveled across Canada with the Antigonish message. For example, he spent two weeks organizing study clubs for co-operation and self-help at Clandonald, Alberta in 1934. His initial work there was followed up and expanded by Donald Cameron of the department of extension at the University of Alberta. 72 H. H. Hannan, president of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, reported

69 Peter Sandiford et al., Adult Education in Canada—A Survey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1935), Introduction, p. 13. The survey was printed as a collection of chapters each numbered separately.
70 Ibid. 71 Below, p. 105.
72 Sandiford et al., Chapter 6, p. 10.
in 1936 that "visitors from all over America" were "dropping in" to see the work of the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia.\(^73\)

Gustav F. Beck, a field representative for the AAAE in Canada in 1935, was one of those visitors. He explained the origins of the Movement by recalling the history of economic depression in Nova Scotia and the emigration to mid-Canada and the United States of "many of the sturdy Scots whose forebears had toiled on her farms and in her fisheries for three centuries."\(^74\) "As the old stock weakened" coal miners and steel workers arrived from Britain and Central Europe bringing with them "new and disconcerting ideas that profoundly disturbed the bucolic peace."\(^75\) The new ideas included socialist and communist views about the nature of economic depression, and they found a ready audience in Nova Scotia. Beck suggested that the appeal from the left was a reason for the priests of St. Francis Xavier embarking on their innovative extension program. He added that: "The movement may, as one of the leaders told me, issue in a new civilization in which the rural and industrial elements of Nova Scotia will be wisely interrelated and in which an entire economic transformation shall have been achieved through education instead of dogmatic propaganda or bloodshed."\(^76\) Coady later confirmed Beck's interpretation of the Movement's aim to forestall radical appeals from the left. He recalled the difficulty in competing with those appeals that he had experienced before an audience of Cape Breton


\(^75\) Ibid., p. 159. \(^76\) Ibid., p. 162.
workers in 1933:

It was difficult to get a hearing. Large numbers of the industrial workers had been flirting with leftwing theories and in some cases they were beginning to be pronounced revolutionaries. The Communist propaganda was doing its work... It was hard to hold an audience with a program that called for evolutionary and constitutional methods. 77

The Antigonish Movement's message was that co-operative study and action was necessary to revive democratic traditions to deflect the radical appeal. Adelaide M. Plumptre, editor of Adult Learning, anticipated the Movement's utility throughout Canada as a shield against radical appeals. "In days when democracy seems to be steadily retreating before the advancing forces of Fascism and Communism," she declared in 1937, "the self-imposed discipline of voluntary study appears to offer some hope of maintaining the individual liberty which underlies political and intellectual freedom." 78 The Antigonish Movement, and by implication the co-operative movement generally, was seen to have two purposes during the Depression. Economically depressed people could learn the techniques of co-operation to manage their resources more effectively through a program of study and action, and, while doing so, acquire renewed faith in the democratic system and reject the appeals from the left and the right.

Social benefits through economic co-operation exemplified in the Antigonish Movement's commitment to the deflection of radical appeals for social change gave the notion of co-operation broader meaning. Stacy suggested that co-operation was more than simply an economic strategy. He wrote that "cooperation affects all types of human relationships," and "only as it is developed can there be worthwhile family life, progressive communities, efficient governments, and socially useful industrial enterprises." 79

77 Coady, Masters, p. 56.
79 Stacy, p. 68.
Advancing co-operation was the second of his seven great arts to guide adult education.\(^{80}\) He reasoned that "because modern society has achieved new degrees of specialization and interdependence without adequate types of social management we have become involved, deeper than ever before, in problems of human relationships."\(^{81}\)

Stacy thought that rural development plans had to include socio-economic and cultural components. He described a program of the Iowa State College extension service as composed of major projects, such as home and community recreation, rural organization, and community planning; numbers of groups and agencies, such as churches, schools, and welfare agencies; and, numerous program activities including music festivals, farm organization techniques, and community programs.\(^{82}\) Stacy entitled that program in 1935, The Rural Community Development Program. That was the first time that the term community development had appeared in the adult education literature and it was used in passing with no emphasis. It was used simply to describe a rural program in one college extension service.

The co-operative notion was appealing in the urban setting as well. For example, Paul M. Pearson, assistant director of housing in the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, viewed co-operative action in housing developments as an opportunity to promote healthier human relations. Commenting on housing development plans in the United States in 1936, he wrote that:

> Nothing in the plan is more important than that it gives people, who have often had no place or opportunity to become acquainted with other people, an incentive to make acquaintances under the age-old neighborhood conditions. It is hoped furthermore that these neighborhoods will stimulate a desire for fellowship, for recreation and pasttimes,

\(^{80}\) Above, p. 74.

\(^{81}\) Stacy, p. 67.  \(^{82}\) Ibid., p. 30.
for self-improvement; a desire to notice and be noticed, to appreciate and be appreciated.  

In Pearson's estimation, neighbourhood co-operation could fill a social void. Generally then, adult educators were attracted to the concept of co-operation for socio-economic, cultural, and political reasons. Citizens were to be encouraged to join together in their communities to work as a team to solve their own problems. In that way, adult educators could contribute to the betterment of Canadian and American society and realize the social improvement goal of the adult education movement.

Education and Social Action

Interest in social improvement through co-operative community action inevitably led adult educators to address the relationship between education and social action. Their consideration of that relationship involved a threefold inquiry. First, adult educators wished to respond to the social planning trend that had assumed national proportions in the United States and Canada with the establishment of the New Deal in the former and a similar attempt at national planning in the latter. Second, they debated the role of the educator in the social change process, some believing the role should be direct and vigorous, others arguing that the educator had no part in the process. Third, they designed a formula combining education and social action that was a compromise between advocates of direct involvement of education in social action and those who believed that education must be divorced from such action. The compromise was an interpretation of education as a process to prepare learners for social action but not action of a predetermined nature. That interpretation was the essence of the community development concept.

83 Paul M. Pearson, "Building Houses and a Social Program," JAE 8 (April 1936):187. Pearson was noted as former Governor of the Virgin Islands, and was the founder of the Swathmore Chautauqua.
Social Planning Trend

New Deal enthusiasm ushered in an optimism and confidence that the Depression could be defeated by large scale socio-economic planning co-ordinated and funded by government. Enthusiasm for social planning generated in Washington was matched in the adult education literature in 1933. In Kilpatrick's opinion, the times offered adult education a unique opportunity to assist in the task of national mobilization of resources. He wrote that: "Practically all aspects of life must be studied but at present our social-economic situation seems to furnish the most pressing problem, on the one hand to get possession of our own soul—to effect an integrated social outlook and find satisfactory objects of allegiance—and on the other, to find how our society may by continual planning better and better harness our ever growing technology to the best interests of society."

"The role of adult education takes it to the very center of social planning on a wide scale," Ruth Kotinsky declared in her 1933 analysis of the contemporary scene. Kotinsky, who at the time was employed by the National Council of Parent Education in New York, detected three functions of adult education. First adult education should concern itself with the important responsibilities of adult life—"toward the devising of means for the solution of the social-economic problems of our time..."-a responsibility that many educators believed was essential to the well-being and security of the nation.

According to Schlesinger: "With past policies of exhortation and drift discredited, with state socialism undesired and politically excluded, there remained the prospect of a mighty attempt, organized by government, to halt the decline through a massive experiment in national cooperation." Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Coming of the New Deal (Cambridge, Mass: Riverside Press, 1958), p. 94.

New Dealer enthusiasm in 1933 is outlined in ibid., pp. 16-7.


of current social problems; toward meeting new and emergent problems; and
toward defining and determining new and ever more desirable goals." \(^{88}\) Second, adult education had to eradicate "notions about the fixity of adulthood, the unchangeability of human nature, and the uncontrollability of large social events." \(^{89}\) Third, adult education had to "plan changes in major social events which will lead to more educative living." \(^{90}\) Kotinsky emphasized the pre-eminence of education in social planning for long term citizen improvement.

Social planning was a major topic in Lindeman's analysis of the Inquiry published in 1933. \(^{91}\) He identified a "need to learn how to control the vast mechanism of modern technological society: through social education as a strategy by which people could regain some influence over the socio-economic and political planning process." \(^{92}\) He thought that Americans had lost control of their lives and had to regain it. In his words:

The key-words for the future, it seems to me are \textit{to control, to relate, and to participate}. The first constitutes the social compulsion of our time; we must either learn how to control our society, or become subject to increasingly irrational and coercive forces. But we can only control rationally by bringing fractional parts of the whole into functional relationships; and, in the end, this means some method which will allow us to participate with each other in a creative manner. \(^{93}\)

Lindeman underlined the need for a method to enhance citizen participation in their environment.

Other adult educators commented on social education and planning. Alain LeR. Locke, professor of philosophy at Howard University, wrote in 1934 that "social education is an unavoidable aspect of adult education." \(^{94}\) In 1935, Glenn Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin, expressed a concern

\(^{88}\) Kotinsky, \textit{Social Scene}, p. 68. \(^{89}\) Ibid. \(^{90}\) Ibid., p. 69. \\
\(^{91}\) Above, p. 72. \(^{92}\) Lindeman, \textit{Social Education}, p. xiv. \\
\(^{93}\) Ibid., p. 186. \\
\(^{94}\) Alain Locke, "Reciprocity Instead of Regimentation," \textit{JAE} 6 (October 1934):419.
that over-specialization in education hampered the ability and willingness of educators to respond to the social needs of the time. He stated that: "The unpardonable sin of educational leadership, as I see it, was committed when education was permitted to become, to such an extent as it has, an accumulation of relatively unrelated specialisms instead of being made to center around a coherently planned attack upon the problems of creating, comprehending, and controlling a workable political, social, and economic order." Since adult education was unencumbered by "vested interests and traditions" like the rest of education, Frank looked to the newer branch of education to set the pace in the quest for social understanding through social management aiming to stimulate social and economic revival.

Bryson noted that adult educators generally supported the need for social planning although he saw a complication. "Paradoxically enough," he observed in 1935, "most educators of adults will feel that it is their responsibility, even though approving the general idea of planning, to be skeptical of every plan as such, to keep reason detached from the headlong rush of politics and partisanship, to stand fast by general ideas in the hope of making the inevitable action of the body politic as reasonable as possible." Bryson had an overriding reservation about adult educator involvement in social planning. He sensed a similarity between planning and indoctrination. He slipped into the emotion of debate when he noted the "battle" between two groups of educational theorists: one "captained by George S. Counts" of Columbia University Teachers College that believed that educators should take responsibility for determining the pattern of the

96 Ibid., p. 269.
future, and, the other which by advancing critical thinking would help society
to effect its changes as "friendly counselors rather than as political
agents."⁹⁸ Bryson identified with the latter view. "We may accept the fact"
that all education is indoctrination, he reasoned, "but still insist that
what we wish to indoctrinate is a largeness of thought and an alert
skepticism against the propaganda of our time; not a passionless abstraction,
but on the contrary, a very lively passion for critical thinking, for
scientific caution, for independence."⁹⁹

The battle was lively between the sides identified by Bryson. There
were affirmative and negative answers to Counts's question—"Dare the schools
build a new social order?" Educator influence on social change was a healthy
prospect to some; to others it was dangerous.¹⁰⁰ The controversy attracted
wide attention and, as Edmund de S. Brunner recalled after his retirement as
professor of education at Columbia University Teachers College, led to
sensational reports in the popular press about radical professors at the
College.¹⁰¹ Social planning aroused fundamental questions that struck at
the heart of socio-political philosophy. Notes and articles in the Journal

⁹⁸ Bryson, review of Redirecting Education, p. 442. ⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 444.
¹⁰⁰ Edmund Brunner found the controversy "meaningless and sterile" in
retrospection. He recalled that:
It stood to reason that the schools and any other publicly supported
institutions were bound to reflect the culture of the society that
created them. It seemed equally clear to me that any but the most static
culture was constantly changing and that one of the most potent sources
of change was education.
Edmund De S. Brunner, As Now Remembered—The Interesting Life of an Average
¹⁰¹ Brunner recalled being approached at registration time by "alleged
students" who asked to be enrolled in classes "where they teach the red hot
stuff." Ibid., pp. 173-4. Apparently the "alleged students" were reporters
from the Hearst papers. Brunner continued:
The American Legion magazine did somewhat better. They got one or two
properly registered students into a large class on social foundations of
education, taught by a panel of professors. Among other pedagogical
devices we tried to expose our students to some of the major proposals
for ending the depression of the 1930s. The panel members then analysed
of Adult Education after 1935 suggested a need for adult education involvement in national reconstruction although there was an underlying hesitancy to identify with either radical or conservative plans.

Social Change

Social planning inferred social change and adult educators' views about such change were varied, divergent, and spirited. Those views resulted in a perception of a closer relationship between education and social change than had existed in past.

According to Bryson in 1936, "educators of adults the world over," if given the chance of posing one question would ask: "What makes desirable social change possible?" Answers to the question were essential if the social improvement goal of the adult education movement was to be pursued. Answers hinged on the notion of desirability. Miles Horton and Don West, founders of the Highlander Folk School in the mountains of Tennessee in 1932, believed that seminars on methods of social change combined with courses in psychology, cultural geography, "revolutionary" literature, and social and economic problems prepared the unemployed and depressed to decide what was desirable for themselves. The avowed purpose of the school was "to educate leaders for a labor movement in the South with the ultimate purpose of using

and/or criticized these proposals. After one such presentation that would have done credit to an IWW agitator, I remarked that in order to succeed the program advanced would require an effective community organization in every city and county in America, which would be an obvious impossibility. An article by one of the students in this course appearing in the American Legion magazine conveniently left out the "obvious impossibility" phrase in quoting me....It was undoubtedly because of the American Legion article that I had the honor of being cited in Reducators, a publication that listed the names of hundreds of educators alleged to belong to communist or communist front organizations. Ibid., p. 174.


an intelligent informed working class to build a new social order."^{104}
George Counts might have approved. According to Lucy W. Adams, executive
director of the California Association for Adult Education, various groups
were considering a new social order as well. She reported in 1935 that:

Groups began boldly and even glibly to discuss the abolition of the
profit motive, the creation of a collective society, and redistribution
of wealth. Unfamiliar phrases, such as menace of overproduction, economy
of abundance, manufacture for use instead of profit, studded their
discourse. Educators coined another slogan, "Education for a new social
order." If there was a word that summed up the prevailing mode of
expression, it was the word "new." New Deal, new dawn, new day, new
social order.\(^{105}\)

Muriel J. Lutes advocated peaceful change while explaining the
educational needs of people in New Brunswick in 1936. Lutes, a member of the
advisory council of the CAAE, outlined a number of weaknesses in the rural
education system and their effect on a disintegrating rural life style.
She hoped that innovative adult education programming would be designed to
trigger "a mental revolution of leaders and laymen that would usher in a
social revolution sans bloodshed."\(^{106}\)

Enthusiasm for a new social order in some quarters aroused skepticism
in others. Cartwright regularly cautioned members of the AAAE and readers of
its journal about the appeals from radicals and conservatives alike. He
argued the virtues of liberalism in his annual report as director of the AAAE
in 1934, lamenting the loss of "former liberals who, sniffing the wind of
economic change, have deserted the philosophy of open-mindedness in education
for the more popular cause of immediate and profound social change."\(^{107}\)

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\(^{106}\) Muriel J. Lutes, "New Brunswick's Educational Needs," ALg 1 (December
1936):15. Lutes was noted as living on a farm near Moncton and a long time
leader in the movement for better educational facilities for farmers.

\(^{107}\) Morse A. Cartwright, "Annual Report of the Director for 1933-4,"
JAE 6 (June 1934):345.
Cartwright explained that his views were his own and not necessarily representative of the executive board of the association, although he added that "the views herein expressed coincide in the main with those held by a considerable majority of the Board and the officers." If there were adult educators who disagreed with Cartwright, co-editor of the *Journal of Adult Education* as well as director, their arguments were not recorded in the journal.

Cartwright never discounted the importance of social change to adult education. Rather, he opposed the enthusiasts who believed that constructive social change could and should be brought about quickly. He objected to the notion that educators could and should educate for social change.

### Education and Social Action Distinguished

Adult educators were compelled by the enthusiasm for social planning and social change to attend to the relationship between education and social action. The acceptable stance was that education should prepare learners for social action rather than direct such action. Social change that might result from social action was not perceived to be the responsibility of the educator. There was a fine distinction between education *for* social action and education in *preparation for* social action. Education for social action inferred rapid social change and a predetermined plan. Education in preparation for social action implied time enough for learners to acquire knowledge and experience to enable them to design a plan of action themselves. Self-direction, experience, knowledge, and time were major factors in adult

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109 According to Ruth Kotinsky, the Inquirers were "not commonly included in the literature of adult education." She added that: "There has been an almost stubborn persistence in keeping any undertakings closely related to the real, important, and growing affairs of adult life outside its pale." Kotinsky, *Social Scene*, p. 177. Lyman Bryson identified the editors of the journal *Social Frontier* as members of Counts' team so the journal might be searched for the radical view. Bryson, review of *Redirecting Education*, p. 442.
educators' perceptions of the notion of education in preparation for social action.

Those perceptions began to take shape in the early thirties. There were many and varied appeals for direct action in the United States in 1932-3, reflecting the Depression and the growing attraction of radical political philosophies prior to the hope instilled by the New Deal. Cartwright observed in 1933 that: "The pressing demands for concerted thought and action in regard to current national problems, together with the feeling that quick results are imperative have suggested to many minds the desirability of a country-wide dictatorship of ideas and a regimentation of thought to meet the present crisis." He warned of the dangers of propaganda replacing education, reminding his peers of the importance of developing the capacity for "considered thought and action." Kilpatrick also wrote about considered thought and action. He suggested in 1933 that adult education's "guiding motive and justifying cause" was to encourage "suitable study" leading to "concerted action" in communities throughout the United States. He explained that:

This way of study and action, many, many times repeated throughout the country, furnishes the democratic hope for remaking our economic system and otherwise rebuilding our social life. In the degree that citizens can so unite for study and action, in like degree can best expert thinking be better spread on its merits and defensible action taken.

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110 According to Arthur Schlesinger, "a cult of direct action was beginning to grow" in 1932-3. He added that:
And in the distance, as Americans drifted in the great void, more ominous formations gathered--Minute Men and Silver Shirts, Khaki Shirts and White Shirts and American Nationalists. The nation was evidently on the brink of an abyss. The Moody Bible Institute Monthly even detected eschatological portents in the winter's tribulations: the last days might be on hand, the final crisis before the millennium. Schlesinger, Old Order, p. 461.


In the same degree can each participating citizen find for himself a cause worthy of thought and effort.114

Kilpatrick viewed study and action as a process whereby communities could engage in their own reconstruction. Similarly, Lindeman viewed social education as "a process and a goal, but not necessarily a technique for a preconceived goal."115 Lindeman, Kilpatrick and Cartwright acknowledged the demands for immediate action by emphasizing the necessity for study and thought prior to action, action determined during the process rather than before or apart from it.

It was necessary to distinguish directed action from action that resulted naturally from education, according to Kotinsky in 1933 in her argument in support of the notion of education leading to social action. She wrote that:

It is not the action which is to be scorned, but the determination by the teachers in advance of what the action is to be. It is the difficult task of the adult educator to help persons to become conscious and good schemers of their own destinies without determining these destinies for them.116

Jean Carter and Eleanor G. Coit added a similar qualification in their 1934 report of the program of the Affiliated Schools for Workers, a program, they said, that was consciously directed toward social change. Both had lengthy experience in workers' education. They suggested that the Schools performed an essential service by preparing workers to make an intelligent contribution

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114 Kilpatrick, "New Adult Education," p. 135. John Dewey and John Childs made a similar point:

The problem of the relation of knowledge and action equals in importance that of the individual and the social. For we live in a world wherein we have to act, where action is imperative and unescapable but where knowledge is conditional, dependent upon ourselves. And the consequences of action, that is, what comes from it and remains as a permanent deposit, depend—within limits at least—upon whether or not action is informed with knowledge and is guided by adequate intelligence.

Dewey and Childs, p. 299.

115 Lindeman, Social Education, p. xv.

to social change but without directing the nature of that change. In their words:

The schools...do not attempt to prescribe the formula for action for their students. Their work is organized on the principle that education should serve as a basis for living and should equip the individual to take an active and intelligent part in solving his own problems, but should leave him free to determine for himself the channels through which he can work most effectively.\textsuperscript{117}

Coit, Carter, and Kotinsky reflected the contemporary interest in direct action but tempered the appeal for directed action by insisting that their responsibility as educators ended when learners acquired the skill to determine their own course of action.

The climate of opinion in the United States had changed by 1935 as New Deal policies offered a middle way between the extremes of left and right. There was room for those who recognized the necessity for a link between education and social action, but who wished to avoid any association with radical change. Cartwright wrote with open satisfaction about the "death of the movement" that had argued that the school should be an agency for social action:

It is with gratification that the writer of this report pens a brief obituary in passing, trusting that his observations may be heard amid the last gasps of the expiring formula by which our lives were to have been made over; amid the wailing, the gnashing of teeth, and the self-flagellations of the diminishing body of watchers and mourners....The successful growth and maturing of this now dying idea would have meant inevitably the death and destruction of whatever quality of open-mindedness adult education has stood for.\textsuperscript{118}

Cartwright maintained that intelligent social action was dependent on a thorough understanding of all sides of a question. The educator's role was

\textsuperscript{117}Jean Carter and Eleanor G. Coit, "The Affiliated Schools Establish Experimental Projects," \textit{JAE} 6 (October 1934):506. Carter was noted as a member of the staff of the Schools with several years teaching experience at the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry. Coit was the director of the Affiliated Schools and of the Summer School for Office Workers at Oberlin College.

to facilitate that understanding and to allow and to encourage the learners
to decide their own action plans. "His is not the part to lead them in that
social action," he concluded.  \(^{119}\)

Bryson made a useful distinction between education and social action.
He observed in 1936 that "there must be some leaders who will crystallize
thought into those cruder and more simpler forms by which men can move
steadily toward overt results."  \(^{120}\) Those people of action "have a place in
the social movement for progress of which adult education is a part," but, he
added, "they are not the best teachers."  \(^{121}\) He thought that teachers needed
different qualities. He wrote that: "The one to whom we can give the name
of teacher is he who will maintain in his own thinking, and against the
hurried simplifications of more dominant and less intellectual leaders, the
skepticism that serves as a social corrective."  \(^{122}\) Yet despite the
distinction between teaching and leading, Bryson concluded that "many workers
in the field play both roles, not at once, but in relation to different
students, or at different times, or in different activities."  \(^{123}\) That role
differentiation had accommodated the notion of a dispassionate educator working
hand in hand with the social activist even when the roles were assumed by
one individual.

By 1936, several adult educators had come to share the notion of
education in preparation for social action and, led by Bryson, began to
articulate their role within the education and social action symbiosis. Their
notion of education in preparation for social action was a product of much
thought and debate about the role of adult education in social change that had
been stimulated by the emphasis on social planning to overcome the Depression.


\(^{120}\) Bryson, Adult Education, p. 66.  \(^{121}\) Ibid., p. 67.

\(^{122}\) Ibid., pp. 67-8.  \(^{123}\) Ibid., p. 68.
Adult educators' interest in social issues illustrated their growing social consciousness and their continuing efforts to achieve a measure of social significance for their relatively new field.

**Search for Social Significance (1937-41)**

Adult education for social improvement clearly was a major topic of inquiry during the Depression, and was influenced more and more by the concepts of community and co-operation. The national emergencies caused by depression and approaching war directed adult educators' attention to social issues although there continued to be debates about the aims of adult education. Some feared that the emphasis on social improvement had undermined the individual self-actualization dimension of the movement, and others objected to the close link between education and social action that had gained some currency in the movement. Another unresolved matter was the determination of a method to organize learners for social improvement.

**Social Significance Series**

The interest in social perspectives was apparent in the announcement in late 1936 of a five-year study of the social significance of adult education in the United States to be undertaken by the AAAE, a project originated and directed by Cartwright and funded by the Carnegie Corporation. Ely introduced the project to the readers of the *Journal of Adult Education* in early 1937, noting that: "The ultimate object of the five-year study as a whole is to discover the meaning and estimate the worth of adult education as a social movement among the other social movements of our time and place." There were speedy results and books in the social significance series were published by the AAAE beginning in 1937 and at the termination of the project in 1941 numbered twenty-seven.

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All contributors to the series were concerned primarily with adult education for social improvement but did not ignore individual self-actualization. Gaynell Hawkins, who was a field representative for the AAAE on leave from her Dallas work while researching the educational aspects of social settlements for the series, suggested in 1937 that the settlements were anomalies. She described a settlement as

...a highly individualistic organization increasingly committed to collective or cooperative action. With no awareness of inconsistency, it speaks for the people of its neighbourhood and at the same time encourages them to speak for themselves.125

The Overstreets viewed adult educators as "deliberately trained leaders to whom society entrusts the task of harmonizing individual rights with social rights."126 Harry A. Overstreet, on leave from a professorship of philosophy at the College of the City of New York, and Bonaro Overstreet offered their impressions after serving as field representatives for the AAAE charged with the task of reporting on leadership in adult education. The dual goals of the movement were evident in their report of that leadership; they were "to provide adults with opportunities for entering into groups where they can both satisfy their private hungers and acquire skill in social participation."127

Most contributors to the social significance series perceived a close relationship between the social goal of adult education and the preservation of democracy as war clouds were growing throughout the world. Kotinsky, another field representative for the AAAE in 1940-1 while collecting data for her books, viewed adult education councils as useful agencies for the development of people individually and in their larger and smaller social relationships. She believed that such development was "the essence of

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125 Gaynell Hawkins, Educational Experiments in Social Settlements (New York: AAAE, 1937), p. 16. Hawkins was noted in 1940 as the educational director of the Civic Federation of Dallas.

126 Overstreet and Overstreet, p. 2. 127 Ibid., p. 59.
democracy itself," and that "it may very well be that the ultimate purposes
common to all adult education workers are closely related to fundamental
democratic principles and values." Thomas R. Adam considered museums to
be an adult education institution with social responsibilities. In his second
book about museums in the series, published in 1939 just before he left for
Britain for war service, Adam suggested that "increasing threats of hostile
forces within and without the state" produced a tendency toward popularization
of knowledge, a tendency that "marks the growth of a concept of social
education; of learning as an instrument of democratic action." Ralph A.
Beals, assistant librarian at the Public Library of the District of Columbia,
and Leon Brody, both serving as field representatives of the AAAE, also
reported adult education's growing concern with social responsibility and
democracy. That theme was one of many with social connotations noted by Beals
and Brody in their 1941 report on the literature of adult education mainly
covering the years 1929-39. They wrote that:

The specific social ends that have been set for adult education are both
multitudinous and various: the creation of attitudes and concepts in
adults that will ensure for the young a type of education in tune with
changed and changing conditions; establishment of a third party; the
inculcation of temperance; dependable peace; freeing public welfare from
politics; the prevention of lynchings and strikes; and the preservation,
achievement, or overthrow of democracy at home and abroad.

128 Ruth Kotinsky, Adult Education Councils (New York: AAAE, 1940),
p. 19. Her second contribution to the series was: Ruth Kotinsky, Elementary

129 Thomas R. Adam, The Museum and Popular Culture (New York: AAAE,
1939), p. vi. His first book in the series was: Thomas R. Adam, The Civic
Value of Museums (New York: AAAE, 1937). In 1937, Adam was noted as a field
representative of the AAAE on loan from Occidental College in Los Angeles
where he had been assistant professor of history and government. He was noted
as professor of government at New York University in 1947.

130 Ralph A. Beals and Leon Brody, The Literature of Adult Education
(New York: AAAE, 1941), p. 21. Beals joined the staff of the AAAE as
administrative assistant to the director in 1933, and was noted as holding
degrees from the University of California and Harvard. He was joint editor
of the JAE during Ely's absence in 1937-8.
Adult education had assumed a multitudinous and various realm indeed in the aim to improve society.

Community

Adult educators' interest in the community had begun in the twenties and in the early thirties, and increased during the late thirties. That interest was inspired by a concern that the continuing centralization of socio-economic and political power would strip localities of all control and leave the people alienated from democracy.

Cartwright again expressed his fear of the centralization trend in 1939. He commented on the negative effects of large federal government contributions to adult education that had been made as part of the depression relief program in the United States. He observed that centralized control made itself felt "not by fiat or edict but insidiously, and perhaps even in large part unconsciously."

According to the director of the AAAE, the build up of community control of local affairs was closely connected to the question of local self-determination and freedom.

The need to revive community was stressed by a number of participants in a panel discussion on the problems of rural living at the 1939 annual conference of the AAAE, held for the first time outside the United States at Niagara Falls, Ontario. Joseph McCulley, headmaster of Pickering College, declared that "a sense of community, of 'togetherness,' of belonging, is the great need of our civilization at the present time." McCulley was convinced that development of a concept of community would encourage local initiative that in turn would result in a healthier society. Leonard Harman, president of the United Farmers of Ontario Young People's Organization, also underlined

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the importance of local initiative during the same panel discussion, voicing
the familiar concern with centralized control. He stated that: "I think the
probability of developing local initiative and originality is greater in and
through organizations that function on their own initiative, without
superimposed government direction."¹³³ According to Carl C. Taylor, in
charge of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in the United States
Department of Agriculture, it was not just government but a variety of
organizations that were destroying the rural community, including two adult
education agencies. In his words:

I believe that if the market, the farm organizations, the government,
the extension service, the Women's Institutes, and other agencies have
brought ideas and concerns in from the outside that have tended to destroy
the age-old community interest of the people, they should take some
responsibility for re-creating that interest before the community gets
too exclusively attached to outside concerns. Our local communities have
always had their own arts, their own recreation, their own traditions,
as an integral part of their life. But these other things have come in
and have tended to destroy the indigenous culture.¹³⁴

Taylor, Harman, and McCulley agreed that rural communities had to be
encouraged to develop their own resources themselves.

Community revival also was important to a healthy urban environment.
Kotinsky suggested in 1940 that adult education councils held the potential
to facilitate urban and rural community revival "in that they represent
a conscious attempt to build into society a type of structure which now it
lacks."¹³⁵ Her view of the social utility of councils to fill a gap in
industrialized society accentuated the importance of a sense of community
similar to that advanced by McCulley. According to Kotinsky, community was
necessary to give people some control over their lives and thereby reduce

¹³⁵ Kotinsky, Adult Education Councils, p. 5.
social confusion. Watson Thomson, of the department of extension of the University of Alberta, shared that view. He declared in 1939 that the mass of people could be "re-personalized" by "various economic and educational processes which aim at erecting those smaller social units in which the individual can feel himself 'somebody' again." Watson Thomson, "This 'Group' Business," ALg 3 (April 1939):2.

Adult educators came more and more to perceive the community adult education council as a useful vehicle for local co-ordination of local affairs. Ozanne had detected their importance in 1934. A council had been formed in Des Moines at the conclusion of the forum project in 1937. In the same year, a five-year project funded by the General Education Board had entered its second year in Greenville County, South Carolina, aiming at "initiating and directing a program of community improvement." The Greenville County Council for Community Development was composed of "about fifty persons who represent all sections and all interests of the population," and was the brain child of the president of Furman College and the superintendent of district schools. Edmund Brunner served as project consultant and explained its philosophy in this way:

Its broad objective is the greatest possible use of the county's assets, known and discoverable, in means and leadership, to secure the best possible social life for all the citizens of the county. It recognized that the only sure means to an effective and enduring program is to be found by helping citizens discover the needs of the community, by building the service program only as the demand for it grows from the constituency, in short by the democratic method of sharing both facts and decisions. Edmund de S. Brunner cited in ibid., p. 246.

136 Ibid., p. 6.
137 Watson Thomson, "This 'Group' Business," ALg 3 (April 1939):2.
138 Above, pp. 78-9. 139 Above, pp. 79-80.
140 Ralph Lynn and Margaret Lynn, "Economic and Cultural Reconstruction," JAE 9 (June 1937):245.
141 Edmund de S. Brunner cited in ibid., p. 246.
Emphasis was on the acquisition of the knowledge and skills necessary to facilitate local control of local development through adult education, a process termed community improvement and/or community development. As was the case with Stacy in 1935, the community development term appeared in 1937 in passing with no emphasis and was undefined. The Greenville project was more ambitious than the Des Moines experiment in that it involved rural and urban areas, and sought to identify a process by which broad participation by large numbers of citizens could govern all aspects of local growth rather than simply organizing adult education agencies for community-wide educational planning that had typified the other.

