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FROM NOTRE DAME COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE  
TO MARIANOPOLIS COLLEGE:  
THE EVOLUTION OF AN INSTITUTION (1908-1975)  
A CASE STUDY OF PIVOTAL DECISIONS

by

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Department of Administration and Policy Studies  
in Education  
McGill University, Montreal  
April, 1992

A Dissertation Submitted to  
The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research  
in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements of the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

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## Abstract

From Notre Dame Collegiate Institute to Marianopolis College:

The Evolution of an Institution (1908-1975)

A Case Study of Pivotal Decisions

by

Jean Huntley-Maynard

Marianopolis College evolved from a small classical college for Roman Catholic women to a CEGEP-level co-educational and multi-confessional institution. This case study analyses the administrative decision-making that guided the college during three pivotal events in its history. Four aspects of decision-making theory are considered: style, constraints, strategies, and kinds. The major question this case study addresses is: What were the decision-making practices that guided the evolution of Marianopolis College from a Roman Catholic classical college for women to a private co-educational and multi-confessional CEGEP-level college? A secondary question is: To what extent can the decision-making practices adopted to cope with change be supported by models of decision-making theory? The major finding of this study is that at the three pivotal points in the college's history the decision-making strategies depended on environmental and organizational constraints, especially the founding purpose of the institution.

## Résumé

De l'Institut Collégial Notre Dame au Collège Marianopolis:

Evolution d'un établissement (1908-1975)

Etude de cas de décisions centrales

par

Jean Huntley-Maynard

Le Collège Marianopolis a évolué d'un petit collège classique pour étudiantes catholiques à un établissement mixte et multiconfessionnel de type cégep. Cette étude de cas analyse les décisions administratives qui ont guidé le collège durant ces événements cruciaux de son histoire. Quatre paramètres de la théorie décisionnelle y sont analysés: le style, les contraintes, les stratégies et les types. La principale question sur laquelle porte cette étude de cas est la suivante: Quelles ont été les pratiques décisionnelles qui ont orienté l'évolution du Collège Marianopolis d'un petit collège classique pour étudiantes catholiques à un collège d'enseignement général et professionnel mixte et multiconfessionnel? A titre de question accessoire, on peut poser la question suivante: Dans quelle mesure les pratiques décisionnelles adoptées pour faire face aux changements sont-elles étayées par les modèles de la théorie décisionnelle? La principale constatation de cette étude est qu'aux trois moments cruciaux de l'histoire du collège, les stratégies décisionnelles ont procédé de contraintes environnementales et

organisationnelles, notamment de l'objectif pour lequel  
l'établissement avait été créé.

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**DEDICATION**

This study is dedicated

to my mother

Marion Spicer Huntley

whose faith and support have been lifelong

and

to my husband

John Stanmore Maynard

whose encouragement and love have been steadfast

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

#### Statement of the Problem

Throughout its history Marianopolis College has undergone many transformations. It was founded as the English sector of Quebec's first Roman Catholic classical college for women, became a women's English Roman Catholic classical college separate in curriculum and premises from its French counterpart, and finally was transformed into a co-educational, multi-confessional CEGEP-level<sup>1</sup> college. It has had five different names. This study examined three key points in the evolution of the college to determine the administrative decision-making practices by which this evolution took place, and the degree to which the decision-making practices are supported by models of decision-making theory.

#### Background

Notre Dame Collegiate Institute, the forerunner of Marianopolis College, was founded in 1908 as the English-speaking section of l'Ecole supérieure d'enseignement pour les

---

<sup>1</sup>The acronym "CEGEP" is used throughout this study to refer to les collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel.

jeunes filles, the first post-secondary institution in Quebec to offer higher education to Roman Catholic women. The dual institution was situated in the Mother House of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame until 1926 when the college moved to the Congrégation's newly-constructed Institut Pédagogique on Westmount Avenue and acquired a new name. Both French and English sections were known as Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys and both developed as parallel equivalents to the final four years (the collégial) of the classical colleges. Both were affiliated with the Université Laval and later with the Université de Montréal for program approval and degree-granting purposes.

It became evident quite early in the college's evolution that the patterns of French and English education were diverging. The curriculum of the English section of Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys was no longer meeting the needs of the group it was intended to serve. As a result, in 1943 a new course of studies was established, providing the English-speaking students with the option of studying for a bachelor's degree in science. Later that same year the two sections of the college split, with the French section remaining in the Institut Pédagogique and retaining the name of Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys. It also retained the traditional curriculum of a collège classique. The English section took the name of Marianopolis College and moved into a new campus on Dorchester Street West. Following a fire in early 1945,

Marianopolis College relocated to Peel Street where it remained until 1975. It then moved to its present location, the former Sulpician Séminaire de Philosophie on Côte des Neiges.

From 1908 until 1922, for degree-granting purposes, both the French and English sections of the institution were affiliated with the Faculty of Arts of Université Laval at its Montreal campus. Thereafter, the affiliation was transferred to the newly chartered Université de Montréal. This affiliation ended in 1972, shortly after Marianopolis College became a private two-year CEGEP-level college.

As Sister Mary O'Neill has pointed out, "The problem of the academic status of Marianopolis College and its forerunners has been a perennial one. As an English-language affiliate of a French-language university and as a four-year liberal arts college, Marianopolis has never fitted into the ordinary pattern of the parent institution or into the system of the Quebec collèges classiques" (1968, p. vii).

The curriculum changes implemented in 1943, which created a Marianopolis College in the modern tradition of English education in Quebec and the rest of Canada, were a decade in the making and were the result of lengthy, detailed studies and careful decision-making. Statistics support the need for and the success of the change: from 1940-1946, under the traditional program of Marguerite Bourgeoys College, only 33 B. A. degrees were conferred; from 1943-1953, under the

revised and expanded program of Marianopolis College, 121 B. A. degrees and 24 B. Sc. degrees were conferred (Archives, Marianopolis College {AMC} E.33.07). The decision-making practices that brought about this change are an important focus of this case study.

Marianopolis College faced its biggest challenge during the 1960's. The 1962 brief sent by Marianopolis College to the Parent Commission pointed out, "The College at this stage is faced with a double crisis: a drastic need for physical expansion and the necessity of determining its academic status for the future" (AMC, A.23.14, Brief, p. 19). Once again the winds of change were blowing around the college, but this change was part of the Quiet Revolution which was to alter profoundly the face of education, Catholic and Protestant, French and English, in the province of Quebec.

In 1962 Marianopolis College still saw itself as a college affiliated with a university which would grant its degrees. It also saw itself as a confessional college for English Catholic women. The brief made it clear that Marianopolis College sought university status, if not on its own, then in association with other English Catholic post-secondary institutions, notably Loyola College, Thomas More Institute and St. Joseph Teachers College. One of the chief recommendations of the Marianopolis brief was the establishing of an English Catholic university to be created from existing English Catholic colleges in Montreal. According to the brief,

Marianopolis would continue to offer post-secondary education to young women; Loyola College, established by the Jesuits from the English section of Collège Ste-Marie, would continue its work with young men; Thomas More Institute would maintain its work in adult education; St. Joseph Teachers College would train teachers for the English Catholic elementary and secondary schools throughout Quebec. A second recommendation of the brief emphasized the importance of maintaining a distinct women-only college within the proposed university structure: "It believes that in this instance, the creation of a university to meet the needs of a group hitherto deprived of rightful educational opportunities [English Catholic young women] is a matter of justice" (AMC, A.23.14, Brief, p. 20). The third recommendation presented in the brief was that the interests of English-speaking Catholic women must be guarded by Marianopolis College (Brief, p. 23).

