# Retrospective on the Parent Report

The creation of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in 1961 proved to be one of the major events of Quebec's political and social revolution. The publication of its Report, commonly referred to as the Parent Report after the chairman, Mgr. Alphonse Parent, launched an educational reform which in its essential features continues to the present time.

Mgr. Parent, who died in October of 1970, was of the opinion that the implementation of the Report's recommendations would require a period of from ten to fifteen years. It would seem to be an appropriate time, then, for an inventory of the results as seen by the Commissioners themselves and by some key personnel in provincial educational policy-making. Essentially, we have attempted, through a series of interviews, to ascertain their views on the validity of the Parent Report's proposals and the progress made toward achieving its goals.

Five of the Commissioners were available for interviews, and to extend our perspective further, we have also interviewed four educational leaders in the Province who were not members of the Commission.

# participants

The former Commissioners include:

GERARD FILION, now President of Marine Industries Limited, was Managing Director of *Le Devoir* at the time of his appointment to the Commission. Although primarily committed to economics and business, he has always shown great interest in education as school board member and chairman of the first regional school board in the Province.

JEANNE LAPOINTE is professor of French literature at Laval University, a post she held when she was named to the Commission. During the fifties she was a literary critic for Cité Libre and more recently she has served on the Commission on Higher Education of the Superior Council of Education and the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. Professor Lapointe regularly acts as consultant for national and provincial cultural organizations.

JOHN MCILHONE was Assistant Director of Studies in charge of English classes at the Montreal Catholic School Commission when he was appointed to the Parent Commission. He has had wide experience in teaching, teacher education, adult education and administration and at present holds the post of Deputy Director General of the Montreal Catholic School Commission.

DAVID MUNROE was Director of McGill's Institute of Education at Macdonald College at the time of his appointment, and in 1964 he replaced Gérard Filion as vice-chairman of the Commission. He also served as vice-chairman of the Superior Council of Education from 1964 to 1969 and has just completed a three-year term as special advisor to the Department of the Secretary of State in Ottawa.

SISTER GHISLAINE ROQUET, c.s.c., was chairman of the philosophy department of Basile-Moreau College in Montreal when she became a member of the Commission. In recent years she has served as Canada's delegate to the United Nations Committee on Human Rights and has participated in a UNES-CO symposium on education. At present she is in charge of the university branch of the Provincial Media Centre in the Ministry of Education and is an executive member of the Multi-Media Adult Education project.

The non-Commissioners include:

THERESE BARON is Assistant Deputy Minister of Education and has special responsibilities for elementary and secondary schools. She has had considerable experience as teacher, principal, and leader of professional associations and has served on various planning and advisory committees including the Superior Council.

JEAN-GUY CARDINAL, a notary and teacher of law, is now one of the Unité-Québec (formerly Union Nationale) members of the National Assembly. In 1967 he was named Minister of

Education, a portfolio he held for almost three years, and a year after his appointment he was elected to the National Assembly as representative for Daniel Johnson's former riding. Before entering politics he was on the Commission on Higher Education of the Superior Council and was Dean of the Faculty of Law of the Université de Montréal.

C. W. DICKSON has had an active career as teacher, administrator, and consultant and in 1960 was already introducing such innovations as subject promotion and continuous progress. Subsequently he has been an associate secretary to the Parent Commission, Director of the Lakeshore Regional School Board, and was appointed Associate Deputy Minister of Education in 1967. Since his retirement from the Department of Education in 1971 he has been serving as interim secretary-treasurer of the Provisional Council of the Lakeshore School Board.

LEOPOLD GARANT has been president of the Superior Council of Education since 1968. For several years he was president and later special advisor to the provincial French-speaking teachers' association, formerly the Corporation des Instituteurs Catholiques, now the Corporation des Enseignants du Québec.

## orientation of the interviews

During the fall of 1971 and the spring of 1972, each person was interviewed individually. The sessions were informal and non-directive in nature but the focus was on three closely related questions:

- 1. What do you consider the essential features of the Parent Report?
- 2. To what degree have the essential recommendations of the Report been implemented?
- 3. What do you consider the most significant reforms implemented during the past decade?

In order to eliminate undue repetition and provide continuity, the responses for the most part have been paraphrased. Although we have not been able to include as many of the observations of the respondents as they may have a right to expect, we have tried to be faithful to the style and substance of their remarks.