Community adult education councils were the most frequently cited agency at the end of the thirties that aimed to co-ordinate community activity. Cartwright predicted a bright future for them when he wrote in 1939 that:

"It would seem that they are growing and will continue to grow both in numbers and importance in the social and educational scene."\[^{142}\] In the same year, Ralph McCallister, director of the Adult Education Council of Chicago, added his optimism about the councils. He wrote that:

> What we hope is that, through the Council, the educational organizations in the city may become a dynamic influence in the growth of community life. We feel that the role of the adult education council is particularly important in these times when many agencies, particularly those under private auspices, are trying to find their place in a changing social scene.\[^{143}\]

Kotinsky lauded the social value of the pioneering venture of the councils and, like Ozanne's example of the New England town meeting, she stated that "some modern substitute must be found for the town meeting where opinion was formed and action taken after the full sharing of the opinion and interest of


\[^{143}\] Ralph McCallister in "The Community: A Symposium," JAE 11 (June 1939):293.
all concerned."\(^{144}\) As the likelihood of war grew, Cartwright observed that the growing number of adult education councils was a major means of "bringing the resources of adult education to bear on the national emergency."\(^{145}\)

The entry of Canada into World War II in 1939 and the entry of the United States in 1941 gave a new impetus to adult educators who championed the community approach. Interest in community during the thirties had been triggered in part by a fear of centralized control and in part by a hope that the socio-economic depression could be alleviated by local initiative and self-help. The need to mobilize local resources for national survival and post-war reconstruction spurred the interest in the early forties.

Dorothy Rowden, a staff member of the *Journal of Adult Education*, and Ruth Kotinsky summarized a colloquy and panel discussion on community organization and national unity held in 1941 by noting a growing preoccupation with the community approach to augment democracy. "A lack of sufficient connective social ties constitutes one of the potential menaces of the present crisis," they reported.\(^{146}\) In order to eradicate that menace it was necessary "to organize the community for action" in light of all pertinent facts of local life and not simply the concerns of some sections of the population. They explained that:

>This implies, in the first place, that the interests and resources of less-known and minority groups within the community must be discovered and mobilized, as well as those of better-known "high-class" prestige groups. The lack of psychological affinity among individuals living

\(^{144}\) Kotinksy, *Adult Education Councils*, p. 158.


in close geographical proximity can be counteracted only by taking in all the people.  

According to Rowden and Kotinsky, the panel concluded that the exclusion of parts of the community from local affairs impaired the full marshalling of resources.

War-time demanded innovation. That demand was a main reason behind the establishment of the Farm Radio Forum in Canada. Commencing broadcasting in 1941, the Forum aimed at reviving a depressed agricultural industry by encouraging rural communities to take action and solve their own problems. "The main motive for leadership in the forums was the hope of laying a foundation for action to be taken very soon to improve the economic and social conditions of the farm people," wrote Neil M. Morrison who had been employed jointly by the CAAE and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to develop projects that led to the establishment of the Forum. Edward Bayne, a member of the AAAE editorial staff, suggested that another medium held potential for an educational program to establish and enhance the concept of community in rural and urban centres. In his opinion:

Film, then, to serve as a teaching instrument in a democracy, must be based upon and built around the idea of community. It must teach what the community can do for itself through planning and adjustment. Teaching community self-help was the order of the day.

Co-operation

Socio-economic co-operation continued to be advanced as a useful strategy to help Canadian and American democracy through the hard times. A

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147 Ibid.


149 Edward A. Bayne, "Film and Community," JAE 13 (January 1941):19. Bayne wrote this article after having completed a year's study of documentary films as a fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation.
co-operative society was essential to the survival of democracy in the opinion of Harry Overstreet who shared it with those in attendance at the AAAE annual conference in 1939 in a speech delivered at a session on "adult education and democracy." He said that:

We are just beginning to realize that democracy perhaps may not amount to much unless we transform it into a profound human experience; make it a way of life; care deeply about it as a way of thinking with other people who may think differently from us; as a way of changing our minds in the presence of other people and of living generously and cooperatively with other people.

It is this deeper meaning of democracy that some of us are now beginning to grasp.150

Father Coady's view of a close relationship between democracy and co-operation was akin to Overstreet's with the addition of a strong Christian flavour. "We are confident that our program is in conformity with the fundamental ideas of Christian democratic society," Coady avowed.151 Spiritual revival was a characteristic of the Antigonish Movement. George Boyle, editor of The Maritime Cooperator, the extension bulletin of St. Francis Xavier, emphasized that characteristic in 1940 while reporting on the Movement's impact on Newfoundland's policy of social reconstruction. He declared that "the people in the Antigonish Movement are decidedly in accord with the Christian Fathers who proclaim that redemptive love must be the motive force making true cooperators."152 With similar enthusiasm, although drawing from the philosophy of John Dewey rather than the Christian Fathers, author Wendell Thomas wrote that: "God is the end; a cooperative social order is a means to the end; while the method by which the end is experienced is

151 Coady, Masters, p. 2.
intelligent cooperation among individuals." In addition to spiritual and philosophical reasons for co-operation, Harry and Bonaro Overstreet found a practical example of co-operation in action in the Danish Folk Schools. In their contribution to the social significance series in 1941, they observed that:

Adult educators have realized how little the spirit of intelligent cooperation can be engendered among people who live chiefly in self-centered separateness. Hence their envy of the folk high schools, and their wish that something of like nature might take root in America.

The Antigonish Movement was more accessible and perhaps more impressive to American enthusiasts of co-operation. Landis noted in 1939 that the Co-operative League of the United States "every year conducts a tour to Nova Scotia in order that cooperative leaders and educators may observe the work of the cooperatives that have literally flowed out of the study groups organized by the Extension Division of St. Francis Xavier." Antigonish "is quite a Mecca now," he observed in 1940, and "all summer long there come to Antigonish, teachers, government officials, clergymen of many faiths, and leaders of cooperatives, to see the work that is being done there."

Canadians from various walks of life also continued to be impressed. William Feltmate declared that: "When everyone is left alone to work out his own destiny, it results in thousands of human beings tearing at one another's throats and this will continue until the masses of the people are shown how to raise themselves out of the depths of misery and become educated and


154 Overstreet and Overstreet, p. 114.


Christianized and reach a level worthy of all men."\textsuperscript{157} Feltmate, a fisherman of White Head, Nova Scotia, made this statement during a testimonial explaining the workings of lobster co-operatives to listeners of the CBC in 1938. He articulated the Antigonish message well. The "remarkable stimulation" provided to the co-operative movement by Antigonish was acknowledged by Gordon M. Shrum, director of extension at the University of British Columbia, who claimed in 1940 that "areas that were formerly in the process of becoming 'depressed areas' of economic stagnation have become centers of vigorous cooperative endeavor."\textsuperscript{158}

The concept of co-operation had been appealing to adult educators for philosophical, economic, and social reasons, but fundamental obstacles also existed. Kotinsky interpreted the increase in adult education council activity as a "conscious attempt to build into society a type of structure which now it lacks." a structure to facilitate the lost arts of communication and co-operation.\textsuperscript{159} She admired the advances made through economic co-operation but detected an inability to extend the notion of co-operation to other aspects of life in the United States of 1940. In her opinion: "By cooperation Americans have moved material mountains; they allow themselves to be stopped by irritating gnats when it comes to cooperative efforts at improving the quality of life, because actually they do not know how to work fruitfully together in this sphere and are looking about for excuses to call quits."\textsuperscript{160}

Enthusiasts of co-operation faced some opposition from a questioning and fear that co-operation contained within it the seeds of radical social change. There was a hesitancy latent in the commentary about the Antigonish

\textsuperscript{157}William Feltmate, "Adult Education and Lobsters," ALg 2 (May 1938): 7-8. The testimonial was broadcast over the CBC under the auspices of the CAAE.

\textsuperscript{158}Gordon M. Shrum, "Among Canada's West Coast Fishermen," JAE 12 (October 1940):390.

\textsuperscript{159}Kotinsky, Adult Education Councils, p. 5.\textsuperscript{160} Ibid.
Movement itself. In 1939, Coady recalled a lengthy delay in the establishment of the extension department at St. Francis Xavier that had occurred because "the idea of launching out into this movement was now and, in those days, revolutionary." In his estimation, the main problem was the opposition from "the people of means" who the university relied on for support to some extent. He continued:

Events proved, to some extent, that if St. Francis Xavier authorities had any fears in the matter they were well founded. Opposition did arise and the support and loyalty of many of those who backed the institution in its pre-Extension days is now lacking.

Coady did not explain further but he had made his point. Adult education innovations that implied a hand in social change were unlikely to find support from traditional sources.

S. F. Maine registered his skepticism of the St. Francis Xavier program and suggested that university extension should stick to traditional methods of extending university credit and non-credit courses through classes, correspondence, and discussion groups. Maine, a member of the faculty at the University of Western Ontario and vice-president of the CAAE at the time of writing in 1937, noted the more "liberal" interpretation of extension at St. Francis Xavier but suggested that the Antigonish program was unique and limited in appeal to areas where extraordinary conditions prevailed. In his words:

Only a private institution would be quite free to undertake such work which inevitably strikes at the source of income of a considerable segment of the community. Even if the economic results were not as radical as expected, this type of activity is likely to be restricted to a relatively small number of institutions which find themselves in the midst of unusual conditions.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{161}}\text{Coady, Masters, p. 13.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{162}}\text{Ibid.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{163}}\text{Ibid., p. 14.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{164}}\text{S. F. Maine, "The Universities and Adult Education," } A_{\text{LG}} \text{ 1 (January 1937):6.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{165}}\text{Ibid.}\]
University extension was and should be essentially conservative in Maine's judgment, a conclusion similar to that reached by James Creese in his survey of university extension in the United States published in 1941.166

Landis reported deep seated opposition to the St. Francis Xavier extension program from the vested interests in the province. After visiting Antigonish in 1940, he wrote that:

If you are a member of a university faculty and become interested in teaching farmers and fishermen and miners, you must pay a price for being different and daring. If you start to create an economic democracy, some of the people at the top of the present social structure will raise their eyebrows—and more. You run risks, and no small ones, when you embrace the cause of the people.167

Opposition to the program came from the resident students at the university who, according to Landis, "echo too faithfully the table talk of their parents, most of whom do not live in the humble cottages on the coast."168

There was no articulate opposition to the "cooperative gospel" in Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia according to Ned Corbett in 1940, despite St. Francis Xavier's experiment in "education for social action" that he called "as radical in its implications as any educational program in Canada."169 Indeed, Corbett, director of the CAAE from 1935 to 1951, suggested that the program had gained a fresh impetus from wartime demands that encouraged co-operative efforts on all fronts.

The concept of co-operation had been attractive to adult educators during the strains of depression and war for philosophical, economic, and

166 James Creese noted, in a survey of university extension that was the last publication in the social significance series of the AAAE, that conventional forms persisted and "extension is old enough now to have its own traditions and codes and to depart from these only reluctantly." James Creese, The Extension of University Teaching (New York: AAAE, 1941), p. 57.


169 E. A. Corbett, "In Wartime Canada," JAE 12 (April 1940):154. Prior to his appointment as director of the CAAE, Corbett had been professor and director of extension at the University of Alberta. He had taken up his Alberta position in 1920. From 1943 to 1946 he served on the executive board of the AAAE.
social reasons. Nothing seemed more sensible than citizens joining together in their communities to work as a team to solve their problems. Nothing was more democratic. Co-operation was interpreted in a number of ways from simple teamwork to get a job done quickly within the confines of the social system to a more ambitious view of doing the job and at the same time amending that system. The latter perspective was hinted at in the Antigonish Movement's insistence that the best education was that which led to immediate social action. Education of the depressed fishermen, farmers, and miners leading to social action meant a change in a social system that had accommodated depression in the past.

The reservations about the notion of co-operation as a lodestar in Canada and the United States had illustrated the dilemma faced by adult educators who wished to introduce innovations to enhance the social significance of their movement. They had been led by the requirements of depression and war to emphasize the social improvement goal of the adult education movement but not at the expense of the individual self-actualization goal. They had been led by the same requirements to search for the means to participate in social planning without committing adult education to directing social change. There were indications at the end of the thirties that they were unable to resolve the fundamental differences of opinion about the relative importance of individual and society, and about the relationship between education and social action.

Unresolved Matters

Adult educators were concerned about three matters in the late thirties in connection with the emphasis on social improvement. First, some were fearful that that emphasis had been made at the expense of the individual self-actualization goal. Second, some were reluctant to accept the notion of an interrelationship between education and social action. Third, adult
educators were uncertain about the method to organize learners for social improvement.

**Dual Goals**

Bernard E. Meland, a field representative for the AAAE in the late thirties, provided a clear statement about the debate over the dual goals of the movement in a study of the church and adult education published for the social significance series in 1939. "From the point of view of one group of educators," he observed, "the social scene is an order of relations beyond the range of educational activity."\(^{170}\) To that group, education was a process of developing individuals so that they might understand and cope with the social environment but not a process of promoting social change. "From the opposing standpoint," he continued, "no education is worth doing unless it leads to social action."\(^{171}\) To this group, education was a "creative process committed not simply to releasing the powers and capacities of individuals to live in the world as it is, but also to fashioning an order of living that must, in turn, be shaped by creative personalities."\(^{172}\) In Meland's estimation, individual and society were not two distinct and rival realities, but rather "the plant-and-soil context of one organic scene."\(^{173}\)

The image of one organic scene was reminiscent of Lindeman's idea of interaction, Wooddy's unique blend, Stacy's integration, and Falconer's wholeness. Meland had not anticipated any lessening of the tension between the social and individual emphases in adult education. He concluded that: "In their present forms the two can not be harmoniously correlated, for the tensions, historic in origin, at present remain strong."\(^{174}\) Nevertheless, he thought that adult education would be impoverished if either ideal dropped.

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\(^{171}\) Ibid., p. 105.

\(^{172}\) Meland, p. 105.

\(^{173}\) Ibid.

\(^{174}\) Ibid., p. 108.
away. He ended with a note of optimism: "There is some hope that we may yet find the way to encourage the complete growth of the individual and at the same time further the well-being of the people of the nation."\(^{175}\)

The dual goals of the movement were discussed during the 1939 annual conference of the AAAE. Ely published a summary of the symposia and discussions held at the conference and noted that a common question throughout was: "Shall adult education seek to create a common culture throughout a nation or shall it aim rather to safeguard and foster individual, local, group, and class differences?"\(^{176}\) There was no common answer to the question. Ely suggested that the complexity and importance of the issues involved in the question were profound and had been "propounded, debated, left unsettled, year after year."\(^{177}\) There the matter rested at the end of the first generation of the adult education movement.

**Social Action**

The notion of education in preparation for social action was widespread in the late thirties. Cartwright had introduced the AAAE five-year social significance project by citing, as a basic guideline accepted by all those working on the project, the assumption that: "The educational process is something apart and distinct from social action, stopping short thereof, but vastly important as a preliminary to the evolvement of social change and especially of social betterment."\(^{178}\) Education and social action attracted attention at the annual conference of the AAAE in 1938. A colloquy addressed the question: "To what extent do we educate for social action?" Gaynell

\(^{175}\) Ibid.

\(^{176}\) Mary L. Ely in "Minorities--and Democracy," p. 289.

\(^{177}\) Ibid.

Hawkins put the question into perspective and suggested that:

I can think of no other country in which a conference on adult education would bother with such a subject. That adult education is for social action would be taken for granted in the countries where it has a notable history, or any history at all. In this country adult education, from its earliest beginnings, has been so highly colored by cultural courses that most people think of adult education as a cultural rather than as a social movement. The topic therefore is pertinent.\textsuperscript{179}

A consensus in the colloquy perceived education as preparation for social action. Ely commented on the educational work of the League of Women Voters, suggesting that "their education is for some kind of action, but what kind is not dictated."\textsuperscript{180} "As educational agents, our primary concern is with the enlightenment of the individuals in the groups with which we are operating," added William A. Neilson, president of Smith College, but "the direction that their activities will take them after that is their affair rather than ours."\textsuperscript{181} Similarly, Robert Hoppock, assistant to the director of the National Occupational Conference, stated that: "It seems to me that one purpose of adult education should be to make those who are about to take social action conscious of the consequences of what they propose to do, and to provide them with the tools and the understanding that will make their social action as well considered and as effective as possible."\textsuperscript{182} These statements about education as preparation for social action were much the same as those made by Coit, Carter, Kotinsky, Lindeman, Kilpatrick, and Cartwright earlier in the thirties.

There was general agreement during the colloquy that adult educators had a duty to prepare learners for social action but lingering fears that had

\textsuperscript{179}Gaynell Hawkins in "Summary of Colloquy V on "To What Extent do we Educate for Social Action?" JAE 10 (June 1938):271.

\textsuperscript{180}Mary L. Ely in "Summary of Colloquy V," p. 272.


\textsuperscript{182}Robert Hoppock in "Summary of Colloquy V," p. 274.
been aroused during discussions in the early and mid-thirties re-emerged.

Neilson anticipated opposition from the vested interests in the social system to the suggestion that education had a role to play in social action. He cautioned that:

We may ourselves, all of us, be strongly in favor of action that will be in the direction of social betterment as we understand it. We don't understand it in the same way as do the Chambers of Commerce, for the most part, but if we establish in the public mind the idea that adult education always results in action toward the left, we are going to stir up a great deal of antagonism that in many cases may block us.183

Jess S. Ogden thought that the identification of adult education with the left was inevitable simply because interest in social improvement naturally aroused conservative suspicion. Ogden, engaged in a study of adult education in churches for the social significance series, declared that:

It seems to me that the status quo has forced upon the educator the necessity of smashing much of what is in existence. There is scarcely anyone in this room who has not been a smasher of tradition in some degree. Now, that makes us seem to be toward the left simply because we are attempting to resist existing pressures from the right.184

Ogden and Neilson suggested that education for social action had been interpreted by some unnamed critics to link adult education with the left wing of the political spectrum.

Also in 1938, Everett Martin, who had moved on from the People's Institute of New York to become professor of social philosophy at Claremont College, feared that the education for social action notion could link adult education to the opposite end of that spectrum. He wrote that: "The theory of education for social action leads logically to Fascism and hence to the

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183 Neilson, p. 274.

184 Jess S. Ogden in "Summary of Colloquy V," p. 274. Ogden was noted as having brought vitality to adult education after a career as a soldier, a businessman, the director of church community activities, a teacher, and a forum leader.
authoritarian state." The issues involved in the education and social action symbiosis clearly aroused deep seated and diverse concerns. On the one hand, it was feared that the result would be a swing to the right; on the other hand, a fear of a swing to the left.

The subject reappeared during the 1939 conference in Niagara Falls. "Shall we, or shall we not, educate for political and social action?" asked those in attendance. A consensus was not forthcoming. McCallister, drawing on the experience of the Adult Education Council of Chicago, warned of the dangers of educator's involvement in social action. He explained during the conference that:

Owing to the very nature of the Council's organization, representing as it does so many diverse interests, we are limited in the range of our activity. We are joined together by a common interest in community welfare and in promoting education. We can not be an action group except in the interest of extending educational opportunities. Were we to attempt to sponsor a group whose direct purpose is social reform, except as reform applies to education, there would immediately be a break-off of a faction opposed to the policy that the majority was seeking to create.

McCallister's balancing of education on the fringes of social reform suggested an uncertainty about the role of education in social action apart from the notion that it should be helpful and non-directive. His observations illustrated the difficulty that adult educators faced when responding to the demands of the times.

The war emergency forestalled any attempt to resolve the issues involved in the relationship between education and social action. Bryson recalled the lengthy debate about the issues during a panel discussion on "adult education in crisis" in 1941. He noted that earlier questions had remained unanswered

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187 McCallister, p. 292.
when he wrote that:

Should discussion of a question eventuate in action? If so, how much action? Action when? Action at what distance from decision as to the relative merits of the various facts and preferences presented?188

There were no commonly agreed to answers.

Adult education in crisis was a fitting topic in 1941. The Depression had created a demand for social planning on a scale of unheard of proportions and the newly articulated social improvement goal was the priority for most adult educators in the literature. Social planning inferred social change and adult educators thought that change, although of an undetermined nature, was best managed in communities where a spirit of co-operation could be instilled as a philosophical guide for self-help projects. Such projects required social action and adult educators struggled to define a suitable strategy to accommodate the demand. Many had settled on a perception of education as preparation for social action, thereby deflecting criticism by arguing that they were solely concerned with providing the learner with the tools to make intelligent decisions and unconcerned with the substance of the decision. However, because the place of social action in education continued to be reported as troublesome, it appeared that that perception was not shared by all adult educators.

Method

Adult educators were uncertain about the method or methods with which to implement the social improvement goal of the movement in the sense of knowing how to organize learners for education in social betterment. Individual methods in the form of correspondence study, directed individual study, and apprenticeship, and group methods in the form of the class,

188 Lyman Bryson in "Adult Education in Crisis: A Panel Discussion," JAE 13 (June 1941):270.
laboratory, assembly, workshop, and institute all were employed by adult educators by the end of the thirties. The development of the discussion group method was more important than the other methods from the standpoint of growing interest in adult education for social improvement. Human interaction in groups seemed to be a way to stimulate collective co-operative action.

Various terms were assigned to the notion of groups gathering for a learning experience. In 1937, Gaynell Hawkins emphasized the importance of "group-work principles" to adult education as a tool for mobilizing neighbourhoods to an awareness of democratic functions. Maria Rogers made a similar point the next year. Rogers, actively involved in the New York Adult Education Council for several years and interested particularly in developing group methods for adult education, was convinced that these methods would bring more people into the movement. Furthermore, she suggested that "many groups will turn to the adult education enterprise that is sensitive to their peculiar needs, to educators who have the "community point of view." "Education in group living" was the most important direction of growth in adult education, observed B. A. Fletcher, professor of education at Dalhousie University, because "the individual needs to feel that his work fits in with the work of others." Fletcher drew his examples and inspiration from a neighbouring educational institution in Nova Scotia.

He and others in Canada and the United States continued to be impressed with the approach developed by the extension program at St. Francis Xavier University. Coady noted in 1939 that the program had three distinguishing features—the small study club, discussion issuing in economic group action,

190 Maria Rogers, "Come and Be Educated," JAE 10 (October 1938):412.
and the willingness of the more intelligent members of the group to place their abilities at the disposal of the slower members.\textsuperscript{192} Group study, discussion, and action were the essential ingredients of the Antigonish Movement. The Farm Radio Forum combined the same ingredients in its program that commenced broadcasting in 1941 based on the "listening group method."\textsuperscript{193}

The study group, "our dull name for a process of social integration," was insufficient according to Thomson in 1938. In his opinion, "we have to overcome, not just the habits of an over-individualist century, but of aeons of native "unregeneracy,"" and he suggested that new approaches in adult education were required to organize learners collectively.\textsuperscript{194} He pursued that line of thought the next year when, in the face of the growing world crisis, he stressed collectivism as essential to the survival of democracy. He maintained that:

In short, Collectivism is inevitable but enforced Collectivism is not. We have our sporting chance to create what can certainly never be handed out to us by an Act of Parliament, a voluntary Collectivism of organically related individuals in social cells and with many cells integrated into a living Community.\textsuperscript{195}

Thomson's notion of voluntary collective action in communities recalled a similar point that had been made by Bryson in 1935.\textsuperscript{196} Collective action was acceptable to Bryson and Thomson so long as it was voluntary, and inspired and directed by communities. Thomson was typical of many adult educators writing on the eve of war in viewing collective action as required by the times, and in perceiving the community as the unit of human association where

\textsuperscript{192} Coady, Masters, p. 10.

\textsuperscript{193} Neil Morrison, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{194} Watson Thomson, "More Study Than Group," \textit{ALg} 3 (October-November 1938):19.

\textsuperscript{195} Thomson, "This 'Group' Business," p. 4.

\textsuperscript{196} Above, p. 73.
such action could best take place.

Many adult educators were committed to working to revive democracy through programs of education in preparation for social action based in the community. They knew what to do and why. The question of how was unanswered and there was little empirical evidence to guide the inquiry. Most of the literature contained abstract statements of educational philosophy while adult educators were trying to define the social improvement goal of the movement. At the same time, they identified a need for new methods to organize learners for community-wide adult education. In his third contribution to the social significance series, Adam wrote in 1940 that:

Education linked to a social purpose needs to develop methods and teaching techniques peculiarly its own. The old rules and narrow disciplines required for general cultural training seldom lead to effective social action. They belong to a tradition which views the development of the individual mind as the final end of learning.¹⁹⁷ Individual and group methods were well developed but were insufficient. Integration of those methods into a whole was needed to organize learners for adult education for social improvement.

At the termination of the AAAE social significance series in 1941, the notion of adult education for social improvement through collective co-operative action in Canadian and American communities had been well established in the literature. The series had confirmed the social improvement goal of the movement as the priority of the moment. At the same time, there were lingering fears that the needs of the individual had been sacrificed to the needs of the collective, and there were lingering doubts about the propriety of an interrelationship between education and social action. In addition, adult educators had not devised a method to implement adult education for social improvement.

Summary

In the face of economic depression and resultant pressures on the social order in Canada and the United States, many adult educators had adopted a commitment to the idea of education as preparation for social action in order to equip learners with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary for co-operative self-help programs to adjust to hardship through collective efforts at the local level. That commitment represented the social improvement goal of the adult education movement. The community was seen as the ideal social unit wherein that goal could best be achieved. The concept of socio-economic co-operation deemed necessary to reform an outmoded system had been heralded as the lodestar for an improved quality of life within the community setting. Inevitably, inquiry into social improvement, community, and co-operation had led adult educators to address their role in social change. The notion of education in preparation for social action was a compromise between education directing social change and education divorced from social change.

A decision about education and social change was necessary because the extremes of the thirties had forced educators to adopt a more active social presence than they had done in the past. The kind of social change they envisaged was reformist although its precise nature was never clear. In the face of ideological extremism, adult educators were attracted to the community development concept as a strategy to encourage social reform as a counter to the appeal for social revolution. Encouragement of social reform had been enthusiastically accepted by some who believed that an age of grassroots democracy was near, in which social and philosophical malaise would be replaced by a healthier society governed by mutual aid and self-help. Social reform had been reluctantly accepted by others as a temporary measure to combat short term problems.
The community development concept had been implicit in the discussions about the relative importance of the individual and society, the nature of community and co-operation, and the relationship between education and social action. However, it had neither been articulated in the adult education literature in the sense of being represented in a single term nor had it been expressed as a specific method by which learners could be organized for social improvement. Nor had those subjects of discussion been resolved to the satisfaction of all adult educators.
CHAPTER IV
DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY-WIDE ADULT
EDUCATION (1942-51)

Introduction

Adult educators continued to emphasize socio-economic co-operation in the war years as they had done increasingly during the Depression. They were as one in the commitment to assisting the war effort and at the same time to planning the course of post-war reconstruction. Generally concern with economics declined as the war economies helped to alleviate economic depression, and concern with social issues and democratic survival increased. Adult educators' emphasis on social improvement by the regeneration of Canadian and American communities and the revival of grass roots democracy that had evolved during the thirties continued through the forties and into the fifties. That emphasis resulted in the development of community-wide adult education as a major focus of research and commentary, and in a search for new methods to organize learners for community-wide programs.

Morse Cartwright summed up the mood in the United States in the first part of his report as director of the AAAE in 1944. He predicted that:

A return to unbridled individualism—every man out for himself and his family alone—would seem to be unthinkable and definitely a contradiction of the democratic ideal, which is a social concept. Wherein lies a justification between these two points of view and—importantly—what kind of an adult education can be devised to bring together these two conflicting ideologies that the whole people may be bettered? (italics mine)....There will be no lack of public interest in the education and training for a changed social scene and social outlook. The signs already are present that there is developing in the United States a new and compelling interest in the functioning
of our democratic society. Truth to say, prior to 1939, we had become a bit blase.\(^1\)

In Cartwright's opinion the dual goals of the adult education movement were well established and he saw a need for a new method to accommodate individual and social improvement.

Cartwright's reference to conflicting ideologies recalled the debates of the thirties. However, the issues of debate were absent in the literature during 1942-51. The period was free of controversy as adult educators were preoccupied with national mobilization and reconstruction. They were optimistic about the prospects for a revived democracy based on grass roots participation and much of their energy was directed to preparing for that eventuality.

Rather than controversy, the period reflected a consensus that the goals of the movement could best be achieved in the community setting. Cartwright's question about the kind of adult education needed to achieve the goals might have been amended to read—what kind of an adult education can be devised to bring together individual and social improvement in the community?

Efforts to answer this question led to the articulation of community-wide adult education as a strategy to organize adult learners in collective co-operative action in local affairs. Community development gradually became the term used to describe that strategy.

The time frame covered in this chapter commences with the publication of Edmund Brunner's report on the Greenville County Council for Community Development in 1942, the first substantial account of a project described as community development in Canada or the United States written by an adult

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\(^1\)Morse A. Cartwright, "New Mandates for Adult Education," *AEJ* 3 (July 1944):111-3. The annual reports of the director of the AAAE were in two sections. The first comprised the director's personal observations; the second was a detailed account of the association's business and activities. The first section of Cartwright's report for 1943-4 was printed for the first time separately from the second in the *AEJ* as "New Mandates for Adult Education."
educator. The period ends with the first conceptual statement incorporating community development and adult education. Paul L. Essert was the first adult educator to articulate the community development concept in adult education in a book published in 1951, at which time he was professor and head of the adult education department at Columbia University Teachers College.

Mobilization and Reconstruction (1942-5)

Adult educators emphasized the value of co-operation and community in their contributions to the war effort. In addition, they stressed the same notions in their suggestions for post-war reconstruction with which they had been concerned from the beginning of the war. The objective was to encourage the participation of all citizens in their communities for the purpose of building a healthy democracy by decentralizing decision making to local direction.

Citizen Participation

Many adult educators correlated the mobilization of resources with citizen participation in local affairs. They experimented with a number of innovations designed to facilitate citizen mobilization and drew upon their experiences of encouraging collective co-operative action that had begun during the Depression. Reports of those experiments provided a growing base of information about community-wide adult education.

The need for a total citizen effort in the United States was urgent after Pearl Harbor and was highlighted by Emily Graves, editorial assistant at the Institute of Adult Education at Columbia University Teachers College.


3The Carnegie Corporation withdrew its direct support of the AAAE in 1941 and transferred it in the form of a $350,000 ten-year grant to Columbia University Teachers College, which formed the Institute of Adult Education. The AAAE moved its offices to the Institute where it remained until 1949.
in her notes taken during one workshop held at the annual conference of the AAEE in 1942. She wrote that:

Today, in the United States, we have two great urgent reasons for pressing forward with our own efforts toward community organization as never before, people must be conscious of what their neighbours are thinking and doing and feeling; also the probability of bombing makes necessary very careful preparation for dealing, on a community basis, with the resultant devastation.  

According to Cartwright, the "apotheosis of the war time service of the adult educator" was the "building of citizenship in a community." Isaac L. Kandel, professor of education at Columbia University Teachers College, made a similar point in 1944 when he suggested that the future of democracy depended on citizen participation and co-operation. He added that: "The major aim of adult education in these days of crisis and of planning for reconstruction should be to provide for the acquisition of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action."  

Adult educators in Canada also were aware of the need to enhance citizen participation. At a conference on education for reconstruction organized by the CAAE and held at Macdonald College in Montreal in 1943, they expressed a concern about the lack of such participation. An outcome of the

At the same time the JAE was changed to the AEJ. The Corporation's policy change is outlined in Morse A. Cartwright, "Annual Report of the Director for 1941-2," AEJ 1 (July 1942):123-36.

With the establishment of the Institute, Teachers College seems to have assumed an even greater leadership role in the investigation into the community development concept than it had played during the thirties. Much of the research germane to the concept either emanated from the College or from its graduates during the thirties and forties, and into the fifties. The role of Teachers College in the adult education movement has not been analysed in print.


7 Ibid., p. 26.
conference was the establishment of the Citizens' Forum in the following year. The Citizens' Forum, similar to the Farm Radio Forum that had begun broadcasting in 1941, aimed to encourage citizen discussion and participation via a series of radio broadcasts. There were efforts to mobilize citizen activity throughout the country. In 1944, Leonard Bercuson, secretary of the Alberta Adult Education Association, reported that the first year's activity of the Association that had been formed in 1943 was largely directed to organizing and co-ordinating local projects that aimed to train people for good citizenship. R. Alex Sim, director of the Rural Adult Education Service at Macdonald College, observed in 1945 that national efforts had succeeded in mobilizing large numbers of people to the responsibilities of citizenship. He thought that the same result was possible in peace time and was essential to a healthy democracy. Sim concluded that: "The post-war problem is to decide how educators and others who would mould public opinion can make unemployment, slums, and poverty seem as dreadful an emergency as Dunkirk, Pearl Harbor, and the siege of Leningrad."