When the plan for an English Catholic university no longer seemed feasible and negotiations with Loyola College had reached an impasse, Marianopolis undertook a series of discussions with McGill University with a view to becoming an affiliated college of that institution. In the later stages of the McGill-Marianopolis discussions, Marianopolis and Sir George Williams University also explored possibilities for federation or affiliation. Ultimately all these negotiations either broke off or were suspended.

In 1969 the Ministry of Education made provision for

establishing several private CEGEP-level colleges to operate in the public interest. Taking a course very different from that envisioned in the brief to the Parent Commission, Marianopolis College became the province's first private English-language CEGEP-level college, and--the most drastic change of all in its history--it became co-educational and multi-confessional. The administrative planning and decision-making practices which led to this transformation from a four-year liberal arts college with courses leading to B. A. and B. Sc. degrees to a two-year CEGEP-level college is a major focus of this study.

Through its ability to be flexible and imaginative in its administrative policies and decision-making practices, Marianopolis College has maintained relative autonomy. More important, it has preserved its identity during years of massive social, educational and political change when other institutions were absorbed or altogether disappeared. The administrative decision-making practices by which the college's evolution took place is the focus of this study.

### Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is twofold:

1. To examine from an historical perspective the administrative decision-making practices of an institution which stood alone in offering higher education to English-speaking Roman Catholic women in Quebec.

English-speaking Catholics have always been a minority within the French-speaking Roman Catholic majority in Quebec and have held at best a tenuous position in the education system in Quebec, a system legally established and divided by religion rather than by language.

Higher education for Roman Catholic women in the nineteenth century was dismissed as unnecessary because the Church taught that the prime vocations for women were marriage and motherhood. Professions such as law and medicine were essentially closed to Catholic women in Quebec since the only way into these occupations lay through the collèges classiques which were male-only institutions.

2. To analyse the practices of institutional decision-making from the perspective of decision-making theory and to determine the extent to which the administrative decision-making practices adopted to cope with change are compatible with models of decision-making theory.

The need for flexibility in the face of the social, political, cultural and educational changes in Quebec during

this century has always been uppermost in the minds of the administration and faculty of Marianopolis College and its forerunners. Changes have been minor and major since the founding of Notre Dame Collegiate Institute, and have been numerous. For the purposes of this study three major historical events and the decision-making practices which accompanied them are analysed:

(a) The social, religious and political circumstances which led to the founding of Notre Dame Collegiate Institute in 1908, and the patterns of decision-making used;

(b) The circumstances and decision-making practices which culminated in 1943 with the establishing of Marianopolis College as an institution separate from Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys in administration, curriculum and premises;

(c) The Quiet Revolution of the 1960's which ultimately led to a new direction for Marianopolis College as a two-year, co-educational, multi-confessional private CEGEP-level college, and the decision-making practices adopted to implement this change.

The two purposes of this study are not mutually exclusive. The major question which this study therefore addresses is: What were the administrative decision-making practices that guided the evolution of Marianopolis College from a women's Roman Catholic classical college to a private

co-educational multi-confessional CEGEP-level college, and to what extent are these decision-making practices compatible with decision-making theory?

### Rationale

Marianopolis College is a unique institution. From 1908 until 1969 it was the only college providing confessional post-secondary education for English-speaking Roman Catholic women; from 1969 until 1975, it was the only private English-language CEGEP-level college in Quebec. During the late 1960's and early 1970's many classical colleges either disappeared entirely or lost their identity through absorption into other institutions. Marianopolis College stood virtually alone in preserving its identity and continuing to grow where other institutions failed to make the transition. No scholarly study has been done to determine how and why Marianopolis College succeeded when so many others failed. This case study attempts to address that omission.

Many studies have been done from an historical perspective about education in Quebec, a number of them unpublished theses and dissertations, such as Ruby Heap's doctoral study (1986) L'Eglise, l'Etat et l'enseignement primaire public catholique au Québec, 1897-1920. Both French-speaking Roman Catholic and English-speaking Protestant education in Quebec have been investigated. The education of English-speaking Roman Catholics has received less scholarly attention, and the education of women in Quebec has been the focus of only a few studies. The higher education of French-speaking Catholic women was the subject of a Master's thesis (1968) and a doctoral study (1971) by Sister Lucienne Plante

of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame. The development of higher education for women at McGill University was examined in a Master's thesis by Ronish (1972), and in a published book, We Walked Very Warily, by Margaret Gillett. More recently, Marta Danylewycz (1987) in her published case study Taking the Veil explored from a feminist perspective the contributions to the education of French-speaking Quebec women by the Congrégation de Notre-Dame. The education of English-speaking Roman Catholic women has been touched on only peripherally in any of these studies, and Marianopolis College and its forerunners have been mentioned in passing, if at all.

Several of the Sisters of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame have written theses and dissertations which have been unpublished and uncited in other studies: a doctoral study by Sister Mary O'Neill (1968) concerning the development of a music curriculum at Marianopolis, a doctoral study by Sister St. Alfred of Rome (Baeszler) (1944) concerning the work of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame in Ontario and the United States, and another by Sister St. Benedict Marie (1964) to determine the need for a business program at Marianopolis. While these dissertations provided valuable insights for this study, they tell only part of the story. A much earlier thesis by Sister St. Brendan (1939) dealt with the presence of the English language in the Congrégation de Notre-Dame from the time of its founding in the seventeenth century. It provided enlightening background material for this study.

The history of Marianopolis College and its forerunners is the history of the struggle for women's rights in Catholic Quebec, but it is also the record of administrative sensitivity to the changing needs of students and of the awareness of cultural, political and social changes taking place in Quebec. The profound changes which, for Marianopolis College in particular had their culmination in 1969, deserve to be investigated and analysed, especially the administrative decision-making practices through which such profound changes were brought to successful conclusion.

Studies have been done about several public English-language CEGEPs, notably Dawson College and John Abbott College, but no scholarly study of Marianopolis College and its much longer history has been done.

Marianopolis College is also a unique institution in that it bridged the gap between francophone familiarity with the traditional system of the collèges classiques and the anglophone lack of familiarity with such collegial structures (Henchey & Burgess, 1987). Thus, Marianopolis College provides an opportunity to study how a liberal arts college in the classical college tradition made the transition to a CEGEP-level college, and what decision-making practices were adopted to effect that transition.

This study investigated and commented upon the changes which have been so much a part of the college's history and explored the reasons for the college's relative success in

implementing change. The study was done within the framework of decision-making theory to determine the degree to which the administrative planning and decision-making practices of Marianopolis College and its forerunners are supported by the theory and models of decision-making.

Since three quite different events in the college's evolution were examined in detail, various models of decision-making were examined to determine the degree to which they were applicable under differing circumstances of change.

### Review of the Literature of Decision-making

The theoretical framework of this study was derived from the literature of decision-making theory. Decision-making proceeds from the felt or forced need for change and for the purposes of this study was examined within the context of the historical data.

Decision-making is discussed in the literature from a number of different perspectives, four of which are: (a) management or leadership style and degree of participation by subordinates in the decision-making or the decision-making process; (b) constraints on decision-making (c) strategies of decision-making; and (d) kinds of decisions. The literature of each of these four perspectives is reviewed as they apply to education in general and Marianopolis College and its forerunners in particular.

Zeleny (1981) observed that "Decision-making is ... complex, full of search detours, information gathering, and information ignoring, fueled by fluctuating uncertainty, fuzziness, and conflict" (p. 333). MacCrimmon agreed, and added: "In real decision situations, one seldom observes clear, step-by-step process ..." (p. 446). Bass (1983) also pointed out the complexity of decision-making, calling it "disorderly" and observing that "The classical ideal of clearly perceived goals is now usually seen as the exception rather than the rule" (p. 4). Decision-making requires an

awareness of the many interrelated factors that comprise the process: the constraints imposed by the organization itself and by the external environment, the management style of the leader or leaders in the decision-making process, and the kind of decision required by the circumstances. All of these factors need to be considered in finding an appropriate strategy for decision-making.

