

LOYOLA OF MONTREAL
A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF AN
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION
IN TRANSITION BETWEEN
1969-1974

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A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Sociology and Anthropology

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

April, 1977

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ABSTRACT

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Employing the concepts of bargaining and situational adjustment in order to establish a theoretical framework for this study, this investigation focuses upon Loyola of Montreal between 1969-1974. The study is primarily concerned with: a description of the historical influences and constraints and their role in the shaping of Loyola's organizational character and place within Quebec's educational system between 1896-1969; an identification of the most significant external pressures which threatened Loyola's continuation as an institution of higher learning between 1969-1974; and, an identification of those situational adjustments made necessary by external environmental pressures.

Four methodological techniques are employed: participant observation, newspaper analysis, records and documents, and interviews.

The sociologically significant conclusions to emerge from the present study are divided into five interconnected dimensions: historical factors; official and operative goals; the Jesuits and the organizational character of Loyola; environmental influences; and, bargaining.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To the faculty, students and administration of Loyola of Montreal the writer is indebted. Messrs. R. P. Duder, W. J. Cozens, and J. S. Dorrance were most generous in cooperating with the investigator.

Acknowledgment is given to Mrs. W. Bissonnette for her support and encouragement throughout the present study, and for her assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Quebec society presents a particularly interesting object of analysis for theorists of social change.

Increasingly, since the end of World War II, the conditions calling for social change in the province began to be evident. Social scientists, philosophers, and innumerable others within Quebec so exerted pressures to change that local political leaders had to face these pressures or else develop mechanisms to resist them. According to Marcel Rioux:

The ideological opposition before 1960 wanted to bridge the gap between Quebec culture and Quebec society (technology, economy, urbanization, industrialization). Thus, in the period between 1945 and 1960 the opponents of the Duplessis regime were inspired not only by an ideology of confrontation but more fundamentally by an ideology of catching up. (1)

The problem of catching up was grounded in the fact that the contemporary leaders of Quebec were trying

¹ Marcel Rioux, Quebec in Question (Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1971), pp. 70-72. Rioux suggests that one can designate three specific ideologies in Quebec's historical development. "The conservative ideology is the assertion that Quebec must preserve its national culture. The ideology of confrontation is a vehement denial of the previous century's conservative ideology, and in its positive aspect, for a long time merely implicit, Quebec's aim is to catch up with the liberal democratic system of the other North Americas. A third ideology has developed in the last ten years: the affirmation of Quebec society by development and by participation; it is the negation of the negation represented by the second ideology of confrontation and catching up." Ibid., p. 72.

to formulate a set of policies to meet the modern needs of a capitalistic-industrial society at least a quarter of a century after that society had taken shape. After the end of the Second World War it was the intellectuals and trade unionists who finally contested the old conservative ideology.²

In order to meet the needs of a modern industrial society the Liberals, under Jean Lesage, initiated a series of massive reforms during the "Quiet Revolution" between 1960 and 1966.

Perhaps, believing that the province's school system was the logical place to begin such reforms, because it was here that the necessary training and formation to meet the needs of individuals in a modern industrial society would be realized, the government initiated some of the most sweeping educational reforms in this province's history. Since then education has become the centre of heated social, economic and political controversy.³

The problem chosen for examination in this study deals with the education of English-speaking Catholics in

²Ibid., pp. 69-70. Also see Henry Milner and Sheilagh Hodgins Milner, The Decolonization of Quebec (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973), pp. 139-164; and Ramsay Cook, Canada and the French-Canadian Question (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1966), pp. 81-85. Cook sees the initial cause of this crisis of catching up in the transformation of an agrarian society into an urban industrial one. In his discussion, he draws attention to the Church's role in the last quarter of the nineteenth century when it made great efforts to ensure the continuance of the agrarian way of life. Cook claims that Quebec's intellectuals finally awoke to the fact that Quebec's only possibility of ethnic and cultural survival lay in participating in the trend of industrialization. Ibid., p. 85.

³Stanley M. Cohen, "Fifteen Years of Reform: Education in Quebec Since 1960," Montreal Star, 19-26 July 1975; John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), pp. 165-168, and pp. 173-179; and Kenneth McRoberts and Dale Posgate, Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1976), pp. 110-112, p. 167, and pp. 178-179.

Quebec. English-speaking Catholics are relatively few in number, but they are enough to create a problem, both for themselves and for the provincial educational authorities. Since little research has been done on this segment of the population, it appears that a study in this area is necessary in order to enhance our understanding of recent developments in Quebec.⁴ There is need for a study which offers a reflective examination on recent developments in the province's educational system, a study which stands back from events and puts them in their larger contexts, and tries to predict where they will lead.

The focal unit in this research investigation is Loyola College, whose unique history and setting has constituted a critical part of the development of the Catholic community in Montreal since 1899, when it was incorporated by an Act of the Quebec Legislature.⁵

Because so much public attention in recent years within the English-speaking Catholic community of Montreal has been focused on Loyola's future, that is, its continuation as an institution of university level education; affiliation with one of a number of other institutions of the same level; or even possibly at a different level, for example, that of a CEGEP, the writer has employed the concept of bargaining in order to arrive at a deeper understanding of this problem.

Furthermore, this study examines behaviour at the role level in situations where decisions were made by the Jesuit administration of Loyola as the college sought

⁴The writer is only aware of one study published on the education of English-speaking Catholics in Quebec. It should be pointed out that this study was published in 1957, three years before Lesage initiated the educational reforms of the "Quiet Revolution". See The Very Reverend Canon G. Emmett Carter, The Catholic Public Schools of Quebec (Montreal: W. J. Gage Ltd., 1957).

⁵T. P. Slattery, Loyola and Montreal: A History (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1962), pp. 70-75.

rational means for coping with pressing financial and academic problems during times of great change in the province of Quebec.

Loyola of Montreal

In looking back over the college's history it is evident that Loyola has come a long way since 1899, when it was incorporated by an Act of the Quebec Legislature. After seventy-eight years of steady growth and development, Loyola can be very proud of its academic achievements. But, at the same time, it should be pointed out that the college's academic accomplishments have not been matched by any corresponding advance in its legal constitution, although the creation of Concordia University has realized some autonomy for Loyola within a new set of legal structures.

During the course of the investigator's undergraduate training at Loyola, it became evident that between the years 1969-1974 adjustments were being made to the organization, and that the normal line of growth and development of a university had not apparently taken place at Loyola, as a result of certain inescapable internal and external pressures.⁶ Loyola College, in the process of responding to these pressures, found itself in a weak bargaining position which threatened the organization between 1969-1974, and eventually necessitated a college-wide administrative and curriculum reorganization culminating in the federation of Loyola College and Sir George Williams University into Concordia University.

In so far as the organizational changes at Loyola immediately and directly affected the students, faculty, and administrative personnel, and indirectly affected the entire social, political, and economic structure having to do with post-secondary education in the province of Quebec,

⁶The writer attended Loyola College High School between September 1966 and June 1970, and Loyola College between September 1970 and June 1974.

the changes may be said to be sociologically significant and worthy of investigation.

Statement of the Problem

The concept of bargaining. In order to understand this college-wide administrative and curriculum reorganization, the investigator has employed the concept of bargaining.⁷ According to Bebout and Bredemeier "bargaining consists of trying to get something from someone by convincing him that his best chance of maximizing his profits is to give it to you."⁸ But this concept has relevance far beyond business affairs, which are only a specific case.

For the purposes of this study the investigator views the process of bargaining as a series of oppositions. In other words, the process of bargaining may be examined through the use of an antithetical frame of reference. Thus, this process involves the following:

(1) There exists a conflict between the interests of Loyola and its external environment, that is, the various parties involved in the educational system in the province of Quebec.

(2) There develops a tendency on the part of Loyola to react in a number of different ways to these external pressures, as the following two examples may indicate. Between 1969-1974, Loyola had to examine its future with regard to possible alternatives as an institution of higher learning, that is, its continuation as an institution of university level education with its own university charter; or in affiliation with one of a number of full-fledged universities; or even possibly at the CEGEP level. A second example may be drawn from an examination

⁷ A discussion of the concept of bargaining by Bebout and Bredemeier proved to be most helpful in this research investigation. John E. Bebout and Harry C. Bredemeier, "American Cities as Social Systems," Journal of the American Institute of Planners XXIX (May 1963): 64-65.

⁸ Ibid., p. 65.

of the external pressures coming from Quebec City over projections of student enrolment. As a result of such pressures, the college's administration was obliged to constantly analyse its projected figures on student enrolment and then deal with individual departments to be affected.

(3) In the bargaining process all the parties have learned to know what to expect from each other, and the bargaining settles down into a competitive struggle among the various parties as they seek to realize their goals.⁹

Furthermore, what is also being suggested here is that the college's changes of successful bargaining depended on its bargaining power, that is, its ability to procure a university charter, or at the very least, to maintain what it already had, and that its bargaining power, in turn, depended on both the number and the nature of alternatives open to it, as compared to those other parties involved in the bargaining process.¹⁰ Thus, an

⁹ Ibid. Also see Burton R. Clark, Adult Education in Transition: A Study of Institutional Insecurity (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956); Burton R. Clark, "Organizational Adaptation and Precarious Values," American Sociological Review 21 (June 1956): 327-336; Thorstein Veblen, "The Main Drift," Images of Man: The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking, ed. C. Wright Mills (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1960), pp. 345-346; and Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973), pp. 179-193, and pp. 213-215.

¹⁰ "Bargaining mechanisms must...be seen in terms of alternatives; and the fact is that it is sometimes only an arbitrary line that we can draw between bargaining mechanisms and coercive mechanisms.... The bargaining mechanism is...inherently unstable. It shows a tendency to break down into one of the other mechanisms [coercive, legal-bureaucratic, and identification or solidarity mechanisms].... We have more bargaining power than you, to the degree that we have many alternative sources of what we want from you, but you have few alternative sources of what you want from us.... The more your alternatives are reduced, compared to ours, the closer does our procurement

important sociological question with regard to the process of bargaining for which the investigator will attempt to provide an answer in this study is: Was Loyola, between 1969-1974, less able to resist external pressures than other more established educational institutions like McGill? In order to answer this question the investigator will attempt to determine whether the creation of Concordia University was imposed on Loyola by the Quebec government, or whether it was negotiated.

It is apparent in this research investigation of Loyola College that there are a number of broad societal factors that must be isolated. A logical starting point is the legal aspect of the question. An examination of the college's attempts to obtain a university charter of its own tends to support this assumption. It is also necessary to look at the financial aspects of Loyola's bargaining power. The increasing role of the provincial government in recent years in providing financial support to all levels of education tends to support this assumption.

More specifically, the research is oriented around the following three areas: (1) a description of the historical influences and constraints and their role in the shaping of Loyola's organizational character and place within the province's educational system between 1896-1969; (2) an identification of the external environmental pressures, which include what the investigator considers to be the most significant political, economic, and social events which threatened Loyola's continuation as an institution of higher learning between 1969-1974; and (3) a discussion of those situational adjustments, that is, those college-wide administrative and curriculum changes made necessary by those external environmental pressures.

from you come to coercion. When we have reduced your alternatives...to zero, we would probably agree that we are coercing you if we attempt to "bargain" with you." "American Cities as Social Systems," p. 65.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the present study is at least four-fold: to consider the question of the precise nature of the relationship of Loyola College to the Quebec government; to discuss the college's responses to external pressures between 1969-1974; to present a case study of a college in transition which may provide insights into the consequences of the massive educational reforms initiated in Quebec since 1960; and to make some contribution to the body of sociological literature relating to the sociology of education and the sociology of formal organizations.

The Significance of the Study

Trends in centralization and bureaucratization in modern industrial societies. Increasingly, in recent years, more and more spheres of social life have been subjected to governmental controls. Today governments are assuming a greater role in such areas as the regulation of the economy, education, and health and welfare services. According to Norman Birnbaum:

There exists...an increasingly large and increasingly powerful group of political technicians with experience and expertise in a set of disciplines indispensable to the functioning of the modern state.... The increasing political importance of the state technicians is...a consequence of late developments in the process of bureaucratization. Ever more spheres of social life have been subjected to rationalization by hierarchical administrative structures.... Witness the application of what are termed "modern management methods" in the American federal departments, most visible recently in MacNamara's reign at the Department of Defense.... (11)

Professor Szymon Chodak also notes in his writings on societal development the ever increasing trend towards greater centralization and bureaucratization:

¹¹ Norman Birnbaum, The Crisis of Industrial Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 75-80. Also see Szymon Chodak, Societal Development: Five Approaches with Conclusions from Comparative Analysis (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 65, pp. 117-123, and pp. 237-238.

Some new features of what may be regarded partially as political, partially as general societal development have recently become evident. ...societies as a result of a complex process of etatization have...become increasingly subordinated to a semiorganismic (12) organization generated by the state. The process consists primarily of acquisition by the government and the state of more regulative and coordinating functions in the society. (13)

The rise of the large and complex administration which typifies the modern political systems of today has two origins: war and welfare. The demands of warfare after the formation of nation-states led to a bureaucratization of the state. Concurrently with its application as a method of organizing society around goals of warfare, bureaucracy was being increasingly used as the agent for internal matters: education, health services, welfare and other social services. ¹⁴

In order to appreciate the impact of the war and the welfare state on the size of a bureaucracy, the case of Canada may be instructive. The personnel figures for the

¹²"An organismic interdependence is an interdependence of nonautonomous parts of a whole. It arises in an organic process of growth, beginning with an ovule and continuing through differentiation of tissues into specialized organs of complex wholes. Bureaucracies, however, do develop along patterns resembling organismic development, through proliferation and specialization of units and "organs" in a subservient relation to the whole structure. Thus I propose to view them as semiorganismic interdependencies. Interdependence in a semiorganismic structure consists not only in complementarity of its units, but of their total subordination to the center. They are not allowed to exist for their own purposes, and they are told that unless they perform orders coming from above in order to implement the functions allocated to them they will be eliminated as dysfunctional, obsolete, superfluous, elements." Ibid., p. 70.

¹³Ibid., pp. 237-238.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 238; Birnbaum, The Crisis of Industrial Society, pp. 79-80; Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, pp. 295-297; and Rais A. Khan, Stuart A. Mackown, and James D. McNiven, An Introduction to Political Science (Georgetown, Ontario: Irwin-Dorsey Ltd., 1972), pp. 206-207.

Canadian federal government in table 1, though they do not show the size of the civil service (government personnel, not including military) during the two war periods, indicate the following: the administration grew slowly from 1900 to 1914, jumped significantly during World War I, declined slightly by 1920, and remained stable until 1939, then jumped once again until 1946. The period after the end of the Second World War witnessed a steady increase in terms of finances and personnel after an initial decline until, by 1969, the administration had far surpassed that of between 1939-1946. ¹⁵

TABLE 1
CANADIAN FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE
(1,000 People)

Year	Personnel
1913	23
1920	47
1939	46
1948	118
1950	127
1955	137
1960	152
1969	230

Source: Rais A. Khan, Stuart A. McKown, and James D. McNiven, An Introduction to Political Science (Georgetown, Ontario: Irwin Dorsey Ltd., 1972), p. 207.

Trends in Centralization and bureaucratization in Quebec. Since the "Quiet Revolution" of the 1960s the Quebec government has been directly involved in the administration and maintenance of such areas of social life as education, and health and welfare services. Between 1960

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 207.

and 1966 the Lesage government built up the province's infrastructure by creating a bureaucracy¹⁶ capable of managing such a state.

More specifically, the Lesage government initiated its own programme of centralization, when it took a more positive role in regulating the province's economy through the creation of several state enterprises, the most notable being the nationalization of electric power under Hydro-Quebec.¹⁷

The same process of centralization in Quebec took place with respect to health and welfare services. During the 1960s Church-run agencies came increasingly under the control of the provincial government. Indeed, it should be pointed-out that in some cases they were fully taken over by the government. Private welfare organizations were also increasingly subjected to governmental regulations. The Quebec government became more directly involved in welfare through the development and expansion of its own programmes and services. In 1961, the government cre-

¹⁶"...the Liberal Party under Jean Lesage proceeded to base its political strength on the enthusiastic support of the new middle class.... The link between the Liberal Party and the new middle class can easily be established. Its existence can be shown in terms of (a) the "nucleus" of its political support, (b) the choice of "competent" administrative personnel in the civil service, and (c) the nature of its legislative reforms.... The Liberal legislative reform is a bureaucratic reform. It has sought to expand and strengthen the bureaucratic services of education, health and welfare." Hubert Guindon, "Social Unrest, Social Class and Quebec's Bureaucratic Revolution," Queens Quarterly LXXI (Summer 1964): 154-155. Also see Jacques Brazeau, "Quebec's Emerging Middle Class," French-Canadian Society Volume I, eds. Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1964), pp. 319-328; and B. Roy Lemoine, "The Modern Industrial State: Liberator or Exploiter?," Our Generation 8-Number 4 (October 1972): 81; and McRoberts and Posgate, Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis, p. 179.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 112; Milner and Milner, The Decolonization of Quebec, pp. 167-168; and Léandre Bergeron, The History of Quebec: A Patriote's Handbook (Toronto: New Canada Publications, 1971), p. 216.

ated a provincial scheme of hospital insurance. In 1964, a compulsory contributory pension plan was established by the Quebec government after Premier Lesage demanded and received greater jurisdiction in taxation and social welfare from the federal government.¹⁸

The other major focus of this programme of centralization centered around education. With the creation of the Ministry of Education in 1964, the Quebec government took over all educational institutions in the province. At the local and regional levels, the school boards were also changed, that is, the Lesage government reduced the role that local elites had played in the provision of school facilities. It also eliminated most of the authority that the clergy had long exercised over the content of public education in Quebec. In addition, the foundation was laid for the new post-secondary CEGEPs (Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel), which were to be wholly non-confessional.¹⁹

Under the Union Nationale administrations of Johnson and Bertrand, between 1966-1970, the programme of centralization continued, although the overall level of political modernization was not nearly comparable to that of the Lesage regime. The province's educational system continued to experience massive educational reforms. The first CEGEPs were established in 1967. The Union Nationale laid the groundwork for the creation of a new province-wide university system, the University of Quebec.²⁰

Finally, when considering trends of centralization and bureaucratization in the province of Quebec, one must

¹⁸ McRoberts and Posgate, Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis, pp. 111-112; and Milner and Milner, The Decolonization of Quebec, pp. 167-168.

¹⁹ McRoberts and Posgate, Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis, pp. 52-55, and pp. 111-112; and Cohen, "Fifteen Years of Reform," pp. 3-5.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 4-5; and McRoberts and Posgate, Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis, pp. 116-117.

consider the programmes of the Bourassa government. According to McRoberts and Posgate "The Bourassa administration has shown a closer continuity with the Liberal government of the "Quiet Revolution" in areas of policy...." ²¹ The expansion of educational facilities, for example, has continued under the Liberals. In short, these programmes of centralization have brought about a significant measure of political modernization for Quebec. In the areas of education, and health and welfare the new institutions established since the "Quiet Revolution" of the 1960s, brought Quebec into conformity with the North American trend of increased government control over more and more spheres of social life.

Since the focal unit in this research investigation is Loyola College, it seems appropriate at this point to discuss the investigator's reasons for choosing Loyola.

Loyola College and sociological research. The increased role of the Quebec government in the province's educational system has had significant consequences for Loyola College. The government's plan to replace the classical colleges and first-year university programmes by colleges of general and technical education (CEGEPs), and the government's ever increasing role in the financing at the CEGEP and university levels suggested a sociological investigation of the external pressures which threatened Loyola's continuation as an institution of higher learning and those situational adjustments made necessary by the external pressures.

It was felt by the investigator that a sociological study of Loyola would be valuable for two reasons: (1) Loyola has constituted a critical part of the development of the Catholic community of Montreal; and (2) it appeared that between 1969-1974 that various adjustments had been made to the organization of Loyola which threatened the college over this period.

²¹ Ibid., p. 178.

In a series of articles on the subject of education in Quebec since 1960,²² it was pointed out that while there has been a general increase in both the capital and operating expenditures of education in all other parts of North America, the increased costs in Quebec have two additional aspects: the need to catch up after decades of neglect and the inclusion in the public sector of institutions that previously had depended on private funding. Since the Quebec government assumed an ever increasing role in the financing of Loyola, a microscopic view of the precise nature of the relationship of Loyola College to the Quebec government may shed some light on the bargaining power of the college, which appeared to be threatened between 1969-1974. It is reasonable to expect that the same relationship between other educational institutions in the province and the government are to be found to a greater or lesser degree.

The study of Loyola College is felt to be sociologically important because it falls into two areas of sociology: (1) the sociology of education, and (2) the sociology of formal organizations.

Since the present study is the first sociological investigation into an English-speaking college in the province of Quebec since the 1960s, when the massive educational reforms were initiated by the Quebec government, it is hoped that this study may serve some practical use as a guideline as to the kind of studies which, if undertaken, would prove fruitful in the future to sociologists of education.

Since a meaningful examination of the bargaining power of a complex organization such as Loyola College must investigate both the external pressures exerted on the college and the situational adjustments made by the college, it is hoped that the present study may increase current understanding of these relationships within a Canadian

²²Cohen, "Fifteen Years of Reform," p. 18.

context and make some contribution to the existing body of sociological literature relating to formal organizations.

CHAPTER II

A SELECTED REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purposes of this chapter are twofold: (1) to discuss, in general, the evolution of both the Canadian and the Quebec educational systems, and (2) to review those studies most relevant to the present research investigation.

The Canadian Educational System

Two broad issues affecting the aims of the Canadian educational system comprise a framework for the study and debate: (1) education versus training, and (2) elite versus mass education.

Education versus training. Today many feel that the chief purpose of the school system is to train people in special disciplines. The conflict between education and training takes place at all levels of the educational system. It is a conflict between general education versus professional specialization. "In an industrial society, the requirements of technology place a priority on technical competence as a condition for employment...."¹

The content of education is affected by the emphasis in industrial societies on the marketability of skills. In terms of its social function, education should be thus affected, because an educational system fails when it does not train people in sufficient quality and quantity for occupational roles....

The market...is always with us. A high standard of living and leisure depends on the industrial system being supplied with trained workers. In the periods,

¹Bernard R. Blishen et al., Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1971), p. 146.

of its industrial development Canada...has imported large numbers of skilled and professional workers, while many of its own people have remained untrained for technical roles. (2)

Elite versus mass education. Historically, the conflict between education and training has been an aspect of the struggle of high status groups to maintain their prestige. Today this debate between mass and elite education is being largely determined by the expanding bureaucratization of all public and private relations of authority and by the ever-increasing importance of expert and specialized knowledge. ³

Advancing technology and the spread of democracy has resulted in the extension of some form of education to virtually the entire population of Canada.

Ideally, educational opportunities should be available to all who possess the necessary ability if a completely rational distribution of the labour force in the occupational structure is to be realized. As industrialization proceeds in Canada and elsewhere, there is an increasing pressure to provide education for as many as have the capacity and to inhibit attempts to maintain education as a preserve of an elite. (4)

Canada's overall value and intellectual orientation (even apart from the culture of old Québec) and the general nature of her political institutions can be functionally related to Canada's more or less elitist conception of education. Unlike the United States... which adopted the dynamic democratizing world-view of the Enlightenment (especially the Enlightenment's faith in the transfiguring powers of education), Canada never developed either a radical and monopolistic commitment to democratic ideology or to the redemptory

² John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), pp. 165-166.

³ Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills, trans. and eds., From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 243. The ideal of a cultivated man as distinguished from a specialist, has been the basis of social esteem in a number of historical settings, for example, the Chinese Imperial Government. *Ibid.*, Chp. XVII.

⁴ Blishen et al., Canadian Society, p. 146.

power of education.⁵

By the beginning of the twentieth century it became apparent that a literate labour force was needed in a modern industrial society; and the demand for wider participation in government added strength to the cause of universal education. School enrolment figures, as the following table indicates, show an extension of universal education from the primary to the secondary level and, in recent years, a rapid expansion at the college level.⁶

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION, AGES 10-14 AND 15-19 YEARS
IN SCHOOL BY PROVINCE FOR 1951 AND 1961

Province	10-14 years		15-19 years			
	1951	1961	male	female	1961	
Newfoundland	94.6	96.3	96.5	38.4	54.3	49.1
Prince Edward Island	96.1	96.8	97.6	40.0	50.8	60.6
Nova Scotia	94.9	97.1	97.1	45.2	57.4	57.1
New Brunswick	94.0	97.1	97.1	40.6	56.5	57.0
Quebec	89.5	96.5	96.2	30.0	54.1	46.0
Ontario	94.0	98.4	97.6	43.7	65.8	60.0
Manitoba	95.0	97.5	97.7	44.0	64.5	59.5
Saskatchewan	96.2	96.8	96.9	49.8	65.4	65.7
Alberta	95.8	97.4	98.0	50.3	67.8	63.7
British Columbia	94.9	97.6	97.6	52.0	70.8	65.6
Canada	93.0	97.0	97.1	40.4	61.2	55.7

Source: John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 175.

The social organization of Quebec's educational system. According to Porter:

It is wrong to speak of the "Canadian" educational system because within the country there are eleven systems, one for each province and one for those ter-

⁵ Daniel W. Rossides, Society as a Functional Process: An Introduction to Sociology (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Company of Canada Ltd., 1958), p. 231.

⁶ Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, p. 166, and p. 419.

ritories still under the control of the federal government. Although there are many similarities between these systems there are also important differences in the availability of education. (7)

As part of a specific historical society, however, Canadian education contains a number of unique emphases and variations. Under the British North America Act, formal education in Canada is a provincial jurisdiction. Sociologically speaking, the famous Section 93 of this Act has had two effects on the development of Canadian society, it has permitted religious (and ethnic) institutions to contribute to the basic socialization of the young under the auspices of public financing and certification, and it has resulted in widespread regional and provincial variations in education. (8)

Porter suggests that the least adequate educational facilities in Canada have been those of Quebec "where education for French Catholics has been not only costly but at the secondary level concentrated within the tradition of the classical college."⁹ Indeed, a variety of studies have shown that, in the province of Quebec, Catholic boys leave school much earlier than Protestant boys for four reasons: inequality of income and wealth, family size, regional differences in educational facilities, and the great influence that religion has had on educational policies.¹⁰

When examining the nature of the social organization of Quebec's educational system prior to 1960, one must consider the important role of the Roman Catholic Church in the sphere of social life. That education has been considered a function of the Catholic Church and only

⁷ Ibid., pp. 167-168.

⁸ Rossides, Society as a Functional Process, p. 230.

⁹ Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, p. 169. "The educational system which has developed in French Canada has not conformed to the democratic industrial model. Neither has it in "Protestant" provinces. In Quebec it is simply farther away from the model, a fact which we are here attributing to religion as a social variable." Ibid., p. 171.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 165-171, and pp. 193-194.

a limited function of the state can be seen by the fact that Quebec, alone among the ten provinces, never had a minister of education until 1964, when Mr. Gerin-Lajoie was appointed. Prior to this time Quebec had had a Department of Education administered by a superintendent of education who reported to the cabinet through the provincial secretary and the minister of youth. The superintendent headed up the Council of Education which was composed of two committees: the Roman Catholic Committee and the Protestant Committee. ¹¹

Furthermore, when examining the evolution of Quebec's educational system, one must consider the recent changes and reforms instituted since 1960. The need for educational reform was recognized by the Lesage government, and as was noted earlier, important educational reforms have been instituted since that time. In short, the government had to democratize education, that is, create new programmes of study so that high schools were no longer devoted mainly to university preparation. It had to provide opportunities in post-secondary and adult educational programmes. It had to construct new facilities, and it had to help pay the mounting costs of education at all levels. School boards were reorganized and their numbers greatly reduced. Classical colleges and first-year university programmes were replaced by colleges of general and technical education (CEGEPs). ¹²

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 170-171; The Very Reverend Canon G. Emmett Carter, The Catholic Public Schools of Quebec (Montreal: W. J. Gage Ltd., 1957), pp. 19-27; and Stanley M. Cohen, "Fifteen Years of Reform: Education in Quebec Since 1960," Montreal Star, 19-26 July 1975, pp. 3-5.

¹² Ibid., p. 4, and pp. 18-20; Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, p. 172; and Kenneth McRoberts and Dale Posgate, Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1976), pp. 110-112, p. 167, and pp. 178-179.

A Selected Review of the Literature

One of the most important questions in the study of social organizations centres around a consideration of the relative balance between the integration and the autonomy of social institutions. This is certainly true in the case of educational institutions, for they are dependent on other social institutions. Very generally speaking, when considering various sources of support of educational institutions, one must examine the extent of their reliance on outside funds as a source from which a school or college draws support. This reliance, in short, affects their autonomy, that is, their dependence-independence level.

At this point in the discussion it is appropriate to review three relevant studies concerning this important balance between integration and autonomy.

Adult Education in Transition.¹³ According to Burton Clark, adult education is only partially accepted as a public interest, and the educational institutions that carry on this activity are in a relatively weak bargaining position when negotiating for the necessary financial aid as a result of this lack of public interest. The public schools are concerned primarily with the education of the young, and adult education programmes are dependent on the local school authorities for their share of the education budget. These adult education programmes, in other words, find themselves competing for their share of the budget with elementary and secondary schools. As a result of this financial competition, they must rely on supplementary funds which usually come from tuition fees or state aid, both of which are dependent on attendance. Thus,

¹³ Burton R. Clark, Adult Education in Transition: A Study of Institutional Insecurity (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956); and Burton R. Clark, "Organizational Adaptation and Precarious Values," American Sociological Review 21 (June 1956): 327-336.

great importance is placed on attracting students to these programmes. This means that the programme of courses must be quite flexible because of undependable financing and changing student interests. In short, then, a weakly established value, and a heavy reliance on outside financial sources combine to place such programmes in a marginal and vulnerable position.

American Cities as Social Systems.¹⁴ Although this study does not deal directly with problems confronting many educational institutions in recent years, it does raise a number of issues pertinent to a discussion of the relative balance between the integration and autonomy of social organizations.

Utilizing the perspective of social systems theory in their discussion of the precarious bargaining position of many central cities in the United States, Bebout and Bredemeier examine various mechanisms by which systems adapt to one another, or by which systems are integrated. More specifically, they suggest that there are four ways by which adaptation or integration (depending upon how one views the social process), can be realized.¹⁵

The first way in which one social system can get what it needs from another social system is by relying on coercion as a means of obtaining the input it requires. According to Bebout and Bredemeier, "Through coercive mech-

¹⁴ John E. Bebout and Harry C. Bredemeier, "American Cities as Social Systems," Journal of the American Institute of Planners XXIX (May 1963): 64-76.

¹⁵ Concerning these four mechanisms of adaptation and integration, the writer would like to make two general observations: (1) Bebout and Bredemeier define these mechanisms in terms of narrowing alternatives (Ibid., p. 65), and (2) implied in these four mechanisms, at least in the writer's opinion, is a notion of equality. By equality, however, is not meant sameness; quite the contrary. Obviously, governments and cities, or for that matter colleges, can never have the same powers. Rather, each must move toward a realization of its goals in keeping with its defined function within a given society.

anisms one unit gets what it wants from another by so narrowing the second unit's alternatives that the latter has virtually no choice but to comply." ¹⁶

Secondly, one can use bargaining as a means of obtaining the desired input. Bebout and Bredemeier define the concept of bargaining in its usual business sense. "Bargaining...consists of trying to get something from someone by convincing him that his best chance of maximizing his profits is to give it to you." ¹⁷ They do not elaborate on the matter of bargaining strategies, that is, on the conditions under which these modes of adaptation would be successful. However, they do note in passing that:

one's chances of successful adaptation by this mechanism depend on one's bargaining power, and that bargaining power, in turn, depends on the number (and sometimes on the nature) of alternatives one has, as compared to the alternatives one's opponent has. We have more bargaining power than you, to the degree that we have many alternative sources of what we want from you, but you have few alternative sources of what you want from us.... It also should be noted that since the relative powers of the two parties are functions of the relative number of alternatives they have, there is only an arbitrary dividing line between bargaining mechanisms and coercive mechanisms. The more your alternatives are reduced, compared to ours, the closer does our procurement from you come to coercion. When we have reduced your alternatives--or when they have been reduced by outside events--to zero, we would probably agree that we are coercing you if we attempt to "bargain" with you. (18)

The third way by which social systems obtain needed input is through legal-bureaucratic mechanisms. If a social system receives input through legal-bureaucratic mechanisms this implies that it is a member of a larger social system and that it receives the input because it has a right to receive it and that the larger social system has

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 64.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 65.

¹⁸ Ibid.

a duty to provide it. ¹⁹

Finally, the fourth mechanism by which a social system secures what it needs from another social system is through what Bebout and Bredemeier call "identification or solidarity" mechanisms:

What we have in mind here is the mechanism which causes you to give your children, parents, wives, husbands, or friends, what they want from you, and causes you to accept their outputs. You do so because you "identify" with them, in the sense of seeing and feeling them as extensions of yourself; so that to have them indicate their needs to you is tantamount to your desire to satisfy them. (20)

More specifically, concerning the precarious bargaining position of many central American cities, Bebout and Bredemeier describe a situation in which these cities must bargain with other units for the residents and industry they need. They suggest that these cities are in the business of making themselves into attractive places to live in, do business in, to play in, and so on. In other words, cities seek to procure from other people and institutions decisions to come to these cities. In short, Bebout and Bredemeier suggest that this bargaining process is a fairly competitive one because today there are many alternatives available to these potential residents. ²¹

Catholics and their Colleges. ²² This chapter of the authors' work focuses on the colleges that serve the Catholic population of the United States, and their discussion, it should be noted, is relevant to the Canadian context as well.

More specifically, Jencks and Riesman shed important light on the efforts of Catholic colleges since World

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 66.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., p. 64, and p. 67.

²² Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1968), pp. 334-405.

War II to accommodate to the changing needs of their clientele. They note that some Catholic colleges in recent years have been eager to become universities or university colleges appealing both to top students and well qualified faculty. According to Jencks and Riesman, the Jesuits are the pace setters in this area. For the most part, almost all their colleges are located in major cities, and they tend to be both the largest Catholic colleges in their area and the most academically distinguished.²³

On the academic front, the Jesuits had traditionally put more resources into expanding their faculties and facilities than into raising salaries or improving the programme for various students. According to Jencks and Riesman, while many Jesuit institutions of higher learning have been unable to grow fast enough to accommodate all their applicants none has tried to become as selective as the leading secular colleges. They suggest that this reflects the relative scarcity of top students who apply to Jesuit institutions.²⁴

On the social front, according to Jencks and Riesman, Jesuit colleges have given dormitories lower priorities than other budget items. For the most part, they have remained predominantly commuter colleges. Indeed, the Jesuit institutions have had trouble escaping the social image of being "streetcar colleges."²⁵

Jencks and Riesman note that in recent years the Jesuit colleges have been under considerable though uneven pressure to meet the needs of a changing modern industrial society. In short, the authors suggest that the Jesuits have become very self-conscious about the fact that none of their institutions rank academically with leading secular colleges and universities. In order to survive the

²³Ibid., p. 388.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 389-390.

²⁵Ibid., p. 390.

Jesuits must not only make their colleges more attractive than their secular competitors. Jencks and Riesman note that despite attempts at making their institutions more attractive, the Jesuits have yet to create a college that would be attractive on non-religious grounds to students. ²⁶

The Analysis of Goals in Complex Organizations. ²⁷

In an important contribution to the literature on the sociology of formal organizations Perrow has used the concept of "official and operative goals" in order to come to a greater understanding of the goals of complex organizations. Perrow describes two categories of goals:

Official goals are the general purposes of the organization as put forth in the charter, annual reports, public statements by key executives and other authoritative pronouncements....

Official goals are purposely vague and general and do not indicate two major factors which influence organizational behavior; the host of decisions that must be made among alternative ways of achieving official goals and the priority of multiple goals, and the many unofficial goals pursued by groups within the organization. The concept of "operative goals" will be used to cover these aspects. Operative goals designate the ends sought through actual operating policies of the organization; they tell us what the organization actually is trying to do, regardless of what the official goals say are the aims. (28)

In order to better understand the dynamics of operative goals, Perrow develops a scheme which links technology and growth stages to major task areas which describe the power structure and the limits and range of operative goals. The major illustration of the scheme is provided by voluntary hospitals, other non-voluntary service organizations, as well as profit-making organizations.

In the next chapter the writer will discuss the following: the basic research design, the various method-

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 390-392.

²⁷ Charles Perrow, "The Analysis of Goals in Complex Organizations," American Sociological Review 26 (1961): 854-865.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 855.

ological techniques to be employed in the study, and the research execution.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter the writer will discuss the basic research design, that is, the theoretical orientation and the methodological techniques employed in the present study. The execution of the research will be explained under two general areas: the methodological problems and the analysis of the data.

The Research Design

The present study is not based upon any one particular sociological theory. The writer has employed a number of theories in order to establish a theoretical framework for this study. One may characterize the theoretical orientation employed in this research investigation as a "middle-range"¹ approach. However, at this point, the writer would like to discuss one theory in particular because of its importance in the formulation of the research design.

Situational adjustment and commitment as a general frame of reference. The writer utilized Howard S. Becker's discussion of "situational adjustment and commitment"²

¹Robert K. Merton, "On Sociological Theories of the Middle Range," On Theoretical Sociology: Five Essays Old and New, ed. Robert K. Merton (New York: The Free Press, 1968), pp. 39-72.

²Howard S. Becker et al., Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); Howard S. Becker, "Notes on the Concept of Commitment," American Journal of Sociology 66 (July 1960): 32-40; and Howard S. Becker, "Personal Change in Adult

as a general frame of reference in the formulation of the research design because the concept seemed to hold out the promise of an optimum sociological return.

The definition of the process of bargaining employed in the present study, as well as the three focal points of research, call attention to two elements: external pressures, and internal situational adjustments.

The sociological perspective in this thesis views Loyola as a social situation because the writer is of the opinion that the two elements of the process of bargaining are inevitably closely related and therefore any fruitful investigation into a complex educational institution such as Loyola College must of necessity examine both the external environmental pressures influencing the college and the situational adjustments, that is, those college-wide administrative and curriculum changes, and the interrelationship between them.

The processes...indicate that social structure creates the conditions of both change and stability.... The structural characteristics of institutions and organizations provide the framework of the situations in which experience indicates the expediency of change.... Together, they enable us to arrive at general explanations of personal development...without requiring us to posit unvarying characteristics of the person, either elements of personality or of "value structure." (3)

For Becker, the concept of situational adjustment is a process found in face-to-face interaction:

If we view situational adjustment as a major process of personal development, we must look to the character of the situation for the explanation of why people change as they do. We ask what there is in the situation that requires the person to act in a certain way or to hold certain beliefs. We do not ask what there

Life," Social Psychology Through Symbolic Interaction, eds. Gregory P. Stone and Harvey A. Farberman (Waltham, Mass.: Zerox College Publishing, 1970), pp. 583-593. See especially pp. 586-593.

³Becker, "Personal Change in Adult Life," *Ibid.*, p. 593.

is in him that requires the action or belief. All we need to know of the person is that for some reason or another he desires to continue his participation in the situation or to do well in it. From this we can deduce that he will do what is necessary in that situation. Our further analysis must adjust itself to the character of the situation. (4)

Furthermore, for Becker, the particular perspective a person adopts as a result of situational adjustment is no more stable than the situation itself or his participation in it. According to Becker:

Situations occur in institutions: stable institutions provide stable situations in which little change takes place. When the institutions themselves change, the situations they provide for their participants shift and necessitate development of new patterns of belief and action. (5)

At this point in the discussion of Becker's concept of situational adjustment it may be instructive to recall once again that Loyola, in recent years, has been faced with the very difficult task of conforming to a variety of norms imposed by the Quebec government and of developing strategies for coping with them. As a result of these external pressures coming from Quebec City, individual administrators have had to make decisions and then deal with the individual departments to be affected.

Situational adjustment, for Becker, is not necessarily always an individual process, but a group one. Here he draws upon Sumner's discussion of folkways:

A group finds itself sharing a common situation and common problems. Various members of the group experiment with possible solutions to these problems and report their experiences to their fellows. In the course of their collective discussion, the members of the group arrive at a definition of the situation, its problems and possibilities, and develop consensus as to the most appropriate and efficient ways of behaving. This consensus...constrains the activities of individual members of the group, who will probably act on it,

⁴Ibid., p. 587.

⁵Ibid.

given the opportunity.⁶

This aspect of situational adjustment is important because, as was noted earlier, this study examines behaviour at the role level in situations where various adjustments were being made to the college as a result of certain inescapable internal and external pressures.

As was mentioned above, situational adjustment and commitment are closely related, but yet they are different. Situational adjustment produces change. Commitment produces stability, that is:

The person subordinates immediate situational interests to goals that lie outside the situation. But a stable situation can evoke a well-adjusted pattern of behavior which itself becomes valuable to the person, one of the counters that has meaning in the game he is playing. He can become committed to preserving the adjustment....

If one sees that his present situation is temporary and that later situations will demand something different, the process of adjustment will promote change. If one thinks of the present situation as likely to go on for a long time, he may resist what appear to him temporary situational changes because the strength of the adjustment has permitted him to maintain it. (7)

This aspect of commitment takes on added importance to the present study because, as will be pointed out in subsequent chapters, the rapid changes at Loyola were accompanied by a certain amount of social dislocation and unrest for the faculty, the administrative personnel, and the students.

Methodological techniques. The investigator has employed four methodological techniques in the present study, because as Norman K. Denzin has pointed out "it is necessary for the sociologist to triangulate his research methods whenever possible. That is, more than one method should be brought to bear upon any research."⁸

⁶Ibid., p. 589.

⁷Ibid., pp. 592-593.

⁸Norman K. Denzin, "The Methodologies of Symbolic Interaction: A Critical Review of Research Techniques,"

More specifically, the following four methodological techniques have been employed in this study: (1) participant observation, (2) newspaper analysis, (3) records and documents, and (4) interviews.

Since the investigator was a student at both Loyola College High School and Loyola College between 1969-1974, he was almost inevitably cast into the role of a participant observer. During this period of time the investigator wrote down observations about events as they took place at Loyola.

Newspaper analysis has been employed in a limited qualitative⁹ manner in order to get at attitudes on issues concerning the college. The investigator has examined articles in a number of newspapers in order to learn more about the significant historical, political, economic, and social events which influenced the college, particularly between 1969-1974,¹⁰

Social Psychology Through Symbolic Interaction, p. 452.

"...different methods will always reveal different aspects of the same process, event, or object. To call for a triangulated methodology in the social sciences is appropriate only when we understand that each of our triangulated strategies will capture certain unique elements in the research process. The essence of triangulation is this discriminating perception of what researchers hold to be the same object. We strive to discover that which is general and similar about our studied objects across time and situation, and, in this respect, dissimilar research methods aid us immeasurably." Ibid., pp. 449-450.

⁹"The term qualitative coding is given to all the techniques for classifying reliably those social data on which very little order has been previously imposed by the researcher. Such a definition highlights the fact that coding is basically a matter of classifying." William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1952), p. 320.

¹⁰"...the local newspaper is a potentially valuable source of data. The uses to which its articles, editorials, letters to the editor, and even advertisements can be put is limited only by the investigator's creativity." Dennis E. Poplin, Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972), p. 300.

The findings of the present study are also based on an examination of a number of internal and external documents and memoranda to which the investigator was privy over the course of the investigation. Reference to the documents which are public and generally available to the reader will be included, but specific references to internal and confidential memoranda have been omitted for obvious reasons.

Conversational, semi-structured interviews¹¹ were also used in the study. The investigator interviewed a number of Loyola's administrative personnel. These informants were selected on the basis of their particular administrative experience and for their ability to shed light on those significant events which shaped the organizational character of Loyola between 1969-1974.

The interviews were prepared to simulate a normal everyday situation in which the informants were faced with problems pertinent to the present study and asked to express their reactions to them. The interviews focused on two areas: (1) identification of the external pressures which shaped the college's development between 1969-1974; and (2) a discussion of those college-wide administrative and curriculum changes made necessary by those external pressures.

Each of the sections of the individualized interview guides included an introduction and a series of questions designed to probe further into these general areas. The introduction set the theme for subsequent questions and conversation. The investigator formulated a few key questions in order to project the informants back into the social milieu of interest to the researcher. It was the investigator's hope that these conversational interviews elicited the same kinds of responses that would have been

¹¹Ibid., p. 279, p. 285, and p. 287; and Goode and Hatt, Methods in Social Research, p. 133, p. 165, p. 186, p. 191, and pp. 195-197.

generated if a fellow administrator, for example, raised the same issues at this level of generality. In other words, it was hoped that these interviews picked up the informants' spontaneous and public responses concerning the college.

The Research Execution

Methodological problems. One difficulty that the investigator experienced when he employed the methodological technique of participant observation was the tendency on his part not to record in full detail certain significant events at Loyola and to take things for granted perhaps because of his familiarity with the setting. Because of this familiarity the investigator was inclined at times to identify with the participants, particularly the college's administration, thereby reducing the objectivity of his analysis.

In order to overcome these methodological problems the investigator adopted two strategies: (1) he described and explained his observations to a number of people outside of the immediate research situation, who did not take as much for granted; and (2) the investigator used three additional research techniques, described above, in order to overcome these problems.¹²

Generally speaking, concerning the methodological techniques of newspaper analysis, records and documents, there is the problem of getting to know where the relevant materials can be found, and getting the necessary permission to study them. The investigator was able to procure a number of external and internal documents from Loyola which are public and generally available in the Vanier Library. The investigator was given limited permission to examine a number of confidential documents and memoranda.

¹² Claire Sellitz et al., Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Holt Reinhart and Winston, 1966), p. 215.

During the course of the investigation it became clear to the researcher that Loyola kept poorer records than large corporations. The writer made considerable use of Mr. T.P. Slattery's institutional history of Loyola.¹³ Where the investigator was able to procure original documents he tried to take them into account. Where he realized that no data was available, he had to rely on his own observations and that of his informants, both based at times on nothing more than impressions of events. Indeed, it should be pointed out that at times much of the discussion is speculative and impressionistic simply because there was no alternative.