The community adult education council continued to be used to co-ordinate local development and to encourage participation during the war as it had been since the late twenties, and was assigned an important role in reconstruction plans. Those plans were bolstered by a growing supply of empirical research. Reports about the Greenville, South Carolina project were useful to adult educators in that they were provided with detailed analyses and data about a community-wide experiment in adult education as well as the philosophical underpinnings of the community movement and the social improvement

8 "Education for Reconstruction," FFT 4 (October 1943):11. The conference was attended by 165 people representing 120 educational organizations.


10 R. Alex Sim, "Patriotism Is Enough If---," FFT 6 (September 1945):24.
dimension of the adult education movement. Much of the credit for the careful
collection and recording of the data must be given to Edmund Brunner, project
consultant and professor of education at Columbia University Teachers College,
who published a report of the five-year project in 1942.\footnote{Edmund de S. Brunner, \textit{Community Organization and Adult Education}
(Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1942).} In addition,
Clarence B. Loomis, executive secretary of the Greenville Council, provided
a pot-pourri of data about the project in 1944.\footnote{Clarence B. Loomis, \textit{An Experience in Community Development and the Principles of Community Organization}
(Clayton, Georgia: Rabun Press, 1944).} The combination of
Brunner's analysis and Loomis's data was the best research on community-wide
adult education available at the time.\footnote{For example, the surveys that comprised the social significance series
of the AAAE had been based on data each author collected over a year or two}

The year prior to the publication of Brunner's report, the extension
division of the University of Virginia had initiated a five-year project in
community development, the results of which emphasized the value of community
adult education councils and the positive role of adult education in assisting
communities to work co-operatively. The project was a result of an idea of
William A. Smith, director for Virginia first of the Federal Emergency Relief
Administration and then of the Works Progress Administration, who had sought
new approaches to solving the problems of the Depression. He believed that

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\item \footnote{Edmund de S. Brunner, \textit{Community Organization and Adult Education}
(Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1942).} Brunner
had been appointed an associate of the Institute of Adult Education
in 1941 and was chairman of the agricultural extension and rural interests
committee of the AAAE in 1941-2. Brunner, as many of his contemporaries, had
entered the field of adult education by chance. He recalled that:
Providence unexpectedly took a hand in my career at Teachers College in
the death of John Willard, professor of adult education. Morse Cartwright
...had agreed to fill in until the end of the academic year (1931).
Dean Russell asked me to head up this field. Under some pressure I agreed,
provided that when and if a functioning department had been built I could
return to rural sociology full time....I had no professional experience
whatever with adult education, but I was far from unique in this
respect, since adult education was a very new discipline. In fact,
Teachers College was the first academic institution to accord adult
education a place in its curriculum.
\textit{As Now Remembered}, pp. 174-5.
\item \footnote{Clarence B. Loomis, \textit{An Experience in Community Development and the Principles of Community Organization}
(Clayton, Georgia: Rabun Press, 1944).} For example, the surveys that comprised the social significance series
of the AAAE had been based on data each author collected over a year or two
\end{enumerate}
communities possessed the resources to manage their affairs co-operatively and should be encouraged to do so in order to keep as much control as possible at the local level rather than to succumb to the trend toward centralization of power to the state and federal levels.\textsuperscript{14} Citizen participation in local development to reverse the centralization trend was the cornerstone of the University of Virginia's program throughout the war years and beyond.\textsuperscript{15} Pamphlets describing successful community development projects in Virginia and in neighbouring southern states were published regularly during the war and provided a substantial data base for students of community-wide adult education and co-operation.\textsuperscript{16}

Closely akin to the adult educators' desire to enhance citizen participation was a continuing interest in co-operation. The co-operative idea had been discussed in the literature ever since socio-economic depression had begun to preoccupy Canadian and American adult educators. Benson Landis continued to stress the importance of co-operation in the United States. He suggested in 1943 that co-operation like democracy "is an idea that, like the wish for justice, lives within us, as a 'great longing.'"\textsuperscript{17} He added that:

To many people the creation of the cooperative, democratic economy looms up as a great unfinished task. It is a necessity, if continued from observation and interview rather than on substantial empirical evidence. Ruth Kotinsky explained to the readers of Adult Education Councils that councils were for the most part too young to be treated other than in a general way with the emphasis on potentialities rather than performance. Kotinsky, Adult Education Councils, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{14}Jean Ogden and Jess Ogden, \textit{These Things We Tried} (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Extension, 1947), p. iv.

\textsuperscript{15}Below, pp. 137, 139-40.

\textsuperscript{16}The project was continued beyond the initial five year experimental period and in 1954, the New Dominion Series, by which the pamphlets were known, issued its 155th and final report.

progress is to be made toward the democratic ideal. The co-operative economy will help insure the future of political democracy.\(^{18}\)

Although the context of many co-operative endeavours stressed economics, the underlying meaning had broad social implications that emphasized co-operative action for an improved society. After all, observed Ned Corbett in 1942, "basically cooperation is an attitude, a way of living, rather than a smart way of doing business."\(^ {19}\) He suggested that the co-operative enterprises of the thirties had been innovative in so far as they had placed major emphasis on "the necessity of thorough education in the philosophy and techniques of cooperation."\(^ {20}\) Co-operatives had not been a creation of the thirties. What Corbett found to be unique and what had been emphasized in the Antigonish Movement was the accent on education. That accentuation was another sign of the complexity of the age in which co-operative endeavours had become as complicated as other areas of life, requiring more study than in an earlier age.

The war years made demands on all sections of society and adult educators responded by trying to enhance citizen participation and co-operation in Canadian and American communities. More and more information was available to them about successful projects that mobilized local resources through local efforts. Prospects seemed good for the revival of grass roots democracy.

**Decentralization**

Hopes for and plans to facilitate the build up of local control of local affairs was a major subject in the literature throughout the war years. Adult educators generally thought that the centralization trend of the thirties and early forties that had been a part of Canadian and American strategy to

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\(^ {18}\) Ibid.

\(^ {19}\) E. A. Corbett, "Agriculture Looks to the Future," *FFT* 3 (December 1942):10.

\(^ {20}\) Ibid.
combat depression and fight a war would end. They hoped that the return to peace and prosperity would be accompanied by a flow of socio-economic and political power to the community where citizens would work co-operatively to build democracy. The priority even during the war was to design the means by which adult education could assist Canadian and American society to that end.

Plans for post-war reconstruction emphasized adult education in the community. "It is to the communities that the men in the armed services will return in overwhelming numbers after the war," Cartwright reasoned in 1942, and furthermore "the absorption process can take place without disruption only if a gigantic process of re-education is undertaken." He welcomed the challenge with indefatigable optimism in the future of adult education. In 1943, with the outcome of the war by no means certain, he wrote with reference to the average community resident that:

The warp and woof of the fabric of his new world education must be manufactured at home, out of the materials of his own culture. To assist him, the plain citizen, in the expression and development of his ideas and ideals—in terms of community, state, national, and world living—is the breath-taking opportunity of the adult educator of the future.

The need for community-wide organization to help civilians and veterans to adjust to the conditions of post-war living was stressed throughout the meeting of one of the three sessions that made up the Working Conference on Post-War Adult Education Problems held in lieu of the annual conference of the AAAE in New York in 1944. Participants emphasized the educational aspects involved in planning community organizations, concluding that "participation in the planning process was in and of itself an educational process."

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23 The proceedings of the conference were summarized in AEJ 3 (July 1944):
Howard Y. McClusky, professor of educational psychology at the University of Michigan and an active member of the AAAE, underlined the importance of broad participation in community affairs in a speech delivered at the conference. He said that:

"No state or national policy has reality unless it does something to the people, and that people have their primary experience in communities. It is in the community, therefore, that the problems of all these groups must ultimately be faced. And if the community is to meet these problems, it must be organized."

McClusky and like-minded adult educators imagined the community as the centre of post-war reconstruction.

The legacy of the community movement, the movement that Eduard Lindeman had welcomed in 1921, with its emphasis on decentralization of socio-economic and political power to local control was inherent in adult educators' perception of the community as the lifeline of democracy. Their views were unchanged during the war and its inevitable centralization of control for maximum co-ordination of national resources. They believed that control would fall to the community after the emergency ended. Cartwright regularly made known his opposition to any intrusion on community control of adult education. He predicted in 1943 that the education of people for a future free world

81-92. A wide range of interests were represented at the conference as indicated by the list of participants of one panel discussion that debated the meaning of community organization. Those participating were: Mary L. Ely, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Wilbur Hallenbeck, associate professor of education, Columbia University Teachers College; Glen Burch, editor of AEJ; Winifred Fisher, executive director of the New York Adult Education Council; Dorothy Hewitt, director of the Boston Center for Adult Education; Herbert C. Hunsaker, dean of Cleveland College, Western Reserve University; Jean Carter Ogden, University of Virginia Extension Division; Hilda W. Smith, Federal Public Housing Authority; and, Paul Sheats, director of New Tools for Learning. Ibid., p. 85.

24 A summary of McClusky's speech was printed in AEJ 3 (July 1944):82. McClusky was a member of the university extra-mural relations committee of the AAAE from 1941 to 1944, and a member of the executive board of the Association from 1943 to 1946.

25 Above, pp. 53-4.
would begin "of course" in the community. His views were consistent with one of the significant trends in adult education listed in an editorial note in the Adult Education Journal in the same year. That trend was "a tendency toward program decentralization, with added emphasis laid on the small community, district or neighborhood."  

Canadian adult educators were equally hopeful that the future would bring more community involvement in local affairs. Confronted by the "challenge of world events," those participating in the 1943 annual meeting of the CAAE unanimously approved a manifesto of principles for adult education. The manifesto emphasized the need for social controls, planning, efficiency, and security. One of the seven principles read: "Planning must be combined with such local and community participation and democratic vigilance as to present the regimentation and frustrations of the human personality." Another principle stated that:

Neither the old individualism nor the newer mass-collectivism but a relationship of voluntary co-operation, which balances rights with responsibilities, is the basic pattern of the emergent social order. Such a relationship of voluntary co-operation has a place for central planning and control as well as for the legitimate liberties and enterprises of the individual.

Watson Thomson, who was then the director of the University of Manitoba Rural Adult Education Committee, reported that the manifesto had been accepted.

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27 "Editorial Note," AEJ 2 (October 1943):158.
28 The unanimous approval was reported by Watson Thomson, "The London Conference," FFT 3 (June 1943):10.
29 "Manifesto of the Canadian Association for Adult Education," FFT 3 (June 1943):4.
30 Ibid.
enthusiastically at the conference. He said that:

We did something we all wanted to do, some more consciously than others. We took a stand. We gave ourselves a moral and ideological basis from which to act.\textsuperscript{31}

Canadian adult educators were convinced, after a decade of depression and three and a half years of war, that the times demanded that their eight-year-old association make a clear and firm commitment to the dual goals of the adult education movement while stressing the utility of voluntary co-operative planning in their communities. The position taken in 1943 was that a balance was required between individual and social emphasis and between central and local planning, with the concept of co-operation conceived as the means to make the balance work.

In 1944, James Truslow Adams, historian of American adult education at the request of the AAAE and the Carnegie Corporation, suggested that the free participation of individuals working co-operatively and without compulsion in their communities was the essence of American democracy.\textsuperscript{32} He thought that the planning and administration of all aspects of American life had to be decentralized as much as possible to allow democracy to function properly. Adams, basing his information on the twenty-seven volume social significance series of the AAAE, viewed centralized control as an evil in the United States, an evil that adult education had to avoid in order to remain flexible and responsive to local needs. He recommended that "the general 'system,' or perhaps rather, to use our old word, 'jumble,' of Adult Education should still

\textsuperscript{31}Thomson, "London Conference," p. 11.

\textsuperscript{32}Morse Cartwright wrote a forward to Adams's book in which he noted that part of the plan for the social significance series of the AAAE had included an omnibus volume to interpret American adult education. He attributed the decision to employ an author without professional or technical knowledge of adult education to Frederick Keppel, and the selection of Adams because of the historian's broad knowledge of American history. Morse A. Cartwright, Foreword to Frontiers of American Culture--A Study of Adult Education in a Democracy, by James Truslow Adams (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), pp. ix-x.
be allowed to work flexibly."  He also suggested that there should be "in every community, as far as may be practicable, a central agency of some sort to which the returning veteran, or discharged war-plant operative, might turn for guidance as to the various ways in which he or she can re-orient themselves." Adams emphasized the overriding value of individualism while decrying centralization and viewed the community as the setting where the one could be enhanced and the other forestalled. At the same time he saw some utility in a central planning agency based in the community.

Adams was prepared to accept the necessity for some centralized planning if it were agreed to by individuals in their communities and not imposed by the state, a position that had been suggested by Lyman Bryson in 1935 and by Thomson in 1939. For that purpose, Adams concluded, "I leave it to the professionals whether, or how, the existing methods of Adult Education can be improved or new ones created." Improvement and creation of methods for community-wide adult education to enhance citizen participation in local control of local affairs became a major activity after the war.

Paradoxically, adult educators lauded the past, present, and future worth of the community while witnessing a continuing trend to centralized control and increasing physical mobility of people mainly into urban areas due to depression and war. Nevertheless, they anticipated the return to peace with plans to emphasize adult education as a community based activity and were confident that this approach would suit peace-time adjustments. They believed that citizen participation in their communities for the purpose of assuming more control over local affairs was the bulwark of democracy.

33 James Adams, p. 348.
34 Ibid.
35 Above, pp. 72-3, 118-9.
36 James Adams, p. 348.
Revival of Democracy (1946-8)

Adult educators in Canada and the United States emerged from the war years reinforced in their ability to contribute substantially to the well-being of society. They had made significant contributions to the war effort at home and abroad. The war effort had demanded co-operation at all levels of society and provided experiences that led adult educators to believe that a similar spirit of co-operation was possible during peace-time. They thought that spirit would help them to rekindle the flame of democracy they believed had been dimmed during the rapid and broad changes of the twentieth century.

The consensus in 1946-8 was that the regeneration of the local community was a way in which adult educators could work to restore a healthy democracy. That regeneration was to be guided by the community development concept that was appearing with increasing frequency in the adult education literature that contained more and more information about community-wide projects. A major flow of information regularly came from the extension division of the University of Virginia. Based in part on that information and in part on case studies about community-wide adult education projects throughout Canada and the United States, a special committee of the AAAE wrote an analysis of the community approach that was published in 1948. In addition, essays about community-wide adult education, community organization, and community councils were included in the 1948 Handbook of the AAAE.

Community Regeneration

Adult educators argued that the revival of democracy was dependent on the regeneration of the community. Interest in and knowledge about community had grown steadily in the thirties as adult educators sought solutions to socio-economic problems at the local level. Interest in community increased after the war for socio-philosophical reasons as the return to economic prosperity was accompanied by challenges in new forms of social malaise and
a growing sense of alienation from the corridors of power caused by big
government, big business, and big industry.

There was a general feeling after the war that the "unprecedented war-
time expansion of civilian participation in community affairs" would be
translated into peace time activities.  Jean and Jess Ogden, who had been
associate directors of the University of Virginia extension division's special
projects in adult education since 1941, suggested that there was an enthusiasm
for co-operative action carrying over from war to peace in communities in
Virginia. The Ogdens, who had been active in the adult education movement for
several years, reported in 1947 that:

The emphasis in most communities during the latter years of the war on
"postwar planning" built a bridge before the time had come to cross it.
Consciousness of the need made it possible for them to prepare for the
transition. "We are winning the war," said a statement sent out by
a citizen's council, "as a result of careful plans, aggressive action,
and a determination to win. With this same approach--planning, action,
and determination--we can be ready for the peace."

Similar enthusiasm was registered in Canada where one by-product of the "new
level of citizen participation in national effort" during the war was "a new
view of the local community's problems, and the possibilities of solving them
by united efforts." Canadians and Virginians were joined by adult educators
in general in viewing the revival of democracy in the community as a peace-
time goal, and in this aim they joined a main stream in Canadian and American
thought.

Social problems in post-war society were outlined in 1947 by Wayland J.
Hayes, professor of sociology at Vanderbilt University and a special assistant.


38 Ogden and Ogden, These Things We Tried, p. 410. Jean Carter and Jess
Ogden contributed to the AAAE social significance series prior to their
marriage in 1941 and their move to the University of Virginia. Above, pp. 94-5,
115.

39 Jean H. Morrison, "Warning about Community Centres," FFT 6 (March
for summer programs and local workshops in the extension division of the
University of Virginia in 1943-5. He warned of "the cleavage in our
civilization between extraordinary technological skill and social ineptness."40
He added that: "Technological progress has promoted the loss of social
cohesion at the very time when more cohesion is imperative, so that the basic
desires of men are blocked in almost every direction."
Hayes sensed a reaction to bigness in the United States and a return to small industries and
small communities. He suggested that:

There is a growing desire among the citizens of small American
communities to become aware of their civic and social problems and to
plan and work together for their solution. It is increasingly
recognized that most of the delinquency, crime, poverty and illiteracy
often reported in sensational terms, are merely symptoms of inadequate
and unbalanced community life.42
Hayes perceived the regeneration of the small local community as a way to
combat social problems.

The continued interest in community councils and centres in Canada and
the United States after the war suggested that civilian and veteran welcomed
the opportunity to adjust to peace in a local and familiar setting. Jean H.
Morrison, editor of Food For Thought, the journal of the CAAE, reported in
1946 that Canadians hoped that the new level of citizen participation
experienced during the war would be translated into collective co-operative
activities in community councils and centres. She observed that: "All across
the land people feel that victory and peace will be achieved only when a new
richness of community life has been created in our country.43Cartwright
detected a similar feeling in the United States in the same year. He wrote

40Wayland J. Hayes, The Small Community Looks Ahead (New York:
41Ibid.
42Ibid., pp. 3-4.
43Jean Morrison, p. 2.
that:

An adult's education can be planned and carried out only where he, himself, lives—in the locality that constitutes his home and to which he has a feeling of belonging. The provision of opportunities, therefore, despite the help available at national and state levels, is peculiarly a local community problem.44

Cartwright continued to believe that community problems were best resolved at the local level and without central direction, a stance he had assumed before the war. He thought that that direction was best left to community councils.

Community regeneration through community councils and centres for the purpose of reviving grass roots democracy was stressed during the immediate post-war years. Based on several years work in community development, the Ogdens suggested that the means to that end involved community planning and action.

Education and Action

The community development concept had been implicit in the issues debated during the thirties. It reappeared in clearer but still imprecise terms in the writings of Jean and Jess Ogden in 1947, the report of the committee on community organization of the AAAE in 1948, and here and there in the adult education literature in those years.

The concept appeared throughout the published accounts of the Virginia project. The Ogdens employed the words "study and action" to incapsulate a basic process in all successful community development.45 They also referred to "self-education that leads to action that leads to more self-education and more action."46 The concept was the same whatever the choice of words. In

45 Ogden and Ogden, These Things We Tried, pp. 88-90.
46 Ibid., p. 411.
addition, the Ogdens were clear about the ends they deemed important. They explained that:

Education as a means of implementing democracy through the creation of a continuously alert citizenry has been too often sterile. Hence adult education has a job to do in this field. This becomes the more difficult because of the need of breaking the habits of inertia and indifference that have been built up during many years of living. Only as a program of education to this end permeates communities, will citizens bestir themselves to accept the responsibilities that the rights of citizens in a democracy imply. To the degree that citizens shake off their lethargy, inform themselves in matters of public concern, and take action based on information and understanding—to that degree, communities will become better socially, economically, and culturally.⁴⁷

Those views were an early expression of the community development concept of a combination of adult learning and social action aiming to educate citizens for collective co-operative enterprises in local control of local affairs.

The Ogdens had a large collection of data with which to substantiate their views. Pamphlets describing successful community development had been published regularly since 1941, and several descriptions were re-printed in book form in 1946.⁴⁸ The Ogdens published a lengthy analysis in 1947 of the community development projects they designed as part of the University of Virginia extension program.⁴⁹ Their emphasis on the value of community development was shared by Wayland Hayes who praised the work of the Ogdens in a 1947 analysis of the small community in Canada and the United States. In his opinion, the University of Virginia illustrated a new mood in university extension by demonstrating that "extension education has an important function in balancing community development and influencing human lives."⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 413.
⁴⁹ Ogden and Ogden, These Things We Tried.
⁵⁰ Hayes, p. 152.
A key document in the evolution of the community development concept was published in 1948, wherein the term community development was infrequently and loosely used although the combination of adult learning and social action clearly was the central theme. Community Education In Action was the product of a two year study of the relationship between adult education and community organization carried out by the AAAE's committee on community organization. William Stacy, who continued as an extension sociologist at Iowa State College, and Jean Ogden of Virginia were among the eighteen people appointed to the committee in 1946 charged by the AAAE's committee on future policy to make "a study of the relationship existing between the community organization movement and the adult education movement." The committee on community organization co-ordinated the study and wrote the final report. It neither met regularly nor travelled the country in part because of the lack of funds and in part, according to Association president Alain Locke, professor of philosophy at Howard University, because "local initiative and community

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52 Ibid., p. 2. The other members were: Robert A. Luke (Chairman), executive secretary, Adult Education Council of Metropolitan Cincinnati; Ralph Spence (Vice Chairman), research consultant, New York State Department of Education; Watson Dickerman, assistant director, University of California Extension Division; Winifred Fisher, executive secretary, New York Adult Education Council; Alice L. Halligan, executive secretary, Springfield (Mass.) Adult Education Council; Irene T. Heineman, assistant superintendent of public instruction, California State Department of Education; Margaret E. Hoke, executive secretary, Adult Education Council of Denver; Emeric Kurtagh, head resident, Kingsley House, New Orleans; Ralph McCallister, vice president and program director, Chautauqua Institute; Howard Y. McClusky, in charge of community adult education, University of Michigan, Extension Division; Herschel W. Nisonger, director, Bureau of Special and Adult Education, Ohio State University; Don Phillips, assistant director of extension in charge of adult education, Michigan State College; Susan Simrall, executive director, Adult Education Council of Greater St. Louis; Helen T. Steinbarger, adult education consultant. District of Columbia Adult Education Council; Grace Stevenson, head, Adult Education Department, Seattle Public Library; Glen Burch (ex-officio), editor, AEJ. The committee represented a cross-section of the United States and several adult education agencies.
collaboration are being stressed to make the work a vital and integral part of each community as it grows." The committee was not inundated with information despite broad interest and co-operation throughout the United States. It attributed the lack of information to the absence of suitable records rather than to the absence of suitable community projects. The committee stressed the need for systematic collection of data and recommended the development of improved techniques to record community adult education processes.

Community development was undefined in Community Education In Action and the term often used interchangeably with the term community organization. A difference between community development and community organization was hinted at but not clarified when the authors noted that:

We are in the early stages both of community development and in the working out of appropriate techniques in adult education. One of the major theses of this report is that the establishment of a closer relationship between community organization and adult education will be to the mutual advantage of both. They suggested that adult education, the essential element of which was "the deliberate effort to facilitate learning in adults," could contribute to community organization, defined as "the dynamic balancing of community needs and resources." Adult education was to emphasize the learning process whereby community organization, emphasizing the action process, would be extended to include broad community participation in all local issues continuously over time. The report indicated that there were activities throughout Canada and the United States whereby communities engaged in adult learning and social action when dealing with problems and issues that

54 Community Education In Action, p. 42.
55 Ibid., pp. 42-3.
established organizations and institutions could not or did not handle. It was apparent that the committee was seeking a new approach to community-wide adult education in that combination of learning and action.

The notion of adult learning and social action appeared in various forms. Gordon Caulfield, a staff member in the adult education division of the Saskatchewan Department of Education, reported in 1945 that the guiding maxim of his office was: "No study without subsequent action....No action without previous study." That maxim bore the stamp of the Antigonish Movement. Glen Burch, editor of the Adult Education Journal, reported "a rising demand all over the country for cooperative planning and action" in his 1947 essay on the importance of community centred programs. Statements combining study and planning with action were scattered throughout the literature.

The essential message was the learning was incomplete without action. Eleanor Coit, director of the American Labor Education Service, a labour education agency independent of unions and universities, emphasized the importance of a functional approach to workers' education in her contribution to the 1948 Handbook. In her view: "Obviously study becomes most meaningful when it leads to an awareness of the need for action and when there is interrelation between study and action." In the same publication, John Herring, who had several years experience in community adult education since his directorship of the Chester County project from 1929 to 1932 and who was the supervisor of the Bureau of Adult Education in the New York State Department of Education in 1948, noted that the Bureau viewed Canadian activities were not singled out although the report's bibliography included Canadian references.


community action and community education as inseparable. He added that:

Shared by many in New York is this thought: the American community, by and large, lacks the community organization, the community institution—what you will—to unite the citizens in common effort to solve our problems in team play to attain the finest gains. Democracy needs, and needs desperately, new social pioneering, new social inventions to repair this lack.

Herring's perception of a need for new social inventions recalled the committee on community organization's search for a new approach to community-wide adult education.

It was clear by 1948 that many adult educators were interested in community-wide adult education as a strategy to revive democracy in Canada and the United States. Moreover, it was apparent that the community development concept was viewed as a guide for that strategy. What remained unclear was the method by which the concept could be translated into practice.

Search for Community Methods (1948-51)

There were indications in the adult education literature in the late forties and in the first two years of the fifties that adult education had outgrown the limited programs of formal classes, literacy training, and vocational education that had typified the field before the war. Adult educators suggested in several ways that they had to have new methods in order to organize learners for community based programs to enhance participation and revive democracy. The community development concept was the foremost philosophical guide in the search for new methods. Paul Essert's articulation of the community development form of adult education in 1951 was the first substantial result of that search.

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61 Ibid., p. 112.
Need for New Methods

The need for new methods in adult education was expressed throughout 1948-51. There were experiments in designing new programs to attract adult learners to the benefits of collective co-operative enterprises in local control of local affairs. Those experiments plus further inquiry into the nature of community-wide adult education added to the build up of evidence that had been underway since the end of the war and enabled Essert to draw on a substantial literature for his analysis of creative leadership of adult education published in 1951.

In 1948, Herring identified a need for social inventions and the committee on community organization sought new approaches to community-wide adult education. The "mission" of developing intelligent citizen participation required new tools according to an editorial in *Food For Thought* in 1949.\(^{62}\) Father Coady suggested during the next year that: "We must find a technique of adult education that is practical, inexpensive, widely applicable, and capable of fanning out into the higher levels of culture."\(^{63}\) According to Wilbur Hallenbeck in 1951, "the potentialities for participation in any single program or in any single organization are limited" since "it takes many programs of many organizations to gain the participation of many people."\(^{64}\)

In his judgement: "A carefully planned and coordinated attack on the problem is essential."\(^{65}\)

In addition to identifying a need for innovation, adult educators experimented with new programs. For example, the value of collective

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\(^{65}\) Ibid.
co-operative action in Canadian and American communities was published in "The People Act" radio series. The series was aired for the first time in 1950 by the NBC, and then by the CBS in 1951 and the CBC in 1952. The co-operative notion remained a topical one after the war as it had been before. The theme of the December 1950 issue of Food For Thought was "educational aspects of the co-operative movement." Journal contributors enthusiastically reported a spirit of co-operation alive and well in British Columbia fisheries, prairie Wheat Pools, Quebec farms, and Nova Scotia citizen's forums.

Elsewhere, Baker Brownell, professor of philosophy at Northwestern University, reported on the Montana Project in the 1948 Handbook. The project, sponsored and partly financed by the University of Montana with additional funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, ran from 1944 to 1947 and was "a community-centered project, devoted to the stabilization and enrichment of small communities in Montana." Brownell had been the project's architect and designed it around community study groups wherein local leadership was trained and encouraged to direct local affairs. The project was described in detail in 1950 by Richard W. Poston, founder of the bureau of community development in the division of adult education at the University of Washington in the same year. Poston concluded that if Brownell's method were to be employed in other localities it "could become a powerful force for the preservation of our democratic heritage."

The notion of wholeness was a basic ingredient in those experiments and in the search for new adult education methods. "If there is anything new

66 The series is described in Eleanor A. Eaton, "The People Act," AE 3 (March 1953):113-5. Eaton was the consultant and executive associate at the People Act Center.

67 FFT 11 (December 1950).


which is common to most of the more recent developments," observed the committee on community organization in 1948, "it is the consideration of the 'wholeness' of life in the community." There appeared to be three dimensions to the notion of wholeness. First, was a view that there should be an interrelation of areas of interest and effort between the individual and the community, as well as between needs and resources within those areas. Second, was a belief that communities possessed most resources needed for their development and that community-wide co-ordination of those resources plus co-operative planning by all citizens would keep local development in local hands. Third, was the stance that community problems had to be solved with the involvement of broad citizen participation. The notion of wholeness was stressed as a guide for a new adult education method throughout 1948-51. However, the idea was not unique in the adult education literature. A similar concept had been advanced by several adult educators in the mid-thirties, a fact apparently unknown to their successors who did not cite the earlier literature in which the concept had appeared.

In 1951, Essert inferred that the notion of wholeness in adult education was an important new element required by creative leadership in the field. In his estimation, adult learners had to be encouraged to reflect upon their whole environment. He wrote that: "In general, the learning experiences that adult learners have selected for planning learning situations have not been directed toward the control and improvement of environment, but have been limited to amelioration of their personal problems instead of environmental causes." He suggested that a new method of adult education, which he termed the community development form, would enable adult learners to improve their environment. Essert's conception of the community development form of adult

70 Community Education in Action, p. 25.

71 Essert, Creative Leadership, p. v.
education articulated many of the suggestions that adult educators had been making for some years about a new method for adult education to operate in communities.

**Concept into Method**

Essert incorporated the community development concept in the term community development and defined it as an adult education process. At the same time he emphasized the need for more experimentation and research before adult educators would be able to understand the nature of community development and how adults could be taught to practice it.

Essert drew upon several years experience as an educator that had taken him through seven years work at the Emily Griffith Opportunity School in Denver during the thirties to a position as superintendent of schools in Grosse Point, Michigan in the forties prior to his appointment as professor of adult education at Columbia University Teachers College in 1947. After interviewing "hundreds" of people across the United States, he wrote that there were three main forms of adult study in the country, two of which were prevalent and the third was emerging. He identified the first two as the individual home-study form and the group-study form, both designed primarily for the individual. He labeled the third the community development form in which adult study resulted from participation in group objectives. Essert devoted a substantial part of *Creative Leadership of Adult Education* to the emerging form. He distinguished the forms by suggesting that adult education for community development gave "greater emphasis to the experiences of self-government and close-fellowship" than the individual or group forms. He added that the community development form was a necessary supplement to individual and group study for the purpose of meeting personal needs.

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72 Essert, *Creative Leadership*, p. 35.  73 Ibid., p. 95.  74 Ibid., p. 114.
Essert suggested that the war-time experience of collective co-operative planning had been the impetus for post-war plans for the revival of democracy in local settings. He cited as examples of the successful implementation of those plans the program of the New York State Citizen's Council and the University of Virginia Extension Division where "cooperative study and planning" was the rule. He detected a trend in the United States toward "the shaping and the control of environment through group thought and action for the purpose of creating conditions of freedom in which individuals can give more complete expressions of their unique personalities." Essert explained why the trend had appeared in the post-war United States, suggesting that it did not "spring from the drive, zeal, or organization of any party, sect, or creed, since its characteristics are observable among people of widely varying beliefs, creeds, and colors." He added that:

The most common characteristic seems to be that people come together for planning, group thinking, and cooperative action because they have finally lost confidence in panaceas and have simply said, "It's up to us." Perhaps this is an outgrowth of the closing of the American frontier. Even though we are in the midst of continued migrations of population, many people are finding that they cannot run away from their problems by moving to new frontiers.

He envisaged an active role for the educator in that trend—"a partnership of learner and leader in both the study of facts and the responsibility for getting the task done."

There were two tasks for the adult educator in community development according to Essert. First, he believed that the adult educator must develop educational services for community groups in order to broaden group interests so that community interests could be identified. In some instances he felt those groups might be well advised to organize to deal with the common

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75 Essert, Creative Leadership, p. 110.
76 Ibid., p. 12.
77 Ibid., p. 11
78 Ibid.
79 Ibid., p. 96.
80 Ibid., pp. 96-7.
concern by forming a community council or forum; in other instances he believed that such organization could destroy group autonomy. In the latter case, Essert suggested that the second task of the adult educator was to teach adults the community development process for the purpose of building a sense of community.