Leadership and decision-making styles. One of the factors that affects decision-making, according to the literature, is leadership or management styles because they may influence the strategy of decision-making eventually selected. Leadership style may also act as a constraint on the decision-making process. Kumar (1977) observed that the centralization of influence in decision-making decreases with the increase of technical uncertainty and the organizational complexity of the decision context. Likert (1967) spoke of "overlapping groups" or "linch-pin" organization as factors influencing decision-making style. The increased input of faculty opinion, and frequent meetings of committee heads act as aids in participation in the process of decision-making.

None of the models reviewed made a clear distinction between participation in the decision-making process and participation in making the decision. French, Israel and As (1960), and Vroom (1960) defined participation as a process of joint decision-making by two or more parties. Vroom and

Yetton (1973) modified this definition by saying "The amount of participation of any individual is the amount of influence he has on the decisions and plans agreed upon" (p. 12). The first definition focuses on participation in deciding; the second, on participation in the decision-making process.

Despite lack of clarity in definition, most models of decision-making style may be placed on a continuum showing the degree of participation by subordinates involved either in the decision-making process or in deciding, ranging from no or low participation by subordinates to a high degree of participation by subordinates. Vroom & Yetton (1973) proposed a five-step continuum ranging from the leader makes the decision alone, to the leader shares the problem with the group and the group makes the decision. Intermediate steps indicate an increasing amount of participation by subordinates in the decision-making.

Lewin, Lippitt & White (1939) employed a three-step continuum, ranging from autocratic through consultative to democratic leadership. This model makes no clear distinction between involvement in deciding and involvement in the decision-making process. Maier (1955) also employed three levels of participation, ranging from autocratic management, through consultative management, to group decision. Maier's scale suggests participation in making the decision.

Tannenbaum & Schmidt (1958) proposed a five-step scale that ranges from the manager's making a decision and

announcing it, to a manager's permitting the group to make decisions within prescribed limits. This model also focuses on the degree of participation in deciding.

The Likert model (1964) used a four-step continuum with a range from an exploitive-authoritative style of decision-making, through benevolent-authoritative, consultative, to participative group. This model makes no clear distinction between participation in deciding and participation in the decision-making process.

Heller (1971) proposed a four-step continuum that ranges from the leader's making his own decision without explanation to joint decision-making with subordinates. This model focuses on participation in deciding rather than on participation in the decision-making process.

All of these models indicate an increasing degree of participation by subordinates, but employ differing descriptors and differing numbers of categories. The Vroom & Yetton continuum and the Tannenbaum & Schmidt scale are the most complete, but are somewhat awkward since both employ sentence descriptions to indicate the increasing degree of participation. The Lewin, Lippitt & White continuum, as well as the Maier and the Likert continua use single word or compound word descriptors, but do not make the fine distinctions of the other two. The Heller continuum falls somewhere between the others. All models nevertheless have sufficient similarity that they can be placed on a composite

scale. Figure 1.1 presents a composite scale, based on the Vroom and Yetton continuum of management styles.

Vroom & Yetton (1973)	Lewin, Lippitt & White ('55) Maler ('55)	Tannenbaum & Schmidt (1958)	Heller (1971)	Likert (1967)
<b>I</b> Unilateral: makes own decision alone	Autocratic	Makes decision & announces it	Own decision without explanation	Exploitive authoritative
<b>II</b> Seeks info. then makes decision alone		Invites questions & makes decision	Own decision with explanation	Benevolent authoritative
<b>III</b> Consults with subs. individually then makes decision alone	Consultative	Presents tentative decision, subject to change	Prior consultation with subs.	Consultative
<b>IV</b> Consults with group then makes decision: may or may not reflect group		Presents problem, gets suggestions, makes decision		
<b>V</b> Shares problem with group and group makes decision	Democratic (L,L & W) Group (M) ----- Laissez-faire (L,L & W)	Defines limits, asks group to make decision	Joint decision with subs.	Participative group

**Figure 1.1.** Composite of models of leadership styles. Adapted. Reprinted from LEADERSHIP AND DECISION-MAKING, by Victor H. Vroom and Philip W. Yetton, by permission of the University of Pittsburgh Press. (c) 1973 by University of Pittsburgh Press.

Proposed model. A variation on the Vroom & Yetton continuum and the other models was proposed in this study in an attempt to overcome several problems found in the various models. The proposed model employs the same five steps as several of the models, but uses different terminology that may be more precise and descriptive of the various decision-making styles. The proposed model (Figure 1.2) also focuses on the decision-making process rather than on deciding.

Proposed Model	
I	Unilateral
II	Informed-authoritative
III	Consultative-authoritative
IV	Consultative-participative
V	Multilateral

Figure 1.2. Proposed model of decision-making styles.

The proposed model differentiates between the first two levels of the continuum, as is not done in the Lewin, Lippitt & White model or the Maier model, and replaces their single autocratic level with the two levels unilateral and informed-authoritative. It also subsumes the descriptive phrases of the Vroom & Yetton model, the Tannenbaum & Schmidt model and the Heller model with these two terms. Vroom & Yetton's

description can be defined by the single word unilateral. The word autocratic not only carries a pejorative connotation, but also does not necessarily mean making a decision alone. Similarly, Likert's term exploitive also carries a pejorative connotation. Unilateral has the virtue of no pejorative connotation, and is a single descriptive and accurate word for this level of the continuum. At the second level of the composite continuum, the word informed suggests an informational input into the decision-making process, and authoritative describes the power or the right to give orders or to assume authority over the decision-making process.

In a like manner, the proposed model replaces the single consultative level of the Lewin, Lippitt & White model, the Maier model and the Likert model, and the prior consultation with subordinates level of the Heller model, with the two compound terms consultative-authoritative and consultative-participative to indicate a precise differentiation in degree of participation in the decision-making process at levels three and four. These two terms also avoid the more lengthy descriptors of the Vroom & Yetton, the Tannenbaum & Schmidt, and the Heller models. The term consultative-authoritative suggests that although consultation takes place in the decision-making process, the decision is nevertheless reached by the leader. The term consultative-participative, on the other hand, suggests that there is both consultation and participation by subordinates in the decision-making process.

At the fifth level the proposed model employs the word multilateral instead of the various terms or phrases of the other models to indicate the potential for extensive participation by subordinates in both the decision-making process and the decision. The word multilateral also is the antonym for unilateral, thus clearly delineating the opposite end of the continuum. The word unilateral indicates that the leader or manager is alone in the decision-making process; multilateral suggests that everyone affected is part of the decision-making process.

Constraints on decision-making. A second important factor to be considered in decision-making is that of constraints. Decision-making usually takes place within a field of constraints which may be generated by the environment, by organizational purpose and goals, or by organizational structure and actions. These constraints often can operate as a hidden agenda, but decision-makers must be aware of them and take them into consideration in the decision-making process.

There are many possible constraints on decision-making, but none are more significant than those imposed by the environment. Feldman & Kanter (1965) noted that organizational decisions are constrained by the actions of the organization itself, by the physical and mental characteristics and previous experience of its members, and by the social, political and economic environment of the organization and its

members.

March and Romelaer (1976) observed that what may be more important to the decision-making process is contiguity in time and place of problems, available solutions, and decision-makers. As a result, environment plays an important role in forming the attitudes of the decision-makers and limiting or constraining what decisions are possible.