In addition when examining the various materials, the investigator had to deal with the problem of authenticity and distortion. There are no internal tests which will permit the researcher to accurately judge the collected materials. The only satisfactory tests are external ones, such as those devised to check the degree of correspondence with other sources of information.¹⁴ In order to deal with this problem the researcher has examined as much material as time and availability permitted.

When it came to examining the content of the various newspapers, the investigator had to keep in mind that he was reading an interpretation of events after they had taken place, and that they are often intended to create an

¹³ T. P. Slattery, Loyola and Montreal: A History (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1962).

¹⁴ John Madge, The Tools of Social Science: An Analytical Description of Social Science Techniques (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1965), pp. 80-82, and pp. 104-105; Louis Gottschalk, "The Historian and the Historical Document," History, Anthropology and Sociology, eds. Louis Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhohn, and Robert Angell (New York: Social Science Research Council Bulletin 53, 1945), pp. 28-47; and Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research: An Introduction to the Background, Content, Methods, Principles, and Analysis of Social Studies (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1966), p. 157.

impression rather than to merely aid the memory.¹⁵

Conducting the interviews proved to be the most difficult part of the research process. Obtaining the necessary permission from the individual informants selected to be interviewed only resulted in three positive responses. Originally, the investigator had hoped to interview eight informants, but for various personal reasons five declined.

When the interviews are of a conversational, semi-structured type, containing many probe questions, the problem of recording takes on great importance. The problem is one of recording the actual words of the informants. They should not be edited for grammar or for meaning, according to Goode and Hatt.¹⁶ In order to deal with this problem of recording the informants' responses a tape recorder was used.

Finally, when conducting the actual interviews, the investigator had to cope with the rather difficult problem of getting the informants to report certain hard facts about the subjects under discussion so that the investigator would be able to form his own generalizations. Here the investigator had to give serious consideration to the question of whether the informants were being completely truthful. This problem of evaluating the truth is a very complex one. According to Goode and Hatt "All of us reconstruct our personal histories...especially in areas involving our self-conceptions. Only very careful probing can ever separate fact from fiction."¹⁷

¹⁵"The contents of the typical newspaper are carefully selected and the publisher's primary goal is to produce a document which will be widely read. This means that some community relevant activities and events do not get newspaper coverage whereas other events and activities are overdramatized." Poplin, Communities, p. 301. Also see Gottschalk, Kluckhohn, and Angell, History, Anthropology and Sociology, p. 18.

¹⁶Goode and Hatt, Methods in Social Research, p. 207.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 162. Also see Poplin, Communities,

In looking back over Loyola's development between 1969-1974 one is immediately struck by the intensity of the social unrest at the college, as a result of rapid social changes in its external environment. One is further struck by the number of different perceptions about various internal and external matters concerning the college that took hold. As a result of these various perceptions, the investigator has had to carefully examine the informants' responses by checking their correspondence with the data collected by the other methodological techniques.

Analysis of the data. The analysis of the data is based upon the synthesis and integration of data gathered through the use of the four methodological techniques: participant observation, newspaper analysis, records and documents, and interviews.

The investigator has had to look at Loyola's history, particularly the events between 1969-1974; then he has had to reason backwards in order to discover why they happened. This has required three steps: (1) the identification of dependent variables, that is, significant events such as the implementation of Loyola's equivalent CEGEP programme, student enrolment, the 1969 non-renewal of contracts crisis, the creation of Concordia University, and so on; (2) the identification of factors leading up to the events, noted above; and (3) the separation of certain important items to be treated as independent variables. This was done after it became apparent to the investigator that certain variables, such as Loyola's legal and fiscal status were significant and/or unusual.

In the following four chapters, then, the investigator will present the findings and conclusions of this study on Loyola College.

p. 279; and Herbert J. Hyman et al., Interviewing in Social Research (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 195-199; and pp. 236-240.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Basic to the understanding of Loyola College are the data which relate to historical¹ processes, therefore, this chapter is a brief description of some of the college's early influences and constraints (what the writer considers to be the most significant historical, political, economic and social events) and their role in the shaping of its character and place within the province's educational system between 1896-1969.

Loyola's External Environment

When examining the early influences and constraints and their role in the shaping of Loyola, it is important to identify what its external environment was. An examination of the writer's model of bargaining, proposed in chapter I, tends to support this assumption. Very generally speaking, recall that the writer had suggested that there exists a conflict between the interests of Loyola and its external environment, that is, the various parties involved in the educational system of the province of Quebec. Concretely speaking, the investigator has

¹Norman K. Denzin, commenting on the historical perspective, writes: "Not only do social events have histories, but they are also inextricably embedded in specific historical contexts that give them unique meaning and form." Norman K. Denzin, "The Methodologies of Symbolic Interaction: A Critical Review of Research Techniques," Social Psychology Through Symbolic Interaction, eds. Gregory P. Stone and Harvey A. Farberman, (Waltham, Mass.: Zerox College Publishing, 1970), p. 463.

identified three major environments: (1) the classical college system; (2) the more inclusive educational system of which Loyola is a part--primary and secondary schools, trade schools, undergraduate colleges, universities, and so on; and (3) the superordinate system--the provincial government:

This process of identifying what the college's environment was between 1896-1969 is harder than it may sound, however, an examination of Loyola's historical development makes this task a little more manageable.

Loyola and the classical college system. Although Loyola officially opened in 1896, one can trace its origins back as far as 1848 when Le Collège Sainte-Marie (St. Mary's College) was opened.²

From the foundation of St. Mary's in 1848 as a college for both French and English-speaking students, there had always been a traditional life among those professors and students of the English language at St. Mary's which naturally sought independence as the normal fulfillment of its growth.³

When Mount St. Louis College was opened in 1888, St. Mary's decided to drop its commercial course and establish in its place a separate English classical course. From that point forward, there was in fact two colleges in one, and it was only a matter of time until the new college developed its own identity.⁴

So it was in August of 1896 that a prospectus was distributed in Montreal announcing the opening of Loyola College. In announcing the news of the opening of Loyola, The Montreal Gazette wrote: "This step has been taken at the earnest solicitation of the English speaking clergy

²T. P. Slattery, Loyola and Montreal: A History (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1962), pp. 1-71.

³Ibid., p. 68.

⁴Ibid., p. 70.

and laity of the city; and they have promised every help towards this praiseworthy undertaking." ⁵

When Loyola opened, the educational system followed was that of the Jesuit colleges in Europe and the United States--the Ratio Studiorum. Indeed, it should be noted that between 1896-1920, the programme of studies offered at Loyola did not differ significantly from the old Sainte-Marie programme. The prospectus described the programme as follows: "the full course requires seven years, three of which are spent in the grammar and the remainder in the regular collegiate course." ⁶

That Loyola was filling a need was obvious not only to those individuals directly involved with the college but to a few political leaders. The reader must realize that Loyola occupied a rather unique position in the province's educational system around 1900. Because it was the only English-speaking Catholic college in Quebec, it had to offer its students a wider variety of courses than the normal French-language classical colleges. As a result of such a need, the seven year classical course was changed to eight years at Loyola in 1900, when the pattern of a high school began to emerge. During the same period a greater emphasis was increasingly placed on mathematics and science. In addition, Loyola even offered commercial subjects such as typewriting and shorthand for a number of years. ⁷

Loyola and the educational system of Quebec.

Since Loyola was apparently filling an educational need of the English-speaking Catholic community of Quebec, it was decided to seek a formal degree-granting charter through the Quebec Legislature. In 1899, the Quebec Legislature was given a charter proposal, the first of

⁵Ibid., p. 69.

⁶Ibid., p. 271.

⁷Ibid.

numerous unsuccessful attempts.

The Bill to incorporate Loyola College quickly received its first two readings in its original form, but when it went to the Private Bills Committee it encountered problems. The problematic clause of the Bill was the second, which in its original form read as follows:

2. The College may confer the degrees of bachelor of letters and bachelor of arts, and for that purpose it is authorized to make regulations respecting the course to be followed, and the examinations required for obtaining such degrees. (8)

As a result of pressure from the Archbishop of Montreal, the clause granting the college the right to confer its own degrees was struck out. The clause now read as follows: "2. The College may affiliate with any university in the Dominion of Canada."⁹

Subsequently, the rector of Laval University, Msgr. J. C. K. Laflamme, recognized in a letter dated February 5, 1899, that the Papal Constitution known as Jamdudum¹⁰ would be extended to Loyola. The letter read

⁸Ibid., p. 72.

⁹Ibid., p. 75.

¹⁰"Jamdudum is the first word of the Constitution by which His Holiness Pope Leo XIII established a "modus vivendi" which settled for the time being, the relations of Montreal's Jesuit college, Collège Sainte-Marie, with the Université de Laval à Quebec City. (it is dated: February 2nd, 1889).

The relevant part of the Jamdudum reads as follows: "Now as there exists in Montreal a college by the name of Sainte-Marie, which is administered by the religious of the Society of Jesus, and which is outstanding both for the excellence of its teaching and the number of its students, we, lest there be any derogation at all made from the special privileges which have been granted long since to that Society by the Apostolic See, willingly allow its members to organize the examinations of their students and to give to those they find proficient a written certificate, stating they are deserving of the honorary degrees which Laval University confers to the young men of equal merit in its affiliated colleges. On presenting of this certificate, the University Council will hand to them the diploma granted to the University students who obtain the same degrees." Ibid., p. 76.

in part:

With regard to the privileges already granted Collège Sainte-Marie being extended to Loyola College concerning the diplomas, I hasten to inform you officially that the university grants them most willingly. In the eyes of the university, Loyola College is only an extension of Collège Sainte-Marie, a separation more material than formal, and the Loyola students will receive their diplomas just as the Sainte-Marie students, and on the same conditions.
(11)

The 1899 unsuccessful bid for an independent degree-granting charter was significant because it marked the beginning of considerable resistance, particularly from those individuals such as the Archbishop of Montreal, as well as educational institutions such as universities and classical colleges, who feared some sort of organizational displacement. From this point forward many began to see Loyola as a serious competitor both for the limited supply of students and public monies. These antagonisms eventually created the need for a better fit between Loyola and the various levels of its external environment. However, this need for an overall plan for higher education in Quebec was not realized until the late 1960s. Many might even argue that the question of Loyola's place within the province's educational system was not resolved until the creation of Concordia University, which was finally approved in August of 1974.

In order to better appreciate the fact that the province's educational system is composed of various types of educational institutions, all with different interests, it may be instructive at this point to cite a few examples of such conflicts of interest.

¹¹Ibid. It should also be noted that when Laval extended the Jamdudum privilege to Loyola it took the view that Loyola had de facto existed along within the walls of St. Mary's. Their physical separation from St. Mary's in 1896 gave them the name more in name than in fact, according to Laval. The part of the letter, quoted above, tends to suggest this view.

At no time after its organization was the Montreal branch of Laval University satisfied with its university status. The Montreal intelligentsia was convinced that complete independence from Laval of Quebec City was an initial first step toward the building up of a modern university. Thus a plan for the unification of the French language classical colleges was advanced in 1918, which laid the foundation for the creation of the University of Montreal. ¹²

Many felt that this plan to establish the University of Montreal had failed to appreciate the special character of Loyola College. At this point it may prove to be instructive to list the reasons put forward as justifications for such a feeling:

1) By affiliation Loyola (its curriculum, its courses, possibly its textbooks, its mode of examinations) will be completely controlled by a group of officials, French in mentality and language, ignorant of Loyola's needs.

2) English-speaking Catholics will be tempted to send their sons to non-Catholic colleges, where they will be systematically trained for the various professions according to the requirements of McGill, Queen's, or any other university where the lectures are given in English. We cannot teach our English-speaking students enough French to enable them to follow lectures in a French university--and all lectures at the University of Montreal will be given in French.

3) We said that our graduate students will not be able to follow the lectures given in French in the medical, law, engineering, and other schools. They will have to apply to one or other of our Canadian universities--but the vital question is--Shall the other universities accept...this young and untried university's degrees?

4) The great draw-back just at present is discussing what pertains to the studies and our ratio. We repeat that we possess no information whatever concerning the new University of Montreal programs which will be imposed on its affiliated colleges. We seem justified in fearing that the desires of novelties under the guise of "progress" will lead the new board of studies and examinations consider-

¹² Ibid., p. 186.

ably if not wholly alien to our ratio studiorum. ¹³

Furthermore, there was also a great deal of concern being expressed over the Jamdudum privilege, discussed earlier. Indeed at one point of this crisis it appeared that the Jamdudum privilege, which had been designed to protect Loyola's position, might have been removed. However, on January 5, 1920, the Constitution of Jamdudum was confirmed from Rome, and it was subsequently recognized in the civil charter of the University of Montreal ¹⁴. The clause read as follows: "and the University of Montreal may take into account the privilege granted the Jesuits by the Constitution Jamdudum." ¹⁵

When evaluating the importance of this crisis and its role in the shaping of Loyola, it is necessary to look quite closely at the college's response to its environment. As soon as it became known that the Montreal branch of Laval University was to obtain complete autonomy as an independent French-Canadian university, a group of English-speaking Catholics began a similar drive to obtain a university charter for Loyola. They merely requested that special powers be given Loyola to grant its own degrees. The charter was not granted, although it must be noted that Loyola was autonomous in everything but name. Furthermore, after 1920, Loyola was put in the position of being affiliated with the University of Montreal, under whose jurisdiction degrees were conferred up until 1974.

In 1966, Loyola attempted to establish its own

¹³Ibid.; and "Loyola College Montreal and the Jamdudum Privileges--Some Useful Notes".

¹⁴Slattery, Loyola and Montreal: A History, p.186. It is important that the reader remember that Loyola possessed a document duly signed by the rector of Laval University stating clearly that Laval took the view that Loyola was an extension of Sainte Marie and as such had full right to the Jamdudum privilege.

¹⁵Ibid.

five-year engineering degree programme, or, at the very least, have had McGill and other universities require only one additional year rather than two. It is important to note that Loyola offered a four-year engineering programme, but it only led to a Bachelor of Science degree with a pre-engineering major.¹⁶ Successful graduates who wished to continue for the engineering degree had to take an additional two years at another university.

The college's attempts to establish its own five-year degree programme received two serious blows. The first setback came from the University of Montreal, when it refused the college's request, according to Father Malone, "...because of uncertainty over the future status of Loyola, which has applied for a university charter."¹⁷ The second blow came when McGill University, to which many of the Loyola students transferred for completion of their engineering degrees, stated that it would not waive its two-year residence requirement for the five-year course.¹⁸

In 1967, Loyola made a major modification in its stated goal of becoming an independent university. What

¹⁶ See Loyola College of Montreal, Loyola College 1965-66 Calendar for a description of the engineering programme.

¹⁷ "Loyola College Status Delay Decried by Father Malone," Montreal Star, 19 August 1967.

It is interesting to note that in 1966 a private bill designed to obtain university status for Loyola was considered by the Quebec Legislature. However, opposition to the bill quickly arose, led chiefly by Dr. Roger Gaudry, rector of the University of Montreal. He strongly opposed the creation of an Anglo-Catholic university in Montreal. He felt that there was a greater need for the creation of another French-language university. See Stanley M. Cohen, "Loyola Charter Opposed: U. of M. Asked to Reconsider," Montreal Star, 4 April 1966; and "No Justification" U. of M. Rector Rejects Charter for Loyola," Montreal Star, 30 March 1966.

¹⁸ "Loyola College Status Delay Decried by Father Malone,"; and "Loyola Charter Problem Still 'Chafing' One for Loyola," Gazette, 19 August 1967.

the college sought was legal recognition as an undergraduate institution, offering degrees in arts, commerce, science and engineering, as well as complete independence from the University of Montreal.¹⁹ The need to more clearly define its legal status was given considerable impetus by an Act which completely overhauled the charter of the University of Montreal. On the matter of the proposed U. of M. revised charter, Mr. Tim Slattery, Loyola's lawyer, told the Quebec Legislature's Public Bills Committee: "...the college did not oppose the new university charter, but asks that its [Loyola's] rights be guaranteed in the new law if the Legislature could not grant it independent status right away."²⁰

However, opposition quickly arose, and as a result Loyola had to continue its affiliation with the University of Montreal until at least 1972, while the provincial government developed an overall plan for higher education in the province of Quebec.

Loyola and the Quebec government. Throughout its history Loyola has been dependent on the provincial government for a definition of its legal status. Recall that in 1899, the government, through the Quebec Legislature, gave Loyola the right to affiliate with Laval University.

When examining the role of the government in the development of Loyola, one must consider the various attitudes of a number of Quebec's premiers.

In 1922, after assurances of support had been given by the Office of the Apostolic Delegate, Loyola initiated a drive to obtain university status. When

¹⁹ Quebec Bureau, "Loyola Content as College," Montreal Star, 29 June 1967; "Loyola's Autonomy," Montreal Star, 30 June 1967; Hubert Gendron, "Loyola Abandons Status Quest...for Now," Quebec Gazette, 29 June 1967; and Larry McInnis, "Editor's Corner," Monitor, 6 July 1967.

²⁰ "Loyola Content as College," Montreal Star.

Premier Taschereau was approached by Loyola, he responded positively to its request. In fact, it is interesting to note that he even went as far as offering the college a grant of \$350,000 to help to establish it as a university. Subsequently, Dr. B. A. Conroy then sponsored a Joint Petition of Loyola and its Governors to be presented as a Bill in the Quebec Legislature. But when the legislation was introduced, opposition to it quickly arose, led chiefly by the Suffragan Bishops of Montreal. As a result of this opposition, Loyola was forced to withdraw its petition for a university charter. ²¹

During the term of office of Premier Duplessis Loyola made a number of unsuccessful bids for university status. In 1947, 1948, 1954, and 1959, Loyola officials met with Premier Duplessis in order to resolve the charter question. However, a familiar pattern soon developed. The college's bids all fell short of their objective when Duplessis refused their charter requests for political and financial reasons. ²²

During the 1960s, under Patrick G. Malone, S. J., Rector of Loyola for fifteen years between 1959-1974, several more unsuccessful efforts were made to obtain a university charter for Loyola. A number of nearly successful bids for university status were made in the early 1960s, but they had, at the very least, the effect of influencing to some extent the recommendations of the Parent Royal Commission. ²³

²¹ Slattery, Loyola and Montreal: A History, p. 187.

²² Ibid., p. 283.

²³ In 1961 a law was passed by the Quebec Legislature creating the Parent Royal Commission with a mandate to look into education in Quebec. For a summary of education in Quebec see Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec (The Parent Commission), Quebec 1963. According to Rev. John P. Hilton "...it [The Parent Commission] may be said to focus on three fundamental orientations which serve as the core of its dynamism and, as such, are found reflected in each

It is important to remember that after 1960, as a result of the so-called "Quiet Revolution" in Quebec, significant changes occurred, and directions were altered. Earlier the writer noted that the Lesage government took a more positive role in regulating the province's economy, its health and welfare programmes, as well as its educational system. This process of increased centralization and bureaucratization in such areas meant that educational institutions such as Loyola had to bargain under legal-bureaucratic mechanisms. It meant that the college had to demonstrate to various government bodies, for example the Parent Commission, the department of education, the cabinet, the Quebec Legislature, and eventually to the premiers, that because of its position in the province's educational system it had a right to whatever it was trying to obtain from its environment; and the government and its various bodies, because of their particular position, had a duty to deal with the college's legal and financial needs.

Perhaps, believing that the province's school system was the logical place to begin the reforms of the "Quiet Revolution", because it was here that the necessary training and formation to meet the needs of individuals in a modern industrial society would be realized, the Liberal government under Jean Lesage, proceeded to reorganize the province's educational system from the bottom up, that is, from grade schools up through to the colleges and universities.

More specifically, concerning the government's plans for colleges and universities in Quebec, it is important to note that the Parent Report had recommended in 1964 the establishment of a limited-charter university

of the countless recommendations put forth. They are (1) the unification of educational structures; (2) the diversification of educational opportunity; and (3) the democratization of educational responsibility." John P. Hilton, "Parent--Challenge for Our Day," Challenge, January 1965.

to serve the needs of Montreal's English-speaking Catholic community. The Commission suggested the creation of a university which would incorporate four existing educational institutions: Marianopolis College, The Thomas More Institute for Adult Education, St. Joseph Teachers College, and Loyola College. The Commission stated:

The state must no longer entrust to a private group [The Society of Jesus] the control of a university when such is largely financed by the state.

One must undoubtedly recognize the services rendered by the Jesuits in the past; this is not sufficient reason for entrusting to them the entire and exclusive authority over the new institution.

...rather than constitute the new university out of a single institution, we propose that it be created and put into operation by the whole Anglo-Catholic collectivity. (24)

This was a significant recommendation because it gave explicit recognition to the Anglo-Catholic minority in Quebec, a minority because of its language and religion, caught in a precarious position between French Catholics and English Protestants.

Subsequently, in December of 1964, Loyola submitted a petition for university status. The petition was submitted on behalf of the Anglo-Catholic community of Quebec and requested that Loyola be designated an autonomous degree-granting university of limited-charter. ²⁵ However, Loyola's bid fell short of its objective when its petition was rejected by the Lesage government. The government felt that the time was not yet right for such an independent Anglo-Catholic university because an over-

²⁴ Evva Yellowley, "Let's Have Spirit of Parent Recommendations," Challenge, January 1965.

²⁵ Evva Yellowley, "Application for Charter Asks for Loyola Name," Challenge, January 1965. Loyola acted alone in instigating the December 19, 1964 petition request because "somebody has to give the initiative," Father Malone explained. "The other three institutions have a standing invitation to join in the project, and are being kept informed about developments."

all plan for higher education in Quebec was needed before specific recommendations of the Parent Commission's report could be acted upon.²⁶

Loyola's determination to continue its fight for a university charter of its own left the Lesage government in an embarrassing spot because the government never intended to come through for Loyola, at least in the opinion of the writer. Perhaps the government believed that Loyola would quietly fade away in the interim waiting for the Parent Report and a plan for overall higher education in Quebec. But Loyola did not quietly fade away, and when the National Union came to power in 1966 it inherited the problem of Loyola.

Between 1966-1969, Loyola pursued yet another series of unsuccessful attempts to obtain its own independent university charter; and, as in the past, the government, citing the need for an overall plan for higher education in the province, felt that the time was not yet right for another English-speaking university in the province. However, it should be noted that about the only thing that Loyola gained from the provincial government was the status of a "special case", rather than the status of a classical college. The government, it must be remembered, was committed to the elimination of classical colleges, therefore, with the status of a special case, Loyola was considered alone rather than with the whole plan for colleges and universities in Quebec.

When discussing the government from the point of view of it being a major environmental influence on Loyola, one must look at the creation of the CEGEPs.²⁷ This new

²⁶ Stanley M. Cohen, "No Charter for Loyola this Sitting," Montreal Star, 12 July 1965.

²⁷ The CEGEP level of post-secondary education was created by regulation 3 of the Department of Education, adopted March 30, 1966. A CEGEP--also referred to as a "junior college" by the English-speaking community--is a college of general and vocational training designed to be

level of post-secondary education placed new environmental demands upon Loyola, as well as Sir George Williams University and McGill. The CEGEPs were seen by institutions such as Loyola as serious competitors both for the limited supply of students and public monies. For Loyola this new level of education created the need for a better fit between itself and its external environment, that is, the more inclusive educational system of which it is a part. It necessitated a clear definition of what kind of an educational institution it was to be, that is, CEGEP or university level. The status of a special case, described above, went a certain distance in clarifying Loyola's function.