Essert identified community development as an emerging form of adult education and designed a conceptual relationship between it and the two established forms. He cautioned however that his was an attempt only to explain a part of that relationship and offered his work as "an introductory statement." He concluded his analysis of community development by recommending that adult educators had to engage in more experimentation and research into the educational potential of community improvement in order to determine the potentialities for enriching the adult experiences of self-government and close-fellowship, and into the nature of the still ill-defined community development process. Essert was convinced that "adult education will emerge in our times, not only as a powerful force for helping individuals accommodate themselves to cultural change, but as a means of assisting adults to direct and control some of the immediate forces of change in their community." That optimism captured the mood of many adult educators in the late forties and early fifties who were hopeful that community-wide adult education would usher in a new age of democratic participation by all adults.

Summary

The community-wide approach to adult education evolved as a general strategy to enhance citizen participation, decentralization, and community regeneration. There was a consensus in the literature during 1942-51 that adult education should emphasize work in the community in order to develop

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81 Essert, Creative Leadership, p. vii. 82 Ibid., p. 160.
a healthy democracy. That consensus was compatible with the climate of opinion in the Canadian and American adult education movement that viewed the decentralization of power and a revival of grass roots democracy as essential ingredients for a better quality of life.

The community development concept had been implicit in many of the statements about community-wide adult education and was the foremost philosophical guide in the search for new community methods. Essert's analysis of community development was the first major result of that search. He translated the community development concept into a method that he called the community development form of adult education. By 1951 then, the question that had been posed by Cartwright in 1944 about the kind of adult education needed to bring together individual and social improvement might have been answered—through community development.
CHAPTER V

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT—FOR AND AGAINST (1951-60)

Introduction

The adult education movement had reflected the climate of society at large in Canada and the United States during the Depression and World War II. Solutions to socio-economic problems were sought throughout society and adult educators had responded by emphasizing local initiative programs and by attempting to change the nature of education to make it more responsive to the problems. In the optimistic post-war years, adult educators had hoped that the centralizing trend that had increased during the Depression would cease and power would flow into local hands. That hope was the basis of community development and it continued through the fifties.

At the same time, there were changes that thwarted that hope. While community development was being established in adult education, the climate of opinion in Canada and the United States changed from post-war optimism to Cold War pessimism. An era of intolerance resulted from fears of foreign ideologies and the threat of war. In addition, government, business, social service agencies, and educational institutions were larger than ever before, thus rendering the community development movement's emphasis on smallness out of tune with the broader trend. Intolerance and bigness tempered the enthusiasm of many adult educators who had hoped that the movement would introduce an age of broadly based participatory democracy. A high standard of living sweetened the less attractive aspects of the time. The unprecedented material affluence helped to deflect some of the twenty year old concern with
social improvement, community, co-operation, and education for social action.

This chapter covers the decade that commences with the foundation of the AEA in 1951 and concludes with the publication of the AEA's first handbook in 1960. The formation of the AEA stimulated a search for an articulate social philosophy to guide the future of the association. That search made plain the widening interest in community development as a strategy to enhance the performance of adult learners in the duties of citizenship in their communities. Community development enthusiasts made ambitious statements about the importance of the community-wide approach and about their ability to perform a plethora of roles in society. There was opposition to those claims during mid-decade and controversy resulted particularly when the importance of individual and society, and the relationship between education and social action were discussed. However, the controversy was over the importance of various adult education goals and purposes rather than over the inclusion of community development as a part of adult education. Indeed, by 1960, it was clear that community development had been established as a fundamental part of adult education and was highlighted in many publications and conferences. It also became clear that the demands adult educators had made on their movement, field of practice, and field of study had strained all three. It was uncertain if adult educators possessed the resources to fulfill the destiny they envisaged in their search for social improvement through community development.

Widening Interest in Community Development (1951-4)

More and more adult educators were attracted to community development during the early fifties. They interpreted it as an adult education concept and found within it the solution to their search for new methods that had begun during the emphasis on social improvement in the thirties. There were three reasons for their interest. First, they continued to view the
enhancement of citizen participation in democracy as a part of their responsibility, and perceived community development as a means to that end. Second, they persisted in the belief that the community was the most important unit of human association for their social improvement schemes. Third, community development was viewed as the means whereby adult education could serve a broad range of social needs and acquire some credibility as an essential part of the educational system.

Citizenship Enhancement

There was general agreement in the literature in the early fifties that adult education should serve democracy, a democracy in which as many decisions as possible were made by as many citizens as possible. That view of democracy was a fundamental part of the community development concept.

Several adult educators interpreted the absence of citizen participation in democracy as a cause of social problems. The low level of citizen participation was analysed in 1952 in an article in the first issue of Adult Leadership, a new publication of the newly formed AEA. The authors were Baker Brownell, Wilbur Hallenbeck, Leland P. Bradford, director of adult education services for the National Education Association, and Kenneth D. Benne, professor of education at the University of Illinois. They pointed to citizen apathy, indifference, and complacency about all issues facing society as signs of the "possible disintegration of the moral strength of our nation." The death of democracy is not likely to be an assassination from ambush," wrote Robert M. Hutchins, chancellor of the University of Chicago and doyen

1 For an analysis of the events that led to the founding of the AEA see Knowles, Movement, pp. 215-9.

of the Great Books program. Rather, he suggested, "it will be a slow extinction from apathy, indifference, and undernourishment." The priority was to get citizens involved in their democracy. Such involvement would protect the social system from corrosion from within and prepare it to withstand ideological forces from without. Adult educators' concern with threats to internal and external security reflected the general climate of opinion in Canada and the United States in the early fifties. There was a fear of the ideological appeal of communism and the ambition of Soviet communism in the dawning nuclear age.

Adult educators thought that they had a solution to the troubled times. Several suggested that the reversal of the centralizing trend in society was directly correlated with increasing democratic participation by all citizens in local affairs. Paul Essert suggested in 1951 that the challenge of the fifties was "to discover or establish new face-to-face community relationships that will supplement and counter the tendencies toward centralization, and through which the ordinary citizen can keep in touch with the major problems of a larger community and at the same time take active part in developing his immediate environment." William B. Baker expressed similar sentiments in 1953. Baker, chairman of the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life at the time, declared that: "We have no intention of turning the management of our communities over to small groups of planners." In the same year,

4 Ibid.
5 Essert, Creative Leadership, p. 94.
6 William B. Baker, "The Meaning of Social Action," AL 1 (February 1953):3. Prior to his appointment to the Royal Commission in 1952, Baker was director of the School of Agriculture at the University of Saskatchewan.
Robert E. Sharer, a member of the continuing education service at Michigan State College and vice-president of the AEA, saw a growing importance for adult education in keeping program control at the community level to offset the centralization of political and economic authority. The task of keeping control at the community level gave adult education a new dimension according to Sharer. He wrote that: "Now the societal functions of adult education are being recognized as adding vastly to its importance." In Sharer's opinion, the societal function of adult education inferred a connection with the decentralization of power to local control.

The notion of community development as a guide for citizenship education was taken up by adult educators interested in local control of local affairs. That view was evident throughout Essert's *Creative Leadership of Adult Education* in which the community development form was portrayed as the new thrust in adult education. He recommended that "institutional leaders and neighborhood and natural group leaders must develop a process for establishing teamwork for community development." Also in 1951, Essert co-authored an article with a doctoral student at Columbia University Teachers College that argued the need for new methods in education to enhance adult citizenship. He and Coolie Verner stressed the importance of education for adult citizenship at the local level where they perceived citizens gathering in co-operative and concerted action when necessity demanded. That action of individuals in their community groupings "is commonly called community development, and in it lie the foundation strength of American democratic

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8 Ibid.

9 Essert, *Creative Leadership*, p. 113.
community life and the key to education for active citizenship."\textsuperscript{10} They did not explain further.

Essert did not analyse community development in print after the two publications in 1951 although he continued to view the community as the base for adult education. He outlined the graduate program of study at Teachers College to his peers in the Commission of the Professors in 1955, and noted that "the community approach was elemental in any program."\textsuperscript{11} Verner agreed with that view and pursued an interest in the community approach and community development throughout the fifties.

Verner directed much of his attention during the fifties to the study of the relationship between adult education and community development. He had gone to Columbia University in 1950 to study rural sociology and adult education after gaining practical experience in the field of community development with the Ogdens in Virginia before and after military service during World War II. His early writing had contained reference to community development as a process of co-operative management of local change based on programs of democratic self-help.\textsuperscript{12} Verner pursued his interest in the subject during his doctoral studies at Columbia and later while on the faculty at Florida State University and the University of British Columbia. While living in Britain as a Fulbright Fellow in 1953, he wrote that the new "co-operative movement (i.e. community development)" was "education in the

\textsuperscript{10}Paul L. Essert and Coolie Verner, "Education for Active Adult Citizenship," \textit{Teachers College Record} 53 (October 1951):19.


highest form." He borrowed examples from the University of London's leadership training program for colonial officers and concluded that "community development has been recognized as offering the most powerful medium thus far developed for educating adults to the responsibilities of democracy."  

Verner joined Ralph B. Spence, professor of adult education at Teachers College, in suggesting in 1954 that adult education had an important role in preparing American communities to deal with problems caused by segregation, and a broader role in anticipating the course of social change. Their concern with segregation was timely since the Supreme Court of the United States in 1954 had declared segregation to be unconstitutional. Spence and Verner suggested that in order to equip people to perform social roles a "vastly broader and more vital form of adult education" was required, one by which people were taught in their communities. They called that form "community action, community development, or education for social action." Apparently they had difficulty deciding on a single term to express the community development concept.

During the early fifties, adult educators were continuing an earlier interest in enhancing a sense of citizenship responsibility in all people in order to help reverse a growing sense of alienation from and apathy toward Canadian and American democracy. Several of them perceived community development as the vehicle to manage that reversal.


Adult educators regarded the community as the best setting for programs aiming to encourage citizen participation in local affairs. That view had been advanced by Eduard Lindeman and Joseph Hart in the twenties, had been adopted by many adult educators during the Depression and World War II, and became a major part of adult education by the early fifties. Numerous observers suggested that adult education in the community was the priority. At the same time there were some who were skeptical of the emphasis on community and who affirmed the primacy of the individual, although this viewpoint was a minority opinion in 1951-4.

**Community Focus**

Adult educators agreed that community existed albeit of uncertain form and size, and had to be revived to insure the survival of democracy. Hallenbeck explained in 1951 that, within a framework of community construction, people would "discover first-hand that others have the same problems they have, that their common problems can be solved by cooperative action, that when they come to know people in the sharing of experience the basis for prejudice disappears and that there are values, not apparent on the surface of the everyday world, by which people can, and do live." Richard Poston also believed that the building of community was the fundamental principle of democratic action. He wrote in 1953 that "the development of community life in modern America will re-awaken and revitalize democratic processes."

Adult educator commitment to the community focus was no clearer than in the writing of Paul H. Sheats who was active in the AEA throughout the decade, serving on adult education delegations at home and abroad, and as

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president of the association in 1953-4. Sheats, associate director of university extension at the University of California in Los Angeles in 1946 and dean of extension in 1957, was a regular contributor to the literature and started and ended the fifties with a commitment to the community approach. He shared his enthusiasm with his peers during a luncheon address at the founding assembly of the AEA in 1951, in which he pledged:

I hope with all my heart that we can remain committed to the community approach in adult education. The vitality of the American system does depend on the quantity and quality of citizen participation in the cooperative effort we call community life.

Sheats transferred his enthusiasm to *Adult Education--The Community Approach* published in 1953, an anthology of essays and case studies about successful adult education programs in American communities.

Also in 1953, Poston wrote that "self-discovery and self-education" plus action was an essential process in the survival of the community. He based his views upon experiences in the bureau of community development at the University of Washington since 1950 and upon Brownell's writing. In 1954, after having left Washington and having set up a community development program at Southern Illinois, Poston observed that adult education had to look to community development as a concept to guide efforts at the community level since it was there that broad social problems were best addressed. He did not define his terms and relied on enthusiasm to make his point. He wrote

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18 Below, p. 218.


21 Poston, *Democracy Is You*, p. 18.

22 Above. p. 146.

Community development as an educational concept refers to a process of enrichment and qualitative growth of the total community, and a rhythmic and meshing together of its cultural, economic, and spiritual functions into an integrated social unit. Within the framework of a community development program each action project, regardless of its nature, becomes simply a step toward the realization of a larger goal—the enrichment and qualitative growth of community life, hence the strengthening of democratic processes.

In Poston's opinion, community development was the solution to the need for designing an approach to adult education that aimed at improving society as a whole.

A similar challenge had been identified twenty years earlier by Robert Falconer and Henry Munro in their emphasis on the need for adult education to create "wholeness" in society, and had been taken up by adult educators in the late forties. That wholeness was believed to be most readily attainable in the community. The task was clear to Brownell who wrote in 1952 that: "The problem, in short, is to create an environment favorable to the human community." He believed that many social ills of the time would disappear with the decentralization of power to the community and the development of a sense of belonging to that community.

However, not all adult educators were convinced that the community approach was the only way to improve society. For example, Cyril O. Houle, professor of education at the University of Chicago, sought a balance between the community and individual approaches in adult education. He observed in 1953 that all adult educators wished to improve the community but divided sharply as to the best means to that end, some arguing that education should direct social action and others believing that the community would be improved

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24 Poston, "Relation of Community Development," p. 194.


by improving the individuals within it. Houle made clear his preference for the individual approach but suggested that the other was equally valid. He reasoned that:

There is no fundamental conflict here. The difference is a difference of means and not of ends. Each of us will begin at the place which seems right to him; each of us will have his own point of emphasis. But unless I am greatly mistaken, each of us whatever our general theoretical view, will find that, in practice we are using both approaches.

Houle's notion of the validity of both the community and the individual approaches in adult education was a minority view in the literature in the early fifties during which the community approach received by far the most attention.

Social Philosophy in the AEA

The emphasis on community resulted from a belief that social problems were community based and therefore resolvable in the community. That belief was a highlight in the early years of the AEA. The community had been a major subject of inquiry in the AAAE during its final years and remained at the forefront of interest after the AAAE had combined with the Department of Adult Education of the National Education Association to form the AEA in 1951. Emphasis on community was clear in the work of the AEA's committee on social philosophy that had been appointed by the organizing committee composed of members of the AAAE and the Department of Adult Education. The committee on social philosophy endeavoured to set the mood for the infant AEA and since the committee identified the community as the main focus of adult education its activities are instructive.

The committee on social philosophy was composed of a wide range of


adult educators and was initially chaired jointly by Eduard Lindeman, emeritus professor of social work at Columbia University, and Eleanor Coit, director of the American Labor Education Service. The committee had commenced work on their assigned task to articulate goals and principles for the new organization "many months" before the founding assembly met at Columbus, Ohio in May 1951. The committee made their initial report during the founding assembly and declared that the first thing that they had agreed to commit themselves to was:

In the final analysis adult education happens in the community and consequently the community should always be the focus of our attention. Our main concern is strengthening the operation of adult education within the many communities....Adult education must be conceived and planned on a community basis which takes into consideration all of the people, all of the needs, all of the resources, and all of the problems both special and common.

The committee suggested four additional principles of adult education to the
assembly after stressing the overriding importance of the community focus. Those four were: adult education was an essential instrument for the development of democratic citizenship; adult educators were committed to the scientific approach to problems; adult education was morally bound to see people through to the solutions of their individual and collective problems; and, adult education was devoted to the business of perfecting human relationships. The five guiding principles selected by the committee on social philosophy emphasized a commitment to the development of democracy through perfecting human relationships by encouraging adult learning and social action in the community, in other words a commitment to the community development concept.

The committee published an expanded and revised list of "Principles Which Should Guide the AEA Movement" in 1952. The list basically was a re-statement of the principles presented to the founding assembly. One point that was strengthened was a commitment to an active role in social change although it was unclear what was meant by role and social change. The list of principles plus comments on them already received from the field were sent to "about 150 persons active in the adult education field." They were delegated to act as representatives of the committee in their local communities and were requested to call together small groups for discussion. It seemed that every effort was made to encourage participation in all sections of the

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32 Ibid., pp. 209-10.


34 Ibid., p. 128. A footnote identified the 150 as those persons who had expressed special interest in keeping in touch with AEA developments during the founding meeting at Columbus; persons listed in the April 1949 issue of the AEJ as chairmen of local adult education councils; the members of the committee on social philosophy and of the executive committee of the AEA; and other individuals believed to have a special interest in the social philosophy of adult education.
field and in particular from the grass roots. "The results were astounding" according to Orlie A. H. Pell, education and research associate at the American Labor Education Service, who was responsible for summarizing the activities of the committee.  

She reported responses from all sections of the United States and from a wide variety of groups and individuals. The feedback from the field was analyzed and discussed by the committee, and Lindeman prepared a summary of the responses to serve as a basis for further discussion. His summary comprised a list of six major areas of criticism that reflected concerns about the academic and idealistic nature of the committee’s list of principles. No criticism in Lindeman’s list referred to the community or to the committee’s emphasis on it as the focus of adult education.

Invariably during the early fifties, the community was often emphasized at the expense of the individual. The committee maintained that:

> While individual needs and interests are the key to motivation, if they become the basis of planning and operating adult education they lead to exclusive groups and organizations. If adult education is to maintain an inclusive character, which we all want it to have, it will be oriented to the community and operated on a community-wide basis.

The committee never relegated the individual to an inferior position but in their insistence on the value of the community they aroused dissenting opinions to the stress on the community. Pell reported in 1952 that the committee had received negative comments to the community emphasis including statements that "education can deal only with the individual, since it is individual behavior that must be changed," and "adult education must concentrate primarily on working individually with adults." Apparently those statements had not been numerous enough to have been included by

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35 Pell, p. 128.  
36 Pell, pp. 129-30.  
38 Pell, p. 128.
Lindeman in his summary of the criticisms returned to the committee.

The committee on social philosophy continued to request and collect views from the field about a philosophy for the AEA. Pell's article in Adult Education that recorded the committee's efforts was reprinted and distributed widely. Hallenbeck published a progress report on behalf of the committee in 1953, and noted their continued encouragement of groups and individuals to discuss adult education philosophy and to report their findings to the committee.  

His statement included a summary of Pell's 1952 report and although a number of points had been changed and refined by 1953, the major thrust of the committee continued to be advocacy of the community as the main focus of adult education. That focus was essential "in order to make its opportunities available to all of the community's people, in order to concern itself with the development of the community, and in order to help increase the expression of citizenship responsibility of individuals and their groups in cooperative action."

Committee activity during the early fifties plus the increasing number of articles and books reporting studies on adult education in the community indicated a strong emphasis on community. The committee continued to function throughout the decade but received less attention in the literature after 1953. Eduard Lindeman died in that year. His contribution to the committee and its detailed workings have not been analysed but his influence was clear. The emphasis on the value and importance of the community that he had made starting in 1921 was reflected in the committee's deliberations. His optimism and confidence in participatory democracy had inspired the infant AEA and his lifelong belief in the community as the main focus of adult education.

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40 Ibid., p. 151.
adult education had been incorporated into the organization's philosophy.

Continuing Search for Social Significance

The search for social philosophy in the AEA during 1951-3 reflected the desire of many adult educators to articulate the social improvement goal of the adult education movement, a wish that was a carry over from the thirties. The preoccupation with the social improvement goal had been reinforced by war-time demands and post-war adjustments. However, with the return to relative peace, a growing economy, reduced unemployment, and material affluence, many of the factors that had stimulated adult educators' interest in social improvement had faded. Unlike the thirties when social reform was necessary and inevitable, by the early fifties material conditions in Canada and the United States were better than ever. Adult education for social improvement had lost its sense of urgency. Even so, citizen alienation and apathy provided a new challenge for adult educators interested in social improvement. They took up the challenge and in so doing hoped to acquire a new level of social significance for their movement.

Marginality

After twenty years of vigorous efforts to help to fight depression and war, some adult educators wondered why they had not made more of an impression on the educational system. They began to write in similar fashion to Alvin Johnson who had commented in 1930 on adult education's "sense of inferiority." 41 Adult educators had been too busy during the thirties and forties to worry about the adult education movement's impact since it had appeared to be progressing well. During the fifties, however, the sense

41 Above, p. 62.
of inferiority returned.

There were several indications of a sense of failure. Robert Hutchins concluded in 1951 that the educational system had neither raised the level of "mass cultivation" nor had it been engaged in cultivation of any kind. In 1953, John Herring, of the bureau of adult education in the New York State Department of Education, declared that "adult education has failed notoriously, blithely, and tragically to make an important contribution to the enlightenment of our democracy during three of our most distressed decades." He said that people learned to cook, sew, paint, weld, print, type, keep accounts, act, play and sing, and that these were useful. However, the record was "dismayingly bad" with regard to helping people fully exercise their functions as neighbours and citizens. Herring had lost the optimism that he had projected while working on the Chester County Health and Welfare Project in 1929-32.

Herring was joined by others in the indictment of adult education's past performance. Arthur P. Crabtree, head of the civic education section of the bureau of adult education in the New York State Department of Education, believed that that performance had been characterized by a "smorgasbord philosophy." Crabtree declared that philosophy to be unacceptable. He wrote in 1954 that: "Left to his own free choice, the

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44 Ibid., pp. 53-4.
45 Above, p. 65.
adult may choose an educational diet that leads to societal anemia."\(^{47}\)

Crabtree suggested that changes in adult education programming were required in order to involve citizens in community affairs. The task would not be easy. According to Poston, the suggestion that adults should continue their education throughout life was still novel in 1953. He observed that:

> By thinking of our educational institutions as something only for the young many of us quit all effort at systematic learning by age 25. As a result the most important resource of the community—the minds of the people who live there—is largely neglected.\(^{48}\)

Adult education apparently still had a long way to go to become an integral part of the social system.

Poston posed a question in 1954 that captured an adult educator's concern about marginality and hinted at a strategy for change. He asked:

> "Could it be that we have yet to apply ourselves to a program that will make adult education a matter of real significance to the society in which we live?"\(^{49}\)

He suggested that adult educators had not applied themselves to programs of social significance and could and should do so through community development. As a by-product, he concluded, "adult education would find itself with greater public recognition and increased legislative support" and thereby establish the "values of life-long learning" in the public's mind and in the government.\(^{50}\)

**Emphasis on Social Action**

Inquiry into the social role of adult education invariably included questions about the function of adult education in social action and social

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\(^{47}\) Ibid.

\(^{48}\) Poston, *Democracy is You*, p. 132.

\(^{49}\) Poston, "Relation of Community Development," p. 196.

\(^{50}\) Ibid.
change. That inquiry had taken place during the Depression as adult educators had sought to define a role in the alleviation of socio-economic distress. A similar search appeared in the early fifties particularly in the United States where the quest for a social philosophy in the AEA stimulated much thought about social action.

The notion of social action for social change was prominent in the adult education literature. The committee on social philosophy of the AEA associated adult education with social action and social change. The fifth in their list of seven principles to guide adult education was: "Social action on behalf of reasoned social change is the functional raison d'etre of a modern adult education movement."  

Hallenbeck summed up the committee's work in 1953 and noted that "adult education is involved in change—individual change and social change."  

Also in 1953, Paul Sheats and Ralph Spence joined with Clarence D. Jayne, director of the extension division at the University of Wyoming, and suggested that: "Although adult education is not identical with social action, and although much of it is concerned with the satisfaction of individual needs, the processes through which social change is brought about must occupy a prominent place in a movement on which the preservation of a free society depends."  

Statements about adult education and social action tended to be broad and prescriptive rather than precise and descriptive. They addressed possibilities rather than actualities. In 1953, Verner reflected optimistically and enthusiastically on adult education's possibilities for

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51 Pell, p. 126.


53 Sheats, Jayne and Spence, p. v.
"tomorrow's world." He declared that:

It must create the divine discontent that will prompt people to want to share in effecting changes in their social environment. Furthermore, it must equip them with the skill to determine the kind of world they want and with the ability to set about achieving it for themselves.54

In the next year, Spence and Verner suggested that adult education as a "continuing social movement" rested "upon its ability to anticipate the course of social change."55 They added that: "In this way it can prepare the people for an educational approach to issues and to the process of decision-making which they must face by helping them recognize issues, anticipate change, and acquire the knowledge essential for an intelligent approach to action."56

The essential message was that learning was incomplete without action.

That message was advanced by Herbert A. Thelen, professor of educational psychology at the University of Chicago, while reflecting in 1953 on the goals of adult education. He suggested that "social confusions" could be resolved by the joint action of groups of learners. He added that:

The situation for the education of adults must be learning-action situations. Only through action can people get any kind of test of the learning they have done. For this reason learning is not complete without action.57

Elsewhere, the committee on social philosophy had incorporated the notion of learning and action as a fundamental part of the adult education movement. They explained that:

Since the orientation of adult education is two problems, whether they be problems of individuals or problems of communities, then adult education becomes morally bound to see people through to the

55 Spence and Verner, p. 42.
56 Ibid.
solutions of their individual and collective problems. This means that adult education is inextricably involved in action at every turn. These responsibilities for action must be faced squarely and honestly or we cheat ourselves and those who come to us for help.58

The committee and Thelen wanted educators to follow through with the action component that they regarded as an inextricable part of adult education. When education involved the learning of social responsibilities, that action was social action.

Canadian adult educators in the early fifties were less inclined to get involved in social issues than were their colleagues to the south, and this had been indicated during the movement to acquire a Bill of Rights. Ned Corbett had championed the Bill and viewed its attainment as "one of the main tasks of all Canadians working in the field of adult education."59

However, it appeared that he spoke for himself when he wrote those words in 1950 and not for the CAAE of which he remained the executive director until 1951. An editorial in Food For Thought immediately after Corbett retired as director made clear that the CAAE would not participate officially in the growing lobby to attain a Canadian Bill of Rights. The Association refused to send a delegation to the Prime Minister in conjunction with representatives from a "number of organizations." Two reasons were offered


59 E. A. Corbett, "This We Believe...," FFT 10 (April 1950):2. Corbett justified his concern by noting a number of abuses of citizen liberties in Canada. He wrote:
Here in Canada the question of the abuse of fundamental liberties by governments has been thrust into the forefront of public attention in recent years. Our treatment of Japanese born Canadians; the Quebec Padlock laws; the Jehovah's Witnesses incidents; the legislation restricting trade-union affiliation in Prince Edward Island; the infamous Paul Belleau case in Quebec, are all flagrant examples of government intrusion on personal liberty. Ibid.
for the refusal. First, it seemed that the proposed Bill was flawed and second, "many" members of the CAAE believed that their organization "should not join delegations, social action campaigns and pressure groups, no matter how worthy." The reluctance to get involved in controversial issues was a characteristic of the Canadian adult education literature in the fifties, perhaps due to the general well-being in Canada at the time.

Nevertheless, the learning-action link also appeared in the Canadian literature. Gordon Hawkins suggested in 1954 that community development, in the form of community programs combining group discussion and social action aiming to build a sense of community, was being carried out by several adult education agencies in Canada. Hawkins, a British adult educator who travelled across Canada in 1953 surveying adult education activities, perceived community development as a major thrust in a number of institutions, in particular in the work of the Community Life Conferences carried out by the extension department of the University of Alberta and in the activities of

60 "The CAAE and 'Social Action,'" FFT 12 (October 1951):8.
61 Below, p. 223.
62 In an analysis of post-World War II Canadian society, S. D. Clark noted that there was a "vast widening of opportunities for individual enterprise and social advancement." However, he added: At the same time, of course, there proceeded mergers and consolidations, the taking over of the small by the large in the social and cultural as well as in the economic realm, and out of these developments emerged the spectre of United States imperialism and the multinational corporation. The decade of the 1950s was one, however, in which few people could become seriously concerned about such developments. The large inflow of American capital in Alberta, Quebec, and indeed, all across the country meant conditions of economic, social, and cultural expansion which secured the upward movement of great masses of population into a middle-class social world. For this population there could be no reason for waging war upon a social system that offered to it opportunities for advancement hitherto far beyond reach.
Camp Laquemac run jointly by Laval University and Macdonald College. He viewed community development as emphasizing co-operative community participation and judged it to be a "newer, consciously evolved philosophy of adult education." Hawkins was one of the first to use the term community development in the Canadian literature although the concept was not new. The concept had been implied in the Antigonish Movement. Elsewhere, Harold W. Clark, past president of the Community Planning Association of Canada, wrote in 1953 about "the need for continuous citizen study, discussion and action" to steer community development in the most useful direction.

The community development concept had attracted more and more adult educators during 1951-4. Broad plans were sketched, particularly in the United States where the early years of the AEA were highlighted by a search for a social philosophy. The revival of citizen participation in the community was conceived as a priority during that search. Several adult educators thought that the implementation of those plans would give adult education a distinct role in the educational and social systems and raise it from the inferior state it was held to have. Poston's concern about making adult education a "matter of real significance" might thereby be realized. At the same time, there were a few voices raised in opposition to the emphasis on the community development concept and the paramount importance accorded to it by some enthusiasts.

He returned to Canada in 1955 and became associate director of the CAAE, at which time he was credited with ten years experience in adult education in the extra-mural departments at Cambridge, and the Universities of Sheffield, Hull and London.

64 Ibid., p. 26.
Reaction to the Community Development Emphasis (1954-7)

The enthusiasm for community development captured in the literature in the early fifties culminated in the community development theme of the 1955 annual conference of the AEA. At the same time, there were growing numbers of adult educators who expressed their reservations about the prominence accorded to community development and their views appeared more frequently in the literature. The opinions of the community development enthusiasts and detractors became opposite sides in a debate, a debate similar to that of a generation earlier.

Growing Reservations

Poston's rhetoric advancing the virtues of community development in adult education seemed to allow for no other approach. He commented on contemporary social malaise in 1954 and suggested that:

This is a challenge that will be met by adult education only as it is able to stimulate and help redevelop a kind of community life in which men and women of all groups and all ages become jointly and collectively aroused to the vast social problems....These problems are not individually centered, they are community centered. Such problems cannot therefore be approached by a form of education which is oriented to the teaching of an individual, or a group, but only by a form of education which is oriented to the teaching of a community.66 (Italics mine.)

Poston's emphasis was clear. He suggested that the individual would be improved as well but this point was masked by his enthusiasm for the community approach. He added that the social improvement challenge was paramount in adult education. In his words:

It is a challenge that cannot be met through a study of great books, or the American heritage, or world affairs, or through groups designed to teach skills in discussion. It certainly cannot be met by short courses for the dentists, traveling art exhibits, lecture tours, and concerts.67

66 Poston, "Relation of Community Development," p. 193.
67 Ibid.
That statement could hardly have ingratiated Poston's ideas to those adult educators interested in liberal education, group discussion, continuing professional education, and the arts.

Three adult educators commented on Poston's 1954 statement. The three were experienced community adult educators and they basically agreed with the contents of the statement although reservedly. H. Curtis Mial, executive director of the New York State Citizens' Council, suggested that Poston's views were applicable to urban as well as to rural centres but cautioned that the skills necessary to implement community adult education were ill-defined. Eugene I. Johnson, co-ordinator of the community education project at San Bernardino Valley College, was skeptical about the applicability of Poston's ideas in urban areas. He felt that "an attempt to apply to city-based adult education the techniques developed in and for the small towns could be a calamity." Arthur Crabtree found Poston's words appealing since any disagreement "would be as ridiculous as challenging motherhood and love of country." However, he added that:

The group approach to the development of the individual may be desirable, but it certainly is not the sole way....My sole disagreement lies in his proposal to put all our adult education eggs in the one basket of community development. In my opinion, there are other eggs and other baskets.

Therefore, even supporters of community development in adult education were concerned about over emphasizing the idea and its ability to direct as much social good as Poston suggested.

Nevertheless, in their enthusiasm to define their roles in community development, adult educators continued to claim a wide range of functions.

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68 Curtis Mial in "Comments," AE 4 (September 1954):198. There was no indication of who invited the comments and selected the commentators.

69 Eugene I. Johnson in "Comments," p. 196. Johnson was the co-ordinator of the San Bernardino project from its inception in 1952 until 1956.


71 Ibid., p. 199.
The extent of those claims was illustrated during a symposium in *Adult Education* in 1955, for which five adult educators were asked to present their impressions about the role of adult education in community development and professionals from other fields were requested to comment on those impressions. Otto G. Hoiberg, co-ordinator of community service in the university extension division at the University of Nebraska, and Mial viewed the adult educator in community development primarily as a counselor to people wishing to work for community improvement and as an administrator of community projects to make sure that self-help and mutual aid principles were followed. Eugene Johnson suggested that the "central task of the adult educator in community development is to provide the intellectual leadership." Watson Dickerman, a member of the community adult education department in the extension service at the University of Michigan, saw adult educators as consultants and "facilitators in a 'catalytic' sense." He added that: "Occasionally we may be asked to put on a training course." Weldon R. Oliver, director of adult education in Niagara Falls, New York, identified the major role of the adult educator as a "wholesaler of ideas." The nature of those responsibilities was unclear and served to underline the pot-pourri of functions claimed by practitioners.