Bass (1983) characterized environmental constraints as proceeding from laws and due process. Whether due process has been observed in the events leading up to a decision can determine the acceptance or rejection of a decision and the legitimacy of the actions based on it.

Emery & Trist (1963) identified four ideal or pure types of environment, each of which can enhance or constrain decision-making. (a) A placid, randomized environment is both simple and stable, but is rarely found. (b) A placid, clustered environment is complex and stable and can enhance decision-making, because causes of events can be identified and decisions can be selected based on probabilities. (c) A disturbed, reactive environment is simple and unstable and constraints on decision-making become more numerous. (d) A turbulent environment is complex and unstable, and creates uncertainty both in the environment itself and in the organizations operating within that environment. This environment requires the ability to make both short- and long-term decisions. This study has investigated the extent to

which Emery & Trist's turbulent environment is an accurate description of the environment of the pivotal decisions examined.

MacWhinney (1968), observed that the environment affects the sense of certainty in decision-making and the need for dealing effectively with risk. He saw environmental constraints as more important than the constraints imposed by organizational goals and purpose or organizational structure because the external environment of organizational decision-making more often than not is beyond any control by the organization.

Bass (1983) observed that organizational purpose can also act as an important constraint on decision-making. Just as the due process of the laws of the land can be an environmental constraint, so too may the due process based on the customs, charter and constitution of an organization act as a constraint on organizational decision-making.

Simon (1964) argued that many, if not most, constraints on organizational decisions are associated with an organizational goal. "These constraints tend to remove from consideration possible courses of action that are inimical to survival. They do not, of course, by themselves, often fully determine the course of action" (p. 21).

Porras (1981), however, saw organizational purpose as a prime constraint and observed:

Purpose is the fundamental glue that bonds the organization by providing a definition for the

system's reason for being.... Purpose is the 'star on the horizon' that guides the organization through its various choice points. Without a broadly understood and accepted purpose, an organization cannot effectively survive over the long term (p. 265).

In assessing the decision-making processes of the college and the degree to which the institution has been successful in coping with decision-making throughout its evolution, it is necessary to evaluate the extent to which the college has adhered to a clearly stated and understood sense of purpose and has been aware of purpose as a major constraint on decision alternatives.

Organizational structure is also an important constraint on the decision-making process. Feldman & Kanter (1965) and Bass (1983) saw the previous experience of an organization as a constraint on subsequent decision-making. Kast & Rosenzweig (1970) argued that the effective decision-maker must balance valuing harmony and order with valuing survival and effects on others. "The decision-maker may have to compromise a particular norm or value in a given situation, but he or she can be reasonably comfortable if he or she recognizes that certain other values are enhanced by so doing" (p. 416). This study examines how important this constraint was at the various decision-making points in the college's evolution.

Environmental	Organizational Purpose	Organizational Structure
<p><b>Bass (1983)</b> -laws, due process</p> <p><b>Feldman &amp; Kanter (1965)</b></p> <p><b>Emery &amp; Trist (1963)</b> -types of environment</p> <p><b>March &amp; Romelaer (1976)</b> -contiguity</p> <p><b>MacWhinney (1968)</b> -sense of certainty &amp; dealing with risk</p>	<p><b>Bass (1983)</b> -charter, constitution</p> <p><b>Porras (1981)</b> -purpose</p> <p><b>Simon (1964)</b> -goals</p> <p><b>Kast &amp; Rosenzweig (1970)</b> -harmony &amp; order vs. survival</p>	<p><b>Bass (1983)</b> -custom, previous experience</p> <p><b>Feldman &amp; Kanter (1965)</b> -previous experience</p> <p><b>Kast &amp; Rosenzweig (1970)</b> -harmony &amp; order vs. effects on others</p>

Figure 1.3. Models of constraints in decision-making.

Decision-making strategies and models. The third factor proposed in the literature as effecting decision-making is that of decision-making strategies and models. Bass (1983)

spoke of "serendipitous discovery" of solutions to problems (p. 6), implying that sometimes no decision-making strategy is needed because the solution presents itself. Bass and Ryterband (1969) also spoke about the need for contingency planning that would allow for the completely unexpected. Most decision-making, however, cannot depend on serendipity, and to solve the problem must employ a decision-making strategy.

Hoy & Miskell (1981) discussed three chief decision-making strategies: (a) the classical model--an optimizing strategy, (b) the administrative model--a satisficing strategy, and (c) the incremental model--a strategy of successive limited comparisons.

The optimizing strategy seeks the best possible alternative from all possible alternatives in order to maximize the achievement of goals and objectives of the institution. Once the consequences of each alternative have been considered and evaluated in terms of goals and objectives, the best alternative is selected. Hoy & Miskell pointed out that the classical or optimizing model assumes intellectual capacities and knowledge that decision makers do not possess, and that "most scholars consider this classical model an unrealistic, if not naive ideal"(p. 317).

There are, however, models which attempt such thoroughness in their approach to the decision-making process that they at least approximate the optimizing strategy, even though they might normally be classified as models of the

satisficing strategy of decision-making. One of these is an organizational decision process model formulated by Cyert and March (1963) to portray the realities of organizational decision-making (Figure 1.4). Cyert and March viewed aspiration levels, not predetermined objectives, as the stimulus to search and choice among alternatives. Figure 1.4 presents the organizational decision process model formulated by Cyert and March.