# what do you consider the essential features of the Parent Report?

The responses of the former Commissioners:

FILION: The fundamental concepts were the official recognition of the right of all Quebecers to equal opportunities for higher and better study programs, the creation of a responsible Ministry of Education, and the *principe de polyvalence* that aimed at doing away with the existing parallel systems which precluded any kind of academic or professional reorientation. The introduction of comprehensiveness at the secondary level and the creation of a polyvalent post-secondary level constitute the significant break-through of the Report because the innovations were likely to promote business and technological careers so badly needed to invigorate Quebec's economy.

LAPOINTE: The recommended appointment of a Minister of Education and the assigning of coordination as one of his explicit functions deserve first mention. Un organisme unificateur was badly needed to counteract the detrimental linguistic, denominational, cultural, socio-economic, and academic partitioning that had grown throughout the Quebec educational system. The intended democratization of education was basic to the Report. It aimed at overcoming fallacious élitism and at promoting universal accessibility to all levels of education through the establishment of a well-articulated network of institutions, the organization of adequate transportation facilities, and the extension of financial assistance programs. The introduction of a post-secondary pre-university level was a daring suggestion for promoting, among other changes, the healthy mixage social et professionnel des jeunes Québécois. Such a mingling is becoming more and more necessary because of the urbanization and industrialization that are going on in many of the formerly rural regions.

MCILHONE: The proposed creation of a Ministry of Education was most challenging. It aimed at removing one of the most important portfolios from the protection of a nominated Superintendent in order to place it under the aegis of an elected responsible Minister who would have to explain and defend his policies and decisions. However, in order to avoid the pitfalls of a system that had been tried unsuccessfully in the nineteenth century, the proposal for one Minister to direct one

education system had to be accompanied by allowance for cultural and religious differences. The priority given to the cultural format implies far-reaching consequences.

MUNROE: It was necessary for the commissioners to reach a consensus on objectives that were not only in line with modern educational trends but were also tailored to Quebec's own economic and social patterns of development. The most fundamental proposal concerned the urgency of establishing a system that would insure universal, diversified and continuous education to all Quebecers. Such a system was necessary in order to improve an existing school situation with unequal facilities, inadequate resources, and limited services for a large portion of the population. Of prime practical importance were the suggestions that the new school system be unified, comprehensive, centralized, and democratic.

ROQUET: The following four principles constitute the seminal concepts of the Report. First, the school should be primarily centred on the student and on the "parent-studentteacher constellation" rather than on concerns of administration, curriculum, and structure. Second, the school should be considered in a universal perspective in the sense that it should be opened and adapted to all, independent of creed, social origin, sex, language, and age. Third, society at large should be responsible for the cost of educating the young. For too long a time, private organizations have borne this burden almost exclusively. Fourth, the Parent Report showed that attention should be given to the new social dynamics arising from irreversible processes of urbanization and from the formation of new pressure groups. These four concepts are contained in the first part of the Report which deals mainly with principles and designs. Because of this content, this first part is of greater permanent value than the subsequent volumes which are already outdated because they outline many practical administrative details that no longer fit the accelerated growth of the new system.

The responses of the non-Commissioners:

BARON: In general, the significance of the various parts of the Report depends on the importance of the phases and problems through which the school situation has evolved since 1964. Nevertheless, the new type of humanism and the trend toward democratization and coordination that permeated the Report constitute its basic value. The entrusting of education, like commerce and agriculture, to a Minister who is responsible before the National Assembly and the public was a recommendation that indicated a movement toward a new view of the social function of education. Also of importance in the Report was the special concern for that segment of the school clientèle that was not and could not be attracted to advanced academic studies and careers.

CARDINAL: The Parent Report is a compendium of proposals aimed primarily at correcting or redressing flagrant injustices, deficiencies, or inadequacies in one area or another. Of particular importance were the recommendations dealing with higher education and the part of the Report that treats of the politicization of education. The creation of a Ministry of Education was a momentous proposal but it was particularly daring because of Premier Jean Lesage's previous opposition to the establishment of such a Ministry. The Report, however, can be criticized for not anticipating the conflicts and difficulties that were bound to arise from the teaching profession.