"Leaders in the fields of social welfare and community organization" invited to comment on adult educators' claims took strong exception to a number of points, especially to Johnson's claim to intellectual leadership.

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75 Ibid.
Arthur Dunham, professor of community organization in the school of social work at the University of Michigan, viewed "with alarm even a slight tendency toward omniscience on the part of any one of our really rather limited professions." He added that:

I would take most vigorous exception to the idea suggested by one contributor to the symposium, that the adult educator is to furnish "the intellectual leadership" for the program of community development. If any profession starts out with the idea that it is called upon to furnish the "intellectual leadership" in community development, it might as well stop talking about teamwork with other professions. The "intellectual leadership" will have to come partly from the community residents themselves and partly from a variety of professionals—if it doesn't we'd better call off the whole collaborative idea!

Charles E. Hendry, professor of social work at the University of Toronto, declared that: "Intellectual leadership cannot be delegated to any one group." Albert G. Rosenberg, executive secretary of the Area Councils Project in Dayton, maintained that "no one field should usurp the role of the 'facilitator' of citizen participation." Walter Wenkert, secretary of the health division of the Council of Social Agencies in Rochester, New York, reacted against adult educators' claims to a central role in community development. He offered them some advice: "I would suggest that adult educators will gain more converts if they would preach with just a touch of humility all of us who work with people need to have."

Comments made during the symposium illustrated the lavish claims of some adult educators and the quick reaction of others from the many professions that had been or were becoming involved in community development in the mid-fifties. Those claims were based on personal experience in particular

78 Ibid.
projects but unsubstantiated by empirical data and conceptual organization. Adult educators were ill-prepared to perform the many functions that they claimed.

Controversy

The attempts by community development enthusiasts to direct adult education to an active role in social change processes produced a controversy during the mid-fifties. Adult educators' interest in community development was reflected in the theme of the 1955 annual conference of the AEA. At the same time, a split in the movement became apparent. The adult education literature was weighted on the side of the community development enthusiasts prior to the conference while arguments for and against community development were balanced after the event. At times the arguments were a polemic. The main points of dispute were the relative emphasis on individual and social goals, and the relationship between education and social action—the same issues that had engaged adult educators twenty years earlier.

Dichotomous Framework

The issues appeared in the American literature and involved American events in the main. The early fifties had been lively years in the United States as adult educators searched for new directions for their professional association, a search process that had been demonstrated by the committee on social philosophy of the AEA. There were frequent changes within the AEA. In 1957, Malcolm Knowles, executive director of the AEA, sketched the dynamic first six years of the association and noted that "changes of policy have been frequent and sometimes drastic." Membership policies fluctuated between the

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82 Malcolm S. Knowles, "Direction-Finding Processes in the AEA," AE 8 (Autumn 1957):50. Knowles had been appointed the first administrative co-ordinator of the AEA in 1951, at which time he was noted as executive secretary of the Central YMCA in Chicago. The position of administrative co-ordinator changed to that of executive director in 1957.
encouragement of broadly based participation that had brought in many volunteers and the attraction of professional adult educators that had resulted in a smaller but similar group. Knowles identified a number of tension areas with regard to program policy in the AEA—services to individuals versus service to organizations, face-to-face activities versus publications, visible services versus invisible services, and services to special interests versus services to the total movement. His arrangement of policies into adversary positions captured the mood current at that time.

Opinion was sharply divided. There were clear divisions at the annual conference of the AEA in 1955 where, according to John Walker Powell in his survey of adult education in the United States commissioned by the AEA and the Fund for Adult Education, a highlight was a "threatened split over 'community development' and 'education.'" In his judgment the main issue was: "Is local action really education?" Emotions ran high. Powell reported that: "An appeal to get adults enlisted in 'the Big Discourse' of civilization made by C. Wright Mills...was lampooned into 'the Big Disgust' by a rural leader to the applause of several administrators." Cleavage was inherent in the adult education movement Powell concluded, cleavage caused by adult educators' enthusiasm for community development. William F. Russell, deputy director for technical services in the International Co-operation Administration, summed up the difficulty in a speech delivered at the 1955 conference. He explained that:

Community development is the catchword of the moment. We hear it on every side. To the progressives it epitomizes the latest, the

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85 Ibid. 86 Ibid.
best, the cutting edge. To the conservative, it is the shibboleth of the "give-awayers" and the do-gooders.\(^87\)

Russell perceived a dichotomous division between progressive and conservatives, an arrangement that reflected part of the controversy.

Kenneth Benne, director of the Human Relations Center at Boston University and president of the AEA in 1955-6, outlined the difference between the "two camps in contemporary 'liberal' or 'general' adult education," in a letter inviting twelve adult educators to a conference in North Andover, Massachusetts held in October 1956.\(^88\) Benne noted that a number of issues "tend to divide some of the best leadership of adult education into non-communicating camps or schools," and hoped that he and the twelve would clarify the issues and differences into comprehensive form.\(^89\) He suggested that there were three pairs of issues—method versus content, action versus ideas, and scientists versus humanists. Robertson Sillars, editor of *Adult Education*, added two more pairs in his contribution to the conference—collaboratively directed education versus teacher-directed, and social improvement versus individual improvement.\(^90\) Sillars arranged the five

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\(^87\)William F. Russell, "Community Development—Fad or Fundamental," *Community Development Bulletin*, no. 1 (January 1956):2. This is a complete transcription of Russell's speech. An abridged version was printed in *AL* 4 (February 1956):8-10.

\(^88\)Kenneth D. Benne cited by Robertson Sillars, ed., "Notes," *AE* 7 (Winter 1957):66. Benne had left the University of Illinois in 1953 to take up his position in Boston. In addition to Benne, the participants were: George Barton, Tulane University; Max Birnbaum, American Jewish Committee; Robert Blakely, Fund for Adult Education; Leland P. Bradford, National Education Association; Harry Broudy, Framingham State Teachers College; Eleanor Coit, American Labor Education Services; Gordon Dupee, Great Books Foundation; Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, Columbia University Teachers College; Gordon Hawkins, CAAE; Malcolm S. Knowles, AEA; Paul H. Sheats, University of California; and, Robertson Sillars, AEA. Presumably these individuals represented "some of the best leadership of adult education."

\(^89\)Ibid., p. 129. Each participant was requested to prepare a paper that was to be duplicated and distributed to the other twelve.

pairs into two columns representing "two embattled straw men"—the modernist and the traditionalist. Sillars and Benne, like Knowles in 1957, suggested that the issues in adult education were dichotomous.

To summarize the parts of the dichotomy: the modernist was interested in the method or process of learning experiences, group and community activities, the social sciences, joint responsibility between learner and educator, and the solution of social problems; the traditionalist was preoccupied with liberalizing subject matter, clarification of ideas, the humanities, the primacy of the educator, and individual improvement. The modernist was equivalent to Russell's progressive, the traditionalist to his conservative.

It appeared that adult educators in the United States in the mid-fifties had reached a position similar to that perceived by Eduard Lindeman at the 1929 World Conference. Lindeman had outlined several dichotomous positions that were expressed at the conference and had suggested that they had to be resolved if the adult education movement was to stand for anything. He had called for "a basic unity, not uniformity" of ideas, a concept that some of his colleagues advocated in the mid-fifties.

**Individual or Social Improvement**

Should adult education serve the needs of the individual or the needs of society? In keeping with the mood of the fifties the question usually was an either-or proposition. The answer was elusive. Societal needs were interpreted as community needs and the community was regarded as the ideal unit of human association within which the broader needs could best be met. The community was small enough to be acceptable in a decade of fear and intolerance in which large scale social planning was perceived by some adult educators as a form of totalitarianism. Community development enthusiasts

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91 Above, pp. 55-6.
emphasized social improvement over individual improvement and had dominated the literature in the early fifties. By mid-decade however, there were many critics of that emphasis. A growing number of adult educators queried the preoccupation with the community to the apparent exclusion of the individual. The forces aligned in support of the individual and community approaches were balanced in the literature during the second half of the decade.

Social problems and adult education's preparedness to address them was a main concern at the annual conference of the AEA in 1955. Sillars reviewed fifty-seven reports from the sixty study groups that met during the conference and noted general agreement that "leaders and teachers of adults had an inescapable responsibility for inspiring and facilitating citizen involvement in social, economic, and political affairs." Benne acknowledged that responsibility in his inaugural remarks to the conference as president of the AEA for 1955-6. He identified the restoration of alienated people to active participation in society as the main goal of adult education, a goal for which community development could be the lodestar.

Interest in community development had reached a high point at the 1955 conference where discussion had brought out fundamental divisions between community enthusiasts and their critics. A reaction had set in to the claims of the enthusiasts that theirs was the best approach to adult education. C. Hartley Grattan, near the end of his sketch of the adult education movement written in 1955, commented on the current vogue of the community. He wrote that:

Emphasis on the community, of course; for it is in the community that adult education necessarily takes place, not in the stratosphere. But where does a reasonable recognition of the claims of the community

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end and community-worship, a fetishism as disastrous as state-worship, begin?\textsuperscript{94}

Grattan's fears were shared by others. Paul A. McGhee, dean of the division of general education and extension service at New York State University, observed in 1956 that: "Because of the extremism of the community-actionist writers it becomes necessary to assert that theirs is not the only way a college can serve its community, nor is it the only important task of adult education today."\textsuperscript{95} In McGhee's estimation the individual was at least as important as the community. Edward Gross, associate professor of sociology at the State College of Washington, expressed a fear of the collective being emphasized over the individual. He warned in 1956 of "the danger of the worship of the group" leading "ominously to conformity."\textsuperscript{96} Gross illustrated his point by referring to reports of Soviet psychiatrists bringing patients "into harmonious adjustment with the values of the state."\textsuperscript{97}

The AEA arranged to accommodate the concern with the individual. The theme of its annual conference in 1956 was adult education and the development of mature individuals. An editorial note in \textit{Adult Leadership} recommended an article by Edgar Z. Friedenberg as background reading for the conference.\textsuperscript{98} Friedenberg, assistant professor of education at Brooklyn College in New York, sketched the development of the psychoanalytic movement and its impact on education, emphasizing the importance of therapy in releasing the individual from the demands of society. He concluded that only if the individual regained


\textsuperscript{97}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{98}"Editorial Note," \textit{AL} 5 (September 1956):70.
personal freedom would democracy be preserved. The significance of Friedenberg's article was "pointed up" for the reader by two commentators. Robert J. Blakely, vice-president of the Fund for Adult Education, suggested that one admonition in the article relevant to the conference was that:

A reconciliation of the individual and society is possible only through a regard for the individual's dignity. To have individuality digested by society is to destroy the individual immediately and the society eventually.

John Walker Powell, a staff associate of the Fund, observed that:

The really constructive point in this fine paper lies in its definition of the therapeutic goal: "to free men to take more account of the meaning of their lives," to become the objects of their own purposes, to "live richly and lovingly" and to take responsibility for their actions. This is the very definition of maturity; and this is where adult education moves into the picture.

Powell and Blakely's interpretation "pointed up" the primacy of the individual in adult education.

Their perception of the fundamental importance of the individual reflected the philosophy of the organization that they represented. The Fund for Adult Education had been founded by the Ford Foundation in 1951. Robert Blakely described its purposes in 1952 in the following fashion: "The Fund for Adult Education is emphasizing what we call "liberal education" for adults, which means emphasis on the education which has as its purpose the improvement of the individual, as an end in himself, as a citizen in the kind of society which respects the individual as an end in himself." He noted that the Fund concentrated on four subjects: world affairs, political affairs,

economic affairs, and the humanities. The impact of the Fund on the adult education movement in general and on the AEA in particular was unclear. The Fund's emphasis on liberal education was not reflected in the sectional affiliations of AEA members in 1956-7. A list of affiliations showed community development with the largest number (734) and liberal adult education with the smallest (30). Assuming that those in public affairs (280), international affairs (105), and music in adult education (33) were related to liberal education to a total of 448, the Fund's emphasis as reported by Blakely had not attracted a huge following.

There were attempts to strike a balance between the individual and the

103 Malcolm S. Knowles, "AEA's Annual Report for 1957," AL 7 (May 1958): 27. The sectional affiliations were:

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<th>Sectional Affiliation</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tr>
<td>Community Development</td>
<td>734</td>
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<tr>
<td>Home and Family Life</td>
<td>690</td>
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<tr>
<td>Young Adult Education</td>
<td>404</td>
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<td>Research and Evaluation</td>
<td>333</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public Affairs</td>
<td>280</td>
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<td>Residential Adult Education</td>
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<td>Rural Adult Education</td>
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<td>Professional Development</td>
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<td>Education for Aging</td>
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<td>International Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Financing Adult Education</td>
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<td>Education of the Foreign-Born</td>
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<td>Fundamental and Literacy Education</td>
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<td>Music in Adult Education</td>
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104 Malcolm Knowles reflected on the contribution of the Fund and was uncertain about the extent of its impact. He recalled in 1962 that:

The Fund had its own goal—the promotion of liberal adult education—and quite properly...sought to limit its grants to activities that would further this goal. While it interpreted the meaning of "liberal education" quite broadly at first and justified supporting grants for the strengthening of the general adult education field so as to provide a more solid base for the advancement of liberal education, it put increasing pressure on the AEA....The AEA responded to these conflicting pressures by constructing projects that would have enough flavor of "liberal education" to satisfy the requirements of the fund, but with sufficient general services to meet some of the more operational needs of the field.

community approaches. Houle had earlier made known his personal preference for the individual approach but suggested that the other approach was equally valid. He delivered a similar message in a speech at the 1955 annual conference of the AEA. He emphasized the similarities of the approaches and suggested that when more empirical evidence would be available "the leaders of community development will feel less inclined to believe that theirs is the only true method of adult education." Houle's appeal was taken up by Benne who had arranged a forum of adult educators to debate the major philosophical issues in the movement at a meeting in North Andover in 1956. It was clear that the main issue was whether adult education should emphasize individual or social goals. Benne argued that both emphases were valid but noted that the climate of opinion in the mid-fifties tended to shape issues into polemics. He observed that:

In our culture today there are many points where society is in conflict about what is true and what is valuable. It is not the standardization of individual minds, but the freeing of individual minds to play upon alternatives toward new common ground, that is a council of social health as well as of individual health.

Benne's notion of a common ground wherein social and individual concerns were combined recalled Lindeman's 1933 notion of social progress as a symbiosis of individual and group as an interacting whole.

Common ground was sought by others. Houle had noted that "in practice" adult educators were using both individual and community approaches. Sheats made the same point in his contribution to the North Andover debate.

105 Above, pp. 161-2.


108 Above, p. 72.
He declared that:

Division is unthinkable in operational terms. The most rabid exponent of a community problem-solving approach to adult education cannot, and as far as I know does not, ignore the implications for individual growth and development of this experience of the citizen in his community. Conversely, the most rabid exponent of the "Mark Hopkins on-a-log" school of thought as applied adult education would certainly not argue that the subject matter communicated has no relevance to the social role of the individual mastering it.109

Sheats and Houle agreed that in practice adult educators served both individual self-actualization and social improvement. At the same time, Sheats consistently wrote about the primary importance of the community approach110 and Houle made clear his preference for dealing with the learner as an individual.111 Even though division was "unthinkable in operational terms" and even if "in practice" adult educators employed both approaches, the general views of Houle and Sheats exemplified fundamental philosophical differences. Bernard Meland's summary of the debate about individual and social emphases in the thirties seemed equally appropriate a generation later. It might have been said of the individual and social emphases in the mid-fifties that: "In their present forms the two can not be harmoniously correlated, for the tensions, historic in origin, at present remain strong."112

Education and Social Action

The education and social action debate followed a pattern similar to the debate over the relative importance of individual and society. Proponents of community development believed that a process of education and social action was a means to the end of an adult education that was responsive to the social improvement goal. Some adult educators suggested that learning was incomplete without immediate action by learners in their social milieu. Others responded negatively to that suggestion and stated that the educator

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110 Above, p. 160.
111 Above, pp. 161-2.
112 Above, p. 112.
had no place in the realm of social action. Unclear meanings of social action hampered debate. The concept of social change presented more of a problem since it was freely used as well within adult education's sphere of activity but not in the sense of changing the social order. Social action for change meant broad based participation of citizens in democracy and was a reformist rather than a revolutionary notion. There were many interpretations of the relationship of education to social action, and how the relationship involved social change. However, none of them were broadly shared and the controversy remained.

The education and social action debate resembled that of the early and mid-thirties when social improvement had been an urgent need due to the socio-economic upheaval of the Depression. Social problems were less apparent in the mid-fifties but real nevertheless, and adult educators continued to find situations for which a combination of education and social action seemed appropriate. For example, Eugene Johnson explained the importance of the concept of social action in the United States in his analysis of the San Bernardino Community Education Project. He suggested that:

Americans, by the nature of their heritage, are doers and tend to become impatient with prolonged study and talk. Since Americans are action-oriented, the Community Education Project has tried to capitalize on this fact and to infuse the action process with a rich educational experience.\(^{113}\)

He also identified contemporary reasons for the social action appeal. In 1957 he maintained that: "Much of the drive for action springs not alone from dissatisfaction with a specific community service or situation, but from a general restlessness and rootlessness which seems characteristic of our times."\(^{114}\) Johnson concluded that people were searching for movements that


\(^{114}\) Ibid., p. 58.
provided immediate assurances of humankind's mastery over their environment.

A number of adult educators viewed the relationship between education and social action as a partnership of two elements behaving as one. In 1955, Per G. Stensland, head of the adult education program at Texas Technical College, wrote that adult education was always "relational in the action sense, tying thoughts to deeds, persons to persons acting together or interacting, communities to communities." He continued that:

We are here concerned with that learning which includes study and deliberation before, and analysis and evaluation after, the doing. Some may object to this tie, contending that education is one thing, action another. To those, one would suggest that the process is a never-ending spiral upward from study-deliberation to action on to evaluation-analysis and further to new action. Good adult education programs can select any starting point on the spiral where motivation is strong.

That dynamic process of education and action was the essence of the community development concept. Hallenbeck articulated a similar process in his contribution to the North Andover debate. He wrote that:

Ideas and action are completely interdependent and inseparable. Consequently they cannot be in competition or provide any kind of alternative. Action without ideas is the acme of futility, and ideas without action are sterile, untested, and useless. Moreover, in the sphere of adult life everything is keyed to action, and ideas are regarded in terms of their usefulness....It is around the principle of action that adult education must be built if it is to fit realistically into the living experience of adults.

Simultaneous learning and action was required by adult learners who were geared to expect immediate and practical returns from their participation in adult education. Verner added his opinion about social action in adult education in 1956 while commenting on the lack of precision in the literature.

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about education, social action, and community development. In his view:

Adult education is concerned with educational processes leading to social action. Within the field this has been designated community development, although there is little agreement and considerable confusion in meaning and methodology. Confusion notwithstanding, adult educators continue to seek ways of educating for action.\textsuperscript{118}

The community development concept was clear in Verner's words although he remained uncertain about the nature of the combination of adult learning and social action.

Benne also perceived an interdependence between education and action but detected a fundamental difficulty in that interdependence, a difficulty that he enunciated for the North Andover debate. He suggested that the distinction between education and action could not be "brushed aside as meaningless by saying that 'thinking' and 'doing' are both parts of conduct and that excellence in one necessarily means excellence in the other."\textsuperscript{119}

He added that:

For this is obviously not true. Some men think well about any number of matters, though they are not particularly skillful in carrying out the dictates of their thought in action. Other men are excellent in doing things, though they cannot give the reason why they do as they do. And they may be inept at readapting their skills as conditions change and new skills are demanded....Educational emphasis on one or the other tends to deepen the gulf and widen the communication breach between men of thought and men of action in our society, between the world of ideas and the world of practice, between the academy and the market place. Action tends to be less informed and thoughtful than it need be. Thought tends to be less responsible to the demands and conditions of action than it need be.\textsuperscript{120}

Benne saw a clear distinction between the two major elements in the community development concept, adult learning and social action, but unlike Lyman Bryson in 1936 he was unwilling to conclude that they were compatible within an individual educator.\textsuperscript{121} Benne ended his statement with an emphasis on the

\textsuperscript{118} Coolie Verner, "Research-based Publications," \textit{AE} 6 (Summer 1956):231.
\textsuperscript{119} Benne, "Some Philosophic Issues," p. 74.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., pp. 74-5. \textsuperscript{121} Above, p. 96.
need for more research: "Somehow the claims of action, the claims of knowledge, and the claims of competing values and systems of value must be brought together and seen together, individually and collectively, if rationality is to permeate our way of life."  

Benne's concern about rationality was made at a time when many irrational activities had occurred in Canada and the United States. The communist witch hunts had reduced rational thought and behaviour in some quarters to a low level. There was a basic fear of extremism in Canada and the United States in the fifties and there were signs of this in the reactions of some adult educators to the growing interest in community development. For example, there were two forms of reaction to the education and social action link. First was a suggestion that the emphasis on that link was anti-intellectual and harmful to the adult education movement. Second were fears that the education and social action link brought adult education too close to political activity and therefore beyond the realm of the educators.

William Gruen, adjunct associate professor of philosophy at New York University in charge of the certificate program in general education, maintained in 1956 that the community approach to adult education showed a "narrow impatience with knowledge" and was "in effect anti-intellectual." He conceded that that approach had merit in that the aims of adult education were sought in human services, in the enterprise of community action, but he added that: "It is one thing to foster these acknowledged educational values by extending the horizons of teaching to the human uses of knowledge; it is an altogether different thing to confine adult education to training for

specific community projects.\textsuperscript{124} The limitation of adult education to "empirical skills" was to be avoided if the learner was to acquire more than a simple skill with no idea of how to transfer what was learned into broader use. Gruen suggested that there was a useful place in adult education for community development but that there were many other important dimensions unrelated to the education-action symbiosis.

The community development concept had a political dimension that inevitably identified it with political action. That fact caused some adult educators to reject any suggestion that they should be directly involved in directing social action projects. Others thought that it was their role to encourage citizen participation in part to help to direct more political power to grass roots control. The latter group had some influence during depression, war, and post-war plans to return to a simpler life in order to revive democracy. By the mid-fifties however, there appeared to be a reaction to the direct link between education and social action. For example, the study-action community approach reported by Gordon Caulfield as the guiding maxim of the adult education division of the Saskatchewan Department of Education in 1945\textsuperscript{125} was under fire by the mid-fifties. The approach was "largely abandoned" by 1956 because "the unorthodox approach of the program combined with some errors made in initiating programs roused political tempers and inspired concerted attacks on the Division."\textsuperscript{126} Social action in conjunction with educational programs was bound to involve politics and therefore was bound to be controversial.

The claims made by community development enthusiasts for their approach

\textsuperscript{124}Ibid., p. 86. \textsuperscript{125}Above, p. 143.

to adult education produced a negative reaction by other adult educators who viewed it as only one of many approaches and still others who wondered if it had a legitimate place in adult education at all. Yet, the fact that the concept was a topical subject of inquiry in itself illustrated the prominent position that it had reached in the literature.

**Community Development Established in Adult Education (1958-60)**

Community development was clearly established in the adult education literature in the late fifties in the sense that it was a major topic in a number of publications and was cited by several contributors to the 1960 Handbook of the AEA. It also was clear that the many and varied demands made by community development enthusiasts on the adult education movement, field of practice, and field of study strained adult education's resources. Those resources were limited and there were many areas in inquiry to support besides community development. As a result, arguments and debates similar to those of the mid-fifties continued. Basic philosophical differences remained but there was a trend toward compromise as adult educators appeared to be exhausted from the energetic philosophical search and debate of the fifties that had occurred mainly in the American literature.

**Community Development Highlighted**

Community development figured prominence in two books commissioned by the AEA in the late fifties. *An Overview of Adult Education Research* reported the results of an analysis of research in non-vocational adult education, and the *Handbook of Adult Education in the United States* comprised a collection of essays describing a wide range of adult education activities, institutions, and concepts. One chapter in the Overview, the first draft of which was credited by the authors to John S. Newberry Jr., dealt with adult education and the community with community organization and community development
identified as the basic approaches to the co-ordination and direction of adult education in the community. Newberry, who was the recipient of a doctorate in adult education from Florida State University in 1959, outlined the two approaches, noted their similarities and differences, and concluded that "the more dynamic community development approach" might succeed in co-ordinating local resources for adult education where others had failed. He had surveyed the substantial literature on community studies and suggested that "the refinement of methodology and the development of more precise conceptualization" were required before community development could be understood. Most contributors to the Handbook commented on some aspect of community and a number of statements were made about community development, although they fell short of Newberry's call for "refinement" and "development."

There were various expressions of interest in and an awareness of community development as an integral part of adult education's function in American society. He stated that out of community development activities arose learning about co-operation through which communities solved their own problems and improved their lot as a community, thereby improving the condition of each community member. Max Birnbaum saw the union of adult learning and social action in community development as providing a "bridge between classroom-centered instruction and voluntary group education." He wrote from the perspective of adult education in general voluntary organizations with which he had personal knowledge as the educational consultant with the American Jewish Committee. Burton W. Kreitlow, professor of adult education

127 Brunner et al., Overview, p. 212. 128 Ibid., p. 239.
129 Brunner et al., Overview, p. 242.
at the University of Wisconsin, included a query about adult education agency resource availability for community development in his categorization of current problems and issues in adult education research.  

The presence of community development in the adult education movement was emphasized in the Handbook by Powell, noted as a lecturer in adult education at Columbia University Teachers College, and Benne, who continued as the director of the Human Relations Center at Boston University. They viewed "fundamental education, whose principal apex is community development" as one of two camps within the developmental school of American theories of adult education. Accordingly, community development was perceived as a major factor in the movement's philosophical alignment.

In summing up his views of present trends and future strategies in adult education as reflected in the Handbook, Sheats, dean of extension at the University of California, noted a growing interest in and support for community development programs. He reported that trend to be a result of the growing strength of community centred adult education and the need for a union of adult learning and social action. Sheats predicted a "new era" heralded by the notion of adult education as an instrument of planned social change. The community development concept would guide adult educators in that task, he concluded.

Howard McClusky had the task of writing a chapter on community development for the Handbook. He was well suited for the assignment. From a base at the University of Michigan where he was noted in 1944 as professor


of educational psychology and consultant on community adult education, he had demonstrated an early interest in community based education as a vehicle for post-war adjustments. In 1949, he wrote about community adult education as a broad strategy to enable "the rank and file adult to comprehend the far flung forces of the world" by understanding the impact of those forces in the community. He did not use the term community development in his early writing but clearly was interested in the concept that combined adult learning and social action in adult education programs in communities. In addition to his prominent role in the adult education movement and in the founding of the AEA of which he was the first president, McClusky's regular contributions to the literature included continuous advocacy of the benefits of community development in adult education.

McClusky outlined the abilities and knowledge that an adult must possess in order to participate in community development, and arranged them in 1958 as the "curriculum for the education of adults in community development." At the same time, he articulated a perception of development that included much more than material improvement. He wrote that:

A community council for the enrichment of the mind and spirit of the community would be just as relevant for community development as a community council for the development of the economy. The object of both would be to build up both the external and internal environment of the community in order to increase the political, social, economic, and spiritual autonomy of its members. Both would require educative processes for educational goals, and both, it is hoped, would lead to the development of the educative adult in the educative community.

135 Above, p. 132.


138 Ibid.
McClusky sounded an enthusiastic note in the 1960 Handbook typical of adult educators interested in community development. He declared that:

Community development, conceived as an educational experience, could accomplish a great deal toward offsetting the habits of dependency which the practice of deference to a superior economic and political authority tend to encourage. In fact, if community development were an integral part of the American scene, it could well become the soil whereby the spirit of democracy would be constantly replenished. Enthusiasm was not enough however, and McClusky outlined some tasks for the future. First, was a formulation of an operational taxonomy to clarify the nature of community development, a task that was supported by John Newberry's concern for precise conceptual work. Second, was the creation of an institutional home for community development that would attract support from agencies not theretofore identified with community development as well as support from existing agencies. Third, much more attention had to be directed to the urban scene since, McClusky warned, past concentration of community development in rural America was insufficient to establish it as a part of all adult education. But, he concluded that: "The greatest challenge to the future of community development is basically educational in character." He observed that:

Meeting the challenge will require a twofold effort. One of these would consist of placing greater emphasis on community action as a special means of adult education. And the other would consist of giving greater prominence to the inner (i.e. mental, experiential, or spiritual) dimension of the field. In both instances, outcomes would be tested by the impact which the experience with community development has on the adult, both as a person and citizen.

According to McClusky, the community development concept was the combination of adult learning and social action, and clearly was a part of adult education. He defined community development while acknowledging the "scope and

140 Ibid., pp. 425-6.
141 McClusky, "Community Development," p. 421. 142 Ibid.
audacity" of the term after considering the broad meaning of the concepts of community and development. He viewed community development as "the induction and educational management of that kind of interaction between the community and its people which leads to the improvement of both." McClusky's interpretation of community development as an educational method was similar to Verner's definition of method. McClusky did not cite Verner although his notion of "educational management" resembled Verner's perception of method as a way of organizing learners for education.

Verner had persisted in the task of distinguishing adult education and community development that he had started earlier in the decade. That task was part of a larger ambition to design a conceptual framework of adult education processes. A result of his efforts was A Conceptual Scheme for the Identification and Classification of Processes presented first to the Commission of the Professors in March 1959, and published in 1962. The conceptual scheme was a blueprint for classifying processes of adult education into methods, techniques, and devices. Verner defined method as "the relationship established by the institution with a potential body of participants for the purpose of systematically diffusing knowledge among a prescribed but not necessarily fully identified public." Methods were classified as individual, group, and community, with community development suggested as the only community method that could be assigned specifically to the community class of methods at the time. Verner had shifted from viewing community development as a form of adult education as he had described it in 1954, to classifying it as a method in order to conform to the

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143 Ibid., p. 416. 144 Ibid. 145 McClusky attended the 1959 Commission of the Professors meeting during which Verner presented his conceptual scheme. 146 Verner, Conceptual Scheme, p. 9. 147 Ibid., p. 16.
conceptual scheme. However, because it was "imperfectly delineated both in terms of definition and of concept," he did not define community development precisely.148

Six months after presenting the conceptual scheme to the Professors, Verner was asked to draft a definition of community development for a workshop of rural sociologists held at Cornell University in September 1959. He gave a paper during the workshop that was entitled "Problems of adult education in meeting the needs of rural people" in which he employed the terminology from his scheme.149 His audience had difficulty in understanding some of the terms and asked him to supply definitions. Included in "some accompanying definitions prepared later" was a definition of community development as

...an educational method by which systematic learning and action goals are accomplished through the cooperative planning and action of people of a given immediate or local social environment. The purpose is to equip them to maintain themselves and their environment in a state of continuing adjustment to change. It means development of the environment, economically or noneconomically, whatever concerns the people.150

Verner included all the ingredients of the community development concept that had been formulated during the thirties—social improvement, community, co-operation, and education in preparation for social action.

Verner made it clear during the workshop and in the conceptual scheme that community development was an educational process and must not be confused with community action that may result from the use of the method. He distinguished the educational process from the action process in a lecture delivered at a community leaders' workshop held at the University of Wisconsin in October 1959, a lecture published a year and a half later in the Community

148 Ibid.


150 Verner, "Needs of Rural People," p. 15.
Development Review. He explained that:

This educational program leading to cooperative action should not be confused with the action itself. Cooperative community action can and does occur without the specific education that will strengthen democracy; however, community development or education for action will not occur without some cooperative community action resulting. Community development is distinguished from community action by this emphasis on the education of members for intelligent participation in democratic action programs. The distinction between community development and action is not generally recognized nor is it explicitly included by social scientists working on this problem.151

Verner was an early and consistent exponent of community development as a fundamental part of adult education and perceived a need to distinguish the two major elements within the concept.

Verner's differentiation may have been the clearest in the literature but it was not the only one. A distinction between learning and action had been made earlier by Morse Cartwright in 1935 and Lyman Bryson in 1936.152 They had tempered the notion of education directing social action by suggesting that education in preparation for social action was preferable. They had retained a distinction between learning and action while incorporating adult education's commitment to social improvement. Verner made no reference to the contributions of Cartwright and Bryson. He missed an opportunity to substantiate his perception of adult education by failing to indicate the continuity of his ideas with those of the previous generation.

Several adult educators recognized a relationship between community development and adult education although Verner was alone in introducing a modicum of precision to the ideas expressed about them. His suggestion that community development was a method of adult education served two purposes. It articulated a distinct place for community development within the maze of adult education processes in combination with several other methods. That

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152 Above, pp. 95-6.
distinction incorporated the topical interest in community development into adult education and limited community development to a place as one factor among many. In his opinion:

We must recognize that community development is only one of a number of adult educational methods. It is not a panacea to be used in an attempt to solve every problem nor is it an educational method to be used in every situation which calls for education. Many times we find leaders using community development in situations where discussion groups or formal classes would be more effective and appropriate.  