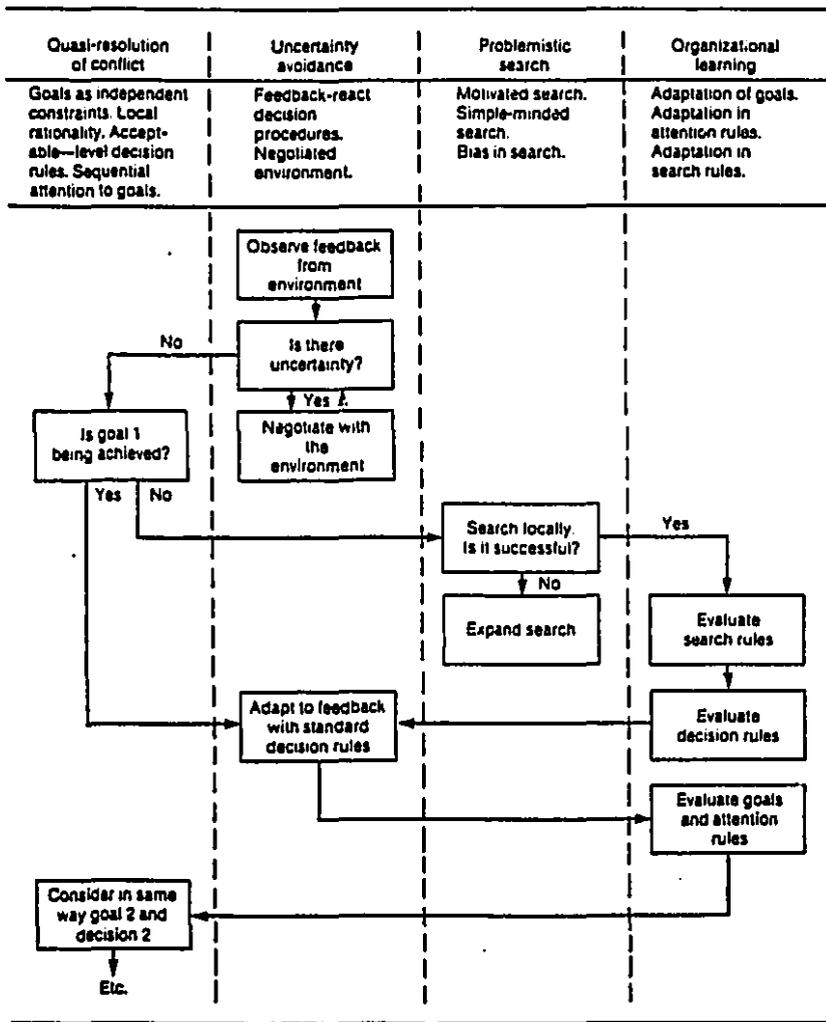
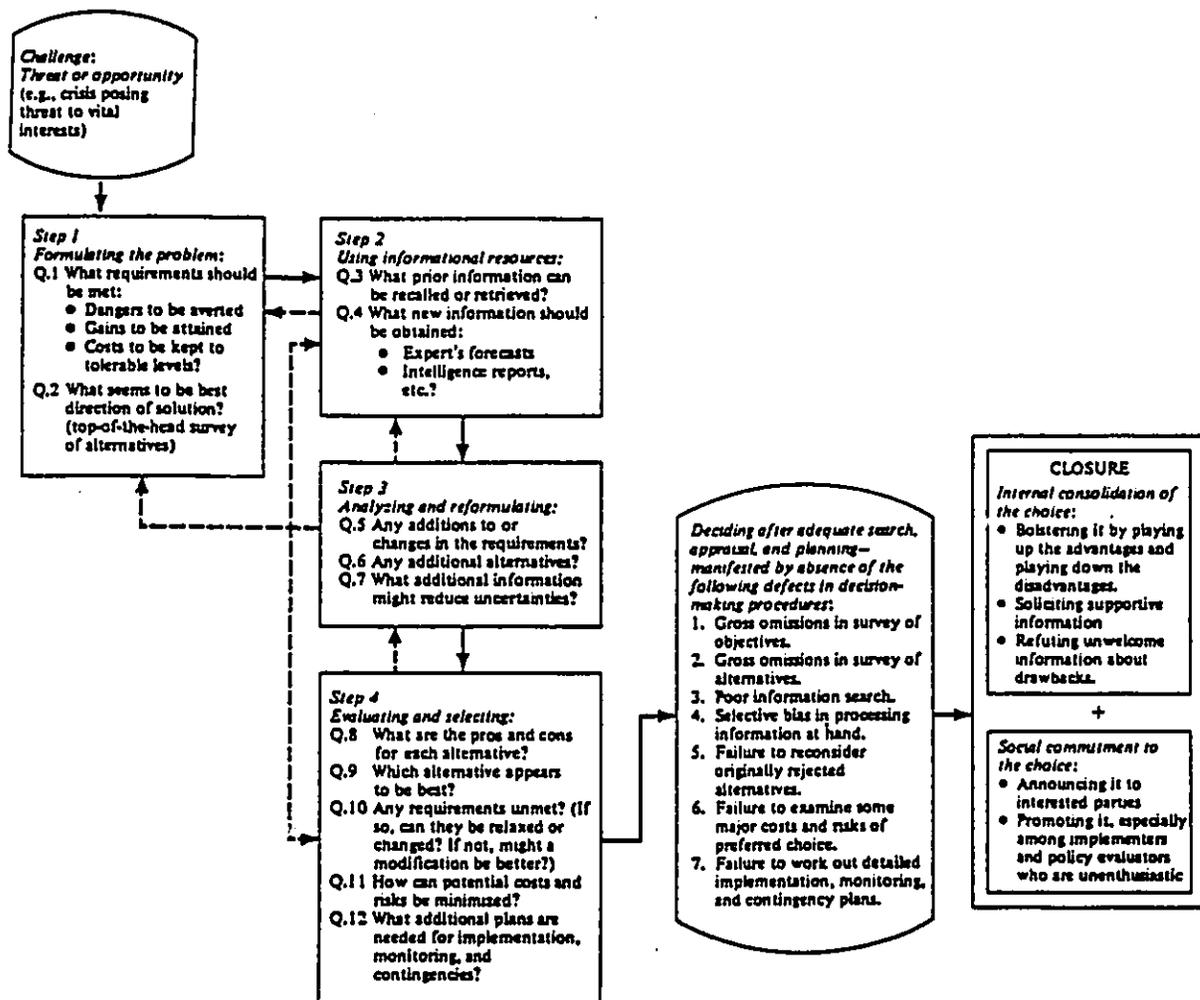


Figure 1.4. Cyert and March organizational decision process model (1963). From A BEHAVIORAL THEORY OF THE FIRM by Richard M. Cyert and James G. March. Used with permission of Prentice Hall.

Cyert and March propose that only a relatively small number of alternatives need to be considered rather than all possible alternatives and the chief objective is to find a satisfactory solution to meet aspiration levels. "Aspiration levels [depend on]...the organization's past goal, the organization's past performance, and the past performance of other 'comparable' organizations" (Cyert & March, 1963, p. 115). In Cyert and March's model, the search for a solution begins by considering obvious solutions to problems, then moves on to other alternatives only if the obvious solutions are deemed unsatisfactory. The small number of possibilities examined depend on two rules: search in the area of the problem symptom, and in the context of the current approach to the problem. Other possibilities are ignored. Choice then settles on the first acceptable alternative found. If no acceptable solution is found, then aspiration levels are lowered and the search continues. The main limitations of the Cyert and March model lie in its failure to account for the need sometimes to generate a different array of alternatives among which may be found a better solution, and in its focus only on aspiration levels instead of including such concerns as predetermined objectives like preserving the purpose of an organization. In its focus on aspiration levels deriving from past performance, this model bears a closer similarity to Simon's administrative model than it does to the classical model.

A similar but more comprehensive model is that proposed by Janis (1989). He concluded that a variant on the optimizing strategy, which he called a vigilant problem-solving approach to decision-making, coupled with a constraints model of policymaking processes, leads to the greatest chance of success in decision-making (Figure 1.5).



**Figure 1.5.** Janis process model (1989) of a vigilant problem-solving approach to decision-making. From *CRUCIAL DECISIONS: Leadership in Policymaking and Crisis Management* by Irving L. Janis. Copyright (c) 1989 by The Free Press, a Division of Macmillan, Inc. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Instead of seeking all possible alternatives, the Janis model proposes that as many alternatives as possible should be sought, but does not require that the search be as exhaustive as the classical optimizing model proposes.

There are a number of other models which follow the same basic steps of the Janis vigilant problem-solving process model, such as the open decision model of Alexis and Wilson (1967) the Janis and Mann (1977) conflict-theory model of decision-making, and Bridges' model for shared decision-making (1967), but these are not as comprehensive as the Janis vigilant problem-solving model. The Janis model is more complete than others because each step is accompanied by a series of questions which emphasize vigilance. This model also allows for movement back and forth among the steps, thus promoting flexibility in the decision-making process. At the decision stage of the Janis process model, vigilance is once again emphasized by listing the major defects which must be avoided in the process. Because the Janis model does not emphasize past performance as does the Cyert and March model, it allows for unique decisions which do not necessarily have patterns from the past to rely upon for determining aspiration levels.

The Janis model also proposes that successful closure involves not only consolidation of the choice by the group making the decision but also commitment to the choice by those who will be influenced by the decision. The thoroughness of

the Janis vigilant problem-solving process model makes it superior to other models which have features of the optimizing strategy of decision-making. This study examined the extent to which the Janis process model for vigilant problem-solving was a possible decision-making strategy for the administration of the college at the key change points.

The Janis model appears to combine the best features of both the optimizing and the satisficing strategies, and to serve as a bridge between these two decision-making strategies.