DICKSON: The Report possesses three outstanding features: first, the primary concern for promoting the welfare of the individual student, exhibited throughout the various recommendations for the improvement of school facilities; second, the earnestness displayed for breaking down the restraining rigid conditions that prevailed in most educational milieus and for facilitating individualized schooling patterns; third, the realistic approach in dealing with the problems of school administion and in suggesting a golden mean between the highly-centralized and the highly-decentralized models that the commissioners had been examining in various parts of the world. In addition, the financial solutions advocated by the commissioners proved their sensitivity to the dual necessity of relieving the parents from some of the onerous costs while stimulating them to be closely interested consumers of education.

GARANT: The essential value of the Report lies mainly in the stress on the necessity of humanizing institutional education and of aligning school activities with the exigencies of contemporary and future lifestyles. Its insistence on broad training and its cautious reminder that twenty-five per cent of today's children will be engaged, when they become adults, in occupations practically now unknown, show awareness of present reality. Finally the fact that the last report of the Superior Council of Education, *Educational Activity*, develops a theme that was originally formulated in the Parent Report shows the Report's continuing relevance.

# to what degree have the essential recommendations been implemented?

FILION: Many of the recommendations regarding elementary and secondary education have not been actualized in the spirit with which they were formulated. There are two reasons for this: first, the commissioners' naiveté in overlooking the sociological and psychological consequences of reducing elementary education to six years; second, the effects of the centralization of secondary education. Many of the evils ensuing from the present transportation situation could have been avoided by a more rational regrouping of pupils and by using a system of itinerant or floating teachers. The Ministry was too hasty in building large schools designed to give priority to administrative aims rather than to the well-being of the students and teachers. The deleterious effect of the present impersonal atmosphere was so flagrant that the Minister, supported by the Superior Council, had to proclaim humanization of the schools as a slogan for the school year 1971-1972. A second area of concern is that the teachers will become secure enough to develop the type of professionalism that is essential to the success of the reform. Teachers should be given more assistance in developing their competence, more freedom, greater powers of decision-making, and more recognition by administrators and parents. Finally, the Cegeps have not developed according to expectations. The heavy three-year program in certain professional branches compared with the twoyear program for pre-university students seems to have contributed, together with inadequate projections of student vocational choices, to mar the original intent in introducing this intermediary level.

LAPOINTE: The Ministry and Superior Council of Education continue to reflect the spirit of the Parent Report, even if the former has already come under the leadership of five different ministers and the latter has had two presidents. Similarly, the gradual coordination of all educational levels and the regionalization of school administration follow the directions given by the Report, except for the reorganization of school structures in the Montreal area. Essentially, the system is develop-

ing coherently throughout the Province according to the basic design of the Report. Although there are variations, deviations, and amplifications resulting from the necessity to adapt, these concern modality rather than basic concepts.

MCILHONE: The commissioners were sufficiently realistic to know that public opinion would tend to distort the original intent of their proposals and this may explain why some recommendations have gone awry, but in general the creation matches the model, at least from the viewpoint of administrative structures. The congruency can be explained by the fact that Paul Gérin-Lajoie was both the chief promoter of the Parent Commission in 1961 and the first Minister of Education in 1964. The differences that have arisen can be attributed, at least in part, to the various planning committees created within the Department of Education by the Deputy Minister. At first glance, these seemed to be counterchecks to the Superior Council and their establishment was for some time a source of considerable anxiety to the commissioners. In other areas, the Catholic and Protestant Committees, the only two bodies with regulatory powers proposed by the Commission, have not asserted their prerogatives as much as they might have been able to do, the emerging Cegeps have not matched the content or the intent proposed by the Report, and it is only now that the streamlining of the universities is being attempted.