In the fall of 1967, the College Organizing Committee for Metropolitan Montreal, in an effort to open the first English-language CEGEP in September 1968, submitted a number of recommendations to the Department of Education.²⁸ The existing post-secondary institutions (McGill,

an intermediate level between high school and university. The objectives of the CEGEPs are to raise the average attendance at school; to assure a level of education adapted to contemporary society; and to coordinate the colleges and the universities. The programme of studies spans two or three year schedules depending on the area being studied, and is designed to prepare students directly for the labour market, as well as leading to university study. A description of Quebec's CEGEP system and its programmes prior to university or employment can be found in the following sources: Gordon Campbell, "The Community College in Canada," Universities and Colleges in Canada, ed. R. A. Cavan (Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1970), pp. 27-29; and "What is CEGEP?," Gazette, 28 November 1967.

²⁸ It is important to note that a number of similar French-language colleges already existed. According to M. Jean-M. Bauchemin, Associate Deputy Minister of Education for the province of Quebec, in an address delivered at Loyola's 1967 fall convocation, "There are now 12 French CEGEPs established and by September 1968, there will be an additional 20 throughout the province." See the Public Relations Office, "Fall Convocation," Loyola in Action (Loyola of Montreal: January, 1968, Vol. II. No. 1); and Steven Hendler, "Future Depends on Junior College Cooperation: English-speaking Universities get Expansion Warn-

Sir George Williams University, Loyola, Marianopolis) were approached by the government and asked for their cooperation in the setting up of the CEGEP.

A significant speech, delivered at Loyola College on the occasion of the 1967 fall convocation by Mr. Jean-M. Bauchemin strongly suggested the government's commitment to the establishment of the CEGEP system of education as part of its new plan for higher education in the province. The speech read in part:

As a matter of fact, university expansion is tied to and consequent to the organization of colleges....

The proof is that we can now proceed with the establishment of a second French university in Montreal...since decisive action has been taken, by a number of institutions involved, to cooperate and participate in the setting up of the new colleges....

The college and university levels, until now, have been more or less combined or confused in the sense that colleges were often regarded as the lower level of the university.

This is not so any more. Colleges should not "overflow" onto the university level and the universities should progressively move out of the college level.

Clearly, therefore, we are now in a transitional period in this field, and this means that, as far as the Department of Education is concerned, the development of colleges and the development of universities cannot be considered separately.

The prospect of setting up colleges for the English-speaking community presents itself, to a large extent, in terms very much similar to those spelled out in the general policy documents: Colleges organize themselves with the support and participation of existing institutions which they replace, so far as the college level is concerned. (29)

In September 1967, the English-language colleges and universities were asked to consider the problem of housing for a temporary period of time the CEGEPs on their campuses. They were also asked to consider ways of implementing the curriculum of courses provided by the Depart-

ing," Montreal Star, 8 November 1967.

²⁹"Fall Convocation," Ibid.; and "Future Depends on Junior College Cooperation," Ibid.

ment of Education, as well as the problem of providing the necessary teaching staff to give the courses. The institutions expressed their willingness to cooperate, but they also laid down a number of conditions they felt had to be met--mainly financial--before November 30 1967, by the Department of Education if such a junior college was to be opened in the fall of 1968.³⁰

No concrete arrangements on the use of the institutions' physical facilities, course content, or teaching staff could be hammered out by all the parties involved in time to meet the November deadline. In fact, final plans for the creation of the first English-language CEGEP were not completed until the spring of 1969. On March 31, 1969, Loyola's Senate approved the establishment of a two-year pre-university programme to begin in September of 1969.³¹

Thus far the writer has only described three major environments and their role in the shaping of Loyola's development. Having identified these three major external environments, it is important to determine what Loyola needed from them. From the government's viewpoint, what Loyola needed depended on what kind of an educational in-

³⁰ David Waters, "New English College may Open in 1968," Gazette, 28 November 1967; and Terence Moore, "May be set up by Fall '68: Regional College Planned Downtown," Montreal Star, 23 November 1967.

³¹ Susan Altschul, "Setting up Junior College: English Universities Blamed for Delays," Montreal Star, 16 August 1968; James Berrabee, "English-Language Vocational College Urgently Needed," Gazette, 23 August 1968; "English CEGEP Establishment Finds General Favor at SGWU," Gazette, 23 August 1968; "Lack of English Junior College: 24 Advisors Resign over Quebec Delays," Montreal Star, 23 August 1968; "Adequate CEGEP Impossible," Montreal Star, 24 August 1968; Susan Altschul, "Cardinal says Nod Already Given," Montreal Star, 24 August 1968; Terence Moore, "Eliminate First-Year Course: English Junior College Asks University Space," Montreal Star, 10 October 1968; "College will Vary its Standards," Montreal Star, 7 December 1968; and "New Loyola Program CEGEP Courses to Start," Gazette, 1 April 1969.

stitution Loyola was, that is, CEGEP, college, or university. From Loyola's point of view it needed unrestricted university status with no strings attached in order to take advantage of university level financing.³²

Loyola's Bargaining Power

Loyola, very generally speaking, is an educational institution which has been delegated certain educational functions by the provincial government for a variety of historical reasons. It differs from other colleges and universities in its institutional position within the educational system of the province, since it was legally considered to be within the orbit of the classical college system (until it received the status of a special case in 1967) and its being a college qua English-speaking Catholic college. These two related characteristics--legal position within the province's system of education, and being English-speaking Catholic oriented--were at the same time the source of the college's advantages and disadvantages. If Loyola was to bargain successfully for what it felt it needed, its task was to clarify its legal status--perhaps upgrade might be a better word since it would suggest that the college's contemporary image had not yet caught up with the fact of it being a university in all but name--and to maximize the advantages and minimize the disadvantages of being an English-speaking Catholic oriented educational institution.

As an institution of higher learning, Loyola is in the business of persuading qualified students to attend

³²It is important to note that Loyola's legal status played a determining role in the college's financial status. As the reader will see at a later point in this chapter, when the government did develop a financial formula for colleges and universities, Loyola was not able to take advantage of university-level financing because its legal status still remained ambiguous. As a special case, it was not represented on the Inter-University Capital Grants Committee, since it did not have the status of a full-fledged university.

the college; or to attract faculty to teach at the college; or to convince the government to provide the necessary operating grants required to keep the college functioning; and so on. In recent years this business of making itself as attractive an educational institution as possible has been one in which Loyola, for the most part, has had to bargain with potential students, professors, or the government; and it has been fairly competitive. The college's bargaining power has declined because students, professors and the government now have so many alternatives, as a result of the creation of the CEGEP system and the government's stated goal of having colleges and universities develop their own separate and unique programmes. As has already been noted, since Loyola was not considered to be a college or university, at least in the legal sense as a result of its legal status as a classical college, it became increasingly important for Loyola to upgrade its status, or at the very least, to clarify it if it hoped to continue to function within the province's educational system. After 1967, Loyola had to bargain for a better fit between itself and its external environment.

Furthermore, Loyola was in an especially bad position because its ambiguous legal status meant that it could not obtain university level grants at a time when it was a university in all but name. In order to better understand the link between the college's legal status (the independent variable) and financial status (the dependent variable), the investigator will describe and discuss the 1968 financial crisis experienced by the college, since it seems to hold out the possibility of the greatest sociological return for the purposes of this discussion of bargaining power.

Between 1960-1968, Loyola's financial situation had been particularly precarious primarily because of the rapidly increasing student body for whom facilities, faculty and space had to be provided. In addition, it must

be noted that the college's operating grants were paid on the basis of Loyola being a classical college. Since 1960, when government grants first became available to private educational institutions in the province, about 17 to 20 percent of Loyola's operating expenses were covered by such grants. The rest of the money came from student fees and private sources. For the 1967-68 academic year, it is important to note that Loyola's operating grants were \$550 per student. While the other six full-fledged universities (McGill, Sir George Williams, Montreal, Bishop's, Laval, and Sherbrooke) each received operating grants of approximately \$1,500 per student. By 1968, there was, at least for grant purposes, no recognition of the fact that Loyola was offering a complete undergraduate programme in its four faculties similar to the legally recognized universities in Quebec. Finally, it must also be noted that Loyola had not received any capital assistance since 1963 for new buildings and the necessary expansion of its facilities.

By February of 1968, the college's precarious financial situation took on the appearance of a major crisis when lending institutions decided that no more funds could be made available to Loyola until a clear statement of plans of future support for the college was made by the provincial government. The college president, Father Patrick G. Malone, S. J., was unable to sign faculty contracts for the 1968-69 academic year; no cheques other than payroll were written; no new projects were started; no new planning for the improvement of existing facilities was made. Indeed, the crisis was so serious that there even existed the possibility that already high student fees might have been increased.

As a result the college administration was forced to press the government for immediate financial assistance. In February and March of 1968 administration, Faculty, students and alumni joined together to state Loyola's case.

Jean-Guy Cardinal, Education Minister in Premier Johnson's National Union government, agreed to back the college's borrowing up to \$4,000,000 over a ten year period. Loyola agreed to take full responsibility for arranging the necessary borrowing, but principal and interest payments were to be met by the province. In addition to this immediate financial assistance, the minister also gave the college a firm guarantee that his department would develop a formula providing more equitable operating grants for the future.³³ This is the background of the financial crisis to be discussed below.

From the above description, perhaps it is possible for the reader to better appreciate Loyola's problem of persuading the government that it was really receiving benefits for which it ought to pay. As was noted earlier, in the bargaining process all the parties have learned to know what to expect from each other, and the bargaining settles down into a competitive struggle among the various parties as they seek to realize their goals.

³³The investigator's brief description of the 1968 financial crisis is based upon the following newspaper accounts: "More Aid Advocated at Loyola," Montreal Star, 15 February 1968; "Malone Raps Quebec Stand over Loyola," Gazette, 15 February 1968; Terence Moore, "Loyola Expansion Work Halts," Montreal Star, 21 February 1968; "Recognition as University Stifles Loyola," Gazette, 22 February 1968; Bryan McKenna, "Flay Quebec Stand: Loyola Students Fight Fee Hike," Montreal Star, 4 March 1968; "Loyola College Problem: Lack of Funds may Hit Teacher's Jobs," Gazette, 5 March 1968; "Students from Loyola Plan Quebec March," Gazette, 5 March 1968; Terence Moore, "Financial Crisis: Loyola Plans Quebec Rally," Montreal Star, 6 March 1968; Terence Moore, "Province Backs Credit: Loyola Crisis Apparently Over," Montreal Star, 12 March 1968; Leon Harris, "Loyola Money Crisis Near End as Quebec Considers Grant," Gazette, 12 March 1968; "Loyola to Get \$2 Million Plus," Montreal Star, 13 March 1968; Star's Quebec Bureau, "Johnson Reassures College," Montreal Star, 13 March 1968; "Loyola obtient satisfaction, donc pas de marche sur Québec," Le Devoir, 13 Mars 1968; and Susan Altschul, "Several Millions Granted Loyola," Gazette, 13 March 1968.

More specifically, at least from Loyola's point of view, it had to convince the government that it stood to gain from what Loyola had to offer. The college's position was that it was not possible for an institution of higher learning, offering its student clientele a high quality education such as has won national and international recognition,³⁴ to continue to operate on a grant of \$550 per student, which was that of a classical college in 1968. Father Malone stated that the system of university grants "imposes on us a burden that is not imposed on other comparable institutions in the province."³⁵ Loyola's position was that it had become a university in both fact and function, thus it needed university per capita grants. Put more concretely, its position broke down into the following three areas: (1) it needed the status of a full-fledged university in order to obtain university grants equal to those given to the other six universities in Quebec; (2) it needed credit to finance borrowing for operational expenses; and (3) it needed a continuing basis for its financing.

Furthermore, it must also be pointed out that the college's financial problem was made even more difficult because it realized that it could not bargain successfully with the government without exploiting its own student clientele. If the college increased the already high tuition fees, it realized that it would defeat its own purpose by driving the students away to alternative institu-

³⁴Professor Terry Copp, president of the Loyola Faculty Association in 1968, commenting on the standard and quality of instruction at Loyola, said: "...reports and other testimonials exist (among them those of the Parent Commission, of the Canadian Association of University Teachers and of the Quebec premiers) attesting to the fact that Loyola, while not officially a university, operates at the level and scope of a university." "Loyola College Problem: Lack of Funds may Hit Teacher's Jobs," Gazette, Ibid.

³⁵"Loyola Expansion Work Halts," Montreal Star,

tions such as Sir George and McGill. As a result, Loyola had to turn to the Quebec government with the full knowledge that it possessed only limited bargaining power due to its failure to obtain a university charter (even though the status of a special case had helped its position somewhat since it meant that it would be considered alone rather than as part of the whole plan for institutions of higher learning) as compared to the other CEGEPs, colleges and universities in the province.

Furthermore, when Loyola turned to the government for financial aid, it found that there was a tendency on the part of the government to shy away from funding the college because of other educational priorities in the province.

Since 1960 Quebec has had to spend considerable sums of money on education at all levels. Both capital and operating expenditures have risen sharply as a result of general increased costs. In addition, by the middle of the 1960s, the government found itself having to pay the costs of colleges and universities which previously had been privately funded.³⁶

In addition to the increased demands on the public purse for more financial assistance to all levels of education in the province, the government found itself having to choose between the creation of a second French-language university on the Island of Montreal, or giving Loyola its university charter. During Loyola's financial crisis of 1968 the government was reminded once again of the need for a second French-language university, when the University of Montreal Students' Association voiced its opposition to Loyola's bid for university status and university-level financing. The Association issued a statement in which it suggested that Loyola--already a university in all

³⁶ Stanley M. Cohen, "Fifteen Years of Reform: Education in Quebec Since 1960," Montreal Star, 19-26 July 1975, pp. 18-20.

but name--become instead a CEGEP or junior college. ³⁷

From the above, only one thing is clear. Loyola's legal status, that is, its status as a "special case", placed it in a position just outside of both the CEGEP system and the university system. Under the regulations governing its special status, Loyola had to submit budgets, student enrolment forecasts, and so on to the Department of Education for approval. This type of legal control provided Quebec with an effective means for controlling the dependence-independence level of Loyola at any given time. As a result, college financing at this time was in a head-on collision with the conclusion that it was necessary for Loyola to abandon its fight for its own independent university charter and opt for some kind of an affiliation with another university if it hoped to improve its bargaining position with Quebec.

It is also interesting to note that further evidence of Loyola's limited political bargaining power came in the same year, 1968, when the University Investments Act was adopted by the Quebec Legislature on July 4, in which a new financing formula for higher education in Quebec was detailed. The Act made it possible for universities to raise capital funds on the bond market with provincial guarantees of payment. ³⁸ Again, as in the past, the college's ambiguous legal status prevented it from taking advantage of the Act. Since it did not have the status of a full-fledged university it was not represented on the Inter-University Capital Grants Committee, therefore, it was not in a position to participate in the formulation of a five-year development plan, as required by the Minister of Education.

³⁷"U. of M. Opposed to Loyola's Bid," Montreal Star, 14 March 1968.

³⁸The University Investments Act (Statutes of Quebec), 1968.

Loyola's Growth and Development

Earlier the writer suggested that as an educational institution, Loyola is in the business of trying to persuade qualified students to attend the college; or to attract faculty to teach at the college; or to convince the government to provide the necessary operating grants required to keep the college functioning; and so on. Since Loyola is in the business of trying to make itself attractive to its environment in order to bargain successfully for what it needs, it is appropriate at this point to examine, historically, how Loyola developed its bargaining counters as part of this business of becoming an attractive educational institution. If the investigator is correct in assuming that growth and development is the best evidence that Loyola offered in support of its bargaining position, then it would appear reasonable to examine such evidence under the following three areas: (1) academic development; (2) increased student enrolment; and (3) the physical growth of the college.

Loyola's academic development. Three periods³⁹ in the college's academic development are worthy of some discussion at this point.

As was noted earlier, between 1896-1920, the programme of studies offered at Loyola did not differ significantly from the old Sainte-Marie programme. Indeed, it should be noted that the course of studies offered at both Loyola and Sainte-Marie was the European model and corresponded with the original Jesuit foundations in the

³⁹ According to Mr. Slattery: "Three stages in her academic development may be marked.... The first stage, during which Loyola did not depart very substantially from the restricted pattern of the classical college came to an end with the approach of the nineteen twenties. In the second stage the college clearly emerged as distinct from the high school. Then the third stage began with the nineteen forties when the college developed on the level of university life." Slattery, Loyola and Montreal: A History, p. 270.

United States. However, between 1920-1940, a major re-organization of course offerings was undertaken at Loyola. One of the major changes was the introduction of three distinct courses at the college: Arts General, Arts Pre-Medical, and Arts Pre-Science. In addition, the college continued to upgrade the mathematics course with the introduction of a pre-engineering course in 1923, replaced later by a regular science course in 1943 leading to the B. Sc. degree.⁴⁰

This emergence of the liberal arts college meant that Loyola was well on the way to becoming an English-speaking Catholic institution of higher learning capable of performing the functions of a university college.⁴¹

About 1940 Loyola began the third phase of its academic development. In 1943, with the active encouragement and support of the Archbishop of Montreal, Msgr. Joseph Charbonneau, the faculty of science was opened with courses in honours chemistry and honours mathematics. Three years of engineering were also started at this time in civil, mechanical, electrical, mining, chemical, metallurgical and engineering physics. Commerce was added in 1948, and by 1967 the faculty offered its students three major programmes: Accounting, Economics, and Business Administration. The communication arts department, rated as one of the best in Canada, was established in 1965. In the same year majors in sociology and psychology were

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 272.

⁴¹The investigator has employed the term "university college" in this study in the following two senses: (1) "The university college...is a college whose primary purpose is to prepare students for graduate work of some kind--primarily in the arts and sciences but also in the professional subjects ranging from law and medicine to business and social work." And (2) a university college is "a budding university that has not yet achieved sufficient stability and reputation to deserve complete autonomy, and that award degrees through another institution." Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company Inc. 1968), p. 24.

added as part of the Bachelor of Arts degree programme. In 1967, Loyola became the first Canadian Catholic institution of higher learning to offer courses in Judaism in its theology department. In 1957, the evening division was created by the college, and by the late 1960s it offered its students a combined winter and summer degree programme in its four faculties, as well as other credit and non-credit courses. ⁴²

Since 1940, in order to meet the changing educational needs of its students, Loyola expanded its teaching staff from what was essentially a homogeneous English Catholic faculty into a more heterogeneous, pluralistic one ranging from Jesuits and traditional Catholics through the spectrum of political, religious and ideological beliefs. An examination of the list of fulltime faculty appointments for the 1966-1967 academic year may serve to illustrate the expansion of the college's faculty. Forty-seven fulltime faculty were appointed: seven associate professors (2 in communication arts, 2 in english, 1 in mathematics, and 2 in psychology); thirteen assistant professors (2 in accounting, 2 in geotechnical science, 1 in english, 1 in french studies, 1 in modern languages, 1 in philosophy, 1 in physics, 2 in political science, 1 in sociology, and 1 in theology); fourteen lecturers (1 in the computer centre, 2 in english, 3 in french studies, 2 in mathematics, 1 in philosophy, 1 in physics, and 4 in theology); and thirteen instructors (12 in english

⁴² Slattery, Loyola and Montreal: A History, pp. 274-276; Stanley M. Cohen, "Loyola Offers New Programs, Expands Subject Areas," Montreal Star, 15 September 1965; "Business Major to be Offered," Monitor, 31 August 1967; "Loyola Adds Judaism Course: Ecumenical Council Sequel," Montreal Star, 21 August 1967; Susan Altschul, "Loyola Adds Course in Judaism: First Catholic College in Canada to do So," Gazette, 21 August 1967; The Public Relations Office, Loyola in Action (Loyola of Montreal: 1967, Vol. I No. 2); "Loyola of Montreal: Evening Division 1968-69," Gazette, 27 August 1968; and "Upgrade Evening Programs: Montreal Universities Adopt New Approach," Montreal Star, 3 September 1968.

and 1 in philosophy). This increase of forty-seven professors was part of an expansion programme between 1955-1966 in which the fulltime faculty grew from fifty to 150. ⁴³

Increased student enrolment. While the faculty, the number of courses and the facilities increased, so did Loyola's student enrolment. From a small beginning in 1896, when the college opened at Bleury and Ste. Catherine streets, its student population has grown spectacularly. The enrolment figures for the college, in tables 3 and 4, indicate the following: Loyola's enrolment grew to and stayed near four hundred for several decades; it felt the influx of veterans after World War II, as was the case of other colleges and universities; it experienced a steady increase in enrolment during the 1950s and 1960s as a result of the baby boom and the gradual expansion of its facilities.

Furthermore, it must also be noted that Loyola became fully co-educational in 1962, and by 1967, for example, the registrar estimated that thirty percent of the freshman class were women. ⁴⁴

⁴³"Loyola Faculty Appointments Announced," Monitor, 13 October 1966.

Writing on the growth of Loyola in the early 1960s, Mr. T. P. Slattery says: "This growth has...brought about a notable increase in the number of lay members on the Loyola faculty. ...with the exception of the department of theology which is completely staffed by religious, the laity are never less than the clerics in any department. In fact, outside of biology, classics, and philosophy, lay scholars form a majority in each department, and in accounting, economics; engineering and geology only laymen teach. This is a trend that is likely to continue." Slattery, Loyola and Montreal: A History, pp. 284-285.

Jencks and Riesman suggest that other Catholic colleges in the United States and Canada experienced the same growth in their lay faculty during the same period: "Many enterprising priests and nuns are already doing everything in their power to promote secularization...." Jencks and Riesman, The Academic Revolution, pp. 374-375.

⁴⁴The Public Relations Office, Loyola in Action

TABLE 3
ENROLMENT AT LOYOLA COLLEGE
1899-1969

ACADEMIC YEAR	ARTS	SCIENCE	FACULTY COMMERCE	ENGINEERING	TOTAL COLLEGE ENROLMENT
1900-01	18				18
1910-11	45				45
1920-21	60				60
1930-31	169				169
1940-41	125				125
1941-42	113				113
1942-43	109				109
1943-44	114	33			147
1944-45	140	60			200
1945-46	219	110			329
1946-47	321	156			477
1947-48	159	184			343
1948-49	170	191	49		410
1949-50	199	170	76		445
1950-51	187	143	96		426
1951-52	167	124	89		380
1952-53	140	142	119		401
1953-54	138	166	101		405
1954-55	125	177	99		401
1955-56	122	178	101		401
1956-57	140	186	97		423
1957-58	154	230	105		489
1958-59	196	296	139		631
1959-60	242	321	221		784
1960-61	320	321	310		951
1961-62	410	358	328	172	1268
1962-63	505	236	334	173	1248
1963-64	571	264	335	210	1380
1964-65	783	375	392	130	1680
1965-66	1095	516	470	147	2228
1966-67	1459	663	448	114	2684
1967-68	1701	789	514	104	3108
1968-69	2111	862	588	119	3680

Source: T. P. Slattery, Loyola and Montreal: A History (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1962), pp.284-285; The Enrolment Forecast Committee, Report on Enrolment Forecast 1972-73 and Results of Actual 1971-72 Enrolment Compared with Forecast made in October 13, 1970 (Loyola of Montreal, November 1971); and Proposed Federation of Loyola and Sir George Williams University (Loyola of Montreal, September 30, 1969).