Simon (1974) was the first to propose the administrative model, a satisficing<sup>1</sup> strategy, as a more accurate and realistic description of the way administrators both do and should make organizational decisions. According to Simon, most administrative decision-making is concerned with the selection and implementation of satisfactory alternatives rather than optimal alternatives; administrators in their problemistic search look for a set of reasonable alternatives which are judged "good enough". Although Simon's administrative model follows the same basic steps as the Cyert and March model and the Janis model, it is more useful for short-term than for long-term or final decisions. Thus it is more suitable for the day-to-day decisions administrators are routinely called upon to make; for key or pivotal decisions that have the potential to change the nature and direction of an institution, the

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<sup>1</sup>Simon coined the term "satisficing" from "satisfactory" and "sufficing".

administrative model of "good enough" decisions might not be suitable.

That Simon's satisficing strategy is more suitable for routine than for long-term decisions is supported by Zeleny (1981). He viewed Simon's satisficing strategy as suitable only for trivial, inconsequential decisions because it does not necessarily involve a commitment to decision-making excellence. Zeleny also claimed that the satisficing strategy also encourages accepting a compromise choice which ignores the ideal. Using a model of the displaced ideal, Zeleny saw the decision-maker initially searching for the ideal or best solution, but as discovering or inventing this ideal becomes unfeasible, what is deemed achievable replaces it even though the ideal alternative remains as a point of reference. With displacement, the choice continues to focus on alternatives already generated rather than on evoking new alternatives. Displacement results in a reinterpretation and reassessment of earlier alternatives, causing the ideal but unfeasible alternative to be displaced closer to the set of available alternatives. This displacement is coupled with justifications resulting in a "spreading apart of attractiveness" of the preliminary commitment from the other alternatives (p. 344). Such justifications increase as the final choice is approached, as options become highly restricted, as subjective biases become dominant, and as it becomes difficult to return to earlier rejected alternatives. This study examined the

degree to which Zeleny's model was applicable to the decision-making practices of the college, especially those points when ideal alternatives were unfeasible.

Lindblom (1963) described a third chief decision-making strategy, the strategy of successive limited comparisons, as "the science of muddling through" (p. 71) and used the term incrementalism to describe this strategy. He argued that incrementalism may be the only feasible approach to systematic decision-making when the issues are complex and uncertainty and conflict are high.

To explain why incrementalism may be the only realistic approach to decision-making, he employed a four-quadrant paradigm for choice of the decision-making process based on two dimensions: understanding, and size of change (Figure 1.6). In explaining his four-quadrant paradigm, Lindblom argued that decisions in the first quadrant, which involve high understanding and large change, are very rare. Those decisions involving high understanding and small or incremental change, such as those in the second quadrant, are very common and represent the daily business of administrators. Decisions involving incremental change and low understanding, such as those in the third quadrant, are also very common. The fourth quadrant describes decisions involving large change but low understanding. These decisions according to Lindblom are "grand opportunities" when potential rewards outweigh the risks. Such decisions are often forced by

circumstances. The most common decision-making, he argued, involves small or incremental change, whether the decision-makers have high or low understanding of the issues and consequences. Figure 1.6 is an adaptation of Lindblom's paradigm.

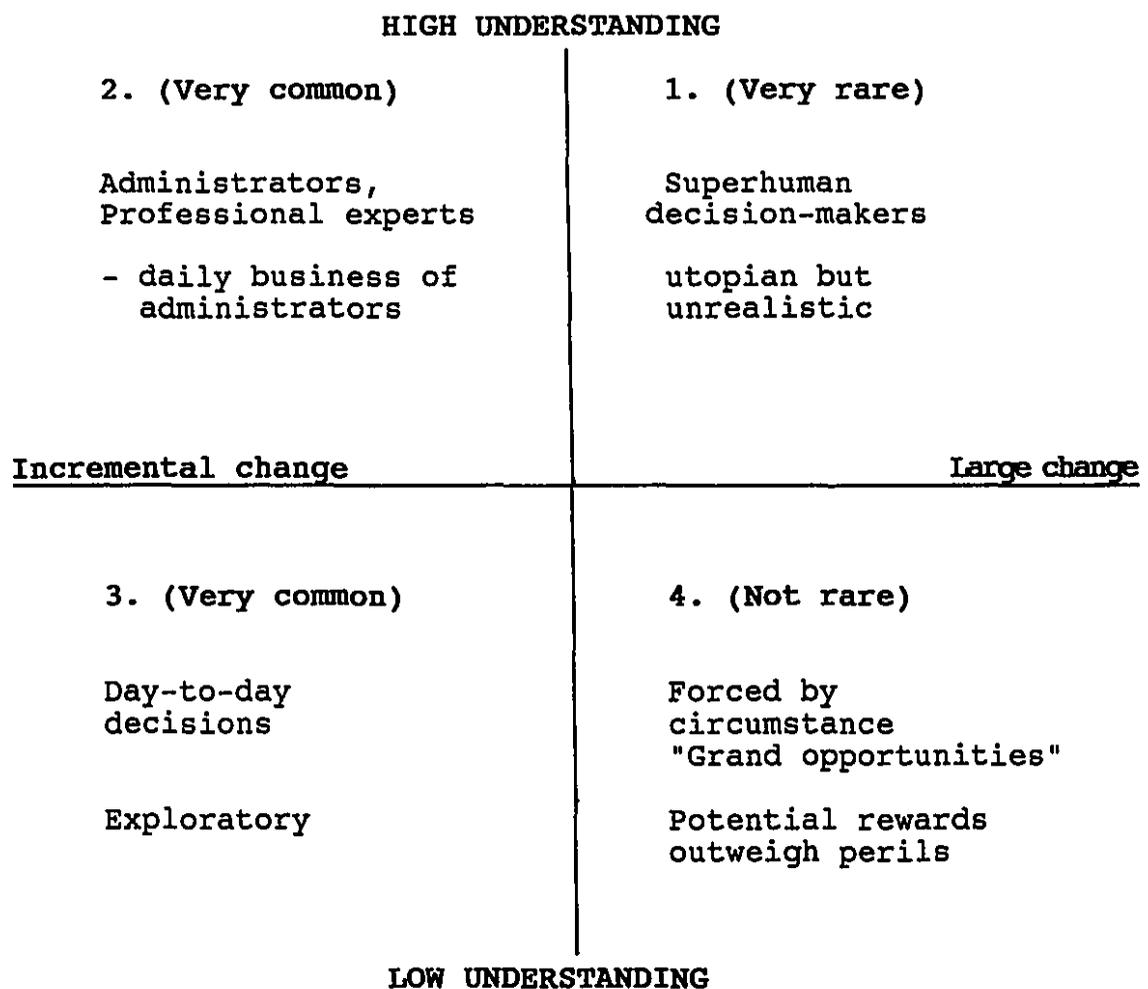


Figure 1.6. Lindblom paradigm for choice of decision-making process. Adapted from Braybrooke, D. & Lindblom, C. E. (1963), A strategy of decision. New York: Free Press, p. 78.

Lindblom further argued that decision-making focuses on increments of change, and "is remedial, serial, and exploratory" (p. 74), geared more to the alleviation of current problems than to the attainment of future goals. With the strategy of incrementalism, there is a limited search and goal modifications to make the problem manageable. Rather than attempting a comprehensive survey and evaluation of a wide array of alternatives, the decision-maker focuses only on those which differ incrementally from existing policies and practices. Incrementalism requires that decision-making be directed toward specific problems rather than toward comprehensive change, and that long-term changes are brought about through sequences of moves. Lindblom also described incrementalism as "disjointed", because often there seems to be no co-ordination of problem areas nor a systematic subdivision of the problem. According to Lindblom, "analysis and evaluation are in a secondary sense also disjointed because they focus heavily on remedial policies that 'happen' to be at hand rather than addressing themselves to a more comprehensive set of goals and alternative policies" (p. 106). This decision-making strategy has the advantage, according to Lindblom,

of preserving a rich variety of impressions and insights that are liable to be 'co-ordinated' out of sight by hasty and inappropriate demands for a common plan of attack. There are circumstances to which no one plan is especially suited (p. 106).