MUNROE: Two series of positive and negative elements can be clearly lined up. Among the realizations according to design, are the following: a) The Ministry has been established. b) Democratization has been achieved to a great extent, considering such developments as free textbooks in elementary and secondary schools, tuition-free pre-university education, increased financial assistance in the form of loans and bursaries, comprehensive programs widely accepted at the secondary and post-secondary levels, termination of an academicoriented school system, and growing participation of parents in school board affairs, c) Continuing education is expanding and serving a constantly growing clientele of all ages throughout the Province. d) Teacher-training institutions have merged with universities. There are also some negative elements. The Ministry is itself a unified structure but it has not succeeded in uniting the pluralistic and multi-ethnic elements of Quebec society. All groups are not equitably rep-

resented and some social and cultural values are being lost. When the Ministry was first set up, it was left with the burden of reassigning a large number of civil servants from the old Department of Public Instruction. This long process somewhat delayed the integrating of the best elements of the two existing systems and the recruiting of experienced senior officials from the two language groups. Also, the Ministry never accepted decentralization but consistently practiced mere "deconcentration" with most of the decision-making power at the top and mere administration at the local level. Furthermore, in the use of existing structures and the coordination of private and public institutions the Ministry has moved too quickly and has not adhered to the Report's suggestions for gradual change. The Superior Council of Education with its confessional committees and its advisory commissions has not been fully able to play the consultative role assigned to it. In the last few years particularly, bilingual and pluralistic representation has not been fully respected and the Council's influence and efficiency have been impaired by overruling measures taken by the Ministry. Finally, what seems to have been most influencial in obstructing the implementation of the Commission's recommendations seems to be a rising tide of unhealthy competition and rivalry concerning education. Power groups have developed, inspired by syndicalism, unilingualism and other "ism's", and have distracted attention from the true educational aims.

ROQUET: In the elementary schools, pedagogical reform is progressing and activity methods are being introduced as recommended in the Report. But the secondary schools are slow in implementing the suggested changes. The anticipated benefits of polyvalence tend to be jeopardized by two factors. First, the actual size of the schools is often twice as large as proposed, and consequently administrative organization and coordination often take precedence over educational and cultural objectives. Second, depersonalization mars pedagogical activity due to the excessive specialization of teachers and the premature selection of options in students' programs. The tutorat or homeroom-teacher system and the gradual rate of specialization suggested in the Report have not come into being. In many instances, the school has become an usine de cours, that is, a well-scheduled organization of lectures and movements with little or no consideration for human aspirations. Although the Cegeps constitute a very important realization of the Report, they present many unforeseen problems, such as the relation between the technological and academic sectors (content of programs, duration of studies, number of students), and the general lowering of standards. Furthermore, the intent of the commissioners on Continuing Education has been misinterpreted. There is still too much rigidity in prerequisites, credits, examinations, and certification. College studies should be accessible to larger and more diversified student populations, including those who interrupt their schooling as well as those who attended college immediately after secondary school.

Higher education is relatively backward. Conservatism overrules progress in most of the older institutions. "Les universités sont, comme l'albatros, embarrassées dans leurs richesses." As for l'Université du Québec, which was created without being recommended by the Parent Commission, its various campuses are developing unevenly and they are all experiencing the growing pains inherent in new institutions.

# The responses of the non-Commissioners:

BARON: The existing educational system is a close adaptation to the model suggested. The relatively few discrepancies and extensions that were introduced have to do with contingent ways and means rather than with essential objectives. The following factors have influenced the modality and rate of implementation of the initial design. First, the Report was published with a three-year interval between the first and the final parts. Second, the election of the Union Nationale party in 1966, the return of the Liberals in 1969, and the recent reassignment of portfolios have resulted in the succession of five different Ministers within the last eight years. Third, the formation, between 1962 and 1965, of the Planning Committee for Operation 55, of the Bélanger Commission on Taxation, and of a number of advisory Department committees, such as those on Technical and Vocational Education, Schools of Agriculture, and Adult Education, led to the identification of certain priorities that had not received the same emphasis in the Parent Report. If the internal organization of the Ministry recommended by the Parent Report is compared with the one described in Bill 60, there seems to be great concordance, but if it is compared with the present organization, a number of vertical and horizontal transformations must be noted. These were brought about to improve the efficiency of the Ministry in its responsibility for coordinating all the educational services at all levels. The Reform in elementary and secondary education seems to be in the direction of the suggested model, at least much more so than the reform in higher education. However, the pedagogical organization of the schools themselves is somewhat different from what was envisaged by the commissioners. The same can be said about the Cegeps. Their rapid proliferation among the francophones and their slow emergence among the anglophones resulted in a network of collegial institutions that do not replicate exactly the *instituts* described in the Report.