TABLE 4
 LOYOLA - RECORDS OF DAY STUDENT ENROLMENT
 BY
 FACULTIES & YEARS

	UN I	UN II	UN III	UN IV	TOTAL UNIV.
<u>ARTS</u>					
1965-66	440	334	206	115	1095
1966-67	529	445	297	188	1459
1967-68	495	536	395	275	1701
1968-69	671	565	502	373	2111
<u>SCIENCE</u>					
1965-66	234	156	75	51	516
1966-67	275	207	121	60	663
1967-68	294	232	155	108	789
1968-69	295	232	191	144	862
<u>COMMERCE</u>					
1965-66	218	130	66	56	470
1966-67	169	121	98	60	448
1967-68	202	128	105	79	514
1968-69	233	154	116	85	588
<u>ENGINEERING</u>					
1965-66	64	34	31	18	147
1966-67	43	45	21	5	114
1967-68	34	37	31	2	104
1968-69	50	31	28	10	119
<u>TOTAL LOYOLA</u>					
1965-66	956	654	378	240	2228
1966-67	1016	818	537	313	2684
1967-68	1025	933	686	464	3108
1968-69	1249	982	837	612	3680

Source: The Enrolment Forecast Committee, Report of Enrolment Forecast 1972-73 and Results of Actual 1971-72 Enrolment Compared with Forecast Made in October 13, 1970 (Loyola of Montreal, November 1971).

It is also interesting to note that Loyola was never a purely local educational institution in terms of its student clientele. It attracted students from all parts of Canada, the United States, the Latin American countries, Europe, and Africa. In 1967, the Registrar estimated that approximately twenty percent of the college's student body came from outside of Canada.⁴⁵

The physical growth of Loyola. As student enrolment, the number of faculty, and the range of course offerings increased, so did the need for an expansion of the college's physical facilities. Loyola responded to this need in 1955⁴⁶ when it established a long-term development programme. During the first phase of this programme in the early 1960s the physical growth of the college was enormous. At a cost of \$8,700,000 the Drummond Science Building was constructed in 1962; Hingston Hall in 1963; The Georges P. Vanier Library in 1964; and the Physical Education Centre in 1966.

In 1966, the college began the second phase of its development programme when it announced a national appeal for \$6,600,000 as part of a \$17,600,000 ten year development plan (the remaining \$11,000,000 was expected to come from Quebec). Loyola undertook this phase of its expansion programme in order to cope with a projected enrolment

of Montreal: 1967, Vol. I No. 2).

⁴⁵Ibid. Also see Slattery, Loyola and Montreal: A History, p. 270.

⁴⁶The writer has limited his discussion of the physical growth of Loyola to cover only the period after 1955. However, the following dates merit a brief mention: 1900: Loyola Farm purchased; 1913: buildings started on Loyola Farm; 1915: first students occupied Loyola's present site, Junior and Refectory buildings completed; 1921: Loyola Administration Building raised to three storeys; 1927: Administration Building completed; 1933: Loyola Chapel completed; 1934: Auditorium completed; 1944: Central Building started; 1947: Central Building completed.

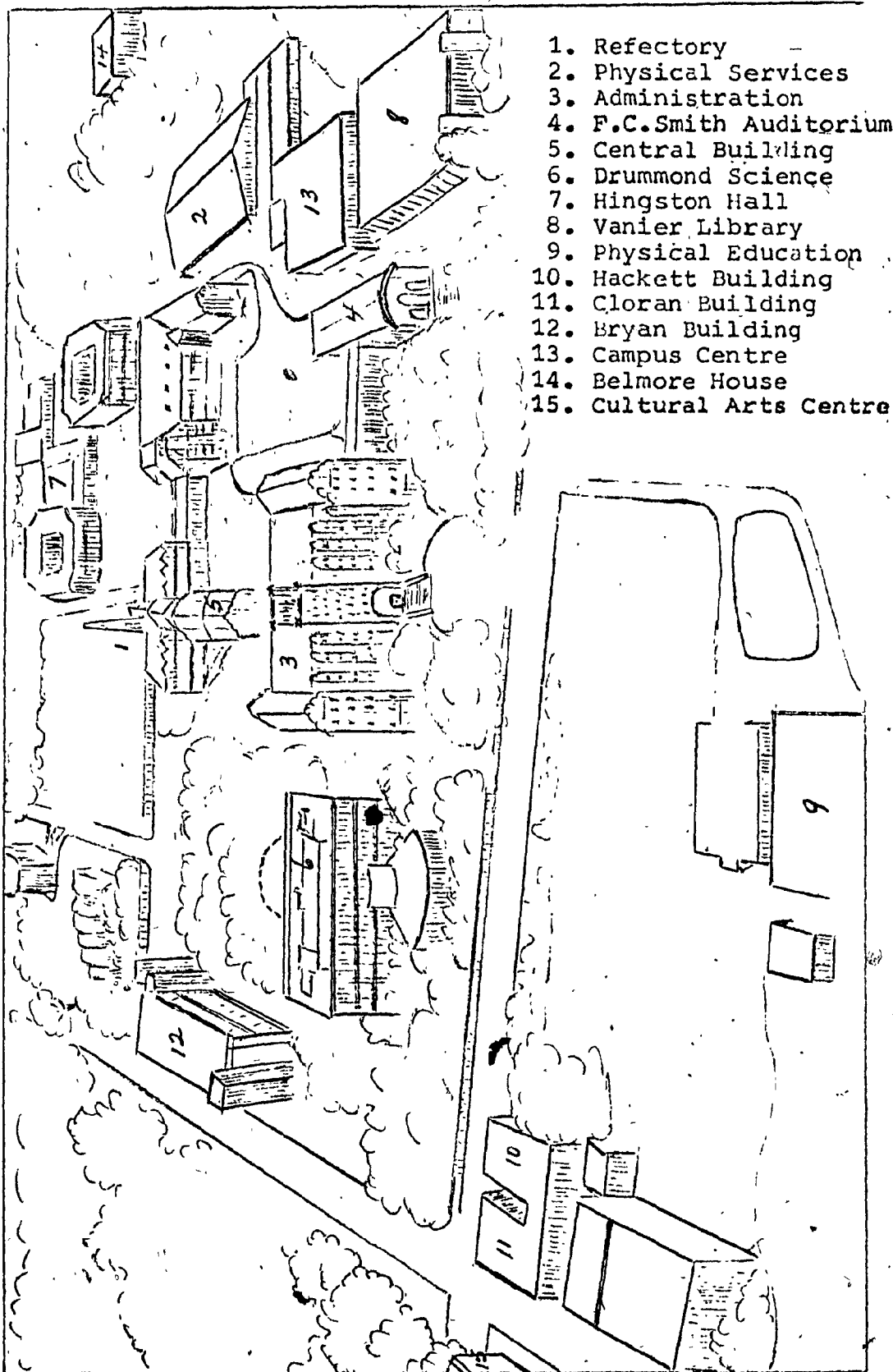
of 17,500 day and evening students for the 1975-76 academic year.⁴⁷ Loyola announced plans for: a new classroom building, an addition to the Drummond Science Building, an expansion of the Vanier Library, a second men's residence, a women's residence, guidance and medical centres to be housed in already existing buildings, a student centre, and an engineering building. However, because of problems surrounding the legal and financial status of the college, described earlier in this chapter, this second phase of Loyola's expansion programme fell far short of its original objectives. The Hackett and Cloran buildings were acquired for faculty, administration and student use. The Bryan Building was opened in 1967. The long-awaited Campus Centre, financed by students, alumni, and college funds, finally opened in 1973.⁴⁸

From the above, it would appear that Loyola did have powerful attractions as bargaining counters, given a genuine opportunity to use them. The major value of Loyola as an institution of higher learning as compared to McGill and Sir George Williams University is that its small size makes it possible for it to offer the same range of courses in arts, science, commerce and engineering on a more individual level. As a Catholic college

⁴⁷In 1966-67, some fifty thousand university students were attending institutions of higher learning on the Island of Montreal. Many college and university administrators felt that this figure was an indication of things to come. McGill, in 1966-67, was anticipating twenty-two thousand day students in 1975. The University of Montreal was planning for a student enrolment of twenty to twenty-five thousand by 1972. Sir George expected an enrolment of five thousand day students and ten thousand evening students by 1970. D. B. Macfarlane, "Universities Need to Double Facilities: Expansion Must Go On," Montreal Star, 3 March 1967.

⁴⁸Slattery, Loyola and Montreal: A History, pp. 285-286; Stanley M. Cohen, "\$17,600,000 Expansion Program Outlined: Loyola Plans \$6,600,000 Public Appeal," Montreal Star, 9 November 1966; and "Loyola Development Program," Challenge, 13 November 1966.

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with particular appeal to the English-speaking community, it offered an alternative to those seeking a Catholic education, rather than a secular education.

In other words, Loyola's Jesuit administration realized that if it wanted to enjoy any bargaining success with its environment it had to polish up its own unique attributes. It had to maximize its advantages of being Catholic and small, without making them too expensive for itself and the community which it served.

This is the background of Loyola College as it entered the 1969-70 academic year.

In the following two chapters the writer will identify the external pressures which threatened Loyola's continuation as an institution of higher learning between 1969-1974, and those specific situational adjustments made by Loyola in response to those external pressures.

CHAPTER V

LOYOLA OF MONTREAL BETWEEN 1969-1974

This chapter provides the reader with a brief description of what the writer considers to be the most significant external pressures which threatened Loyola's continuation as an institution of higher learning at various points between 1969-1974.

Loyola's External Environment

When examining the many external pressures and their role in the shaping of Loyola during this period, it is important to identify what its external environment was. Utilizing the model of bargaining in the same way as in the previous chapter, the writer has identified two major external environments with which the college had to contend: (1) the more inclusive educational system of which Loyola is a part--primary and secondary schools, CEGEPs, other English-language post-secondary educational institutions, and the province's seven full-fledged universities (McGill, Sir George Williams, Montreal, Bishop's, Laval, Sherbrooke, and Quebec); and (2) the super-ordinate system--the provincial government and its various advisory bodies such as the Superior Council on Education and the Council of Universities.

It should be noted here that although some attempt has been made for purposes of clarity to treat the two major external environments of Loyola as independent categories, it is not entirely successful because they are closely interconnected. As the reader will see below,

the Council of Universities is an advisory body to the government and is composed among others of the heads of Quebec's university community. Yet at the same time it is a body whose primary task is to advise the government on how the money that is for higher education should be distributed.

Loyola's equivalent CEGEP programme. As the 1969-1970 academic year approached, Loyola found itself in the very difficult position of having to implement an equivalent CEGEP programme at the college, as a result of specific recommendations of the Superior Council on Education made to the Department of Education in order to develop an overall plan for higher education in the province. It had to cope with the many problems of designing two-year pre-university programmes in its four faculties of arts, science, commerce, and engineering comparable to those pre-university programmes given at McGill, Sir George Williams, and Dawson College. In addition, college officials had to consider some 3,700 applications for admission for the 1969-70 school year, as well as the establishment of a fee ¹ structure for its CEGEP programme. ²

More specifically, one of the most important of the Superior Council's recommendations which institutions such as Loyola had to implement was the so-called "phasing-out" ³ formula. Under this phasing-out formula the cooper-

¹ Courses at CEGEPs such as Dawson College and Vanier are free. It should be noted that when McGill, Sir George and Loyola offered equivalent pre-university programmes, they charged their students an average of \$375 (not including student activity and other additional charges).

² Perry Meyer, Inquiry into the Situation at Loyola with Special Reference to the Non-Renewal of Contracts (Montreal: Loyola of Montreal, [1970]), pp. 44-45.

³ The investigator was only able to obtain a summary of the ten recommendations contained in the Superior Council's thirteen-page report. Concerning the "phasing-out" formula, the summary states the following: "...a phasing-out formula be adopted by agreement between the

ating English-language universities were obliged to house, staff and offer the courses required by the Department of Education's CEGEP programme. The institutions were informed that the Council anticipated that a total of eight thousand English-speaking students would attend the colleges each year. For the 1969-70 academic year it was expected that Dawson College could only have accommodated two thousand of the eight thousand students. However, the Council felt that McGill, Sir George and Loyola were capable of handling the rest. By 1970-71, with the possibility of two more English-language junior colleges, it was expected that the new CEGEPs could accommodate three thousand to four thousand students. By the third year, 1971-72, the phasing-out process would be finished, according to the Council's predictions. By that time it was expected that five or six junior colleges would be handling all first and second year CEGEP students, and that the universities would be only accepting students into the first year of the new university level programme (the second year of the old university course).⁴

For Loyola the Council's phasing-out formula meant that for the 1969-70 school year it was giving year I of the CEGEP course; in 1970-71, years I and II of the CEGEP programme.⁵ As for the University programme at Loyola,

cooperating institutions and the Department of Education to cover a period of not more than four years." A detailed description of the phasing-out formula can be found in James Berrabee, "English-Language Vocational College Urgently Needed," Gazette, 23 August 1968.

⁴Ibid.

⁵It is important to note that Loyola, McGill, and Sir George had originally anticipated phasing out their CEGEP equivalent programmes after the 1970-71 academic year. However, the final CEGEP class graduated in 1974. These institutions accepted their last new CEGEP students in the fall of 1972. All future CEGEP students went to Vanier, John Abbott, Champlain, Dawson, and Marianopolis CEGEPs. See Meyer, Inquiry into the Situation at Loyola; Jay Newquist, "Must Solve CEGEP Space Problem," Gazette,

the recommendations meant that for the 1969-70 academic year, years II, III and IV of the old university programme were offered; in 1970-71, years III and IV were taught; in 1971-72, year I of the new three year programme was offered, as well as year IV of the old programme; in 1972-73, years I and II of the new university programme; and finally, in 1973-74, years I, II, and III of the new programme were taught.

Student enrolment. In the previous chapter the writer noted some very optimistic enrolment forecasts made by the various Quebec universities for the 1970s. However, these enrolment projections ultimately proved to be extremely optimistic. In fact, by the late 1960s and early 1970s, because of a shift of the old university first-year to the CEGEP level, as well as the insertion of a new year at the CEGEP level, and the end of the post-war baby boom, college and university enrolment had begun to stabilize, and in some instances, it had dropped off. These facts were brought out by a committee of the English-language post-secondary institutions (ELPSI), formed for the purpose of forecasting enrolments, and the ELPSI report and its subsequent updatings were made available to Loyola.

Further evidence of this trend towards a decline in the number of students attending colleges and universities came in the summer of 1972. A thirty-seven page report on higher education in Quebec known as The Future of Bishop's University and of Loyola College, was submitted by the Council of Universities, an advisory board to the government, to the Minister of Education. The Council recommended that Loyola stop giving university-level education by July 1975 otherwise there would be a surplus of space in the province's English-language universities in

26 October 1972; and Janet Mackenzie, "Three Universities End Initial Program: English CEGEPs Faced with 7,500 Extra Students," Gazette, 18 July 1973.

the 1970s and 1980s. Its recommendation was partly based on statistical evidence that indicated a surplus of some eight thousand university-level places in English-language institutions by 1981. The Council suggested that all future university students would attend McGill or Sir George after 1975. According to Council Chairman Gauthier:

The 17-member Council decided to recommend that Loyola be phased out for two reasons. First, Loyola's projected student population in 1981 happened to coincide fairly well with projected surplus space. And second, the college never received its university charter. (6)

From the above, one can see that student enrolment during the 1970s had become a number one priority at Loyola, indeed throughout North American colleges and universities, when the very survival of the college depended on its ability to attract more students.

It is interesting to note that on the basis of these reports, that is, the reports of the ELPSI Committee and the Council of Universities' recommendations, both Loyola and the Quebec government predicted a decline in the college's student enrolment and budget.⁷ In the

⁶Gordon Barthes, "Is Loyola's Future As Shaky as Ever," Gazette, 17 July 1972.

⁷According to Burton R. Clark: "The most important pressures bearing upon...schools in the day-to-day administration arise from the enrolment economy. First, school income is largely set by student attendance. Financial support from the state is figured by the hours of attendance logged the previous year, producing a direct relation between student turnout and level of...aid. Unless a school maintains and preferably increases attendance, further support is likely to stagnate, and a major slump in attendance constitutes a serious threat to organizational welfare." See: Burton R. Clark, "Organizational Adaptation and Precarious Values," American Sociological Review 21 (June 1956): 332; and Burton R. Clark, Adult Education in Transition: A Case Study of Institutional Insecurity (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), pp. 61-63.

In Quebec the enrolment forecast is the basis for university budgets, and they are normally submitted to the Department of Education during November each year. See "News Release," Office of Development and Public Relations (Loyola of Montreal: 15 December 1969); and "27

light of the college's precarious financial position, discussed in the previous chapter, and its dependence on governmental support, one must place great weight on the importance of the staff/student ratio suggested by the Department of Education. Loyola, in the fall of 1969, was given to understand that an acceptable average class size would be thirty students.⁸ Thus, the college's administration was faced with the very real responsibility of conforming to norms imposed by the government and of trying to develop rational means, to be discussed in the following chapter, for coping with these norms.

Loyola's fiscal status. In addition to the staff/student ratios imposed on the college and their role in the shaping of Loyola's budget, during the 1970s Loyola was hard hit by increased capital and operating expenditures, reflected by higher staff salaries, increased maintenance costs, construction delays at a number of university campuses, and slow growth of academic programmes. But the fiscal problems in Quebec had one additional aspect: the historical imbalance in operating grants to Quebec universities. The figures in table 5 indicate that government grants vary from institution to institution. The table also shows that Loyola College, as a result of its status as a "special case" in the province's plan for

Teachers: Loyola Layoffs Set," Gazette, 16 December 1969.

⁸ According to Professor Meyer: "This [staff/student] ratio is sometimes referred to at Loyola as a ratio of 30:1, but in reality a class-room ratio of 30:1 would correspond to a true staff/student ratio in the college of about 18:1, when one considers that each student takes, on the average, five courses of three hours per week, and each professor teaches in the neighbourhood of eight or nine hours per week. The true overall ratio at the present time, in view of the fact that there are approximately 270 teachers for approximately 4,200 students, is in the neighbourhood of 16:1. However, for the purpose of this report, we shall continue to use the class-room ratio of 30:1 in our discussion." Meyer, Inquiry into the Situation at Loyola, p. 51.

higher education, was funded differently.⁹

TABLE 5
GRANTS FOR QUEBEC UNIVERSITIES & COLLEGES
FOR THE 1973-74, 1974-75 ACADEMIC YEARS

INSTITUTIONS	STUDENT ENROLMENT		1973-74	1974-75
Montreal*	14,831	57.6 million	65.	million
Quebec	9,070	44.9 "	52.2	"
Laval	11,606	41.2 "	47.6	"
McGill	12,118	38.7 "	43.	"
Sherbrooke	4,019	18. "	19.4	"
Sir George Williams ³	4,421	14.1 "	15.4	"
Bishop's	758	1.7 "	2.1	"

Note: Loyola College, funded differently (and a year later) than the universities, received \$7.8 million for 1973-74 and \$6.7 million for 1972-73.

* University of Montreal includes Hautes Etudes Commerciales and the Ecole Polytechnique.

Source: Gordon Barthos, "McGill, SGWU Face Deficits After Grants," Gazette, 1 May 1974.

In order to better understand Loyola's different financial status during the 1970s--one might argue that its fiscal position was a perilous one rather than a different one--it may be instructive to briefly consider how a move by the provincial government to standardize tuition fees at Quebec universities in 1971-72 affected Loyola.

In 1971, Education Minister Guy Saint-Pierre an-

⁹ Commenting on the imbalance in operating grants to Quebec universities, Mr. Dorrance stated: "Part of the difference is justified by factors such as McGill having a medical faculty which is expensive to run." J. S. Dorrance, interview held with former Loyola Director of Development, Montreal, Quebec, February 1977.

According to Mr. Duder "Historical factors such as catching-up grants to French-language universities... entered into the picture. Loyola, funded differently, got even less than Sir George." R. P. Duder, interview held with former secretary of the Board of Trustees of Loyola, and assistant to the president Fr. Malone, S. J., Montreal, Quebec, February 1977.

nounced that the Department of Education wanted to standardize university tuition fees for all faculties at \$475 by September 1972.¹⁰

For Loyola, which always had charged its students higher than average tuition fees (\$540 a year in 1971 for the arts faculty) to help balance its budget, the proposed standard fees would have meant an annual loss of \$380,000. As a result of this move towards province-wide fee standardization, Loyola warned the government that it would have to increase its grants to the college. The college warned the government that if no additional money came from Quebec, certain departments that required heavy funding in order to operate would be severely hampered. In support of its claim Loyola officials cited two examples: the communication arts department and the faculty of engineering. Communication arts students at this time paid \$575 and engineering students paid \$595 in order that their respective programmes might have the necessary equipment and facilities.¹¹

Thus, the available evidence would seem to suggest that because of its failure to obtain university-level grants at a time when public subsidies began to dwarf private donations, and at a time when the government felt obliged to take an increasingly greater role in the administration of higher education in return for its financial support, Loyola perhaps more than other educational institutions, found itself compelled to achieve a greater level of fiscal efficiency if it hoped to survive in the 1970s.

Loyola's legal status. In the previous chapter the writer noted that the province's Department of Education had never recognized Loyola as a university and had worried about the large number of English-language uni-

¹⁰ Ron Blunn, "Fee Standardization Seen "Disastrous" for Loyola Without More Quebec Aid," Gazette, 10 June 1971.

¹¹ Ibidi

versity-level institutions in the province relative to the size of the English-speaking population.¹² Although Loyola had continually sought a degree-granting charter over the years, and despite a recommendation by the Parent Commission that it be given its own charter, it became increasingly clear to college officials that the government, for a variety of reasons that had nothing to do with higher education as such, was unlikely to grant a charter to Loyola. Political and social conditions in the late 1960s and early 1970s dictated that there was room for only two English-language universities on the Island of Montréal. As early as 1969 the question of some sort of an amalgamation between Loyola and Sir George Williams University was under study by a number of internal committees at both institutions.

During the period 1969-1972, the Quebec government actively encouraged Loyola to consider alternatives that might be satisfactory to the college and to the community it had traditionally served. With Loyola's agreement with the University of Montreal to expire in 1972 (although the U. of M. was willing to renew it for a limited period of time), the government's point of view was that the province would benefit more from an affiliation between Loyola and Sir George.

It is interesting to note that before accepting recommendations to proceed with serious discussions leading to an eventual affiliation with Sir George, Loyola's Board of Trustees (which was a public board with a membership which included Jesuits, faculty, students and some members of the community) felt the college had to receive a clear statement from the Department of Education that

¹²Loyola was not the isolated case it may appear to be. Indeed, the problem of Loyola was to a lesser extent the problem of Bishop's University. In the writer's opinion the government would have liked to implement a vast-scale consolidation of English-language institutions in the province.

it favoured this course of action and that it was not prepared to give the college the charter it had fought so hard to obtain. The government made it quite clear that: Loyola would not receive a charter; Loyola was encouraged to work out a common future with another institution on terms that were mutually acceptable; Loyola would negotiate as an equal; and that the government wished the institutions to work out the terms of federation by themselves and without government interference.¹³ Thus, on the basis of this pressure from the government, the two institutions got down to the business of negotiating a federation acceptable to both parties.