Disjointed incrementalism seems to be the antithesis of the

optimizing strategy and of Janis's model of vigilant problem solving. Because this study focused on key or pivotal decision points that involved large change, such as that described by quadrant four of the paradigm, the strategy of incrementalism would not seem to be applicable.

In agreement with Lindblom's strategy of incrementalism, Harrison (1981) proposed a model of accommodation and adaptation, pointing out that decision-makers focus only on those policies that differ the least from existing policies rather than on any comprehensive survey and evaluation of alternatives. According to Harrison, as decision-makers move through the process of examining various alternatives, they continually redefine the problem requiring a solution or decision. This study examined the extent to which the Harrison model was used by the Marianopolis administration at the three major decision-making points in the college's history.

As another variant on the strategy of limited successive comparisons, Soelberg (1967) proposed an implicit favourite model which suggests that an implicit favourite among alternatives is found early, but the search for a solution continues. A commitment to one alternative occurs after other alternatives already have been overtly reviewed and rejected. A confirmation process is completed by the manager, but often the other participants in a decision process do not realize it has already occurred. The announced agenda for a meeting may be to search for, and to choose, a solution to a problem. The

hidden agenda may be to explain a solution already chosen by the leader calling the meeting. This study analysed the applicability of this model to various change points in the history of Marianopolis and the degree to which the administration might have been operating from a hidden agenda. The study also examined how the implicit favourite model of Soelberg may have worked together with Janis's vigilant problem-solving model to effect a decision agreeable to both administration and faculty.

Optimizing	Satisficing	Successive Limited Comparisons
<p data-bbox="236 1283 450 1434"><b>Cyert &amp; March (1963)</b> -organizational decision process model</p> <p data-bbox="236 1476 469 1627"><b>Janis (1989)</b> -vigilant problem solving model &amp; constraints</p>	<p data-bbox="678 1283 885 1406"><b>Simon (1974)</b> -administrative model-- "good enough"</p> <p data-bbox="678 1476 880 1566"><b>Zeleny (1981)</b> -model of the displaced ideal</p>	<p data-bbox="1120 1283 1339 1342"><b>Lindblom (1963)</b> -incrementalism</p> <p data-bbox="1120 1378 1356 1468"><b>Harrison (1981)</b> -accomodation &amp; adaptation model</p> <p data-bbox="1120 1504 1356 1593"><b>Soelberg (1967)</b> -implicit favorite model</p>

Figure 1.7. Decision-making strategies and models.

Kinds of decisions. According to the literature, a fourth important factor that affects decision-making is the kind of decision required by the circumstances. The decision-maker must ask whether the problem is new and unfamiliar or one for which a pattern of action has already been developed. The kind of decision required may well affect the decision-making strategy selected.

Barnard (1938) distinguished among three kinds of decisions: (a) intermediary decisions arising from authoritative communications from superiors that relate to the interpretation, application, or distribution of instruction (top down); (b) appellate decisions which grow out of cases referred by subordinates (bottom up); (c) creative decisions which originate in the initiative of the executive concerned.

Drucker (1966) proposed two kinds of decisions: generic and unique. Generic decisions arise from established principles, policies or rules, and belong to a general group of organizational problems that frequently occur in any institution. The executive can handle the situation by applying the appropriate rule, principle or policy to the concrete circumstances of the case. Barnard's intermediary and appellate decisions can be subsumed in Drucker's generic decisions.

Drucker's model was employed in preference to the Barnard model because the degree of difference between Barnard's intermediary and appellate kinds of decisions is one of

perspective and not as sharply delineated as are Drucker's generic and unique kinds of decisions.

According to Drucker, unique decisions are those decisions that require going beyond established procedures for a solution; in fact, they may require a modification of the organizational structure. Here the decision-maker deals with an exceptional problem that is not adequately answered by the appropriate rule or principle. Creative or unique decisions often change the basic thrust or direction of an organization. To seek a creative solution, decision-makers can explore all ideas relevant to the problem. Drucker pointed out that completely unique events are rare. This study investigated the degree to which the decisions made at the three key points in the college's evolution were generic or unique decisions.

Barnard (1938)	Drucker (1966)
intermediary	generic
appellate	
creative	unique

Figure 1.8. Kinds of decisions.

In summary, the theoretical framework of this study consists of four of the factors involved in the decision-making process: style, constraints, strategies, and kinds. The

models chosen for each of these aspects of the decision-making process appear to be those most appropriate to explain the administrative decision-making processes that took place in Marianopolis College and its forerunners at the three pivotal decision-making points in the college's history.

Summary of theoretical framework. The framework for analysis of the three pivotal decision-making points in the evolution of Marianopolis College consists of the following:

Decision-making Style -- Proposed Model (1992)

Decision-making Constraints

- Environmental -- Bass (1983)
  - Feldman & Kanter (1965)
  - Emery & Trist (1963)
  - March & Romelaer (1976)
- Organizational Purpose -- Bass (1983)
  - Simon (1964)
  - Porras (1981)
  - Kast & Rosenzweig (1970)
- Organizational Structure -- Bass (1983)
  - Feldman & Kanter (1965)
  - Kast & Rosenzweig (1970)

Decision-making Strategies

- Optimizing (a variant) -- Janis (1989)
- Satisficing -- Zeleny (1981)
- Successive Limited Comparisons -- Lindblom (1963)
  - Harrison (1981)
  - Soelberg (1967)

Kinds of Decisions -- Drucker (1966)

### Review of the Historical Literature

The historical literature on which this study was based is complex and varied because there were many social, political, religious and educational events which formed the historical framework. For the purposes of this study, the literature focusing on the history of education in Quebec was the most important. Magnuson's A Brief History of Quebec Education (1980) is the most comprehensive study, tracing the development of Quebec education from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. Henchey & Burgess in Between Past and Future (1987) were concerned primarily with Quebec education during the twentieth century and provided insights on the Quiet Revolution and education policy shifts during the 1960's and 1970's. Carter (1957) provided an historical overview of Roman Catholic philosophy of education and traced the development of English Catholic education in Quebec. Shook (1971) examined Catholic post-secondary education across Canada, but had two chapters concerning Marianopolis College and Loyola College, both of which commented on the alternatives available to these two institutions during the 1960's. Slattery's published historical study (1962), Loyola and Montreal: A History, not only gave information on Loyola College but also provided important background on English Catholic education in Montreal.

In her sociological study Taking the Veil, Danylewycz (1987) discussed from a feminist perspective the role of the

Congrégation de Notre-Dame in education for French-speaking women in Quebec. This was the first major published scholarly study from a feminist perspective of the contributions of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame to higher education. Lambert's Histoire de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame (1969), and Plante's unpublished doctoral thesis (1971) L'enseignement classique chez les soeurs de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1908-1971 provided important background information and insights on the role of religious orders in Quebec education. In his published study Les collèges classiques au Canada français: (1620-1970), Galarneau (1978) examined the development of les collèges classiques in Quebec. This study provided comparisons of male and female classical colleges.

Numerous studies such as those by Wade (1968), Rioux & Martin (1964), Falardeau (1958), Hughes (1943), Frégault (1968), and McRoberts & Posgate (1984) examined Quebec from economic, sociological, political and religious perspectives. Rioux & Martin's French-Canadian Society, a collection of essays by some of Quebec's most prominent historians and sociologists, gave insights into French-Canadian society from a number of different viewpoints.