CARDINAL: In some areas, such as the creation of central structures, most of the recommendations have been carried out. In other areas, such as the application of Regulation One to school organization, transformation has been proceeding slowly. In general, the modernization of pedagogy that was advocated by the Parent Report has been barely noticeable in most schools. Faculties of Education have been set up as recommended, but adequate teacher-training programs have vet to be developed and adapted to suit the various needs of the Province. The Universities Council which was formed according to the design of the Parent Report has recently been publicly criticized as inadequate by Guy Rocher who was one of the authors of the Parent Report. On the other hand, with the laws on Cegeps and the Université du Québec, the reform has gone beyond the initial proposal. In the light of the past eight years of experience and, due to present evolutionary tendencies, the implementation of the Parent Report needs readjustment and revitalization, particularly in the humanization of educational milieus, the training and re-training of teachers, and the regrouping of school commissions in line with demographic changes.

DICKSON: It is difficult to compare actual realizations with initial proposals, because one is often so interested in what is happening that he tends to forget whether it follows a predetermined pattern or whether it just develops according to incidental needs. Before 1962, my philosophy towards individualized instruction may have been more radical than what the Parent Report had envisaged, but the school system has actually gone so far left that I now feel like a conservative. Also, the participation and consultation that were introduced subsequent to the Parent Report, and the syndical conflicts that lately have been shaking the teaching profession

have led to a type of radicalism that by far surpasses the enthusiasm and activism that the commissioners had expected to arouse among the population. Moreover, the existing comprehensive school has not yet met the objectives of polyvalence and social integration that had been set. This partial failure relates to two factors. First, a wide gap has long separated the academic and vocational sectors and fostered an attitude of mutual distrust. Second, these two sectors in many cases, were forced together hurriedly on the same campus so that federal financial assistance available for vocational training could be secured. But this assistance was based on the Robarts' Plan in Ontario, where schools maintained distinct technological and academic streams. Consequently, a number of new schools were built for student populations much larger than the 1200 or 1500 advocated by the Parent Report. In many instances. in fact, some large schools were indeed only aggregates of specialized schools under a single roof. The comprehensive school, as envisaged by the Parent Report, never got off the ground.

GARANT: Reform has been taking place more rapidly than it had been anticipated in areas dealing with administration, structures and equipment. The creation of a Ministry and Superior Council, secondary schools, Cegeps, and the Université du Québec, the development of continuing education, and the regionalization of school boards are examples of these rapid transformations. But reform has been moving much more slowly in its pedagogical aspects such as curriculum, instructional approaches, and humanization, particularly at the secondary and college levels. That is why the present developments are only preliminaries and the most important phase of the reform is yet to come.

# what do you consider the most significant reforms implemented during the past decade?

The responses of the former Commissioners:

FILION: Democratization of education has been particularly successful in the sense that more children go to school longer, and that higher education, particularly among francophones is accessible to a larger clientèle. Quebec society has been made aware of its educational responsibility; it accepts now that education budgets be increased to comprise nearly thirty-five percent of public expenditures. The creation of the various

campuses of the Université du Québec in Montreal and in other regions is a noteworthy achievement in line with the democratization of education.

LAPOINTE: One of the most successful results of the Parent Report has been a growing respect and appreciation in the community for education and for those who work in this field and also a deeper sense of professionalism in all those who are responsible for it. Education in Quebec is becoming a vast social project in which the various groups of the community participate to an ever-increasing extent.

MCILHONE: There are many good points in the present reformed school system. First, there is the new style of administration that is being displayed in the Ministry. Communication between the Ministry and the school boards is improving. Consultation by high officers with school administrators, teachers, and parents takes place more regularly. Admittedly, there is room for improvement but this democratic approach seems to awaken among Quebecers a growing interest in educational matters. Another good point is the introduction of tuition-free comprehensive schools and junior colleges to replace the complex, unarticulated networks of widely diverging institutions that existed throughout the Province before 1963.

MUNROE: It is difficult to pin-point a single result of very high importance but it is possible to mention a few areas of outstanding success. The public's recognition of education as a high social priority reflects a beneficial change of attitude which is closely related to the setting up of an efficient Ministry of Education as suggested in the Parent Report. The teaching profession is growing in prestige and most teachers show a sense of professional pride and a positive attitude toward self-improvement. In the eyes of many the reform has taken on the significance of a greater challenge. The creation of the tuition-free public post-secondary level, accessible to all types of ability, is a unique achievement in Canada. Finally, the unification that has been realized in the Ministry and in the Superior Council, the coordination that is being developed at all levels of administration, and the integration of formerlyisolated institutions such as Macdonald College and The St. Joseph Teachers College which now constitute McGill University's Faculty of Education, deserves to be mentioned as successful realizations that are likely to bear fruit for Quebec's future.