During the course of the negotiations between Loyola and Sir George, a thirty-seven page report on higher education in Quebec, known as The Future of Bishop's University and of Loyola College, was submitted by the Council of Universities to the Minister of Education. The available evidence strongly suggests, at least in the opinion of the writer, that the Council's report gave the negotiating parties the necessary impetus to finalize merger arrangements as the best solution to the situation, one which did not make educational authorities in the province unhappy.

The Council's recommendations did not recognize the guidelines under which Loyola had entered negotiations with Sir George. In effect, the Council's recommendations stated that:

(A) ...the university level instruction in the English language in the Montreal region be totally concentrated on the campuses of Sir George Williams and McGill University.

(B) ...the premises of Loyola College not be

¹³ Interview with Mr. Dorrance; Interview with Mr. Duder; Derek Hill and Gerry Flaherty, "Loyola, SGWU May Merge in 1972," Gazette, 21 September 1971; "Sir George and Loyola," Gazette, 23 September 1971; and Dick MacDonald, "Loyola: Flexibility the Operative Word," Montreal Star, 6 November 1971.

included in inventory of physical resources of English universities and that the authorities of Loyola use their campus facilities for programs other than university level instruction.

(C) ...the college react to the task of re-assessing personnel, all the while bearing in mind the re-orientation of the establishment and recognizing its existing commitment towards the staff.

(D) ...the duration of the university level teaching at Loyola not be extended past June 1975 and therefore the college should not accept student applications after September 1972.

(E) ...notwithstanding, the preceding recommendations, the rights of the students be safeguarded in their pursuit of education following an agreement with the universities concerned. In this instance the University of Montreal.

(F) ...the resumption of university activities of the college must be agreeable to the institutions involved and must be achieved in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and the Council of Universities which will ensure that the steps taken conform to the recommendations contained in the report.... (14)

It is interesting to note that there was strenuous protest ¹⁵ from Montreal's English-speaking Catholic community and Education Minister Francois Cloutier overrode the Council's recommendations, saying they failed to take into account human factors such as Loyola's role in the

¹⁴The Council of Universities' recommendations were reprinted in a special edition of the Loyola News, Vol. 49 No. 1, 7 July 1972. Also see the following: "Loyola "Astounded", to Offer Counter-Proposal," Gazette, 6 July 1972; David Allnutt, "Report Angers Loyola's President Malone: God Help Quebec," Montreal Star, 6 July 1972; Derek Hill and Gordon Barthos, "Quebec Undecided on Loyola Future," Gazette, 7 July 1972; David Allnutt, "Loyola Put Up United Front," Montreal Star, 7 July 1972; "A Harsh Proposal for Loyola's Future," Montreal Star, 7 July 1972; and David Waters, "Report Ignores Human Side of Loyola," Montreal Star, 8 July 1972.

¹⁵David Allnutt, "Bishop Joins Fight to Save Loyola: Students Start Petition," Montreal Star, 10 July 1972; Gordon Barthos, "Students March: Loyola Closing Protests Grow," Gazette, 11 July 1972; "Community Support for Loyola Widens," Montreal Star, 11 July 1972; "Meets Cloutier on Fate of College: Quebec-Bound Loyola Head Optimistic," Montreal Star, 13 July 1972; and Gordon Barthos, "Is Loyola's Future as Shaky as Ever," Gazette, 17 July 1972.

community. At the same time Dr. Cloutier instructed Loyola and Sir George to continue their merger talks. He told officials of both institutions that when negotiations were completed to each institutions' satisfaction, it was up to the institutions, themselves, to solve the space problem brought up by the Council's report.¹⁶

Having identified these two major external environments and their influence on the development of Loyola between 1969-1974, it is important to determine what Loyola needed from its environment. Loyola needed the legal status of a full-fledged university in order to take advantage of university-level financing required to finance borrowing for operational expenses.

Loyola's Bargaining Power

As in the past, as an institution of higher learning, Loyola was still in the business of attracting qualified students to attend the college; or to attract faculty to teach at the college; or to convince the government that it was really receiving benefits for which it ought to pay; and so on. Since 1969, this business of making itself as attractive an educational institution as possible has been one in which the college, for the most part, has had to bargain with potential students, professors, or the government; and it has become increasingly competitive. In order to better understand how competitive this business of being an attractive educational institution has become it may be instructive to examine the importance

¹⁶It is interesting to note that in 1974, for a second time, the Council of Universities, commenting on the merger of Loyola and Sir George, again expressed doubts about the use of Loyola for university-level education. Citing many reasons, the Council advised Cloutier that it "could not in good faith be totally in favor of the merger." The provincial government, again, as in 1972, overrode the Council's recommendations and approved the creation of Concordia University. See Margot Gibb-Clark, "Council of Universities Opposed: Concordia Okay Overrode Objections," Montreal Star, 16 August 1974.

placed on student enrolment by colleges and universities throughout Quebec, across Canada and the United States.

Given the anticipated decline in student enrolment and the importance of enrolment forecasts in the setting of university and college grants by the government, described above, one can see that enrolment during the 1970s had become a number one priority when the very survival of institutions of higher learning depended on their ability to attract more students. The competition between Loyola, Sir George, and McGill can only be described as fierce. Indeed, it is interesting to note that during the course of debate over the Council of Universities' 1972 report, discussed earlier, many suggested that McGill, a member of the Council, had influenced the Council's recommendations on Loyola. They argued that since the Council is composed among others of the heads of Quebec's universities, the Council was not a disinterested party to the assessment of Loyola's future. They reasoned that if Loyola would have been forced to close and its students left with no choice but to attend McGill or Sir George, these two institutions would have received the provincial grants accompanying each student. ¹⁷

¹⁷ Robert Bell's reply to such allegations makes for some extremely interesting reading. He says in part: "Early in May the Council of Universities circulated a draft report on "The Future of Bishop's University and of Loyola", and asked the English language institutions (including Loyola) for opinions or comments on it. A few days later, on May 17, a meeting of the ELPSI committee was held at which Father Malone of Loyola was present. At that meeting I outlined in full the position that I proposed to take before the Council. Two days later at the Council meeting...we presented exactly the same position. I spoke from the same sheet of handwritten notes on both occasions.

A group from Loyola led by Father Malone appeared before the same Council meeting at an earlier time than the McGill group. Thus the Loyola group was not only informed of what McGill's position was to be, but also had the opportunity to argue against it in advance before the Council.

Loyola's bargaining power with the various levels of its external environment between 1969-1974 declined significantly as a result of legal and financial factors.

As has already been noted, political and social conditions in the late 1960s and early 1970s dictated that the government was not going to grant a charter to Loyola. However, the government did actively encourage the federation of Loyola and Sir George Williams, since there was room for only two English-language universities on the Island of Montreal. This government involvement in the federation of Loyola and Sir George would suggest, at least to the writer, that the resolution of Loyola's legal status was not achieved by means of the bargaining process. It may be that it was only possible to find a permanent solution to the college's charter struggle by

What was the McGill position? We first of all assumed that the widely-reported merger talks between Sir George Williams and Loyola would bear fruit, and that a new combined institution would be the result. This had been said by the two institutions themselves in a joint communiqué issued some months ago; we could make no other assumption.... We then specifically emphasized our assumption that the resulting new university would guarantee a continuing presence at the university level for both Loyola and Sir George Williams. We never recommended or discussed the "disappearance" of either institution.

We then pointed out that, given these assumptions, there would be two English-language universities in Montreal, McGill and Loyola-Sir George (to coin a name), each having two campuses, (McGill's second campus is Macdonald College). As a partial step towards solving the CEGEP accommodation problem, we proposed that the second campus in each case be devoted largely to CEGEP purposes....

McGill never said, and the report does not say, that we suggested "a regrouping of the two campuses into one enormous downtown university". We have no such policy. We did not recommend the "abandonment" of Macdonald College or of Loyola. We did not suggest that Loyola students should come to McGill; we did show, using the Council's own figures that Sir George Williams could accommodate all the university-level students from Loyola and hence there would be no need to come to McGill. We expressed no ambition to grow beyond our present size." See Robert Bell, "McGill's Position: Future of Quebec English Language Universities," Gazette, 14 July 1972.

the mechanism of coercion, that is, the government making it clear that: Loyola would not receive a university charter; Loyola would have to work out a common future with Sir George on terms that were mutually acceptable; and that Loyola would negotiate as an equal.¹⁸

It is also interesting to note that further evidence in support of the thesis that a permanent solution to the problem of Loyola's charter struggle was achieved by the mechanism of coercion can be found by examining the way in which the Quebec government used the Council of Universities' 1972 recommendations to speed up merger negotiations between Loyola and Sir George. By keeping the report in circulation, that is, by stopping short of repudiating the report and merely setting it aside as advice dealing with one aspect of an assessment of Loyola's future, the government was able to use the Council's report to speed up merger negotiations between the two institutions that had been dragging on for two years (although it may be argued that this approach may have served to deprive Loyola of much-needed bargaining power during talks with Sir George).

Furthermore, the college was (in an especially bad bargaining position because its ambiguous legal status, that is, its status as a "special case", meant that it could not obtain university-level grants at a time when it was a university in all but name. In order to better understand the link between Loyola's legal status and its financial status, it is important that the reader recall that Loyola was funded differently and a year later than the full-fledged universities in Quebec. As was noted earlier in table 5, Loyola received \$7.8 million for 1973-

¹⁸ This tends to support Bebout and Bredemeier's thesis that bargaining is inherently unstable. See John E. Bebout and Harry C. Bredemeier, "American Cities as Social Systems," Journal of the American Institute of Planners XXIX (May 1963): 65.

74 and \$6.7 million for 1972-73.

In addition, it must also be pointed out that the college's financial problem was made even more difficult because college officials realized that they could not bargain successfully with the government without exploiting its own student clientele. If the college went along with the government's 1971-72 plan to standardize tuition fees across the province, it meant an annual loss of \$380,000 to Loyola unless the government came through with additional money. Without government subsidies to offset this predicted loss in tuition monies, the college found itself in the position of defeating its own educational purposes by driving students away to alternative institutions such as Sir George and McGill because certain faculties and departments (engineering and communication arts) would not have the necessary funding required to operate efficiently.

It is interesting to note that in the past Loyola had set fairly high tuition fees, but at least it could be argued that its students were receiving a high quality education for which they ought to pay.

As a result, Loyola had to turn to the government with the full knowledge that it possessed only limited bargaining power, due to its failure to obtain a university charter (even though the status of a "special case" had helped its position somewhat since it meant that it was considered alone rather than as part of the whole plan for institutions of higher learning in the province) as compared to the other CEGEPs, colleges and universities in Quebec.

Finally, when Loyola turned to Quebec for financial aid, it found that there was a tendency on the part of the government to shy away from funding the college because of other educational priorities in the province.

During the 1970s educational institutions in the province were hard hit by increased capital and operating

expenditures, reflected by higher staff salaries and increased maintenance costs. Although Quebec included special grants to help the universities cope with inflation, and grants for the schools' operating costs, college and university officials continued to warn the government of deficits unless Quebec made more money available.¹⁹

At a time when public subsidies determined the very survival of a CEGEP, college or university, Loyola, perhaps more than other educational institutions, found itself compelled to achieve a greater level of fiscal efficiency as it sought to bargain with its external environment for what it needed.

This is the background of Loyola between 1969-1974. In the following chapter the writer will discuss the specific situational adjustments made by Loyola in response to its external environment.

¹⁹ An examination of statements made by various university administrators across the province when asked to comment on grants from the provincial government makes for some extremely interesting reading:

"Sir George vice rector Sheldon described the 1974-75 grant as "in itself clearly insufficient to provide a balanced budget in these times of escalating expenses."

A spokesman for McGill described its grant as "Close to what we had been assuming...."

Bishop's Comptroller Jean-Luc Gregoire said the university was "quite pleased" with its grant. "We can get along normally on that next year," without incurring a deficit, he said.

Laval University information officer André Desmartis said "for the moment we do not foresee any large deficit this year, but our management is extremely strict because we're just recovering from a \$1.6 million deficit incurred over the past few years." See Gordon Barthos, "McGill, SGWU Face Deficits After Grants," Gazette, 1 May 1974.

CHAPTER VI
A CASE OF SITUATIONAL ADJUSTMENT

The college's survival as a specialized anglophone institution of higher learning between 1969-1974 is the subject of this chapter. Utilizing the concept of situational adjustment, an attempt is made to identify those college-wide administrative and curriculum changes made necessary by the external pressures, described in the previous two chapters. In other words, this chapter looks at behaviour at the role level in situations where decisions were made by the college's Jesuit administration as Loyola sought to gain a degree of control over its environment.

The Jesuits

Since situational adjustment is not necessarily always an individual process, but a group one, and since this chapter examines the situation in which the Jesuits found themselves at Loyola and their reaction to it, it seems appropriate at the outset to briefly discuss the Jesuits and their involvement in higher education.

The ability of Loyola to sustain its growth in an increasingly nationalist and secular Quebec raises what is perhaps the most important sociological question to emerge from this study: What enabled a Jesuit-inspired anglophone institution to survive despite marginal governmental support and a shaky degree-granting status? The question takes on even greater importance when one considers the constraints of the college's environment. It must

be remembered that the environment of which Loyola is a part exercised formidable constraints over the college, because it determined the legitimacy or illegitimacy of Loyola's various activities at any given point in time.

The answering of this question is harder than it may sound, particularly when tangible answers are so difficult to arrive at. However, an examination of Loyola's historical development makes this task a little more manageable. The history suggests that the thread woven through the college's development is the Jesuit style, that is, Jesuitical respect for learning and individual development within a God-oriented context, resulting in an openness to the demands and realities of a secular age.¹

It is interesting to note that Jencks and Riesman have described the Jesuits as follows: "Always involved, often controversial, never monastic, the Jesuits have long been the Church's most worldly teaching order and the most responsive to new developments in the secular academic world."²

Loyola throughout its crises-filled history has shown it can adapt itself to change. Like the Jesuits themselves, it would appear that Loyola can be manipulated by its environment and yet end up integrating the environment into its own philosophy and character. This adaptation to its situation is the hallmark of Loyola's ability

¹T. P. Slattery, Loyola and Montreal: A History (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1962); Dick MacDonald, "Loyola: Flexibility the Operative Word," Montreal Star, 6 November 1971; "Fr. Malone Resigns," Loyola Alumnus, April 1974; R. P. Duder, interview held with former Secretary of the Board of Trustees of Loyola, and Assistant to the President Father Malone, S. J., Montreal, Quebec, February 1977; and W. J. Cozens, interview held with Director of Loyola's Centre for Continuing Education, Montreal, Quebec, February 1977.

²Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1968), p. 389.

to survive.

Loyola and its Situational Adjustments

In this section the writer will confine himself to a discussion of the internal situational adjustments made by Loyola as a result of various environmental pressures.

Loyola's Equivalent CEGEP Programme. Earlier it was noted that the Quebec government decided to alter the educational system's aims and priorities in a sweeping series of reforms--for example, its decision to create the CEGEPs designed to be an intermediate level between high school and the universities. The decision to create this new level of post-secondary education required far-reaching changes in the system's academic structure, in the curriculum, in faculty, in facilities, and the placement of students within the structure. In short, virtually every component in the province's system of post-secondary education was substantially affected by the creation of the CEGEP system.

In the 1969-70 academic year Loyola introduced the Collegial or CEGEP programme. Because the collegial programme at Loyola was to be of a temporary nature, it was designed to fit into the college's structure, and as a result students had to enter one of the four faculties. In the light of the aims of the CEGEP system, that is, the objective of insuring a level of education designed to prepare the individual for adequate participation in a modern industrial society, this enrolment procedure may have undermined the objectives of the system, but this was not so in most cases where students were allowed to change faculty at the end of the first collegial year, particularly if the electives were selected with such a possibility in mind. In other words, a first-year student at Loyola only had to select a general area dictated by his particular faculty; it was only in the third year, that is, First Year University, that a choice of a part-

icular discipline had to be made. On this matter Mr. W. J. Cozens, Director of the Collegial Programme during its first few years, said that the pre-university courses offered the student "a high degree of transferability that he might switch faculties upon completion of the two-year programme."³

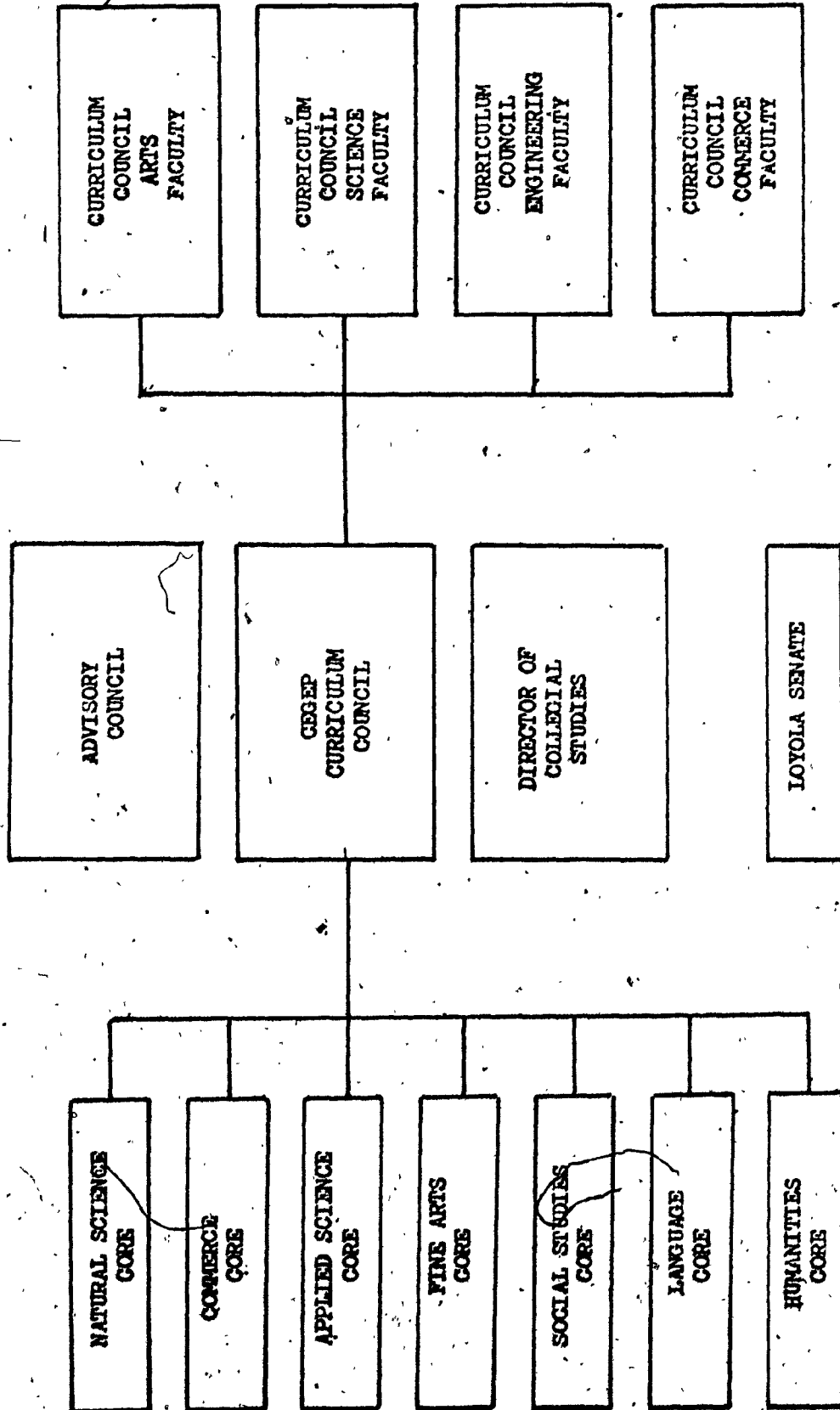
In 1972, CEGEP reform, instituted by the Loyola Students' Association, was approved by the college Senate. Its main changes were the abolition of compulsory subjects,⁴ the non-fail grading system, and a Student Advisory Council.

Instead of the traditional four faculties which had existed at the CEGEP level at Loyola since 1969, the programme was reorganized into seven core areas for purposes of developing the programme and for providing better opportunities for students and faculty to meet for discussion of common concerns. Each core elected a Curriculum Council (half students, half teachers), and then each council selected a student and teacher to form the CEGEP Curriculum Committee to which the University Faculty Council was permitted to send representatives. It should be noted that it was the CEGEP Curriculum Committee which authorized CEGEP course offerings from this point in 1972 until 1974, when Loyola phased out its equivalent CEGEP programme. Furthermore, it must also be pointed out that each core area was composed of all teachers and students in the areas of study represented in the core, but the

³ Interview with Mr. W. J. Cozens; and "Loyola Juniors to Lack Status," Montreal Star, 28 May 1969.

⁴ Concerning the abolition of compulsory courses, the policy of the Advisory Council was to encourage students to study a broad range of courses with provision made to focus on areas of interest. However, students who wished to enter specific university programmes were strongly encouraged to elect courses best suited to their plans, since university-level departments at Loyola and elsewhere insisted that students meet a number of compulsory entrance requirements.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CEGEP SYSTEM



Source: Loyola Student Association Handbook 1972-73 (Loyola of Montreal)

core was not an administrative structure as such in which the students had to register for courses. ⁵

This refining of the CEGEP programme entailed new systems of marking, course revisions, reduction or elimination of mandatory courses; and it marked yet another effort on the part of Loyola to come to grips with the changing nature of the province's educational system. At the very least, the creation of a more flexible collegial programme which allowed the students a wider choice in course selection may have contributed, perhaps indirectly, to the college's ability to record an increase in its student enrolment at a time when many colleges and universities were experiencing declining enrolments, and government grants depended on the number of students an institution was able to attract. As the reader will see in greater detail below, of all the English-language institutions of higher learning in Quebec only Loyola during the period 1969-1974 showed a significant increase in student enrolment.

Non-renewal of contracts. Earlier it was noted that Loyola had to submit budgets, student enrolment forecasts, and so on, to the Department of Education for approval. Obviously, this type of control provided the provincial government with an effective means for controlling the dependence-independence level of the college at any given point in time. Indeed, in the fall of 1969 the college's administration was faced with the very real responsibility of conforming to a variety of norms set down by the government and of making the appropriate situational adjustments, that is, developing rational means for coping with these norms. For the purposes of this discussion of the non-renewal of contracts the writer will discuss two categories of non-renewals: (1) staff cutbacks

⁵ Interview with Mr. W. J. Cozens; and "Organization of the CEGEP System," Loyola Student Association Handbook 1972-73 (Loyola of Montreal).

due to student enrolment projections and budgetary constraints; and (2) the upgrading of academic standards and the replacement of teaching personnel holding only B.A.s.⁶

First, let us consider the non-renewal of contracts due to cutbacks arrived at on the basis of student enrolment projections and budgetary constraints.