The second purpose served by the notion of community development as a method was to satisfy the need for a new approach in adult education that had been expressed in the late thirties by Cartwright, Watson Thomson, James Truslow Adams, and Thomas Adam. Individual, group, and community methods accommodated all dimensions of adult education from self-actualization to social improvement.

To summarize, community development was a highlight in the adult education literature in the late fifties. From scattered references in the fifties to a focus of attention in the 1960 Handbook, community development had moved into vogue as a topic of discussion and study. Precise definitions were rare. Rather, general statements of a philosophical and zealous nature were made about the community development concept.

Some adult educators regarded such statements as a handicap to future progress and called for more research to refine a methodology and to develop systematic studies of community development. Verner strove to provide adult education with the characteristics of an academic discipline that included a precise classification system, hence his work on the conceptual scheme. McClusky supported that emphasis on precision. In 1960, he identified the first task for community development research in the future as

...the formulation of an operational taxonomy which will enable the

lay and professional worker to understand those elements which make community development a unique department of the human enterprise. There can be little advancement in our grasp of the field if "anything anybody does at the local level" is our best definition of community development.\textsuperscript{154}

Research was the priority if adult educators were to acquire an understanding of how the community development concept influenced practice.

Strain on Resources

Adult educators' concern about insufficient research was clear in the late fifties. They had made a concerted commitment to the social improvement goal of their movement guided by the community development concept without the broadly acceptable philosophical underpinnings to direct, the practical skills to implement, and the research base to explain and disseminate the knowledge needed to translate philosophy into applied skill. Strain became evident in three contexts. First, strain on the adult education field of study that was ill-defined and poorly endowed with concept, research, and data, and barely able to function as a distinct field of inquiry. Second, strain on the adult education field of practice wherein sweeping claims were made by some adult educators to be able to perform tasks in community development for which practitioners were unprepared. Third, strain on the adult education movement that attracted people interested in individual and social improvement while lacking an articulate rationale acceptable to the aspirations of all.

Field of Study

Several adult educators, particularly those in the Commission of the Professors, were aware of the inadequacies facing practitioners and were determined to build a body of knowledge to explain the practice of adult education. They undertook a formidable task in that their information base

\textsuperscript{154} McClusky, "Community Development," pp. 425-6.
had to be gleaned from a pot-pourri of claims that were unsubstantiated by much empirical evidence and theory.

The improvement of the quality of research was a priority according to McClusky, Verner, and Newberry. Other adult educators agreed. In 1958, Curtis Mial, who had established a consultant service for community organization and development and who was associate editor for community development for *Adult Leadership*, wrote that "there isn't much scientific evidence, the reason being that there has been little systematic record keeping on community development efforts." He was unsure whether such evidence could be collected. He observed that:

> It won't be easy because the community development practitioner in the pressure of day-to-day operation is likely to give low priority to detailed record keeping. In the long run, however, time invested here might pay dividends in taking some of the guess-work and wishful thinking out of community efforts.156

Robertson Sillars also was concerned about the lack of research. He suggested in 1958 that the absence of conceptual models of the field of adult education was a reason for the communication problems that he perceived to lie at the heart of the individual and social improvement debate.157

There was some innovation in research methodology. William W. Biddle, director of community dynamics and professor of psychology at Earlham College, suggested action research as a strategy to organize community development activities.158 He recommended in 1958 that adult educators should carry out

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156 Ibid.
158 The action research notion had appeared earlier. In 1951, Essert and Verner had reported that the Institute of Adult Education at Columbia University Teachers College had embarked on a program of "action-research." Essert and Verner, p. 24.
systematic experimentation in the "community laboratory." He explained that:

The skill of the community developer is used to encourage a process
of action-research that can contribute to basic social theory.
Citizens are stimulated to achieve awareness of community of interest,
of common problems and of self-confidence to seek adequate solutions.
As citizens respond to the stimulation, they increase their skill in
discussion, study, fact-finding, handling of controversy intelligently,
decision-making, acting upon decisions, and in evaluating results.159

Biddle assigned the main role in action research to adult educators. Action
research bore a striking resemblance to Lindeman's situation approach to
learning that he had articulated in 1926.160

The need for research was stressed by the Commission of the Professors
that had met first in 1955 and then annually from 1957. In Verner's opinion,
the professors of adult education had the responsibility of designing the
conceptual tools for the field of practice. In the introduction to his
conceptual scheme he wrote that:

The more closely a field is related to the everyday behavior of people
the more difficult it is to achieve the objective analysis upon which
theory can be built. Adult education suffers from this particularly
because those involved in conducting educational activities for adults,
are too busy doing to spend much time thinking objectively about what
they are doing; therefore, if we are to fulfill our responsibilities as
Professors of Adult Education, we must develop the basic theoretical
constructs that distinguish adult education.161

Verner assigned the mantle of the innovator to the professors.

The Commission of the Professors discussed the relative merits of the

159 William W. Biddle, "The Challenge of Major Research," AL 7 (November

160 Lindeman described his vision of adult education as follows:
The situation-approach to learning involves, then, (a) recognition
of what constitutes a situation; (b) analysis of the situation into its
constituent problems; (c) discussion of these problems in the light of
available and needed experiences and information; (d) utilization of
available information and experience for purpose of (e) formulating
experimental solutions; (f) acting upon experimental propositions with a
view of testing, and if necessary, revamping the assumptions which
discussion has revealed.
Lindeman, Meaning, p. 193.

161 Verner, Conceptual Scheme, p. iii.
community and the individual emphases in adult education during their 1958 conference. Hallenbeck introduced the discussion by suggesting that: "It seems to me that the first thing of importance is that the modern world can only function in terms of the community, that the specialization of the division of labor that makes the modern world can only exist in a situation where there are people together."\(^{162}\) He explained the utility of the community approach in adult education in order to counter the arguments of some adult educators that a separation of the individual from the community was an inevitable trend.\(^{163}\) Houle disagreed with what he termed the over emphasis on community and the notion that adult needs were best met within the community. In his opinion, adult needs were determined "in a solitary fashion all by himself."\(^{164}\) In response, Hallenbeck qualified his statement and explained that:

What I'm trying to say here is that the motivation that adults have for adult education grow out of, in the broadest sense, the problems they encounter that they haven't resources within themselves to meet. This is within the framework of their living which, in turn, is in the community... We are going to deal realistically with these problems that are generated by persons living in the community; we must help them back into the solution of the problem with the community reference.\(^{165}\)

Individual development within the community context seemed acceptable to those professors who were hesitant about the community approach.

Wilson Thiede, professor of education at the University of Wisconsin, had a reservation about the community emphasis that he expressed during the 1958 conference. He feared that it inferred "the concept of the state against

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\(^{163}\) Ibid., p. 112.


\(^{165}\) Hallenbeck in *Lafayette Conference*, p. 117.
the individual." He found Hallenbeck's explanation reassuring however, and said that, "I have no objection at all to this approach to community, as we've discussed it, provided that the end objectives of these social institutions—in this case education—is the welfare of the individual." Verner reinforced Thiede's interpretation when he stated that:

Wilson, I think that in terms of our society and culture the answer to that would be "yes." The assumption is underlying. It may not necessarily be true of all societies and all cultures, but it is true in terms of our culture. That is a presupposition.

Hallenbeck agreed with Verner and concluded that: "It's a little different way of formulating the basic democratic philosophy within the framework of our society." The professors apparently were satisfied with the notion of individual self-actualization as the ultimate goal of adult education and the community as a means to that end.

Questions about the community approach again were raised during the 1959 meeting of the Commission of Professors. Some professors were concerned about the emphasis on community given by a special committee of the Commission, composed of Paul Bergevin, director of community services at the University of Indiana, Jack London, assistant professor of education at the University of California at Berkeley, Coolie Verner, and Wilbur Hallenbeck (chairman), which had presented a working paper on the relationships and the implications of community in adult education in 1958. Verner explained that paper during

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166 Wilson Thiede in *Lafayette Conference*, p. 118.  
167 Ibid.  
170 Wilbur C. Hallenbeck et al., "Community and Adult Education," A working paper for the conference of Professors of Adult Education, Purdue University, March 27-30, 1958, printed in February 1958. The working paper was published with slight modification in 1962: Wilbur C. Hallenbeck et al., *Community and Adult Education* (Washington: AEA, 1962). In both versions, Robert M. Smith of Indiana University was noted as co-author of Bergevin's contribution.
the 1959 meeting and noted that the authors had intended

...to say that these are the kinds of perceptions of this particular area of content that seem to us to be pertinent to an adult educational curriculum, and as Bill (Hallenbeck) said it, the session last year seemed to indicate that this group was not wholly in agreement with the preparers of the paper. But I think the group is in agreement that this is an area that is pertinent to the curriculum, but they are not in agreement on the interpretation that we gave to the importance of it.171

Verner's judgement was that the professors accepted the community as part of the adult education curriculum but not the importance assigned to it by the committee.

Verner conceived a solution to the individual self-actualization emphasis and the social improvement thrust in his conceptual scheme presented at the 1959 meetings of the professors. He suggested that:

Heretofore, the absence of any conceptual structure of methods in adult education has prevented the recognition of community development as a method and thus fostered the invalid community versus individual dichotomy that plagues adult education at present. When viewed in the light of the present conceptual scheme community development can assume its proper relationship as a method to other methods of adult education, and the dilemma created by the dichotomy is dissolved.172

Verner's inclusion of individual, group, and community methods captured the main philosophical dimensions in adult education in the fifties. His efforts were part of an attempt by the professors to correlate the basic concepts of adult education into a distinct field of study. At the same time, the continuing debate about the individual and community emphases suggested that the two were not yet, again borrowing Bernard Meland's 1939 phrase, "harmoniously correlated."173


172 Verner, Conceptual Scheme, pp. 16-7.

173 Above., p. 112.
A change of emphasis was apparent at the close of the fifties. The stress on the community approach that had grown during depression and war, and that had preoccupied adult educators in the late forties and the early fifties, had faded. There was renewed endorsement of the primacy of the individual. The strength of that endorsement, exemplified in the views of Houle and Thiede in 1958, caused the proponents of the community approach to amend their earlier views. Verner and Hallenbeck's acceptance of individual self-actualization as the ultimate goal of adult education was a compromise. That willingness to compromise demonstrated adult educators' efforts to set aside the philosophical differences that had dominated the fifties and to unite to design the technology and theory that was required to distinguish adult education as a field of study.

Field of Practice

The growth of interest in community development had created a number of demands on the field of practice of adult education. Several practitioners had claimed a broad range of responsibilities in their enthusiasm for community development. Henry C. Alter, director of the western division of the American Foundation for Continuing Education, decried the tendency of adult educators to claim to be able to do so much. He observed in 1959 that "participation is inhibited by a bewildering array of extremely partisan programs, each calling for priority acceptance as the annointed purveyor of virtue." 174

Added to the maze of functions already claimed by adult educators were suggestions that the community development concept could direct programs to uplift the oppressed at home and assist development in the Third World. One consequence of the interest in the Third World was the association of

community development by some commentators with development efforts abroad. That association had been made as early as 1955 when Murray G. Ross, associate professor of social work at the University of Toronto and a member of the executive committee of the CAAE, wrote: "In less developed countries, or in 'backward' parts of developed countries, the phrase used most frequently to designate efforts to provide for the advancement of communities is 'community development'."\(^{175}\) Ross suggested that the term community organization better incorporated the notion of community planning and action in Canada and in the United States.\(^{176}\) Carl Taylor made a similar distinction in 1958. Taylor, community development advisor to the Ford Foundation at the time, wrote that: "Planned, organized community development programs are operating only in underdeveloped countries, not in so-called highly developed countries."\(^{177}\)

There was more than a grain of truth in the association of community development with the materially less prosperous areas of Canada and the United States. The community development concept had grown out of the Depression and from the experiences of university extension in the economically depressed sections of Nova Scotia and Virginia. Community development offered adult education a role that would set it apart from traditional education in that community development aimed to assist a portion of humanity to gain for itself a greater portion of the world's wealth. That had been the message of the Antigonish Movement. William Baker was concerned about the have-nots. He had completed his duties as chairman of the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life in 1956


\(^{176}\) Ibid., p. 16.

and transferred his attention to the Centre for Community Studies, established in 1957 at the University of Saskatchewan sponsored jointly by the university and the provincial government. Baker, director of the Centre, suggested in 1959 that a new trend in adult education reflected in "international movements...such as community development," was exemplified by the Co-operative Extension Service in the United States "now actively applying to neglected rural areas the principles of community development." He noted that those principles were the guidelines for the Centre and for the Government of Saskatchewan's new policies in the Indian-White communities of the north.

The juxtaposition of community development with the materially disadvantaged was reinforced by Edmund Brunner and others in 1959. They noted that the community development approach had much to offer, "particularly in areas lacking in adequate resources or organizational structure, or suffering from depression or retarded economic conditions." Rural areas and oppressed minorities were to be served by adult educators through community development. By the end of the fifties, adult educators tended to associate community development with those areas and minorities in Canada and the United States, and with problems in distant lands.

It was unclear however just what practitioners were expected to do,

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178 The Centre for Community Studies was a product of one of the recommendations of the Royal Commission. The sixth report of the commission was a lengthy treatise on rural education and recommendation number forty-eight called for the establishment of an agency like the Centre. Rural Education, p. 367.


180 Adult educators' interest in the plight of the Indian was clear in the CAAE in the late fifties. The Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, established as an independent organization in 1960, was an off-shoot of the National Commission on the Indian Canadian of the CAAE formed in 1956.

181 Brunner et al., p. 236.
when, how, where, and why. Moreover, it was unclear where they could go to find out. Some adult educators suggested that the institutions of higher education had the responsibility to train and support community development practitioners; others believed that that activity was not the responsibility of universities and colleges. McClusky noted in 1960 that "the administrative vehicles of community development are elusive, in fact, so elusive that it could be an unprofitable exercise to devote any time to their delineation." He found some indication that community development was a part of the activities of universities and colleges in Canada and the United States. He identified community development programs in the extension services of St. Francis Xavier University, the University of Wisconsin, Southern Illinois University, Earlham College, West Georgia College, and the University of Michigan. Katharine Lackey identified several more universities that were active in community development as a result of a survey that she conducted of all the members of the National University Extension Association in 1958. Lackey had been commissioned by the Centre for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults and the division of community development of the National University Extension Association to conduct the survey in order to collect data with which to describe and analyse community development programs in American

182 Louis Miniclier, chief of the community development division in the Office of Public Services of the International Co-operation Administration in Washington wrote in 1958 that:
Although community development can no longer be cast off as a passing fad, it is still so highly fashionable that the enthusiasts' answers to when and where community development are frequently "now" and "everywhere." International agencies have placed community development high on their priority lists. Is it being oversold? Is it being pushed so fast in some quarters that the establishment or strengthening of basic services in health, education, agriculture, and social services essential to successful community development are being neglected? Some of the basic principles of community development itself could be profitably applied in considering the when and where.

universities. She found that thirteen universities had or were planning to have community development programs in 1958. Lackey concluded her 1960 report on the survey in an optimistic note about the future of community development in the United States supported by the institutions of higher education.

However, whether community development was a legitimate activity for institutions of higher education was a contentious issue and adult education practitioners were not given a clear mandate to rely on them for information, training, and leadership in community development. In 1960, Renee and William Petersen maintained that there was no place in universities for community development, a conclusion they reached after a lengthy study of university adult education. They declared that community development was "a prime example of university non-education." As it was, there was no consensus about the place of community development in universities and colleges. As in all areas of inquiry about community development, practitioners found a wide range of conflicting advice in the literature.

While differences of opinion in adult education were evident in many contributions to the literature and were the subject of debate at conferences and meetings, it was uncertain if the issues involved or even interested the amorphous mass of adult education practitioners. Alter noted in 1959 that there was little public understanding of adult education. He observed that: "The public at large is confused by the claims made on behalf of adult education, ranging as they do from amusement to salvation." Powell and Benne made a similar point in 1960. They wrote that: "Probably three fourths

of all adult learning in America proceeds calmly along its old familiar lines, in school and college classrooms without much concern—usually without much comprehension—about the newer outreach of either philosophy or practice."\(^{188}\)

Social philosophy was no longer the major interest within the AEA by the late fifties according to the results of a 1958 survey of the membership directed by Brunner. The need to develop a social philosophy as an objective of the Association was ranked third by the membership. Ranked first was a need to conduct and promote research related to adult education, endorsed by eighty-one per cent of the respondents. Ranked second was a need to disseminate practical techniques of adult education and leadership, endorsed by seventy-nine per cent of the respondents. Sixty-two per cent endorsed a need to develop social philosophy. Brunner concluded that the membership were tired of direction finding questions. He observed in 1959 that:

Since its organization the AEA has been enamored of "continuous direction finding." This has been deemed, necessary to safeguard democratic processes. However, the various direction finding efforts have brought a profusion and confusion of counsel.\(^{189}\)

Perhaps out of sheer exhaustion, the question of why adult education existed and what it should represent were replaced by an emphasis on how to do adult education. The controversy over individual and social improvement dominated the fifties and sapped the strength of commentators. At the same time, because of their energies the dual goals of the adult education movement were clearer than ever before.

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\(^{188}\)Powell and Benne, p. 45.

Movement

While both goals were confirmed in the literature, other dimensions of the movement appeared to be unrealized. The adult education movement aims to provide opportunities for all adults to engage in lifelong education. However, there were indications that adult education was basically a middle class activity in the fifties. Grattan had concluded his study of the movement with a note that: "We have emphasized again and again that, historically, adult education has been predominantly a middle-class activity, and still largely remains such." 190 His conclusion was verified in 1958 by Verner and Newberry in their study of adult education participation in formally organized structures. They suggested that: "Two major goals of adult education are not now being realized; only a minority of the population continue their education into adult life through organized programs, and the ideal of lifelong learning is achieved only for a few." 191

Adult education had failed to attract many learners from the middle class to the social improvement goal of the movement. Brunner recalled that: "Some in the adult education movement saw it as a panacea for the ills of a democratic society, but had found no way to entice vast numbers of citizens into classes dealing with the solution of social problems." 192 The point was that the movement, couched in terms that included service to all people, managed to attract only one class few of whom were interested in social issues. The movement apparently had limited appeal.

Moreover, while the dual goals of the movement were clear, proponents of one or the other remained at odds. The movement had been strained by

190 Grattan, p. 330.
192 Brunner, As Now Remembered, p. 267.
contending viewpoints during the fifties. On the one hand, advocates of the community approach tended to champion community development and its emphasis on education and social action, and were enthusiastic about the suitability of their approach as a guiding light in the efforts to make adult education socially relevant. Those adult educators had dominated the literature in the early fifties. On the other hand, advocates of the primacy of the individual tended to believe that education must be divorced from social action and remain neutral in all matters of social change while concentrating on the perfection of society through the perfection of the individual. These adult educators balanced the view of the community enthusiasts in the second half of the decade. There were numerous appeals for compromise but fundamental differences remained. It seemed that the energies of many adult educators were sapped by the exertion of debate, debate that ended in a stalemate.

The debates continued to be portrayed as dichotomous. Alter contributed to the list of descriptors of the sides in the debates. He suggested in 1959 that there were left and right wings in adult education. On the left he grouped the progressives, behaviourists, and those using the social approach. On the right he placed the conservatives, traditionalists, and those emphasizing the academic approach. Powell and Benne summed up the fifties by distinguishing the developmental and the rationalist as the two main schools in adult education. The developmental school had two divisions: fundamental education dominated by community development, and human relations education focused on group dynamics. Powell and Benne suggested that the rationalist camp operated under many banners including liberal arts, reading-discussion, great books, and the humanities. They

194 Powell and Benne, p. 44.
concluded that American theories of adult education were polarized "not to say ionized" around the two camps. The main issue was whether or not education should emphasize purely intellectual or purely emotional analysis, conceived as opposite ends of a continuum, while in the centre was "a span of effectual personal and civic action which forms one of the goals at both extremes." Powell and Benne maintained that adult education had to span the extremes and serve individual and social needs through a combination of education and social action.

Verner reacted to what he considered to be the excessive claims of some community development enthusiasts. His 1953 hope that "divine discontent" would encourage people to participate in social change activities was absent in later observations. He changed his expectations of community development. In an analysis of the adult education literature written for the 1960 Handbook, he suggested that learners required education "essential to adjustment to change" while preserving the social order. That notion of adjustment to change suggested a remedial role for adult education rather than the directive role that he had implied in 1953. Verner had become wary of the community development fashion. "For some devotees," he observed in 1959, "it is a panacea to be embraced with ardor and espoused with religious fervor." He added that: "I fear that some are rapidly becoming devotees of a new cult." Verner maintained that the cult had arisen "as a result of the tendency to ascribe values to an adult education method which are, in reality, associated with the behaviour which may occur in a community as a result of

195 Powell and Benne, p. 50.
the learning achieved through the method." His solution to the confusion associated with the many claims made by community development enthusiasts was a clarification of the relationship between education and social action, and the inclusion of community development as one of many methods in adult education.

However logical Verner's clarification was of the relationship between education and social action and the relegation of adult education to a remedial role rather than a directive role in social change, he did not represent a consensus. For example, Sheats summarized the contents of the 1960 Handbook with the observation that:

Author after author in the preceding pages testifies as to the growing strength of community-centered adult education, as to the need for a union of education and action, and as to the importance of using the resources of adult education agencies to improve the quality of decision-making. The concept of adult education as an instrument of planned social change is heralded as the sign of a new era.200

In the same publication, McClusky viewed community development as giving people new hope of overcoming social ills themselves. He wrote that:

It suggests that people are not compelled to accept such limiting circumstances of life as poor education, decrepit housing, ill-health, inadequate employment, and an impoverished spiritual environment as irreversible, but that these limitations can, by deliberate intent study, and action, be substantially if not completely overcome.201

The enthusiasm for community development remained even with those who were endeavouring to provide some dispassionate analysis of adult education.

Others had no reservations about the importance of community development in adult education. William Abbott, assistant education director of the United Rubber Workers union, expressed an impatience with those who

199 Ibid.
questioned the value of community development. He asked in 1959: "Are we
going to be bored to death by insipid, roseate approaches to community
development, based on moral cowardice, or is community development going to
face basic social issues and investigate ways of stirring citizens into
action?" Abbott suggested that adult education should get involved in
issues including racial segregation, civil liberties, the extent of democracy
in communities, and the bringing into the open the different philosophical
attitudes toward government. He drew on labour movement traditions and
observed that:

There are those who argue that investigating the techniques of
community organization is a dirty business, below the level of true
education. The argument is made that once the people are educated
they will demand action or get it some way, but in the labor movement
we have learned that methods of getting action are just as important
as any other subject matter....Don't persons concerned with community
development have the obligation to ferret out new avenues of
expression? If such prodding means the jobs of those engrossed in the
subject, perhaps the AEA could be a valuable instrument of basic
discussion on how adult educators working in the community could
become freer men.

Abbott's emphasis on the importance of the community development concept was
clear. At the same time, his plea for a dynamic social role for adult
education was couched in terms that had elicited warnings from Verner.

There were other queries about education and social action. In
1958, Harry S. Broudy, professor of philosophy at Framingham State Teachers
College, asked: "Should adult education try to involve the learner in
action, or should ideational processes be dominant?"

He wanted to know
what formal adult education had to offer the learner learn from the action
that the learner was already involved in. He suggested that there were

(February 1959):Inside front cover.

203 Ibid.

204 Harry S. Broudy, "A Philosopher Looks at Adult Education," in
Seeking Common Ground, ed. Sillars, p. 97.
ethical difficulties. He wrote that:

On the adult level, action, if important, is for keeps. If education directly influences this action, then it runs the danger of becoming manipulative. If it does not manipulate but merely encourages experimentation, then it runs the danger of moral irresponsibility.205

Brunner posed similar questions during the 1958 meeting of the Commission of the Professors. He asked: "Under what circumstances, if any, should a specific adult education activity strive to secure action and under what circumstances should it hew unswervingly to the line of neutrality?"206

He drew on his long experience in adult education and noted that the relationship between education and social action had been studied earlier. Brunner pointed out to the professors that an earlier generation had wrestled with similar questions to those asked by the generation of the fifties, and had found answers as elusive. He observed that:

You may remember, some of you who are older, that this was a very live issue in the AAAE. Cartwright was adamant in his position of absolute neutrality on every issue; others cordially and enthusiastically disagreed with him.207

Brunner had added a rare quality in debates about adult education—an awareness of the past.

The community development concept remained a contentious issue at the end of the fifties. Questions about the relative importance of individual and society and about the relationship between education and social action continued to be asked, and continued to bring out fundamental differences of opinion. As had been the case in the late thirties, the differences were exaggerated by suspicions that the concept represented a form of extremism.

The issues in the late fifties were similar to those in the thirties

205 Ibid.

206 Edmund de S. Brunner in Lafayette Conference, p. 73. 207 Ibid.
with one difference. Canadian adult educators had not taken an active part in the debates of the fifties as they had done in the debates twenty years earlier. The enthusiasm in the United States that had resulted from the formation of the AEA and the subsequent search for social philosophy had not been emulated in Canada. The absence of issues in *Food For Thought* elicited the following editorial comment in 1959:

For some time now, we have not had a real dialogue between opposing points of view in *Food For Thought*—a highly unsatisfactory situation. It means one of two things: either we are so pleased with ourselves that we feel no need to question; or 'outsiders' are not sufficiently impressed with our efforts to criticize or to praise! And if what we're doing neither infuriates nor inspires, then we are indeed in a sorry state.208

About the same time that that editorial appeared in the Canadian journal, Alter wrote in the American journal that "the field of adult education appears as a house against itself."209 He added that:

The division is not simply dichotomous, but rather a conglomeration of splinter groups with widely divergent goals, ambitions, and techniques. Such a division would not necessarily be dangerous if it were not for the fact that the various movements engage in rivalries and competition—a fact which tends to harm all the parts while benefitting none.210

The American Journal reflected the troubled times more clearly than did the Canadian journal.

The disquiet that Alter had noted in adult education in the fifties was similar to a broader sense of unease in the United States at that time. The fear of communism remained. Intolerance and abrogation of civil liberties resulted from that fear and in the judgement of Robert J. Havighurst, professor of education at the University of Chicago, had created "the Ugly Decade" of the fifties.211 Glen Burch, director of the study-discussion program developed

209Alter, p. 100. 210Ibid.
211Robert J. Havighurst, "Adult Education For Our Time," *AL* 7 (December 1958):162. Henry Steele Commager suggested that there was a tradition of
for the Fund for Adult Education in White Plains, New York, summed up the
intellectual climate of opinion in the fifties and noted that:

Several movements abroad in the land have a strong anti-intellectual
and anti-rational flavor. The fight against prejudice—which warps
the mind—is far from won. There is a trend toward the curtailment
of inquiry; censorship and fear of unpalatable foreign doctrines and
ideas is serving to limit the world of knowledge available to us.212

Robert B. Browne, dean of university extension at the University of Illinois,
expressed a concern in 1958 about "today's winds of doctrine," in particular
the association of adult education with change and reform.213 He feared that
the association implied an attempt by some adult educators to want to
"engineer learners into mass-humans". He emphasized the essential value of
the individual in American society, individuals "ready to associate
voluntarily with their fellows in co-operative movements but always keeping
a certain stubborn and perhaps willful independence."214 "Would that Russia
were populated with such folk" he concluded his statement written a year
and a half after Soviet tanks had entered Budapest. Those were fearful
times and produced emotional statements.

Canada was not as involved as the United States in the international tensions
of the fifties but did participate in the Korean War and in peace-keeping
intolerance in the United States. He wrote in 1950 that:
Before the first World War the incongruity of persecution with the First
Amendment had been generally acknowledged. With the Sedition and
Espionage Acts of that war, the "red hysteria" of the twenties, the Alien
Registration Acts of 1940, the loyalty tests and purges of the mid-forties,
the establishment of un-American activities committees, intolerance
received, as it were, the stamp of official approval. Loyalty was
identified with conformity, and the American genius, which had been
experimental and even rebellious, was required to conform to a pattern.
Commager, p. 413.

Robert Fowler argues that there was a general belief among political
intellectuals in the United States during the fifties that all ideologies were
to be feared. Robert B. Fowler, Believing Skeptics: American Political


duties in the Middle East. In addition, the internal strains in the United States exemplified by the McCarthy witch-hunt did not occur in Canada although Canadians also were affected by the hunt. Perhaps because of the minor role Canadians played in providing world leadership, the national prosperity, and the relative security for most people in Canada, issues that caused controversies in the United States were not as apparent in the Canadian adult education literature. At the same time, the Canadian journal, perhaps reflecting a certain conservatism in the CAAE, was not in tune with the troubled times as was the American journal that reflected a dynamic new adult education association.

Community development was well established in adult education in 1958-60. It had been highlighted in major publications and was a frequent topic of inquiry in the journals, in particular in the American literature. A result of that activity was the realization on the part of a number of adult educators that they lacked sufficient empirical evidence and theory to incorporate the many and varied claims made by community development enthusiasts into a still emerging adult education field of study. Those claims strained the adult education movement, field of practice, and field of study. Additional strain on available resources resulted from the claims made on behalf of many other interests in adult education. Claims and counter-claims kept the main areas of philosophical debate at the forefront of research. There were arguments in support of a legitimate place for all philosophical stances in adult education and a compromise was sought in the literature and in the meetings of the Commission of the Professors. Nevertheless, issues remained unresolved with regard to the relative importance of individual and society, and the relationship between education and social action.

\[\text{\footnotesize \[\text{\footnotesize 215 Above, pp. 172-3.}\]}\]
Summary

Community development was clearly a part of adult education by 1960 following a decade of inquiry and debate into its nature and function. Community development incapsulated the interest in social improvement, community, co-operation, and social action that had grown out of the twenties and thirties. Many adult educators wholeheartedly looked to the community development concept as the means to social improvement. Improvement of Canadian and American society was interpreted as necessitating the revival of democracy through the encouragement of citizen participation in communities. It was thought that the emphasis on democratic revival would achieve for adult education a level of social significance that would transfer it from the margin of the educational system into the main stream. Some adult educators made claims that elicited a negative response from others and a controversy resulted. The claims made by community development enthusiasts had strained the philosophical, experiential, and theoretical foundations of the adult education movement, field of practice, and field of study. High hopes were unjustified by available resources.
CHAPTER VI

THEMES IN THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CONCEPT (1919-60)

Introduction

The community development concept as it came to be expressed by 1960 in the adult education literature was the result of much discussion and debate originating in the twenties. The discussion and debate centred around four themes or subjects of thought: adult education for social improvement, the nature of community, the value of socio-economic co-operation, and the relationship between education and social action. That inquiry had generated the knowledge and set the mood that produced the community development concept as the combination of adult learning and social action aiming to educate citizens for collective co-operative enterprises in local control of local affairs.

Various common factors were apparent each time that the community development concept appeared in the literature. Those factors were the starting point in the search for general themes from which the concept had evolved. The themes were determined during the re-search procedure when some organization was needed to arrange the common factors into order. The themes and the definition of the concept evolved simultaneously with the nature of one influencing the substance of the other.

The four themes neither grew from the other in sequence nor had they appeared at one time in debate, although the order in which they are herein arranged is roughly the order in which they appeared in the literature.

1Above, p. 19.
Adult educators' interest in the dual goals of the movement began gradually in the twenties when the notion of educators' responsibility for social improvement, that had been emphasized in the 1919 Report and that had been a major concern in Europe, was beginning to interest Canadians and Americans. Adult education for social improvement was the main interest after 1929 and continued to be through the thirties and forties, and into the fifties. Adult educators perceived the community as the ideal unit of human association within which social improvement could be realized. That perception also began in the twenties and continued throughout the period under review. About the same time that the community was beginning to be seen as the social unit within which adult educators could work to improve society, the concept of co-operation came to be viewed as the means to the end of social improvement in the community. Inquiry into collective co-operative improvement of society led to an examination of the relationship between education and social action. The four themes had become inextricably wound up in the community development concept that a number of adult educators articulated in the fifties.