Roquet: Many of the innovations in instructional strategies at the elementary and college levels are proving to be highly effective. In many places, new techniques and media are being tried involving group work, team teaching, programmed instruction, and the use of electronic and audio-visual devices, to the satisfaction of administrators, teachers, and students. These achievements show that the traditional teacher-pupil relation is being modified and that the learner can be taught to participate productively in determining what is to be learned, how and when learning and evaluation can best take place. A meaningful trend has been initiated, consisting in guiding the young into a new type of autodidactisme at the elementary and college levels. It is deplorable, however, that these accomplishments are receiving inadequate diffusion and publicity.

## The responses of the non-Commissioners:

BARON: The reform has been more successful in the new objectives it has set than in the structures it has modified. A new attitude and a new spirit towards schooling and culture has been generated among the community at large as well as among most educators. Today, many more people than before discuss education and its evolution. Newspapers and other media now include the school among topics of general interest. The emergence at the elementary level of renewed pedagogy based on non-gradedness, continuous progress, and pupil activity and involvement, reflects the progress of a new spirit. At the secondary level, the general movement toward comprehensiveness and desegregation of programs, subject promotion, and graduated compulsory and free options, shows the beneficial change of mentality that has taken place during the sixties.

CARDINAL: Two post-secondary innovations deserve special mention. The creation of the Cegeps is a first-class achievement, both for their originality in Canada and for the advantages they bring to a large number of young Quebecers. At first, Bill 21 was sharply criticized and went through a series of amendments, but not long after its promulgation much of the opposition melted into a supportive position and this new type of college became very much in demand. The Cegeps have been growing painfully but the change of attitude toward their existence is a major sociological conversion highly conforming to the spirit of the Parent Report. Equally significant is the founding of the Université du Québec and its rapid

spread to different regions of the Province in spite of inherent difficulties and seemingly concerted opposition from existing institutions. Its constantly increasing student enrolment and academic expansion testify to the growing democratization of education.

DICKSON: The most exciting event of the sixties is the emergence of tuition-free colleges. Their importance stems from what they have replaced and redressed, even if they are not quite so good as the *instituts* the commissioners had devised. Also the elementary-school reform, especially in the Frenchlanguage schools, deserves to be cited as an achievement, particularly from the point of view of instructional approach and curriculum development. Elementary schools on the French side are truly vibrant. They seem to have accepted change more readily than the English-language schools.

GARANT: The creation of the Superior Council of Education is a major successful change in the educational scene. The type of collaboration worked out between the Ministry and the Superior Council in elaborating and finalizing laws and regulations is a worthwhile realization of far-reaching significance in spite of the fact it is less tangible than some of the structural innovations. The growing publicity given to the Council's reports and recommendations on current educational events shows increasing interest in school affairs. This is a marked progress over the attitude that prevailed before 1960.

#### conclusion

The Commissioners and non-Commissioners alike represent a wide variety of backgrounds. The Commissioners, of course, were selected initially with an eye to balancing representation of the various sectors of Quebec society: English-French, Catholic-Protestant, male-female, lay-religious, public-private, and academic-business. When the Commissioners first met as a group, they were strangers to one another, reflecting the Province's islands of isolation. As one Commissioner explained, through frequent contacts and discussion they built up broader mutual understandings and a more objective interpretation of the ethnic and religious problems in Quebec. Indeed, one is struck by the high degree of consensus in the outlook of the Commissioners and the extent to which this common view is shared by the non-Commissioners as well.

### Retrospective on the Parent Report

Underlying the statements of all participants there is a buoyant if cautious optimism and, perhaps, a touch of pride in what has been accomplished in Quebec education during the past decade. Although we will have to wait somewhat longer to find out how history will judge these accomplishments, we can at least say that the events of the 1960's, inspired by the Parent Commission, have contradicted the theory of Louis Hémon that "Au pays du Québec rien ne doit mourir et rien ne doit changer."