The total projected enrolment for the 1970-71 academic year was arrived at in a series of meetings during October 1969 between the Budget Committee of Loyola, the Committee of Deans, and the Space Committee. These committees predicted a student enrolment of approximately four thousand. Each dean was then supposed to see the chairman of each department in order to arrive at recommendations, taking into account the average course load per department, obligatory courses no longer required, projected enrolment in the department, Loyola Faculty Manual regulations,⁷ and CAUT (Canadian Association of University Teachers) Guidelines. Department chairmen were then to make recommendations in writing by December 10, 1969, but it must be noted that most recommendations were agreed upon between the chairmen and their deans at an earlier date and had been relayed to the office of the Academic Vice-President. If any disagreements arose, it

⁶ Professor Meyer, in his discussion of the non-renewal of contracts, includes a third category: persons hired for one year only as temporary replacements. Contracts falling into this category have not been discussed in this study since they are not, at least in the writer's opinion, part of the college's response to environmental pressures. Rather, they seem to be the result of confusion in the minds of many as a result of the college's failure to spell out the parameters of contracts given to persons being hired as temporary replacements for staff on leave. See Perry Meyer, Inquiry into the Situation at Loyola College with Special Reference to the Non-Renewal of Contracts (Montreal: Loyola of Montreal, [1970]), p. 55.

⁷ According to Professor Meyer: "Under the terms of the Faculty Manual the College was obliged to notify any teacher whose contract would not be renewed by December 15, 1969." Ibid., p. 50.

was understood that the Academic Vice-President would meet with the department chairman concerned, and this was subsequently done in several cases where cutbacks were involved. ⁸

⁸At the heart of Loyola's 1969 disturbances was the administration's decision to not renew the contracts of nearly thirty faculty members. Yet it must be noted that generally there was an atmosphere of tension and polarization of what many have called the Left and the Right.

This atmosphere of tension must be seen in the light of the college's development, in the writer's opinion. Because of its history, the college developed a three-pronged government structure, unlike its secular counterparts. A seven-member Jesuit Board of Trustees owned Loyola, although traditionally it used little of its power. From there came a lay board of governors and an elected senate, the latter responsible for academic affairs.

Because of the college's efforts to obtain a university charter throughout its history, the college community inevitably pulled together in times of serious crises. However, there have been internal conflicts at the college. In 1968, the Board of Trustees revealed that new statutes were being drawn up and were nearly ready for approval. These new statutes were designed to transfer some of the Board of Trustees' legal authority to the lay board of governors. Immediately students and faculty expressed their opposition, demanding an opportunity to participate in the revision of the statutes. Subsequently, Father Malone gave into this pressure and announced that such an opportunity would be given to the Loyola community as a whole.

Paramount in both the statutes debate of 1968 and the non-renewal of contracts crisis of 1969 were the issues of so-called academic freedom and the role of the college's administration. Indeed, the 1969 non-renewal of contracts conflict had deteriorated to the point where McGill University Professor Perry Meyer was brought in by the Department of Education to cool matters down. In his report Professor Meyer said that there was a breakdown in communications between the departments involved and the administration, primarily the English department. In his report he also noted that many believed a purge of persons associated with the Left was being conducted. On the other hand, as the reader has seen in the previous two chapters, the college was experiencing financial problems, staff/student ratios imposed by Quebec, and cutbacks seemed the only situational response open to Loyola. See the following: "Student Democracy at Work: Loyola Cancels Classes to Study Decision-Making," Montreal Star, 24 Oct-

Furthermore, as was noted earlier, a key factor was the staff/student ratio set by the Department of Education. Recall at this point that the College was given to understand that an acceptable average class size was thirty students. As a result of the average class size imposed on Loyola, the administration found itself in the very difficult position of having to reduce the size of classes in departments with a much higher figure; and in those departments with smaller classes, where an increase in class size was required, having to cutback staff.⁸

At this point it may be instructive to examine a number of cases, since the cases in any given department often bear a strong resemblance to each other.

The Department of Classics had agreed to drop from six full-time professors in 1969-70 to five in 1970-71, because of the abolition of a required course which had seven sections of approximately one hundred students each. This course (Classics 221) included such a large proportion of the students in the department that accurate projections for the future, once the course became voluntary, were extremely difficult to make. As a result, it would appear that the need to cutback from six to five professors was the only logical situational adjustment for the college, given the trend in class enrolment.¹⁰

In the case of the Department of Theology a staff-cutback was made necessary because of the dropping of a required course. As a result, the department felt obliged not to renew the contracts of four of its members, because

ober 1968; Terence Moore, "Catholicity Challenged: Loyola's Religious Role Sparks Debate," Montreal Star, 25 November 1968; David J. O'Brien, "Loyola Soul-Searching: Future of Catholic Colleges," Montreal Star, 7 December 1968; and Meyer, Inquiry into the Situation at Loyola, pp. 18-21.

⁹Ibid., pp. 51-53.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 55.

of the projected decrease in student enrolment.¹¹

In the Department of Philosophy the reason for the non-renewal of contracts was the need to reduce the size of the staff due to an expected drop in the department's courses from approximately 2,700 students to approximately two thousand students.¹²

Without going into details, since the English Department involved the greatest number of non-renewals, one may state that the grounds for non-renewal of the university-level professors were basically budgetary and based on enrolment projections.¹³

From the above discussion of the non-renewal of contracts on the basis of student enrolment projections and budgetary constraints, one can surely appreciate the enormous pressure under which the college's administration had to operate. Clearly last minute decisions on the part of the Quebec government to impose a class size of thirty students on the college only served to complicate Loyola's already precarious financial position. In the light of such enormous pressure, one must admire the ability of the college to adapt itself as well as it did to its environment.

When discussing the non-renewal of contracts, one must examine those contracts falling into the category of: upgrading of academic standards and the replacement of personnel holding B.A.s.

At a time when Loyola was struggling to convince the government that the province was receiving benefits for which it ought to pay, the college's administration realized that if it wanted to bargain successfully for what it needed, it had to polish up its bargaining counters. In order to improve its bargaining position with

¹¹Ibid., pp. 62-63.

¹²Ibid., p. 66.

¹³Ibid., pp. 71-73, and pp. 83-86.

the government the college's administration felt that academic qualifications, that is, graduate degrees, were a key bargaining counter since they appeared to be the 'only criterion by which the academic quality of Loyola could be judged by its environment which was not completely familiar with its internal structure. As a result, the administration felt justified in taking action in this area.¹⁴ Indeed, the one case in the Department of Sociology¹⁵ and the eleven cases in the Department of English¹⁶ involving instructors teaching at the level of the CEGEP programme, indicate that the college initiated what it felt to be the most appropriate action in this area of upgrading the academic credentials of Loyola in the hope that it would polish up the institution's environmental image.

Student enrolment. Earlier in this chapter it was noted that despite predictions of declining enrolment at Quebec's English-language institutions of higher learning, Loyola, during the 1970s, continued to experience record enrolments. Tables 6 and 7 provide the actual 1971-72 enrolment statistics as compared with a forecast made in 1970, and they suggest that at a time when an institution's very survival depended on the number of students it was able to attract, Loyola was doing better than most

¹⁴Ibid., p. 79. According to Professor Meyer: "...I am prepared to accept the principle...that for purposes of general credibility in the academic community as a whole, it is essential for Loyola to upgrade its academic standards." Ibid., p. 61.

¹⁵Commenting on the one case in the Department of Sociology, Professor Meyer writes: "There has not been any question of cutting back this department which is in a period of growth and in fact may engage additional faculty for the 1970-71 year. The only problem which arises in the present case is the question of...academic qualifications...in the light of the Faculty Manual requirement which imposes a minimum of the degree of M.A. or some equivalent qualification." Ibid., p. 60.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 77-83.

TABLE 6
FINAL STUDENT ENROLMENT 1971-72
AS OF SEPTEMBER 17, 1971

	1970-71 Actual	1971-72 Actual	1971-72 Forecast	Diff from Forecast
ARTS				
Coll I	432	561	429	+132
Coll II	590	493	398	+ 95
Un I	753	UN II 551	613	- 62
Un IV	465	700	695	+ 5
TOTALS	2240	2305	2136	+170
COMM				
Coll I	109	223	112	+111
Coll II	154	157	108	+ 49
Un I	174	UN II 180	142	+ 38
Un IV	119	164	150	+ 14
TOTALS	556	724	512	+212
ENG'G				
Coll I	44	48	48	-
Coll II	29	37	31	+ 6
Un I	35	UN II 23	23	-
Un IV	21	26	23	+ 3
TOTALS	129	134	125	+ 9
SCIENCE				
Coll I	258	264	255	+ 9
Coll II	217	205	182	+ 23
Un I	234	UN II 170	175	- 5
Un IV	165	223	216	+ 7
TOTALS	874	862	828	+ 34
GRAND Totals				
Coll I	843	1096	844	+252
Coll II	990	892	719	+173
Un I	1196	UN II 924	UN I 953	- 29
UN IV	770	1113	UNIV 1084	+ 29
TOTALS	3865	4025	3600	1425
TOTAL COL	1833	+20* 1988	1563	+425
TOTAL UNIV	1966	+46 2037	2037	-
GRAND TOTAL	3799	+66= 4025	3600	+425
	3865			

* Special +P/T Students not in degree course.

Source: The Enrolment Forecast Committee, Report on Enrolment Forecast 1972-73 and Results of Actual 1971-72 Enrolment Compared with Forecast Made in October 13, 1970 (Loyola of Montreal, November 1971).

TABLE 7
CURRENT ENROLMENT 1971-72 AND OCTOBER 1970 FORECAST

	Forecast	Actual	Difference	Adjusted
Coll I	844	1096	+252	+367
Coll II	719	892	+173	+ 58
Univ. I	953	924	- 29	- 29
Univ. IV	1084	1113	+ 29	+ 29
Total	3600	4025	425	425

Source: The Enrolment Forecast Committee, Report on Enrolment Forecast 1972-73 and Results of Actual 1971-72 Enrolment Compared with Forecast Made in October 13, 1970 (Loyola of Montreal, November 1971).

in that it was able to steadily increase the size of its student body.

When attempting to account for Loyola's ability to record an increase in its student enrolment, one may suggest that a large increase in pre-university collegial enrolment may have been due to fewer students electing the vocational training. It is interesting to note that only 12.3 percent elected the technical training whereas earlier forecasts had anticipated that 17.4 percent would have elected it. In addition, according to Grendon Haines, Director of Admissions at Loyola, the increase in the college's enrolment "is due in part to transfer students and to older students returning to university programs. University structures...allow students to leave and continue on at a later date and many are doing this."¹⁷

But the above, however, does not show the whole

¹⁷ Gordon Campbell, "The Community College in Canada," Universities and Colleges in Canada, ed. R. A. Cavan (Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1970), pp. 27-29; The Enrolment Forecast Committee, Report on Enrolment Forecast 1972-73 and Results of Actual 1971-72 Compared with Forecast Made in October 13, 1970 (Montreal: Loyola of Montreal, (1971)); and "Loyola Enrolment Soars," Loyola Alumnus, October 1973.

of what must be looked at when examining the college's ability to increase its student population in the 1970s. Once again it is instructive to consider how the college developed its bargaining counters as part of this business of becoming an attractive educational institution to qualified students. For the purposes of the present study the college's bargaining counters are discussed under the following: (1) revised admission standards; (2) curriculum changes; and (3) new systems of marking.

One may suggest that a large enrolment in pre-university collegial I may have contributed to the college's ability to increase its student enrolment. It is interesting to note that after 1971, as a result of a modification in Loyola's admission requirements, many students were accepted on probation, that is, eight papers instead of ten; and others were accepted with averages of between sixty and sixty-four percent. Neither of these two groups, it must be stressed, would have been accepted under Loyola's pre-1971 admission requirements. Indeed, as a result of this change in admission standards, approximately four hundred additional students were admitted into pre-university college I for the 1971-72 academic year.¹⁸

Generally speaking between 1969-1974, the college made changes in its curriculum, entailing course revisions, the creation of new programmes, the reduction or elimination of mandatory courses, for example, the phasing out in such areas as classics, philosophy, and theology, resulting in a more flexible programme at both the CEGEP and university levels.

More specifically, when looking at the college's academic development between 1969-1974, one must examine the important role of the summer school, run by the Evening Division. In 1971, the summer school offered 146 full

¹⁸ The Enrolment Forecast Committee, Report on Enrolment Forecast 1972-73.

courses and twenty-eight half courses, most of them leading to degree credits. In 1971, three new courses designed primarily for teachers were on the calendar. These were Functions, a mathematics course; Summer Institute in Biology; and an experimental programme in communication. In addition, an intensive six-week Summer Institute in French language was offered. In 1972, the college's summer school offered 145 full courses and fifty-one half courses in the faculties of arts, commerce and science, as well as diploma programmes in the faculty of commerce and special diplomas in library technology and quality control. Once again, the summer school offered an intensive six-week French language programme which attracted students from all parts of North America. In 1973, the Loyola summer school calendar listed a total of 157 full and fifty-five half courses, forty of which were first-time offerings. There were eight special programmes including Summer Institutes in Biology, Canadian Studies, Drama, French, Mathematics, Elementary Science and Theology. Several institutes were specifically designed to meet the needs of elementary and high school teachers. Others such as Canadian Studies, Drama, and French were open to any student interested in the area. New courses were offered in Art, Biology, Bio-Physical Education, Chemistry, Classics, English, French, Geography, German, Italian, Spanish, Psychology, Health Education, History and Theology.¹⁹

In addition, in 1972 and 1973, the departments of Bio-Physical Education and Fine Arts were established. In short, by 1974, Loyola's faculties of Arts, Science, Commerce and Engineering had twenty-four departments of-

¹⁹ Evening Division and Summer School: Summer Session, 1971, 1972, 1973 (Loyola of Montreal); "Loyola Summer School," Loyola Alumnus, May 1972; and "Loyola Summer School Expands: Forty New Courses," Loyola Alumnus, March 1973.

fering a total of 988 courses. ²⁰

From the above one thing is clear. Loyola's ability to increase the size of its student enrolment during a period when the student population at most North American colleges and universities was declining was due to Loyola's tradition of academic excellence. ²¹

When discussing academic development as a means of attracting more students, one final point merits a brief consideration. The decision to expand Loyola's summer school programme was prompted in part by mounting public pressure on the government to force educational institutions to seek ways to increase the use of their campus physical and human resources. Since educational expenditures continued to rise taking a greater total of the budget in Quebec, such public pressure was justified. However, for Loyola, which was in a period of transition, that is, merger talks with Sir George Williams, it was less able to resist these pressures than other more established institutions such as McGill and the University of Montreal. It lacked the ability to fully control, or at the very least to neutralize, rapid organizational situational adjustments from occurring. The college recognized the advantages of expanding its summer school programme. Although the writer is not in possession of any tangible evidence to support his belief that such an expansion ultimately proved to be a strong bargaining counter for the college, there is nonetheless some circumstantial evi-

²⁰ "Fr. Malone Resigns," Loyola Alumnus, April 1974.

²¹ Two sources of data provide further evidence of the college's rapid growth: (1) degrees granted; and (2) the 1973-74 enrolment statistics. Degrees granted to Loyola students climbed from 526 in 1968 to 1,172 in 1972. For the 1973-74 academic year Loyola registered a total of 9,872 students in day and evening courses. Of these 4,672 were registered in fulltime university and collegial II. (Collegial I was no longer offered, since Loyola was in the process of phasing out its equivalent CEGEP programme). See "Fr. Malone Resigns," Loyola Alumnus; and "Loyola Enrolment Soars," Loyola Alumnus.

dence available which suggests that the summer school expansion was viewed by its external environment, particularly by the government, as proof positive that an institution of higher learning was making an effort to use its resources more efficiently. Loyola's summer expansion was evidence the government could use to answer its critics. Furthermore, the fact that discussion of the proposed federation of Loyola and Sir George took place during the same period of Loyola's continuing expansion of its academic programmes suggests more than mere coincidence. It suggests, at least to the writer, that the two items, academic expansion and affiliation of the two institutions, were linked by all the interested parties (Loyola, SGWU, and the Quebec government) if not officially, then unofficially. ²²

As part of the college's efforts to polish up its image with potentially qualified students, a new system of marking was introduced at Loyola. In order to encourage students to broaden their education, it became the policy at the college that, except in special programmes, a student who needed fifteen credits for his or her degree, could not take any more than nine courses in any one discipline. So that the student would not feel threatened by such a regulation, the college introduced a "pass-fail" grading system for the courses a student took outside his or her main discipline. ²³

The creation of Concordia University. When discussing the various situational adjustments made by Loyola College between 1969-1974, one must consider in great de-

²²Brian Gallery, in his address as incoming president of the Loyola Alumni Association, said in part: "If Loyola is to negotiate with Sir George from a position of strength, it must maintain its enrolment." See "Brian Gallery's Address as Incoming President," Loyola Alumnus, Vol. I No. 7 (1971).

²³Tim Burke, "New Jesuit Approach Gives Education Facelift," Montreal Star, September 1971.

tail the creation of Concordia University, by Loyola and Sir George Williams University.

At this point it may be helpful to examine, historically, how Loyola and Sir George negotiated the formation of Concordia. For the purposes of this historical account the writer has decided that two stages may be marked out: the first stage, 1969-1972, during which a working model for the new university was developed; and the second stage, 1973-74, during which the working model was converted into a schedule for implementation.

In the previous two chapters the writer has indicated that although Loyola had continually sought a degree-granting university charter of its own over the years, and despite a recommendation by the Parent Commission that it be given a charter, it became increasingly clear to college officials that the government was unlikely to grant full-fledged university status to Loyola. Political and social conditions in the late 1960s and early 1970s dictated that there was room for only two English-language universities on the Island of Montreal. Thus, in the light of such political and social realities, Loyola had to examine its future role within the province's educational system. Among the possible alternatives that the college had to consider were the following: its continuation as an independent institution at the university level or at the CEGEP level; or its survival at the university level in affiliation with some other similar institution.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Committee on the Future of Loyola began the search for a viable association for the college. The task of the Committee was to find an association which would make economic, political, and academic sense while preserving the distinctive organizational character of Loyola.

The Committee rejected association with McGill University, since McGill officials were only interested in either a merger or the transformation of Loyola into a

CEGEP. Organizational difficulties at the University of Quebec and declining enrolment at Bishop's University made an early affiliation with either institution improbable. After much study and discussion, the Committee concluded that association with Sir George Williams University offered the best prospect of a federation of equals.²⁴

The Committee then prepared a proposal which outlined in general terms the shape of such a federation. This proposal was subsequently approved by Loyola's Senate and the Board of Governors of Sir George as a basis for further negotiations.²⁵

On January 19, 1972, at a meeting of the joint Committee of members of Loyola's Board of Trustees and Sir George's Board of Governors, a number of sub-committees were set up: one to investigate the legal implications of a union, and the other to study the financial aspects. An ad-hoc committee was also formed to suggest further administrative and academic sub-committees, their composition and terms of reference.

²⁴ During the preliminary talks between Loyola and Sir George three possible forms of union were given serious consideration: merger, which would have made the two institutions into one university; federation, which would have made them semi-autonomous partners with one university charter; and affiliation, which would have made Loyola a college of Sir George, operating under Sir George's charter. It must be noted that a total merger of the two institutions was rejected. See the following: "Loyola, Sir George may Unite," Montreal Star, 18 November 1968; Terence Moore, "May Integrate Facilities: SGWU, Loyola Set Full Merger Talks," Montreal Star, 4 December 1968; "Negotiators Reject Loyola-SGWU Merger," Gazette, 1 May 1969; Interview with Mr. R. P. Duder; and J. S. Dorrance, interview held with former Loyola's Director of Development, Montreal, Quebec, February 1977.

²⁵ "Loyola Tries 'Sampling' SGWU Federation Schedule," Gazette, 22 January 1970; Derek Hill and Gerry Flaherty, "Loyola, Sir George may Merge in 1972," Gazette, 21 September 1971; "Sir George and Loyola," Gazette, 23 September 1971; "Merger Coming Closer for Loyola and SGWU," Gazette, 18 November 1971; and "Loyola, SGWU to Step Up Work on Merger Shortly," Gazette, 16 December 1971.

In March 1972, the eleven-point guidelines for negotiations leading to the establishment of a new university were announced by ~~Rev.~~ Stanley Drummond, S. J., Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Loyola College and C. A. Duff, Chairman of the Board of Governors of Sir George Williams University. The guidelines called for the creation of a new university under a single charter with one governing board, one senate, and one chief executive officer. The guidelines further stated that the two institutions would negotiate as equals. In addition, the university was to be composed of two campuses with an institutional structure that would preserve the educational traditions of both schools which proved academically valuable and financially feasible. Administrative structures were to be integrated where possible, but there was to be appropriate decentralization where this was required to ensure efficient service to the university community.²⁶

On September 21, 1972, an eleven-page document entitled "A Model for the New University", drawn up by the joint Loyola-Sir George Negotiating Committee, was released to the two campuses by their respective boards.

The Model received mixed reactions. At Loyola considerable concern was expressed over the sections of the document outlining the futures of Loyola's Faculty of Science and Faculty of Commerce. As a result of this concern, three changes were made before the document received final approval in November 1972. The Loyola Science Faculty was allowed to offer an honours programme through the 1974-75 academic year while a committee would be set up to make recommendations on the future of science at both Loyola and Sir George. The word "College" was dropped from the name of the new Loyola Faculty which was to be

²⁶A good summary of the guidelines may be found in "Loyola-Sir George Union Guidelines Announced," Loyola Alumnus, May 1972. Also see "Guidelines Ready Soon for SGWU-Loyola Merger," Gazette, 4 March 1972.

called in the future the "Loyola Faculty of Arts and Science". And finally, the composition of the new university senate was altered to include eight representatives from the Sir George Faculty of Arts and seven from Loyola's Faculty of Arts and Science. Areas about which Loyola's Commerce Faculty had expressed concern were settled by a letter of intent between Loyola and Sir George Commerce Faculties stating that both institutions would become part of a single new university-wide Faculty.²⁷

With the acceptance of the revised Model, the new university was a step nearer. This acceptance meant an end to the first round of negotiations between the two institutions. The negotiators had a Model which they could convert into a schedule for implementation.

From the above description of the first phase of the negotiations between the two institutions it is possible to identify two basic steps that were taken in this process of situational adjustment: (1) the definition of objectives; and (2) the development of a working model for the new university.

It is logical to suggest that the determination of objectives was the initial and most important step taken by Loyola in the early preliminary talks with Sir George, since objectives are the reasons for the existence of organizations. Furthermore, the objectives and purposes of the early discussions became the "yardstick" against which all future negotiations were evaluated. It must also be remembered that the passing down of specific objectives from the administration to other levels of both

²⁷ Jay Newquist, "Loyola and SGWU to Pool Engineering, Commerce Faculties," Gazette, 21 September 1972; Hilda Kearns, "Loyola, SGWU Merger Would Divide Faculties," Montreal Star, 22 September 1972; Jay Newquist, "Public Help Asked in Loyola-Sir George Merger," Gazette, 22 September 1972; "Loyola, SGWU Agree," Montreal Star, 22 November 1972; and Jay Newquist, "Loyola, Sir George Approve University Merger Terms," Gazette, 22 November 1972.

the Loyola and Sir George communities set specific targets for the detailed planning efforts undertaken by various internal committees on both campuses.²⁸ In other words, the objective of the preliminary talks between the two institutions was to examine ways in which some sort of an affiliation between them could enhance the quality of English-language university education through the integration of the facilities and services of both institutions.