The themes neither were precisely differentiated nor were they of equal interest to all commentators. One common feature of all comments was the pre-occupation with the future. Most of the data in the literature used in this study were presented in the normative vein in that most commentators wrote about what ought to be done rather than what had been done or what was being done. Four reasons may be cited for that concern with what ought to be. First, there was little empirical evidence available to prove or to disprove the points made about community development. Second, adult education was an emerging field of study in the period under review and was only beginning to acquire precise definitions and conceptual framework. Third, community development was just beginning to appear as a field of study and practice in the fifties. Fourth, community research itself is value centred and normative
according to Edward J. Blakely, assistant vice-president, Academic Personnel Systemwide, University of California. ²

Social Improvement

The social improvement theme had two features. First, adult educators developed a social consciousness during the first forty years of the movement in the sense that they hoped that a broad range of social problems could be solved through adult education. That social consciousness had been the impetus for the community development concept. Second, the notion of adult education for social improvement was controversial. Arguments in support of the social improvement goal of the movement often were made at the expense of the individual self-actualization goal and vice versa. Even though most adult educators thought that both goals could be achieved, debates often were polemical. The goals continued to be discussed through the fifties and the differences in perspective persisted.

Emphasis and De-emphasis

Social improvement through adult education had been emphasized or de-emphasized depending on socio-economic conditions in Canada and the United States that ranged from prosperity to depression and from peace-time to wartime. By the end of the twenties, the dual goals of the movement had become clear even though the individual had received most attention during the decade.

²Prior to assuming that post in 1977, Blakely was associate dean of applied economics and behavioural sciences and assistant director for community resource development of the co-operative extension of the University of California, Davis. He wrote in 1979 that:

Although much of modern science eschews the notion of values and assumes itself to be value free, community research is admittedly value laden ....Community research, instead of being purely descriptive of the how and why of human behavior, is aimed at change in a predetermined value set direction.

The notion of self-actualization was prominent at a time when the primacy of the individual dominated the social ethos as Canadians and Americans indulged in individual pursuits following release from the social strain caused by the Great War. Primacy of the individual had not meant individualism in the Social Darwinian "dog-eat-dog" mentality but meant rather that individual liberty was the ultimate social value. And yet, because crass individualism had not disappeared, adult educators such as Eduard Lindeman and Joseph Hart tended to de-emphasize individualism and to emphasize the value of collective improvement. They had viewed the growing complexities of life characterized by rapid change, urbanization, and industrialization to be beyond the capacity of the individual to cope, and maintained that collective action by individuals would prepare them to survive as individuals while improving their society.

Early commentators had been careful to disassociate social improvement from any connection with radical change for fear of being identified with communism. Seven years after the Bolshevik revolution, Emma Davis wrote in 1924 that too much emphasis on the working class in adult education would encourage class consciousness and therefore should be avoided. In 1926, Everett Martin expressed the fear that the fledgling adult education movement would be usurped by those who would "educate the masses" for an exploitive purpose. In the same year, Frederick Keppel wrote about those who advocated "pointed education" as akin to educational practitioners in the Soviet Union. Keppel, Martin, and Davis clearly disassociated the goals of adult education from radical social change that they tended to correlate with class

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4 Above, p. 42. 5 Above, p. 46. 6 Above, p. 46.
consciousness and class warfare. Their adult educator successors had similar reservations.

After the Crash in 1929, there was no question where the priority lay in adult education. Adult educators directed most of their energies to social improvement in conjunction with all other Canadians and Americans in the effort to overcome socio-economic collapse. Many adult educators had responded to the need for social reform and social planning by advocating collective co-operative efforts at the local level. They had a vision of a society in which grass roots democracy based on mutual aid and self-help would remove social and philosophical malaise, and thereby deflect the appeal of radical ideologies.

Some adult educators had tried to accommodate both goals of the movement during the thirties without losing sight of the current priority for social improvement. In 1933, Lindeman suggested that social progress was dependent on the goals of adult education working as "an interacting whole." Two years later Carroll Woody wrote about "the unique blend" of the goals and William Stacy commented on the "integration" of the diverse aspects within adult education. Later in the decade, Robert Falconer recommended "wholeness" in adult education and Henry Munro alluded to an "interaction" between individual and society. Bernard Meland suggested in 1939 that the individual and social goals could be viewed as "one organic scene." The same intent of these individuals was exemplified by the social significance series of the AAAE that focused on the importance of the social goal while not compromising the individual.

The impetus for a renewed emphasis on the social improvement goal of the movement came with the need to mobilize Canadian and American resources

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7 Above, p. 72. 8 Above, p. 74. 9 Above, p. 75. 10 Above, p. 112.
for World War II. Adult educators correlated the mobilization of resources with citizen participation in local affairs, a strategy that they had designed during the Depression to encourage collective co-operative enterprises to enable people to improve their environment themselves. That strategy was adopted for the same purpose during the war-time emergency.

At the end of the war in 1945, adult educators had completed a decade and a half of serving the needs of depression and war during which time the social improvement goal of their movement had received much support. As a result of their experiences, many adult educators thought that the spirit of collective co-operative action would continue after the war and rekindle the flame of democracy that they believed had been dimmed by the rapid changes of the twentieth century. They had hoped that adult education's resources would continue to be directed to that end. Their hopes appeared to be justified by the findings of the committee on community organization of the AAAE during 1946-8 and the committee on social philosophy of the AEA in 1951-3. Both committees had emphasized the importance of the social improvement goal as the priority for adult education if it were to establish a meaningful position for itself in the educational system.

Adult educators continued to work to enhance citizen participation during the fifties in order to overcome a growing sense of citizen alienation from democracy. In a philosophical sense they had done so because of a long interest in and a commitment to strengthening Canadian and American democracy. In an instrumental sense they had done so because they hoped to achieve a measure of social significance for their movement that had continued to flounder on the margin of the educational system. However, the emphasis on the social improvement goal that had grown during depression and war had created a momentum within adult education that had carried it beyond the requirements of general socio-economic conditions in Canada and the United States. Unlike
the thirties when social issues were paramount and social reform inevitable, socio-economic conditions had improved for most people in the fifties and social improvement had lost its sense of urgency.

Notions of general social change in the fifties had been incompatible with national priorities that were bent on preserving a social system that seemed to be threatened by foreign ideologies and nuclear war. Adult educators' interest in social improvement was deflected to specific areas of social malaise at home and to development needs abroad. Statements about general social improvement continued to appear but they were matched by more and more statements about the overriding importance of individual self-actualization as the main goal of adult education.

Controversy

In their enthusiasm for social improvement many adult educators often made their case by de-emphasizing the importance of individual self-actualization. Although they had never abandoned the ultimate value of individual liberty, their enthusiasm for social reform aroused the opposition of those who feared lest the emphasis on the collective good implied a reduction of that liberty. As a result, the discussion about adult education for social improvement became a debate between the exponents of the social and the individual goal. The debate at times was heated and deteriorated into polemics. Issues in the debate were complicated by the association of collective improvement with communism.

Early adult educators had perceived divisions between those who emphasized one goal over the other. Initially, the emphasis on one or the other was observed to be a European phenomenon. But after the socio-economic collapse in 1929 a similar divisiveness appeared in Canada and in the United States. The controversy over the relative importance of the goals of adult education that had been apparent at the World Conference in 1929 became a
highlight in the AAAE in 1932 when advocates of the individual as the supreme end of adult education had clashed with advocates of a perfectly co-ordinated society. The two sides had not appeared to be too far apart in so far as recorded in the literature, but were described as "never reconciled" by the editors of the _Journal of Adult Education_ in 1932.¹¹ Many of the comments about the dual goals during the thirties recommended a compromise, and notions of integration, wholeness, and blending had appeared frequently. The circumstances of the decade had encouraged that compromise in that large scale collective action was needed to overcome the Depression. The philosophical difficulties that some adult educators had with stressing collective rather than individual well being were not emphasized and the controversy, while always near the surface when individual and social needs were discussed, was played down in the literature. Mary Ely had noted briefly in 1939 that the same divisions over the needs had been "propounded, debated, left unsettled year after year."¹²

The divisions were dormant during the forties and early fifties while adult educators were preoccupied with national mobilization and reconstruction. During the early years of the AEA, the divisions reappeared as part of the debate over social philosophy. Community development enthusiasts had argued vigorously that the emphasis on collective action for social improvement should be paramount in adult education and they were matched with equal vigour by those interested in other approaches. Many adult educators searched for a middle ground to accommodate the contending opinions, opinions that had led Henry Alter in 1959 to describe adult education in the United States as "a house against itself."¹³ Search as they had, the differences of opinion remained between those who stressed individual self-actualization and those who emphasized social improvement as the first priority in adult education.

¹¹ Above, p. 71. ¹² Above, p. 113. ¹³ Above, p. 221.
By the late fifties, the dualistic positions of the thirties had hardened into unreconciled camps.

With the return of material prosperity in the fifties, collective action for social improvement appeared to be unnecessary. Earlier suspicions about the emphasis on collective rather than individual initiative had re-emerged and were exacerbated by an intolerant mood during the decade. Despite the denial of radical involvement by those who stressed the importance of social improvement, there were those who identified social improvement with radical change and the Soviet bugbear. For example, Edward Gross had recorded his reservations in 1956 about community development as part of his fear of all efforts to emphasize the collective over the individual, and alluded to Soviet practices to illustrate his point. The fear of communism in mid-twentieth century Canada and the United States had made the notion of adult education for social improvement a delicate one.

Social improvement through collective co-operative action had been a reformist notion. During the Depression years when social reform was essential and during the war years when collective action was required to mobilize national resources, adult educators generally had acknowledged the need for collective improvement. That acknowledgement reflected the social consciousness that was the seed of the community development concept. During the fifties when collective improvement no longer appeared to be urgent and when the emphasis on the collective was correlated by some with communism, adult education for general social improvement was a radical notion to a number of adult educators. As a result, interest in social improvement was no longer viewed as a general strategy but rather became a concern of those interested in the marginal sections of society in Canada and the United States, and in development needs abroad. Social reform had become an ameliorative notion

14 Above, p. 184.
to serve the have-nots.

Community

The community theme in adult education began in the twenties, grew in importance as the subject of research during the thirties and forties, and was a major component in conceptual models of adult education processes in the fifties. Adult educators had perceived the community as the ideal unit of human association in which social improvement could be achieved. The community was large enough to function as a substantial social unit that was broader than smaller units like families and groups, and therefore more like a mirror of society as a whole. It was small enough to forestall some of the fears of those who thought that community development emphasized the value of social improvement over individual self-actualization. Adult education to build community was less threatening than social improvement conceived to change the whole of society.

Exponents of community adult education had been handicapped in their arguments by outmoded definitions of community. Rapid urbanization in Canada and the United States plus the increasing physical mobility of people had rendered redundant the traditional notion of the territorial community. The inclusion of the territorial attribute in all definitions of community had weakened the validity of the community as a viable unit of society in mid-century Canada and the United States.

Need for Community

There were clear and consistent statements about the importance of community throughout the period under review of the adult education movement. The overriding reason for that interest was that adult educators had thought that local control of local affairs would bolster democracy by involving all citizens directly in all decisions that affected their
Beginning with Lindeman in 1921, the notion of local groups in control of basic aspects of life had been regarded as essential by adult educators who wrote about the community. Lindeman had written in hopeful anticipation of the community movement that he defined as "an attempt on the part of the people who live in a small compact local group to assume their own responsibilities and to guide their own destinies." The community movement's stress on local initiative called for the marshalling of local resources and led to the establishment of numerous community organizations to co-ordinate adult education activities. Interest in such co-ordination began in the twenties and spread rapidly in the thirties as a part of adult education's efforts to cope with the Depression. Lindeman had been joined by many adult educators in the thirties in working against centralized control by advocating local self-help programs to strengthen community resources. Some attention in the literature was given to two large scale experiments in community organization and adult education in Iowa and South Carolina. The experiments provided the first detailed analyses of planned community-wide adult education and were innovations in an age that had demanded new approaches to make adult education socially relevant.

Innovations in community-wide adult education continued throughout depression and war, and figured in plans for post-war reconstruction. Proof of adult educators' commitment to the community lay in their search for those innovations during the prevailing need for centralized management. They tried to find a place for community in centralization schemes. In 1935, Lyman Bryson had suggested that planning was acceptable if undertaken voluntarily in communities and not imposed by the state. Watson Thomson

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15 Above, pp. 53-4. 16 Above, p. 73.
made a similar suggestion in 1939. James Truslow Adams acknowledged the need for centralized planning in his 1944 analysis of the AAAE's social significance series, and recommended that that planning should be based in the community as much as possible. However, a clear rationale that combined notions of decentralization in a centralized system was missing.

Adult educators remained hopeful that the end of the war would remove the necessity for central direction and that power would devolve to the community where Canadians and Americans would revive grass roots democracy. That hope was reflected in the activities of the committee on community organization of the AAAE in the late forties and the committee on social philosophy of the AEA in the early fifties. Those committees had appeared to represent a consensus in the organizations that the community was adult education's most important forum in which to achieve the social improvement goal of the movement. Throughout the fifties, many adult educators regarded the community as the social unit best suited for programs that aimed to encourage citizen participation in democracy.

However, not all adult educators were enthusiastic about the emphasis on community as the main and sometimes the only priority in adult education that had been advanced by the exponents of community development. Their reservations had been manifested in discussion and debate in the mid-fifties. In addition, trends in Canada and the United States toward more centralization, the renewed threats of war, and a new era of intolerance generated by the fear caused by those threats, had worked against the prospects of a return to grass roots democracy. The small self-sufficient community of people governed by mutual aid and self-help reminiscent of the New England community of old seemed doomed by the rapid changes of the twentieth century. A new conception of community was needed to accommodate those changes.

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17 Above, pp. 119-20. 18 Above, pp. 134-5.
Meaning of Community

Community had been regarded as good and desirable, often abstractly and usually undefined. There were two seldom differentiated meanings of community: the territorial community of people sharing a physical space and some values, attitudes, and beliefs that influenced the individuals within it who had a sense of belonging to it; and, the relational community of people who shared primarily a sense of belonging, a feeling of we-ness, and not necessarily a physical space. Community simply defined as territory was insufficient in face of social turbulence and physical mobility.

The territorial notion had dominated definitions of community in the twenties and thirties, and common interests and an abstract idea of a sense of belonging although sometimes included were not as apparent. Edmund Brunner had noted a lack of clarity in the community idea in 1927 and added that "no widely accepted method of delimiting a 'community' has yet been agreed upon." Lindeman had suggested that definitions of community could be classified as geographic, political, social, economic, and psychological, while generally defining it in 1921 as an aggregate of families that was "the vital unit of society in which the individual secures his education, receives his standards of health and morality, expresses his recreational tendencies, and labors to earn his share of worldly goods." A tentative and ill defined perception of community that excluded the territorial dimension altogether had begun to take form. Lindeman's psychological community was a starting point. It was

...a community based upon like-mindedness. This definition implies that the real community does not exist until there is a consciousness

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20 Lindeman, Community, p. 9.
of group adherence. In other words, there must be a certain homogeneity of mind before a real community comes into being.\textsuperscript{21}

Adult educators began to see the significance of the relational community during the rapid changes of the thirties whereby Canadians and Americans had been physically mobile as they searched for work and as the urbanization process continued. E. L. Terman, reporting on the activities of the Active Citizenship Clubs of New York in 1941, underlined the inadequacy of dictionary definitions of community that had been "formulated in the days, not so long past, when the railroad, the steamship, the telephone, the automobile, the airplane, and the radio did not exist."\textsuperscript{22} Invention of those mechanical devices had forced fundamental changes on the community. Thinking of the old days, Terman added that:

Those were the days when isolation was not a myth but a reality, when groups of people with common interests and privileges in one locality were more or less independent and set apart from groups in other localities. But today, as a result of the many easy and rapid means of communication, it is possible for interests and privileges to be shared by individuals in every portion of the globe....Thus the word "community" has acquired new meanings that transcend geographic boundaries and widen out to embrace a world society.\textsuperscript{23}

Terman's view of community based on communication rather than territory had indicated a new line of inquiry. Also in 1941, Edward Bayne suggested that "the idea of community--community of interest and action--is the enduring stuff of the nation."\textsuperscript{24} He emphasized the relational community but did not dismiss the territorial component. He wrote that:

The community may be defined...as the organized or unorganized group that is held together within certain geographic boundaries by some

\textsuperscript{21} Lindeman, Community, p. 9.

\textsuperscript{22} E. L. Terman, "Active Citizenship Clubs," JAE 13 (October 1941):420. Terman was noted as the chief of the division of professional supervision of the Work's Project Administration Program conducted under the sponsorship of the Board of Education, New York City.

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{24} Bayne, p. 19.
common interest. The sources of this interest vary from an ideal of public welfare to the openly commercial promotion of a chamber of commerce. The geographic boundaries exist only to define the area within which members of the community find it easy to hold frequent social intercourse with one another.25

The key to Bayne's community was frequent social intercourse. His perception of community was one of the clearest in the literature in that he considered all of the dimensions that Lindeman had suggested.

Whichever way community was defined, if at all, it was clear that adult educators regarded it as the ideal form of human association in which a whole range of social problems could be alleviated. For example, Wayland Hayes had written in 1947 about the regeneration of the small local community as the solution to those problems.26 He wrote that there recently had been a reaction to bigness and the tendency for small business, small industry and small communities to assert themselves is becoming more pronounced.

There is a growing desire among the citizens of small American communities to become aware of their civic and social problems and to plan and work together for their solution. It is increasingly recognized that most of the delinquency, crime, poverty and illiteracy, often reported in sensational terms, are merely symptoms of inadequate and unbalanced community life.27

Hayes had been primarily concerned with the territorial community. Its revival, however, had been impaired as new international tensions worked against hopes for decentralization of power. Nevertheless, adult educators continued to believe that social malaise could be alleviated within the community context, and they directed much of their attention to determining how best to function within it. A distinction between the territorial and the relational community was required if the community was to retain any relevance in social thought. However, the distinction had been tentative in the fifties. By and large, adult educators remained bound to the older interpretation of community as a territorial location.

Adult educators believed that if the community was declining, it must be revived; if it was undergoing a transformation, it had to be re-defined. Baker Brownell had ominously predicted in 1950 that:

The continued decline of the community in the western world will involve the end of the characteristic culture, the extinction of the family lines, and the death of many if not most of the people of that world. This is the modern problem of survival. This is the crisis of what we call modern civilization. That the community is declining to the point of death is evident from the studies of its functions. The economic, political, educational, religious, philosophical, and artistic functions of the community in modern life are neither integrated with one another nor surviving separately. Things are not going well, and the death of the human community like stopping the heart, will involve the death of the whole body.28

Richard Poston joined Brownell in lamenting the decline of the community, and declared in 1953 that:

The natural community in which human values flourished and which was conducive to democratic processes is almost gone....And so the whole mode of American life has been altered.29

Others were not so despairing of the community. In 1957, Brunner acknowledged the ills of the day and their impact on the community but doubted that the community had been destroyed. He noted that it was "fashionable nowadays" for some professionals to believe the community weakened if not dead, and suggested that the community had changed rather than disappeared.30 Whether it had declined or changed, it was clear that it was different from what it had been.

To most adult educators, borrowing from the tradition of community studies and rural sociology, the community was best represented by a rural locality. Brunner and Verner were rural sociologists; Brownell and Poston had been primarily engaged in projects in rural America; examples of effective

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29 Poston, Democracy Is You, p. 7.

community development were taken from rural programs in Nova Scotia, Virginia, Washington, Saskatchewan, and Kentucky; and, agricultural extension activities in Canada and the United States had provided a continuous reservoir of effective adult education in rural communities. The dependence on rural examples inhibited the generalization of the community concept to the urban scene. The task of transferring a rural concept into an urban context was not simple. Brownell had observed that the interrelationship of humans and growing things called rural life was normally the seat of the true community. Although the community was based upon rural society, he suggested that this did not mean that community was only to be found in a rural setting.

Brownell suggested that community was based on the wholeness of relationships among its members and this was a useful notion to those who had emphasized the importance of community at a time when it appeared to be in a state of decline or transformation. If community were perceived to be locality based and rural, its decline had been indicated by the growing urbanization of society. If it were perceived to be based on human relationships, its decline had been more apparent than real. Adult educators agreed that community existed albeit of uncertain form and size, and had to be revived to insure the survival of democracy. Brownell had been convinced of the decline of community but he continued to be equally certain of the existence of the resources necessary for its revival. "There are still great reserves in America of residual good will, of selfless enthusiasm, of unpretentious devotion" he had declared in 1950. The challenge of adult educators was clear--exploit those qualities in society that were compatible with the concept of community in order to build the experience of community

31 Brownell, Human Community, p. 6.
32 Ibid., p. 290.
for all people. A key to the future was the creation of a sense of community. That task was a fundamental purpose of community development.

The nature of the community continued to puzzle adult educators in the fifties. Eugene Johnson's reservation about the applicability of Poston's plans for small community revival in urban areas had been an expression of concern about the viability of the community as a unit of human association. Paul McGhee had asked in 1956:

Could it be that we need some new definitions of "community" before we can decide what our role should be? Is there really any basis for believing that in New York City we could or should construct a reasonable facsimile of the New England town meeting....To assume a genuinely communal interest on the part of persons, such as would give validity to repeated face-to-face town meetings of persons living in one or another section or area of Our Town seems romantic.

McGhee had identified the main problem. Adult educators' reliance on the territorial community had limited the community approach. Also in 1956, William Gruen had suggested that "too much has been made of the idea of the community as the physical contiguity of people." He maintained that the perception of community as territory was "a naive over-simplification of modern civilization to ignore other types of communal association." Furthermore, he added, "a community formed by association in some shared intellectual or cultural undertaking which is not confined to any geographical area may be as decisive and characteristic of the lives of its members as one based on neighborhood relations." Gruen's notions about the relational aspects of community were similar to Lindeman's psychological community.

Many adult educators apparently missed the significance of the relational community and continued to stress the territorial dimension. Bergevin, London, Verner, and Hallenbeck had relied on a territorial...
definition of community for their 1958 analysis of community adult education:

We accept these six elements as essential to a community: people, place, common concerns, organization, morale, and government. We are dealing with that socio-geographic entity within which people live, work, and play, where things get done, where personality is developed and where people have their places. This is reality, everyday and common experience, the social unit which is universal and contains the variety of first-hand relationships, responsibilities, and rewards.38

That definition reflected a strong rural sociology bias and excluded more of Canada and the United States than it included. It failed to account for the relational community that seemed more and more to capture the essence of the concept of community in the mid-twentieth century. As in other areas of inquiry in adult education it seemed that there was insufficient knowledge about the community to enable its adherents to present a practical rationale for its significance in an urban and highly mobile society.

The emphasis on the community as a setting for adult education had been the second link in the chain of inquiry that had produced the community development concept. The community had been selected as the setting for adult education aiming to improve society. The third link evolved from discussions about the means to achieve social improvement in the community setting.

Co-operation

Closely related to the community movement had been a belief in a basic co-operative spirit in all people that when stimulated and encouraged would lead Canadians and Americans through depression, war, reconstruction, and beyond into a happier future. Co-operation had been viewed in three ways: philosophically, in that the co-operative ideal was the very substance of human relationships; as a practical economic strategy by which the optimal material benefits for all could be achieved by a common sharing of resources;

38 Hallenbeck et al., p. vi.
and socially, in that co-operative effort was a social experience that individuals lacked and needed in a world of rapid change that strained the traditional forms of human association.

The Co-operative Idea

Added to the early philosophical commitment of Lindeman who had written in 1921 that "man is destined by nature and by environment to live in cooperation with his fellow men,"\(^{39}\) many adult educators saw a co-operative society as the best way to survive the strains of depression, war, and citizen alienation from democracy. They had been prompted to look at the co-operative idea to help to overcome economic depression, to mobilize the human resource, and to restore a measure of control to the locality.

The co-operative idea had been perceived as a solution to the havoc created by socio-economic collapse. Alvin Johnson, George Neumann, and William Kilpatrick suggested in the early thirties that there was a need for a co-operative society to replace the old system that they believed had over emphasized the value of individual endeavour.\(^{40}\) In their view, co-operation could be the guiding light for the survival of democracy during socio-economic strain and appeals for radical change. A connection between democratic survival and a co-operative society was perceived throughout the thirties. Harry Overstreet suggested in 1939 that "democracy perhaps may not amount to much" unless people learned to live co-operatively.\(^{41}\) Likewise, the champions of the Antigonish Movement continually emphasized democratic co-operation as the key to a healthier future.

Adult educators' interest in the co-operative idea continued during World War II and in the late forties. Ned Corbett had stressed co-operation

\(^{39}\) Lindeman, Community, p. 1.  
\(^{40}\) Above, pp. 65-6, 80.  
\(^{41}\) Above, p. 106.
as a guide for good living and Benson Landis suggested that co-operation represented "a great longing" that was a part of all people.\textsuperscript{42} The notion of voluntary co-operation was conceived as an alternative to individualism and mass-collectivism in the 1943 manifesto of principles adopted by the CAAE.\textsuperscript{43} Adams maintained in 1944 that the essence of democracy was the free participation of individuals working co-operatively and without compulsion in their communities.\textsuperscript{44} Co-operation had been conceived during the war years as a means to provide a balance between individual and social needs, and between central and local planning. The same means and ends were advocated for post-war reconstruction in the late forties. Co-operation had been a major concept in the extension program of the University of Virginia, in the continuing development of community councils all over Canada and the United States, and in the report of the committee on community organization of the AAAE published in 1948.

The notion of co-operation was a cornerstone of the community development movement in the fifties and its value to democracy was often underlined in the adult education literature. According to Brownell in 1952, the social attributes of co-operation and neighbourly concern, rarely to be found outside the community, were essential in a democracy.\textsuperscript{45} In 1954, Gordon Hawkins had suggested that a new philosophy of adult education in Canada was emphasizing co-operative community participation in all aspects of life.\textsuperscript{46} In 1959, Verner wrote about co-operative community action as the outcome of community development programs.\textsuperscript{47} Whether it was termed co-operative action, co-operative participation, or simply co-operation, adult educators continued to associate the notion of people working together for

\textsuperscript{42}Above, pp. 129-30. \textsuperscript{43}Above, p. 133. \textsuperscript{44}Above, p. 134. \textsuperscript{45}Brownell, \textit{College and the Community}, pp. 130-1. \textsuperscript{46}Above, p. 173. \textsuperscript{47}Above, pp. 200-1.
social improvement in the community setting as a strategy by which Canadians and Americans could solve a range of problems while building a commitment to democracy.

Economic Co-operation

The co-operative idea had its most practical implications in economics and economic co-operation had been a national as well as a local priority during the Depression. Adult educators' interest in economic co-operation declined with the return of material prosperity in the fifties but by that time the concept already had become an integral part of the community development movement.

The Antigonish Movement was the pathfinder in co-operative economic action, and when large scale economic depression engulfed Canada and the United States in the early thirties the Movement had a ready made strategy to combat the socio-economic malaise that had accompanied the Depression. The main activity of the Movement had been to organize study groups and to provide instruction in the principles of economic co-operation in order to encourage the materially disadvantaged to form credit unions and co-operative stores and factories. The Antigonish program had received much attention in the thirties and forties, and was regarded by its enthusiasts as the precursor to a new economic order. Recalling the words of Landis in 1943: "To many people the creation of the cooperative democratic economy looms up as a great unfinished task." 48

Economic co-operation had been neither a creation of the Antigonish Movement nor had it originated in the twenties and thirties. What was unique and what the Movement exemplified was the application of educational processes to prepare people for co-operative enterprises. The economic and financial

48 Above, pp. 129-30.
systems were so complex that people could not rely on simple spontaneous co-operative action to carry them through those systems successfully. Moreover, depression and war had added an element of urgency to the need for economic co-operation. That sense of urgency had disappeared with the return of material prosperity and relative peace in the fifties, and economic co-operation was not discussed as often as it had been in the thirties. Nevertheless, the co-operative seed had been sown and adult educators continued to write about the essential value to democracy of all co-operative endeavours.

Social Co-operation

Out of the interest in economic co-operation evolved the broader notion of social co-operation. Starting with the Antigonish Movement, adult educators began expressing ideas about people working together to counter citizen alienation from democracy and to forestall the appeals for radical social change. The same ideas persisted through the fifties when citizen apathy was identified as a problem that could be solved by adult education through designed opportunities for people to work together to improve their quality of life.

Adult educators had given several reasons for their emphasis on social co-operation. Stacy had pointed to "new degrees of specialization and interdependence" that society had achieved without adequate types of social management. In lieu of such management, he maintained, it was essential for individuals and agencies to co-operate and to share their resources for the mutual benefit of all. In 1936, Paul Pearson suggested that co-operative action in housing projects would promote healthier human relations and help to fill a social void. Four years later, Ruth Kotinsky recommended that a new

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49 Above, p. 84. 50 Above, pp. 84-5.
type of structure was needed by society to facilitate the lost arts of communication and co-operation. In 1947, Hayes wrote about a cleavage in civilization between extraordinary technical skill and social ineptness. To improve matters, he advocated collective co-operative enterprises in communities. Similarly, in 1951 Paul Essert suggested that co-operative enterprises were needed as never before because the closing of the American frontier had forced people to work together where they were rather than to escape to a new setting. Most adult educators who wrote about community development in the fifties either explicitly or implicitly had underlined the value of social co-operation for the restoration of democracy. The main message from the thirties through the fifties was that people had to co-operate in their social life in order to overcome the negative effects of rapid change and the increasing complexities of all areas of life.

That was not to say that there were no constraints to the notion of social co-operation. Kotinsky had observed in 1940 that Americans did not know how to work fruitfully together to improve the quality of life. Father Coady and Landis noted deep-seated opposition in Nova Scotia to the Antigonish Movement's emphasis on collective co-operative action. The requirements of depression and war had deflected some of the opposition to social co-operation and it continued as a subject of inquiry in the literature. During the fifties, the notion of social co-operation was not a subject of inquiry on its own but the concept of social action certainly was. Social co-operation contained an action element and it was that element that had aroused most interest. Most obstructive to adult educators who emphasized the value of social co-operation, and by extension the community development concept, had been the opposition from those who rejected social action as a function of the adult educator.

51 Above, p. 108. 52 Above, p. 138. 53 Above, p. 149.
Socially, economically, and philosophically, the concept of co-operation had been appealing to adult educators through depression, war, and the troubled fifties. Nothing seemed more sensible than citizens joining together in their communities to work as a team for the social improvement of all. Nothing appeared to be more democratic. The notion of co-operation as the means to the end of social improvement in the community was the third link in the chain of ideas that had produced the community development concept as a fundamental part of adult education.

**Education and Social Action**

Inquiry into the relationship between education and social action was the fourth theme in the evolution of the community development concept. Co-operative community enterprises for social improvement had attracted widespread, often favourable notice in the adult education literature. The notion of education for social action also attracted much attention but was controversial. Adult educators discussed and debated their function in the action dimension of co-operative community enterprises. That discussion and debate had been a highlight in the literature during the mid-thirties and the mid-fifties when adult educators were particularly concerned about that function. The results in both decades were similar in that the advocates of a direct role for adult education in social action and the advocates of the strict neutrality of education remained at odds. Some adult educators proposed a distinction between education and social action that had appeared to accommodate the activists and the neutralists. Nevertheless, the relationship between education and social action remained contentious at the end of the fifties.

**The Learning-Action Link**

Learning how to do something and doing it immediately had been a
central idea in adult education. In 1926, Lindeman had maintained that that idea distinguished adult education from traditional education. In his opinion, traditional education had been based on the subject-approach while adult education emphasized the situation-approach that included an action component. He wrote that: "Thinking carries us only so far, then action must follow or we become lost in the wilderness of verbalism." The action component was envisaged in a number of ways when the social improvement goal became prominent in the thirties, usually inferring groups of people acting in concert to implement what they had learned. From then on through the fifties, adult educators interested in social improvement perceived an interrelationship between learning and social action.

Socio-economic innovation had been of national importance in Canada and the United States in the thirties and some adult educators responded by emphasizing collective co-operative action projects to get people working together to overcome hardship. The Antigonish Movement had been based on projects that combined education with co-operative economic action, and was the focus of attention throughout the decade. Cartwright and Kilpatrick wrote in 1933 about the importance of developing "considered thought and action" and encouraging "suitable study" leading to "concerted action." Several adult educators made similar comments and the topical nature of the learning-action link was indicated at the annual conferences of the AAAE in 1938 and 1939 when the link had been the subject of much discussion.

The notion of adults learning how to perform various social roles and acting upon that knowledge had been a frequent topic in the forties and fifties. In 1944, Isaac Kandel wrote that such knowledge was gained by

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54 Lindeman, Meaning, p. 193. The situation-approach is outlined above, p. 205.

55 Above, p. 93.
"discussion preparatory to action." The same concept had been the heart of the extension program at the University of Virginia and appeared frequently in Community Education In Action published by the AAAE in 1948. Once the community development term had become common in the fifties, discussions about learning-action often were associated with that term. In 1951, Essert wrote about a trend in the United States whereby "group thought and action" was gaining more and more adherents as a process to enable people to gain control over their environment. On several occasions in the fifties, Poston suggested that the processes of education and social action in community development were essential to the survival of democracy. The committee on social philosophy of the AEA had incorporated the notion of learning and action as a fundamental part of the adult education movement. In 1955, Per Stensland suggested a spiral relationship of education and action leading to more education and action, and two years later Hallenbeck noted that ideas and action were inseparable. In 1959, Verner's definition of community development combined systematic learning and action goals. In the 1960 Handbook, Paul Sheats and Howard McClusky wrote about the need for a union of adult learning and social action to direct social improvement activities. The essential message was that learning was incomplete without action, and that the processes of education and social action were interrelated.

At the same time, a number of qualifications were made by adult educators who wished to limit the function of the educator in social action. In 1935, Bryson warned that it was necessary to guard against emphasizing collective action at the expense of individual initiative. However, he had acknowledged the necessity of an active role for adult education in social action programs and suggested that if those programs encouraged voluntary

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59 Above, p. 190. 60 Above, pp. 200-1. 61 Above, p. 73.
action and were based in communities and not imposed by the state, then they were within the realm of the education. Bryson added another qualification. He maintained that the role of the educator and the role of the social activist required different qualities and functions, and had to be perceived separately even if the role were assumed by one individual. Kenneth Benne made the same qualification in 1957. He had perceived a relationship between thinking and doing but felt that they were unlikely to be performed well by the same individual. Other adult educators in the fifties had stronger reservations about linking the educator and the activist than had Benne and Bryson. In particular, that link had been viewed as anti-intellectual on the one hand and too closely related to political activity on the other.

From the twenties through the fifties, adult educators had perceived an interrelationship between learning and action. When the social improvement goal was emphasized, that action was interpreted as social action and well within the sphere of the educator. At the same time, some adult educators raised a number of questions about the precise nature of that interrelationship and wished to restrict, if not exclude, the educator from social action processes.

Controversy

The relationship between education and social action was a controversial subject in the thirties and the fifties. Whereas most adult educators had accepted the presence of both goals in the movement, there had been less willingness to compromise between proponents of a direct function for the educator in social action and those who believed that the educator must be divorced from social action.

The controversy over education and social action in the adult education literature in the mid-thirties was implicit rather than explicit.

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There were few statements as clear as Brunner's recollection of a division between Cartwright's insistence on neutrality in every issue and those who disagreed with that stance. Cartwright had written with satisfaction in 1935 about the "death of the movement" that had argued that the school should be a social action agency. He suggested that the educator had a part in preparing learners to decide their own action plans but had no part in leading them in that action. According to Kotinsky, those who may have disagreed with Cartwright had not received a hearing in the *Journal of Adult Education* of which Cartwright was co-editor. By the end of the decade however, the divisions were clear between those who emphasized a direct role in social action and those who argued to the contrary. Meland noted the divisions in 1939 and had not anticipated their resolution or their disappearance from adult education. Debates about education and social action took place at the annual conferences of the AAAE in 1938 and in 1939. There was general agreement during one colloquy in 1938 that adult educators had a duty to prepare learners for social action although there were some fears that education for social action was a leftist notion. In 1941, Bryson recalled the debates over the role of the educator in social action and observed that the topic continued to be contentious.

After the lull in the debates while Canadians and Americans concentrated on fighting a war abroad, and after the rapid increase in interest in the community development concept in the late forties and early fifties as many adult educators hoped that a new age of grass roots democracy was over, the relationship between education and social action again became the focus of attention, particularly in the United States. Emotions ran high at the 1955 annual conference of the AEA where community development

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64 Above, p. 220. 65 Above, p. 95. 66 Above, p. 92. 67 Above, p. 112. 68 Above, pp. 114-5.
enthusiasts, with their commitment to local action programs, had collided with adult educators who were cautious about, or who rejected outright, any suggestion that educators should be involved in such programs. A number of dispassionate statements calling for a compromise had been made by some professors of adult education, in particular by Benne and Cyril Houle in the mid-fifties and by Verner toward the end of the decade. Nevertheless, according to Brunner and Harry Broudy in 1958 the questions about the role of the educator in social action continued to be asked and remained contentious. As Brunner had suggested, the controversy in the fifties seemed no closer to a resolution than it had been a generation earlier.

The controversy in the fifties was clear in the literature and arguments for and against educator involvement in social action projects appeared to be well balanced. Details of some of the debates and events were sketchy but more substantial than had been the case in the literature in the thirties. Based upon the evidence in the literature, it had appeared that the education and social action controversies in both decades followed a similar pattern in that they had resulted from a period of enthusiasm for the notion that adult educators could and should be involved directly in activities to better society. In the thirties that enthusiasm had grown out of the necessity to overcome socio-economic depression; in the fifties it had grown out of a desire to make adult education socially relevant by designing it as a strategy to revive democracy. The enthusiasm was not shared by all and a reaction had set in during both decades as the forces that perceived education to be neutral in matters of social change challenged those who advocated an interrelationship between education and social action. Controversy resulted and the opposing views often appeared as polemics. Compromise had been advocated by many but enthusiasts and detractors of the

69 Above, p. 180. 70 Above, pp. 219-20.
community development concept were unreconciled.

Differentiation

One outcome of the inquiries into the relationship between education and social action in the thirties and the fifties had been a perception of adult education as a process to prepare learners for social action but stopping short of involvement in that action. That perception was a compromise between advocates of a dynamic role for the educator in social change processes and adherents of the strict neutrality of education in those processes.

Adult educators had been compelled by the widespread enthusiasm for social planning and social change during the Depression to decide what their role should be in social action. Most commentators accepted the validity of the learning-action symbiosis. In the early thirties, Lindeman, Kilpatrick, and Cartwright had emphasized the necessity for study and thought prior to action, action determined by the learners during the process and not before or apart from it. Kotinsky, Carter and Coit had made a similar point and suggested that the responsibility of the educator ended when learners had acquired the skills to determine their own action. All these adult educators accepted the idea of education in preparation for social action, as did those who wrote the twenty-seven volume social significance series. That idea represented a consensus in a colloquy at the 1938 annual conference of the AAAE. It seemed that the strains of the Depression had drawn most adult educators into assuming a leadership role in socio-economic recovery whether they believed in that role philosophically or not. Yet, despite the general agreement about education as preparation for social action, the issue was a sensitive one since the combination suggested a social change function for the educator however indirect.

71 Above, p. 94. 72 Above, pp. 94-5. 73 Above, p. 113. 74 Above, p. 114-5.
The notion of education in preparation for social action re-appeared periodically in the literature. It had been a highlight in the findings of the committee on community organization of the AAAE published in 1948. The committee had conceived community development as a combination of adult education and community organization in which adult education emphasized the learning process whereby community organization, emphasizing the action process, would be extended to include broad community participation in all local issues. In 1953, Spence and Verner wrote that adult education could prepare learners for an educational approach to social issues by "helping them recognize issues, anticipate change, and acquire the knowledge essential for an intelligent approach to action." Three years later, Verner suggested that adult education was concerned with educational processes leading to social action. The ideas advanced by Verner, Spence, and the committee, like the consensus at the end of the thirties, had projected an active though non-directive role for adult education in the processes of social change. That role was the essence of the community development concept in the adult education movement and was advanced by several adult educators throughout the fifties.

Verner continued his investigation of community development and in 1959 provided a distinction between the education and action components. He suggested that community development was an educational method leading to co-operative community action and should not be confused with the action itself. In that stance he had joined Lindeman, Kilpatrick and Cartwright. In another way he differed from his predecessors. In 1960, he suggested that learners required education in order to adjust to change while preserving the social order. That position inferred more of a passive role for learners in social change processes than the active role that had been perceived a

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75 Above, p. 142. 76 Above, p. 170. 77 Above, p. 190. 78 Above, p. 217.
generation earlier. Verner offered no explanation for his change of view
from the active role for the learner in social change that he had advocated
earlier in the fifties. In 1953 he had written about adult education
preparing learners to anticipate change. The notion of anticipating change
suggested more input for learners in social change than adjusting to change.
Perhaps he reflected the mood of the fifties that had been intolerant of
ideas that sought to amend the social order. The necessity for change that
had dominated the Depression years was not an attribute of the fifties when
the preservation of that order seemed to be required in the face of the
fears generated by the Cold War.

On the whole, the differentiation between education and social action
that had been advanced by Lindeman, Kilpatrick, and Cartwright in the early
thirties, and by Verner in the late fifties, had given adult educators a
conceptual base to explain their role in social change processes while
retaining their function as dispassionate educators. However, that role had
been and remained controversial and unclear. The conceptual base needed
much more thought based on empirical research if it were to serve as a
practical guide.

The complexities in the notion of education in preparation for action
and an active though non-directive role in the processes of social change
were not analysed in depth in the literature during the period under review.
No commentator addressed the logical validity of the proposition that education
could prepare learners for action and yet remain aloof from the nature of
that action. Although the community development concept had been articulated
in the adult education literature in the fifties, it was by no means certain
that adult educators understood how the concept influenced practice, whether
it could, or, indeed, whether it should.
The community development concept evolved from four themes that arose in the twenties and persisted through the fifties. First, the initial stimulus came from the social consciousness in adult educators that had grown out of the emphasis on the social improvement goal of the movement. That goal was the priority in adult education during depression and war, and continued to be emphasized during the fifties when adult educators had hoped to enhance broad citizen participation at home and had begun to direct their energies to disadvantaged groups in Canada and the United States, and to development needs abroad. Some adult educators had interpreted the social improvement goal to mean that they had a function in the processes of gradual social change. Others discounted that function and viewed the improvement of the individual as the best way to improve society. The two points of view had been expressed periodically in the period under review and were controversial. The frequent arrangement of the points of view into dichotomies had suggested that the advocates of one goal and the advocates of the other had not been reconciled.

Second, the community had been conceived as the seed-bed for social improvement. The community was viewed as the ideal unit of human association wherein adult education programs would prepare learners to take an active part in local development. The notion of local groups in control of basic aspects of life was essential to adult educators who had written about the community throughout the period under review. Their efforts appeared to be hamstrung by a persisting belief that communities were based in a territorial locality. In the highly mobile and urban Canada and the United States of the fifties, a broader perspective of community was needed to make the community a viable setting for adult education.

Third, the co-operative notion of people working together to solve
their collective problems and to improve the quality of life had been conceived as the means to the end of social improvement. Socio-economic co-operation had become a national priority during depression and war, and stimulated many adult educators to believe that people could work fruitfully together at any time. However, a return to an individually oriented ethos in the affluent fifties removed the need for co-operative activities from the centre of discussion in the literature. Nevertheless, co-operation had been an integral idea within the community development concept and was a keystone of the community development movement in the fifties.

Fourth, the relationship between education and social action was discussed and debated as adult educators had searched for an understanding of their function in the processes of social change. The learning-action link was a fundamental idea in adult education but when the action involved social action, adult educators disagreed about their role in such action. The notion of education in preparation for social action had been conceived as a compromise between the advocates of a direct role for education in action and those who stressed the neutrality of education. That notion was the fourth dimension of the community development concept.

It may be that another researcher of the community development concept in the adult education movement might find other themes than herein described. Additional themes may expand our understanding of concept and movement. It seems likely that the four themes would appear in any future list of themes since they all provided key ingredients to the community development concept.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this final chapter is fourfold. First, the results of the study are explained by answering the three questions posed in the introductory chapter. It is suggested that the community development concept remained an abstraction during the period under review and that it aroused fundamental questions of values that all adult educators might have to address. Second, the significance of the study is outlined by briefly noting the continued presence of the community development concept in the adult education literature in the sixties and seventies. It is suggested that the study provides an insight into present concerns in adult education. In addition, it is shown how the study contributes to the history of adult education. Third, the limitations of the study are identified in terms of the methodology employed and in terms of the scope of the investigation. The restrictions that were imposed on the study are reviewed and the reasons for them outlined. Fourth, the implications of the study for the adult education field of practice, the field of study, and for research are suggested. It is concluded that practitioners, academics, and researchers all have something to gain from this study.

Results of the Study

The three questions posed in the introduction to this study were answered during the inquiry. The first question was: How did the community development concept evolve in adult education? It was shown that the concept had grown out of adult educators' social consciousness that had been inspired
initially by ideas in the 1919 Report and by the activities of the WEA. The Report had established social improvement as a goal of the adult education movement and the WEA had aimed to better the whole of society through the improvement of workers' education. Once inspired from abroad, a social consciousness grew in Canadian and American adult educators, and they discovered problems at home that had been created by the negative effects of industrial, urban, and technological growth. In addition, the success of the workers' revolution in Russia had created a sense of urgency to the need to bolster the democratic system in Canada and the United States in order to deflect the appeals of radicals. Adult educators such as Jimmy Tompkins and Eduard Lindeman had advocated the build up of collective efforts in communities as a way to alleviate the problems of the times by introducing greater control to the local level of society. However, their views were shared only by a few during the relatively tranquil twenties.

The emerging social consciousness in adult educators developed into a major feature during the thirties. That consciousness had been stimulated by socio-economic depression and was manifested in the idea that Canadian and American society could be improved by collective co-operative action to encourage mutual aid and self-help in communities. The idea had been translated into programs in the first place by the Antigonish Movement in 1929 as a response to a depression in Nova Scotia that had preceded the Great Depression. By the late thirties, the idea had spread and was a highlight in the social significance series of the AAEE. By the end of the second decade of the adult education movement as herein defined, it was clear that the community development concept, albeit inarticulate, reflected adult educators' answers to socio-economic malaise and had become a major idea in the literature. It had evolved as a way to cope with that malaise without stressing class consciousness and conflict. Rather than stressing conflict, adult educators
emphasized collective co-operative efforts in communities as a way to improve society.

The same emphasis continued throughout the forties as many adult educators looked to the concept as a guide for war-time demands and post-war reconstruction. The concept was evident in many programs of community-wide adult education, most clearly in the extension work of the University of Virginia whose accomplishments were widely reported during the decade. Led by the Virginia program in the United States and the Antigonish program in Canada, adult educators emphasized citizen participation, decentralization, and community regeneration as essential elements to the revival of democracy in the two nations. Those programs and others provided the data base for the committee on community organization of the AAAE whose report, *Community Education in Action* published in 1948, made clear that the community development concept was a major notion in adult education. By the end of the forties, many adult educators interested in social improvement were committed to the concept as the lodestone for that end.

That commitment carried on through the fifties in the sense that the community development concept epitomized the social improvement goal of the movement. The concept had been a major subject of discussion during the early years of the AEA, was the most important element in adult education according to Baker Brownell and Richard Poston, and was a leading topic in adult education publications at the end of the decade. In addition, the concept had been translated into a method of adult education. The concept was viewed as a basic part of adult education by Paul Essert in 1951 who had portrayed community development as an adult education form, and by Coolie Verner in 1959 who had interpreted it as a method of adult education. It seemed that the community development concept had evolved from a general notion in the thirties into a specific method of adult education in the late fifties.
However, it was never made clear just how the method worked. In the absence of such clarification, the community development concept remained an abstraction in the adult education literature at the end of the period under review.

At the same time, while the concept had been included as a fundamental part of adult education, interest in it faded somewhat during the material prosperity and the relative peace of the fifties. Adult educators retreated from but had not abandoned post-war hopes for a vital role in the design of a better quality of life through community development. In the face of socioeconomic and political trends toward bigness and centralized control, hopes to stimulate collective co-operative enterprises in local control of local affairs had been out of step with the broader trends in Canada and the United States. Moreover, in the face of fear and intolerance that had been generated during the Cold War, adult educators' plans for direct involvement in general social improvement were hamstrung by the association of such involvement with radical change. Interest in community development was transferred to programs that aimed to improve the lot of minorities in Canada and the United States, and to serve development needs abroad.

The community development concept had evolved from a social consciousness in adult educators that had led them to search for the ways and the means to make adult education responsive to societal needs. Those needs were widespread in the thirties and the forties, and most apparent in specific sections of society in the fifties. A concept that had its roots in the early years of the adult education movement as a guide for general social improvement within the two countries had been redirected toward a developmental role for specific groups of people at home and for people abroad. In that way, adult educators who were committed to social improvement continued to have a forum for their interests.
The second question in this study was: Why has the concept been a recurring theme in the adult education movement? The concept had been a recurring theme in the sense that adult educators in the thirties, forties, and fifties had conceived it as a strategy for social improvement in Canada and the United States. During the thirties they searched for a way to make adult education responsive to socio-economic depression; in the forties they looked for ways to support the war effort and to plan for reconstruction; and in the fifties they searched for a way to make adult education overcome citizen apathy and alienation from democracy. In all three instances, many adult educators suggested that collective co-operative enterprises in local control of local affairs would rally the human resource to look after itself. They endeavoured to provide the educational support to prepare learners to act on their own behalf. Voluntary co-operative action by people in their communities had been conceived as the democratic way to get Canadians and Americans involved in participating in social change processes.

The third question was: To what extent and in what ways have different views of the community development concept held by adult educators been reconciled? There were three views of the community development concept. Some adult educators believed that it belonged within adult education, some believed that it did not, and some thought that it did but with reservations. To the extent that many adult educators had argued in favour of or in opposition to the community development concept in adult education, it could be said that the views were unreconciled. The concept had been controversial in the thirties and in the fifties. There were two reasons for the controversies. First, the notion of collective co-operative action did not have wide currency in Canada and the United States where the national ethos emphasized the primacy of the individual. Second, the joining of learning and social action was unacceptable to adult educators who believed that education
should be neutral in all matters of social change. The emphasis on the
collective versus the individual and the stress on the active involvement in
social change versus the neutrality in social change had created incompatible
divisions in the adult education movement.

To the extent that some adult educators had suggested that there was
room in the movement for proponents of both sides in the controversies, it
could be said that the different views of the community development concept
had been reconciled. The debates about the dual goals of the movement had
involved priorities and relative importance rather than the exclusion of one
or the other. Most adult educators accepted the need for the emphasis on
social improvement during depression and war. Many continued in that emphasis
during the relative peace and prosperity of the fifties although more and more
had begun to stress individual self-actualization as the priority. Both
views were well represented in major publications in the late fifties.

The relationship between education and social action had proved to be
more troublesome than the debates over the dual goals. Nevertheless, several
adult educators had suggested a compromise between the notions of a direct
role for the educator in social action and the notions of strict educator
neutrality. They implied an active though non-directive role for adult
education in the processes of social change by conceiving education as the
preparation for social action but divorced from the direction of that action.
However, it was never clear if or how well the compromise that had been
conceived in discussion and debate worked in the field of practice. Evidence
about the community development concept directing practice was fragmentary.
Until it was proved that adult education could be active and yet neutral in
the processes of social change, the compromise worked out in intellectual
discussion was volatile.

The answers to the three questions interpreted one part of the adult
education movement in the period 1919-60. The identification, description, and analysis of the community development concept showed it to be a fundamental idea in the first forty years of the movement. Inquiry into the idea had created rich and varied discussions and debates about the nature of adult education, and the result of an analysis of them has been an insight into the professional and philosophical origins of adult education in Canada and in the United States.

The issues in the community development concept that confronted adult educators in the fifties might have been clarified if the contributions of the thirties had been investigated. They were not and adult education in the fifties was the poorer as a result. Few adult educators in the fifties appeared to have been aware of the fact that their predecessors had wrestled with issues similar to their own. The subjects of thought and debate about the community development concept in the fifties were similar to those in the thirties. Granted, the subjects in the fifties were identified with the topical term community development while the subjects in the thirties had been disparate and the terminology varied. Nevertheless, the basic issues of debate in both decades had been the same—the relative importance of individual self-actualization and social improvement, and the relationship between education and social action. Adult educators in the fifties might have benefited from the experiences of the thirties. That is, although the issues were somewhat different in the fifties and although times had changed, much of the knowledge that had been generated earlier would have given the participants in the debates of the fifties a broad experience with which to explore major issues in adult education. That is not to say that knowledge of the past would have reduced the extent and the intensity of debate. Rather, it could have helped adult educators in the fifties to realize that the issues that they debated so vigorously were issues that each generation
might have to address.

It could be that the issues associated with the community development concept in the adult education movement will recur as long as the movement attracts people who are interested in individual self-actualization and an improved social order. Those issues have involved discussion about values that have arisen periodically and as socio-economic and political conditions have changed in Canada and the United States. It seems likely that the issues will reappear, perhaps in other guises and in response to other changes, because the values involved are fundamental in the search for an improved quality of life through adult education. It may be that the issues are due to reappear in the eighties if hard times return to Canada and the United States.

Significance of the Study

Knowledge of the past helps to place the present into perspective. The significance of this study lies in its exploration of the origins of a concept that continues to appear in the Canadian and American adult education literature. The community development concept was a subject of inquiry in the adult education literature in the sixties and seventies, during a time of large scale community development projects in Canada and the United States. The concept was stated explicitly or implicitly by numerous adult educators in those decades, and the four themes that produced the concept also reappeared. Similar to the earlier period, the precise nature of the concept was uncertain in the sixties and seventies. Clearly the concept and the themes are topics that do not easily lend themselves to a consensus about their form, meaning, and importance. At the same time, the concept and the themes appear to be permanent subjects of intellectual inquiry in adult education.

The intellectual history of adult education in Canada and the United
States has attracted little attention from researchers. Historical research generally has not attracted many adult education scholars, and Hallenbeck's 1938 plea for more history and a similar plea by Verner in 1964 have not had many responses. There are numerous monographs about adult education organizations and institutions, but there are no histories of adult education concepts.

Few adult educators seem to know that their predecessors had similar ideas to theirs with regard to the community development concept, in so far as there are few references to the past in the present literature. It may be that the neglect of the past is related to the fact that the origins of the concept have not been analysed prior to this study. Therefore, this study has helped to fill a void.

Verner's notion that the field of adult education may be repetitive and circular rather than lineal and developmental in the absence of historical research has been illustrated in this study. Similar questions and answers about aspects of the community development concept appeared regularly with no indication of their roots. As a result, adult educators may have been handicapped in their quest for knowledge. On the other hand, because there have been fundamental questions of values that adult educators have asked periodically, the repetition of questions was not necessarily the result of an unawareness of the past. It seems that those questions have been and will continue to be asked. Nevertheless, if adult educators are unaware of the repetitive nature of certain questions and unaware of how they have been answered, they will fail to take full advantage of the knowledge that exists.

This study has shown that the community development concept was a frequent and regular topic of discussion and debate during the period 1919-60. It remains a subject of interest at present. This line of inquiry suggests that the history of adult education can be enriched through investigations of
ideas in addition to studies of organizations, institutions, and local history. It seems likely that there are other ideas in the Canadian and American adult education movement that could be analysed historically. Such analyses could determine the similarities and the differences between past and present adult educators, and between Canadian and American adult educators. This study had demonstrated that the similarities out-weighed the differences with respect to the evolution of the community development concept.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited in two respects: one concerns the methodology employed, and the other concerns the scope of the inquiry.

Methodology

The approach used in this study suited the investigation of the origins of the community development concept in the adult education movement. The approach was necessarily broad because the concept had been a product of thought and debate in several parts of Canada and the United States, and over a period of several years rather than a result of the work of one person at one time and at one place. The approach was necessarily abstract because the study searched for a concept within a social philosophy, a concept that had never been clearly defined or incorporated into a single term. How well the concept directed practice was not addressed and is a limitation with regard to an understanding of the practice of community development in adult education. The separation of the concept from its application is unsatisfactory for a complete understanding of community development in adult education.

This study has relied on the adult education literature written in Canada and the United States. No attempt was made to indicate the wealth of literature about community development produced by other disciplines and
fields of study. A broad understanding of community development would necessitate a study of the contributions of many fields of study. Moreover, community development has been an international activity and a major concern in the United Nations since the fifties. Therefore, this study has only supplied a limited perspective about the complex and wide-spread phenomenon of community development.

The ideas presented in the literature and incorporated into this study have been treated equally. For example, the views about co-operation that were expressed by William Feltmate, a fisherman, and Gordon Shrum, an academic, were presented in the same paragraph with no attempt to analyse the depth of thought and experience that may have produced the views. The absence of that analysis may be a limitation in so far as there has been no conscious attempt to determine the depth of thought and logic behind the views.

Another methodological limitation was that the study relied solely on published materials. Although those materials were substantial and readily accessible in the University of British Columbia library system, they were inadequate in some respects. For example, the radical point of view of the thirties was not articulated in the literature classified as adult education literature for this study. In addition, whether or not there were communist sympathizers in the movement was not determined either in the thirties or the fifties, and it was unclear if the fears that there were such sympathizers that had been expressed by some adult educators were justified. No autobiography other than Edmund Brunner's has been located for this study and that valuable medium cannot help the historian of adult education. Moreover, there are few biographies of adult educators and that medium is invaluable to help to search out the development of ideas in the movement.

The adult education journals were the main source of evidence and were
relied on to a large extent to locate other published materials. That reliance represented a bias in so far as the editors of the journals included and excluded materials according to their judgement. As a result, there may be published materials relevant to this study that have not been identified.

Scope

The community development concept was analysed in the Canadian and American adult education literature in the period 1919-60. The approach combined the Canadian and American adult education movements and was useful because the concept and the movement transcend political boundaries. It was shown that the issues in the community development concept were much the same in Canada and the United States, as were the general socio-economic conditions. The similarity of issues had been clear in the thirties and forties when Canadian contributions to the concept were substantial in the literature. It was less apparent in the fifties when Canadian adult educators reportedly were far removed from controversial issues. However, occasional references to the community development concept in Canada had indicated that the issues that had been articulated in the American literature in the fifties were shared by adult educators in both countries. In addition, the concept became a major topic of research and discussion in Canada in the sixties and seventies as it was in the United States in the same decades.

Although the adult education movement and the community development concept in Canada and the United States have been taken to be the same, a full understanding of movement and concept is inadequate in the absence of a study of practice. If the movement and concept did not influence practice then they may have been meaningless abstractions. If they did influence practice then an analysis of practice might explain the effect of that influence. That analysis might best be undertaken by dealing with the countries separately, and by studying particular sections within each country.
The similarities and the differences between the community development concept and animation sociale were not investigated in this study. No commentators about the community development concept in Canada and the United States have suggested that the concept is unique to any one section of the two countries. Until it is shown that animation sociale resembles the community development concept, the absence of animation sociale from a history of the concept in the adult education movement in Canada and the United States is not a major limitation. It would be a major limitation in an analysis of the community development concept in Canada.

It may be that the differences between animation sociale and community development that were suggested by Blondin and Gelineau are more apparent than real. It may be that their perception of the uniqueness of animation sociale to Quebec was related to the "quiet revolution" that was an expression of a new French-Canadian nationalism beginning in the fifties.

The 1919 Report was taken as the beginning point of this study and as the beginning of the adult education movement. In so doing, the richness of adult education activities prior to 1919 have not been considered. Also in so doing, the suggestions of such adult education scholars as Roby Kidd and Malcolm Knowles that adult education in Canada and the United States can be traced back to colonial times have not been followed. Neither Kidd nor Knowles provided evidence to indicate that adult educators prior to 1919 had a sense of belonging to an adult education movement.

There are three reasons for dating the movement from 1919. First, the authors of the Report in 1919 and Canadian and American commentators about adult education in the early twenties regarded the Report as representing the beginning of the movement. No evidence has been found to indicate that earlier adult educators regarded the many adult education activities as a part of one movement. Second, the Report seems to have been the first document to give a
sense of unity to the diverse adult education activities. Third, the Report's identification of the dual goals of the movement seems to have been the first time that they were articulated. For the purpose of this study, the articulation of the goals was a significant event.

Implications of the Study

This study has implications for the adult education field of practice, the field of study, and for further research of the history of the adult education movement.

Field of Practice

Despite the fact that this study was not intended to investigate how well the community development concept directed the practice of adult education, practitioners may find it useful. Practitioners who are engaged in programming for communities may find commonality with those who are involved in similar activities elsewhere in Canada and the United States. Although the details of operation and the terminology might vary, programmers of community-wide adult education may have much in common, as did those who worked for the extension divisions of St. Francis Xavier University and the University of Virginia in the thirties and forties. At the same time, practitioners who are interested in improving their society may learn something of the pitfalls that await them because social improvement can lead to involvement in the processes of social change, and therefore into an area that has been controversial in the adult education movement.

If one assumes that the adult education movement as a social philosophy determines the behaviour of adult educators in the field of practice, then it would be useful for practitioners to know something about the history of that social philosophy. That knowledge may provide practitioners with an historical consciousness that would enable them to develop a sense
of belonging to a long tradition, and yet retain a sense that they have a responsibility to develop their localities as best they can knowing that local development is congruent with a tradition in adult education represented by the community development concept.

Field of Study

Many practitioners have been influenced by the training that they have received, formally in an educational institution, and informally through the adult education literature. The training of practitioners is a function of the adult education field of study. A useful tool for the field of study may be to introduce learners to the history of concepts such as the community development concept in order to provide them with a sense of belonging to a community of like-minded souls and to acquaint them with the experiences of their predecessors.

There are other concepts that could be introduced to practitioners that have not been studied historically. For example, adult education scholars should be able to provide the historical roots of the concept of literacy for the students of Adult Basic Education, and the roots of the concept of individual self-actualization for the students of liberal education, and so on. Before scholars can provide such guidance, they first have to build a body of knowledge about fundamental concepts in adult education. Historical research is an essential tool for that task. In the absence of historical studies scholars will be handicapped in bringing to bear the experience of their predecessors. Moreover, without an understanding of that experience they may repeat what already has been developed.

Research

This study has identified some topics for research into the history of the adult education movement. The arguments for and against the community
development concept in the thirties have not been well documented in the literature. In order to gain a broader perspective of how adult educators perceived their role during socio-economic upheaval than has been determined herein, literature other than that identified as adult education literature for this study might be explored. For example, the publications of the members of the Inquiry should be fruitful. Also in the context of the thirties, an analysis of Morse Cartwright's career would be useful since he had been a great influence on the AAAE and its publications during the formative years of the community development concept. Moving into the fifties, the threatened split over community development and education at the 1955 annual conference of the AEA was unclear in the literature and might be clarified by a study of AEA archival materials and by interviews with those who attended the conference.

It would be useful for the historian to interview adult educators who contributed to the community development concept or who witnessed events such as the 1955 conference. Those interviews undoubtedly would enlarge the database and help to flesh out or amend the ideas presented in this study. In addition, interviews might help to locate published and unpublished materials unidentified herein.

More important for an understanding of the community development concept in the adult education movement would be an analysis of the literature of 1960-80. If the movement continued to attract adherents on the one hand because it promised individual self-actualization and on the other because it sought to improve the social order, adult educators in the sixties and the seventies might have discussed and debated issues similar to those of their predecessors. If so, it would be useful for an historical understanding of adult education to compare the results of that discussion and debate with those of the earlier years. In addition, if the issues in the sixties and
the seventies were similar to the earlier discussions about the community development concept, it would be enlightening to see if recent adult educators had acknowledged the contributions of their predecessors. If they had, perhaps Verner's suggestions in 1978 that adult educators were historical illiterates may have been invalid. If they had not, his point may have been valid.

It would be useful for an understanding of community development to include a study of the practice of community development in adult education in combination with the concept. In that way it might be possible to determine the similarities and the differences between concept and practice, and to determine the influence of the one on the other.

Assuming that the community development concept continued as a major idea in adult education in the sixties and seventies, which it has been suggested that it had, and assuming that the issues were similar to those of the earlier decade, it might well be that adult educators in the eighties and beyond will experience a similar idea and issues as long as the dual goals of the adult education movement continue to attract supporters. If so, the new generation would be well served if they were shown how and why their predecessors handled the issues the way that they had. They would benefit by sharing the experience of earlier years and would be better able to add to the knowledge already developed. In addition, they would gain some continuity with the pioneers in adult education and thereby acquire a sense of belonging to a rich past.
APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1919  Publication of the 1919 Report
      Formation of the WAAE

1924-6  Carnegie Corporation inquiry into adult education

1926  Formation of the AAAE
      Studies in Adult Education Series published

1929  First world conference on adult education
      Publication of the *JAE* began
      Antigonish Movement underway
      Start of the Great Depression

1933  New Deal

1935  Formation of the CAAE
      National survey of adult education in Canada
      First doctorates in adult education

1936  Publication of *ALg* began

1937-41  AAAE social significance series

1942  Brunner's analysis of a community development project in South Carolina published

1946-8  AAAE committee on community organization

1951  Essert's conceptualization of community development as an adult education form
      Formation of the AEA

1955  Community development theme of the annual conference of the AEA
      Founding meeting of the Professors of Adult Education

1960  Handbook of Adult Education
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