Having determined the objectives of the negotiations, the two institutions got down to the business of developing a model for the setting up of the new university. In this phase of the negotiations the various internal committees on both campuses set forth the nature and relationships of the supporting objectives which had to be determined in order to realize the prime objective. The model for the new university, approved in November 1972, considered such areas as: the creation of a new university under a single charter, the two-campus structure, the structuring of the various faculties, and so on.

With the acceptance of the Model, the joint negotiating committees of both institutions went on to the next phase of the merger talks. In this second major phase, which covered a period of a little more than a year and a half between January 1973 and August 1974, when the government finally approved the establishment of Concordia University,²⁹ the two institutions found themselves en-

²⁸ Max Weber, "The Essentials of Bureaucratic Organization: An Ideal-Type Construction," Reader in Bureaucracy, eds. Robert K. Merton et al. (New York: The Free Press, 1952), pp. 18-27.

²⁹ It was expected that the government, which had instigated the union talks, would give quick approval to the creation of the new university. However, government approval was held up by legal arguments over how the chartering of Concordia University was to be accomplished. Government lawyers felt debate in the National Assembly was required while outside legal opinion held the view

gaged in intensive negotiations designed to bridge the gap from the planning stage to the actual implementation of the model, already approved in late 1972. In other words, during this period the various internal committees considered the competition for available resources (mainly financial) both within and between programmes in the light of various external environmental factors, such as student enrolment projections and governmental support to the new institution.

In order to better understand the dynamics involved in the bridging of the gap from the planning stage to the implementation stage, it may be instructive at this point to briefly review the results of the 1973-74 negoti-

that an order-in-council would be enough. More specifically, Quebec had three major steps to take in amending the Sir George charter before the union of the two institutions existed in fact: (1) Loyola's debts had to be guaranteed during the transitional period; (2) Loyola's assets, that is, the payment of about three million dollars to the Corporation of Jesuit Fathers of Upper Canada for their contribution to Loyola property, had to be settled and transferred to Sir George; and (3) the name "Sir George Williams University" had to be changed to "Concordia". Finally, in August 1974, three orders-in-council were passed, resulting in the legal recognition of Concordia University.

In addition, it must be noted that although delay of the merger was caused by legal difficulties, there were also political considerations. The Liberals' original reason for waiting to avoid debate in the National Assembly, prior to the 1973 provincial election, was due to opposition to the merger from the Parti Québécois.

Recall that in July, 1972, Quebec's Council of Universities had recommended that Loyola close by July, 1975. At that time the PQ had stated that it agreed with the Council's report.

So did the Association of Professors of the University of Montreal. It too felt that university-level education in the Montreal area should be limited to Sir George and McGill. Interview with Mr. J. S. Dorrance. Also see the following sources: "PQ Backs Loyola Phase-Out Proposal," Montreal Star, 14 July 1972; David Allnutt, "Quebec Joins Talks on Loyola Merger," Montreal Star, 15 August 1972; Margot Gibb-Clark, "Professors at U of M Oppose Concordia," Montreal Star, 27 November 1973; and "Campus Politics," Montreal Star, 28 November 1973.

ations.

Negotiations to implement the approved model became seriously bogged down during 1973-74, while Quebec considered the merger plans of Loyola and Sir George. Indeed, after almost two years of intensive negotiations the two institutions found it impossible to make any significant joint progress, and as a result the atmosphere on both campuses grew worse as both institutions became increasingly concerned with protecting their own particular interests.

More specifically, by August 1974, negotiators had only managed to produce the following results: a joint board of governors and a university senate; a limited integration of top-level administrative personnel and services was accomplished; though Loyola and Sir George continued to function independently; agreements in principle had been negotiated arranging two separate Arts and Science faculties at each campus, and a common Engineering Faculty; negotiations over the structure of the Commerce Faculty were still incomplete; there had been a limited exchange of financial information between administrations; and limited cooperation on such matters as programme planning, fund raising, student recruitment and admission policies. As a result when the merger was finally approved in August 1974 by the Quebec government, both Loyola and Sir George had organized to carry on as in the past for the 1974-75 school year. Indeed, there was no money made available for Concordia when the operating grants for the 1974-75 academic year were announced; and it has only been within the last year, at least in the investigator's opinion, that the character of a university that is markedly Concordia has emerged. ³⁰

³⁰ "Concordia: Apprehension Plus Optimism," Loyola Alumnus, September 1973; "Merger Still Moving Forward," Loyola Alumnus, October 1973; "A Christmas Message From Father President," Loyola Alumnus, December 1973; "The Continuing Confrontation: Remarks of Rev. P. G. Malone to

From the above description of the 1973-74 talks, the reader may perhaps appreciate the difficulties experienced by the negotiators of both institutions of coming to the realization that both sides would have to accept some short-run losses in order to ultimately gain in the long-run from the creation of Concordia University. This was a necessary process if Concordia was to be made to work.

Finally, in considering this second major stage of the merger negotiations, it is important to recognize one other fact. Many had felt that the Quebec government was going to give immediate approval to the model creating Concordia University after the two institutions had drawn up guidelines outlining the structure of the new institution. However, such government approval was slow in coming, and without knowing how Quebec planned to proceed Loyola and Sir George could only go so far in their negotiations. One official put the matter rather nicely when he said: "Uncertainties about the future are frustrating enough when we know what we are. They are doubly frustrating when we're not quite sure." ³¹

This chapter makes it clear that the process of situational adjustment entailed for Loyola's administration the continuous, intelligent direction of the college

L. S. A.'s "What ever happened to Loyola?" Campaign," Loyola Alumnus, February 1974; "Concordia's Future," Montreal Star, 4 December 1973; Margot Gibb-Clark, "Pessimism over Merger with Loyola Growing at SGWU: Concordia Birth Pains Increasing," Montreal Star, 15 December 1973; Gordon Barthos, "Concordia Wedding Far From Blessing," Gazette, 15 December 1973; "Loyola Students Fight for Merger Revisions," Montreal Star, 31 January 1974; "No Cause for Delay," Montreal Star, 2 February 1974; Gordon Barthos, "Concordia Merger Defended Before 800 Loyola Students," Gazette, 8 February 1974; Gillian Cosgrove, "Many Details Still Not Settled: Concordia Merger Still in Flux," Gazette, 21 August 1974; and Interview with Mr. J. S. Dorrance.

³¹ Cosgrove, "Many Details Still Not Settled".

by determining the objectives of the institution. This function necessarily included a variety of internal responses as Loyola sought to meet the demands of its external environment).

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize briefly the events which have already been described in considerable detail and to suggest the sociological significance of five dimensions; to discuss the limitations of the present study; and to make some suggestions for further sociological investigations.

Five Sociological Dimensions

The sociological events to emerge from the present study of Loyola college have been divided into five interconnected dimensions which provide an understanding of the organization's structure and the kinds of sociological processes that operate within that institution, as well as those similar to it. The dimensions are as follows: (1) historical factors; (2) official and operative goals; (3) the Jesuits and the organizational character of Loyola; (4) environmental influences; and (5) bargaining.

Historical factors. The historical factors which brought Loyola into being can be traced as far back as 1848 when Collège Sainte-Marie was opened. From the foundation of Sainte-Marie as a college for both French and English-speaking students, there had always been a traditional life among those professors and students of the English language of the college which eventually sought independence as the normal fulfilment of its development. The establishment of Loyola College in 1896 was the Jesuits' response to the needs of the English-speaking Cath-

olic community. The reader must keep in mind that around 1900 the college occupied a rather unique position in the province's educational system because it was the only English-speaking Catholic college in Quebec. As a result it had to offer its students a wider variety of courses than the normal French-language classical colleges. Sociologically these historical factors are important because they suggest a relationship between educational institutions such as Loyola and certain educational functions which have been delegated to them by society the knowledge of which adds to the sociologist's understanding of the development of formal organizations.

Official and operative goals of Loyola. The official goals of Loyola, as set out in the 1899 Bill of Incorporation, legally placed the college within the orbit of the classical colleges. Between 1899-1920 the educational system followed at Loyola was that of the Jesuit colleges in the United States and Europe. But because the official goals lacked any correspondent in the real world, given that it was the only English-language Catholic college and that it felt obliged to offer a wider variety of courses than the French-language classical colleges, the official goals were open to change. The operative goals which emerged at Loyola, starting around 1920, reflected the educational realities of the time and they are considerably more important to the sociologist for they allow for an examination of reality as it is, rather than as what it ought to be, at least according to legal statutes and regulations.

The Jesuits and the organizational character of Loyola. Sainte-Marie's English-speaking students, as was noted above, were a definite interest group within the college who, between 1848-1896, actively sought their own identity. With the support of the English-speaking Catholic clergy and laity of Montreal, in 1896 the Jesuits founded Loyola College in order that the English course

could be taught in separate facilities from Sainte-Marie and that it would be under the control of English-speaking educators.

As Loyola's organizational character¹ began to emerge as that of a university college, due to a series of major course reorganizations between 1920-1940, the college began to attract students who were interested in pursuing university-level courses, which in turn, created the need to hire better qualified faculty. After 1940, Loyola began to develop on the level of university life with the creation of the Faculty of Science in 1943, the Faculty of Commerce in 1948, the creation of the Department of Communication Arts in 1965, and so on. These developments added considerable momentum to the college's various efforts to obtain a degree-granting university charter of its own. The notion of organizational character proves to be a means of arriving at an understanding of the various situational adjustments made by Loyola's administration throughout its history. Indeed, the concept has far-reaching sociological implications for the study of many types of formal organizations.

Environmental influences. The ability of Loyola to survive so many threats to its very existence in what many have felt to be an increasingly nationalist and secular Quebec raises what is perhaps the most important sociological question to emerge from this study: What enabled a Jesuit-inspired anglophone college to survive despite marginal government support and a shaky degree-granting status? The question takes on even greater significance when one realizes that McGill University was not subject in the same way as Loyola to the constraints of its environment. The environment of which Loyola was an integral part exercised formidable constraints over the

¹Philip Selznick, TVA and the Grass Roots: A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organizations (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 181-213.

college because it determined the legitimacy or illegitimacy of Loyola's activities. The college's 1966 unsuccessful attempt to establish its own five-year engineering degree programme was considered an illegitimate activity because of uncertainty over the future status of Loyola, which was attempting to upgrade its legal status from that of a classical college to that of a full-fledged university.

Bargaining. The concept of bargaining as it was employed in the present study is an important concept for the sociologist in that it may provide the discipline with a means of better understanding organizational change.

Loyola's development involved the college in a bargaining process with its environment. The creation of Concordia University by Loyola, Sir George, and the Quebec government was the final result of one such round of bargaining. The creation of Concordia did not come about as the end result of a rational decision by the Department of Education, but rather because the establishment of the new university enabled the government to ensure for itself what was a politically more important advantage, that is, the resolution of the Loyola question. No longer did Quebec have to worry about the large number of English-language universities in the province relative to the size of the English-speaking population. Finally, the Bourassa government had dealt with the live corpse which both the Lesage and Union Nationale governments found on their hands and did not know how to handle.

In other less successful rounds of bargaining (the 1967 charter bid resulting in the status of a "special case", which meant that Loyola was funded differently from other educational institutions of higher learning; the 1968 fiscal crisis; the government's 1971-72 plan to standardize tuition fees across the province) the college fell far short of its original objectives in that it was not able to convince its environment of the legitimacy of

its claims. This lack of bargaining power on the part of the college suggests that many of the items were considered to be non-negotiable by various levels of the environment.

Finally, it must be noted that the concept of bargaining was used in close conjunction with the concept of situational adjustment, and together they may prove to be useful when examining the process of change and stability.

Loyola throughout its crises-filled history has shown it can adapt itself to change. Despite financial difficulties, significant changes within the Catholic Church in the 1960s, and changes in Québec during the same period, Loyola continued to survive. Yet, the fact remains that Loyola, perhaps more than other similar institutions of higher learning, was even more vulnerable to social change. Loyola, in responding to the environmental pressures, developed an organizational character, the emergence of which made it possible for the college to make college-wide administrative and curriculum reforms as witnessed by the reorganization of the Board of Trustees to include an equal number of Jesuits and laity; revised admission standards; curriculum changes which entailed course revisions, the creation of new programmes, the reduction or elimination of mandatory courses; the introduction of new systems of marking; and finally, its association with Sir George resulting in the formation of Concordia University.

Thus, the process of change within an organization such as Loyola takes on sociological importance. As a result of the present study it would appear that two observations can be made about change in a formal organization: (1) the process of change requires the continuous, intelligent direction of the organization by its administration; and (2) there need be no rigid pattern of internal responses to which an organization must adhere in meeting the demands of its environment.

Limitations of the Present Study

What the present investigation has not done in a satisfactory manner is to place the development of Loyola within the history of Canada's educational system. As a result, the writer has unfortunately created the impression that the case of Loyola is unique in Canada. But the matter is much more complicated than that.

For one thing economic growth has had an important effect on educational growth. Indeed, there is considerable evidence available to suggest that the post-World War II boom in Canada's economy has brought about a change in Canada's attitude towards education. In recent years governments are spending more and more money on school and university expansion, community colleges, and adult education programmes,²

There are other variables besides economics that the present study has not taken into account. Two broad issues affecting the aims of the Canadian educational system merit a brief mention. These issues are: (1) education versus training; and (2) elite versus mass education.

Research in the United States has established that the structure of education is not only influenced by the prevailing value system, by the growth of the economy, and by the structure of political institutions, but that it is influenced by the class structure of a society.³

These variables suggest a number of important sociological questions, for example: is education adaptive to economic and technical change, or can education itself generate change in these areas? Does the class

²R. A. Cavan, ed. Universities and Colleges in Canada (Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1970); Robin Harris, Quiet Evolution: A Study of the Educational System of Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967); and Pat Duffy Hutcheon, A Sociology of Canadian Education (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd., 1975).

³A. H. Halsey et al., Education, Economy, and Society: A Reader in the Sociology of Education (New York: The Free Press, 1965).

structure inevitably shape the structure and content of education, or could educational change alter the class structure?

Further Sociological Investigations

It is the investigator's hope that the present study will serve as a guideline whereby hypotheses which, if formulated and subsequently tested, could prove valuable in the future to both the sociological and educational fields.

Unfortunately (perhaps it is worth repeating that the sociologist is not guaranteed of absolute success), during the course of the research a number of important sociological questions for which the writer at this time does not have wholly satisfactory answers presented themselves. That is not to say that the investigator has any doubts that these questions can be answered more or less exactly in the future. At this point it seems appropriate to single out several outstanding unanswered questions and offer some tentative answers to them.

Loyola and further sociological research. The clergy has remained a Rome-run body, although it must be noted that local bishops and parish priests have been given a large measure of day-to-day control. The role of Rome in the matter of the Jamdudum privilege, as was noted earlier, is proof positive that all orders and members of the clergy are responsible to Rome.

But, having said this, it must also be noted that education is an exception to this pattern of authority. The various teaching orders, of which the Jesuits are one, have been given a free hand by Rome to define their aims and student clientele as they wish. The result, in short, has been pluralism. The matter is further complicated when one realizes that the various orders have different national origins, different systems of internal control,

different traditions, and so on.⁴

An examination of the events surrounding the founding of the University of Montreal in 1920 suggests, at least to this writer, that the various Catholic orders involved in the province's educational system were engaged in a competitive struggle for students, public monies, and even academic respectability.

In addition, an investigation of the events surrounding the creation of Loyola in 1896 suggests that the Jesuits in Canada did not have a master plan for the operation of their colleges. Indeed, based upon only circumstantial evidence, the writer would suggest that the French and English Jesuits ran their own separate colleges and that communication between them was deliberately limited.⁵

It is interesting to note that in September of 1969 membership on Loyola's Board of Trustees was increased from seven to fifteen Jesuits. This expansion was significant because it marked the first time in the college's history that members from outside the Loyola campus were included on the Board. Among those named were Jesuits on the faculties of the University of Toronto and the University of Guelph, the Academic Vice-President of Saint Mary's University in Halifax, as well as two members of the French-Canadian Jesuit Province--Reverend

⁴ Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1968), pp. 343-344.

⁵ The investigator was able to learn very little about Loyola's relations with its Jesuit headquarters in Toronto. During the course of the research the writer learned of an attempt in April of 1968 to replace Father Malone. It seems that the Jesuit Provincial, Rev. Angus Macdougall, felt that the time was right for such a change in order that further curriculum changes could be made. When the lay board of governors received word of this anticipated move, it applied pressure on the Jesuits and Father Malone remained until 1974 when he resigned.

Desrochers and Reverend Picard.⁶

Further sociological research should also consider more fully the nature of the relation of Loyola to the province's Catholic hierarchy, particularly the Archbishop of Montreal. An examination of Loyola's history suggests that the Archbishop exercised enormous indirect control over the college's development, as witnessed by his role in the 1899 Bill of Incorporation debate in which his involvement led to a revision of the second clause; and his role in the founding of the University of Montreal in 1920. The college's relations with the Catholic hierarchy of Quebec become more complex when one recalls that during the 1940s Archbishop Charbonneau actively encouraged Loyola to develop the character of a university, as witnessed by the creation of the faculties of science and commerce during this period. Thus it would appear, based on the limited historical evidence available at this time, that relations between Loyola and the Church hierarchy were in a state of flux.⁷

⁶The Public Relations Office, Loyola News Release (Loyola of Montreal: 27 January 1970).

⁷According to Jencks and Riesman: "A local bishop must authorize the founding of a college in his diocese. Once it is in business, however, it is usually legally controlled by a board drawn from the teaching order which conducts it. While the local bishop has certain kinds of spiritual authority over all the faithful in his diocese... he cannot intervene directly in the affairs of a college. This does not... prevent his exercising enormous indirect influence over nearby colleges if he has the time and inclination. Few teaching orders are willing to remain at swords' points with a local bishop for long.

One reason for cooperation is financial. ... a teaching order that does not want to depend wholly on tuition to cover costs must raise money from local Catholic businessmen, competing with Catholic hospitals, charities, schools, and the Church itself. Any order that is at odds with the local bishop is unlikely to fare well in such competition. Then, too, Catholic Colleges compete for able local students, and if a particular college is on the outs with the local priests or bishop its potential students can be steered to more compliant competitors.

In the opinion of the writer the various levels of the environment identified in this study are valuable when undertaking further research investigations of Loyola, or other similar educational institutions. Indeed, if further refinements or elaborations with respect to each of the various dimensions listed above were made, these relationships would be better understood.

At various points in the present study the writer has described in considerable detail Loyola's efforts to attract students. In further research on Loyola it would be interesting to examine the sex, ethnic origins and social class composition of the Loyola community. In 1960, the majority of students attending the college were English-speaking Catholics, and most of the faculty were Jesuits.⁸ By 1974, the college's faculty and student body consisted of every race, nationality and religion in existence. An examination of the 1973-74 list of graduates tends to suggest that the college was attracting first and second generation Canadians. These students were certainly not all part of the Anglo-Irish tradition. Thus, demographic and economic factors become significant in future sociological research.

During the course of the present study much has been said about Loyola's ability to adapt itself to change. However, the investigator did not feel that he was in a position to suggest a link between a so-called Jesuit philosophy of education and this ability of the college to adapt itself to change.

On the other hand, Catholic Colleges also have considerable power over local bishops. They are, for example, the principal source of lay teachers for the parochial schools.... under these circumstances both bishops and the teaching orders almost always find it expedient to maintain at least the appearance of cooperation, and in most cases this appearance is quite genuine." Jencks and Riesman, The Academic Revolution, p. 345.

⁸T. P. Slattery, Loyola and Montreal: A History (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1962), p. 284.

According to Mr. Slattery the system of education at Loyola was based on the Ratio Studiorum, which was a spirit and a method rather than a technique of education.⁹

It is the opinion of this researcher at this point in time that further research would suggest that Mr. Slattery's description of the Jesuit philosophy of education at Loyola would only account for the period 1896-1940. However, for the period after 1940, when the character of a full-fledged university began to emerge, a more appropriate description is needed. Perhaps what is needed is a model which gets at the Jesuit-lay character of the college. At this point the writer is inclined to believe that as Loyola's university character developed, it became a kind of a self-fulfilling prophecy in that the college's administration recruited students interested in a university education, which in turn, created the need to recruit better qualified faculty.

This study has been valuable in that it has been able to identify the constraints of Loyola's environment. However, further research is still required in order to understand the ability of institutions such as Sir George Williams, the University of Montreal, and McGill to better control their environment to the degree that they did. A brief examination of the history of these three institutions indicates the following: the history of Sir George begins in 1873 when it began offering courses in the YMCA. Subsequently, an evening high school came into existence in 1920; and the name of Sir George Williams was first used in 1926. In 1929, first-year university studies were offered in the Central YMCA on Drummond Street. The first class received degrees in 1937. The University of Montreal, as was noted earlier, entered the field of higher education first as a branch of Laval University in 1876, and then in 1920, it became a fully autonomous institution.

⁹Ibid., p. 268.

Its growth in recent years has been dramatic, particularly during the period 1920-1960, with the establishment of the Ecole Polytechnique and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales. McGill was founded after James McGill instructed in his will of 1811 that his Burnside Estate of forty-six acres be used to create a college bearing his name. It subsequently received its first charter in 1821, and from this date forward McGill University has continued to grow and expand.¹⁰

These brief historical sketches of these three universities together with the findings of the present study might be considered a step in the direction of understanding the ability of certain educational institutions to manipulate their environment to the degree that they did.

Finally, the fact that decisions about Loyola's legal and fiscal status apparently became subject to post hoc rationalizations by the various provincial administrations, particularly between 1940-1970, many of whom argued (this is an oversimplification to be sure) that the resolution of the Loyola question was part of their long-range educational policy, identifies government policy of the various regimes as yet another area for further study.

North America and further sociological research.

It is very important that the sociologist remember that the problems of higher education in Quebec are no different than in any part of North America. The problems of Loyola are the same problems facing private universities; and in some cases, they have led other Catholic institutions to complete secularization, as at Ottawa University, or to affiliation with larger universities. Other colleges and universities have attempted like Loyola to com-

¹⁰ D. B. Macfarlane, "Universities Need to Double Facilities: Expansion Must Go On," Montreal Star, 3 March 1967.

bine a large degree of lay direction with the preservation of a distinctive Catholic character by providing for the appointment of a clerical president and the retention of certain Catholic programmes as long as it was possible to do so. ¹¹

With respect to future investigations of Catholic educational organizations, as well as secular colleges and universities in North America, the writer can only hope that the findings and conclusions of the present study together with the suggestions for further research will provide others with a perspective of higher education today.

¹¹Jencks and Riesman, The Academic Revolution, pp. 334-405; and Perry Mayer, Inquiry into the Situation at Loyola College with Special Reference to the Non-Renewal of Contracts (Montreal: Loyola of Montreal, [1970]), p. 79.

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