Several articles also gave information about English Catholic education in Quebec: Keep's article, "The Irish Adjustment in Montreal", in Canadian Historical Review, and Moir's article, "The Problem of a Double Minority", in Social History discussed the special problems faced by English

Catholics in Quebec. LeBlanc's article "Collegial Education in Quebec: a Bibliography", in McGill Journal of Education, provided a comprehensive bibliography of articles on the CEGEPs.

Government documents examined included The Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Constitutional Problems (known as the Tremblay Report) of 1956. This document heralded a newfound interest in and awareness of the central role of education as an agent for social transformation. The Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education (known as the Parent Report), published in five volumes from 1963 to 1966, became the blueprint for educational change in Quebec. Among its many recommendations, it advocated the centralization of education in a Ministry of Education and the establishing of 'institutes', which became the CEGEPs. A third government document The College: Report on the State and Needs of College Education (known as the Nadeau Report) was released in 1975. This document indicated that the education revolution begun in the 1960's should be an ongoing process. It also provided useful background, dates and other statistics for the CEGEPs. The briefs submitted by Marianopolis College and other women's colleges in Quebec are companion documents to the first two reports. Of special interest and information was the brief submitted to the Tremblay Commission by les directrices des quinze collèges classiques de jeunes filles de la Province de Québec (1954), Mémoire des collèges classiques de jeunes

filles à la Commission Royale d'Enquête sur les Problèmes Constitutionnels. This document provided enlightening background information and statistics for both the French and the English women's classical colleges.

Perspectives on the government documents and their recommendations are found in Magnuson's study. According to Magnuson, during the Quiet Revolution education became an instrument of national policy and altered the balance of education power in Quebec from the church to the government. With the formation of the CEGEPs, a radical reshaping of post-secondary education took place. Henchey & Burgess pointed out that a major problem of the anglophone CEGEPs in particular during their first ten years of operation stemmed from a lack of clear purpose and that it is only recently that the CEGEPs are developing a more positive understanding of their nature and role.

Another document that gave insights into Church-operated education institutions was A Commitment to Higher Education in Canada by the Commission of Inquiry on Forty Catholic Church-Related Colleges and Universities (1970). This document provided information about the philosophy of Roman Catholic education and gave statistics for Marianopolis College not found in any other studies.

The bulk of the historical data pertaining to Marianopolis College and its forerunners was located in the archives of Marianopolis College, the Congrégation de Notre-

Dame (which also includes those of Notre Dame Collegiate Institute, Notre Dame Ladies College, and Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys), McGill University and Concordia University (including both Sir George Williams University and Loyola College). A comprehensive listing of the files most useful to this study may be found in the Reference Notes section.

Specific Questions

1. What were the practices of decision-making employed by the Church and the Congrégation de Notre-Dame in 1908 to bring about the creation of the first college? What decision-making practices were employed in 1943 to create Marianopolis College, and then in 1969 to effect the changes in the orientation of Marianopolis College?
2. To what extent do these decision-making practices confirm the theoretical models of decision-making? To what extent was there consistency in the decision-making practices of the college administration?
3. Did the purpose of the college change as the college evolved?

### Design and Methodology

This study is both descriptive and analytical. It employs a broad historical framework, tracing the evolution of Marianopolis College from the founding of its forerunner Notre Dame Collegiate Institute in 1908 until 1975 when, as a CEGEP-level college, Marianopolis moved to its present site on Côte des Neiges.

The primary historical data was found in the archives of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Marianopolis College, McGill University, and Concordia University. The historical framework was also supported by published studies of Quebec education and society, and by unpublished theses and dissertations. Relevant government documents were also consulted and analysed.

This study is also a case study of administrative decision-making practices. Marianopolis College was selected because there are points in its history at which major changes were made and new directions taken. Marianopolis College and its forerunners have been unique in many ways; this study nevertheless offers insight into how a small educational institution could adapt to the pressures of social, political, religious and educational change through the decision-making strategies adopted by the Church, the Congrégation, and the administration. This study provides the opportunity to examine and analyse theories and models of decision-making in the context of an institution that has undergone change, and to

examine the extent to which the actual practices of the administration confirm these theories and models.

There have been many changes at Marianopolis College and its forerunners and opportunities for decision-making since 1908, but three have been selected as key:

1908 -- The circumstances leading to the founding of the first post-secondary institution for English-language Roman Catholic women.

1943 -- The decision-making practices which led to the English-language section of Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys becoming a separate institution (Marianopolis College) with curriculum expansion and modification of programs offered.

1969 -- The decision-making practices which led to Marianopolis becoming a co-educational, multi-confessional CEGEP-level college offering the academic pre-university program.

The conceptual framework of this study derives from the literature of decision-making. Commentary is given on decision-making styles, constraints, strategies, and kinds as they apply to the changes which took place at each of the three key points in the evolution of the college.

This study consists of seven chapters.

Chapter 1 gives a statement of the problem, the background of the subject, and the purpose and rationale of the study. It

reviews the literature of decision-making and the historical literature which serve as dual frameworks for the study, and presents the principal questions which guided the analysis.

Chapter 2 provides the historical data and commentary in the light of decision-making theory, of the founding of the first forerunner of the college in 1908.

Chapter 3 examines and comments upon the social and economic changes which brought about the separation of the French and English sections of the college in 1943, and the expanded program offered by the English section, now called Marianopolis College.

Chapter 4 provides the historical background for the Quiet Revolution of the 1960's.

Chapter 5 examines and comments upon the three sets of negotiations for affiliation with Loyola College, McGill University and Sir George Williams University consecutively and investigates the reasons why these negotiations were not successful.

Chapter 6 traces the steps by which Marianopolis College was transformed into a two-year, co-educational and multi-confessional CEGEP-level college, comments upon the decision-making practices in the light of decision-making theory, and concludes with the move from the Peel Street campus to its present site on Côte des Neiges.

Chapter 7 gives a summary and general conclusions drawn from the historical data and the commentary on that data,

suggests the need for further research on the colleges and on decision-making, and indicates some implications for the college in the future.

The study also used data derived from a questionnaire distributed to three of the Sisters of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame who were involved in the changes which took place during the 1960's, as well as to eight staff and faculty members who served on various planning and negotiating committees. Two former students from the 1960's also were willing to provide their recollected insights. Individual interviews took place so that responses to the questionnaire could be amplified or explained in greater detail by the respondents. Other informal personal interviews with faculty and administration took place to clarify points and to explain certain events referred to in the Marianopolis archives. The findings from the questionnaire and the interviews were used principally in Chapter 6.

A copy of the questionnaire has been included in the Appendix.

## Chapter 2

### The Beginnings of the College--1908

#### Role of the Catholic Church in Education

During the years following the Quebec Act of 1774, the Roman Catholic Church emerged as a powerful, conservatively-oriented force, gradually gaining total control of the education of both English-speaking and French-speaking Roman Catholics. This control was exercised at all education levels from primary through university, and was part of the Church's ascendancy in all aspects of Quebec society.

Legislative enactments beginning in the 1840's gradually shaped an education system characterized by its duality -- a system divided along religious rather than linguistic lines -- with Catholics and Protestants de facto operating separate, autonomous education systems. Antithetical to both the liberalism and anticlericalism that had arisen in France following the Revolution, the Church in Quebec had strengthened the conservative and ultramontane ideology established by Bishop Laval. Following the defeat of Papineau in the Rebellions of 1837-38, "the way was cleared for a clerical assault on the idea of lay education" (Magnuson, 1980, p. 30). With legislation in 1841, 1845, 1846 and 1856, the dominant characteristics of the dual system of Quebec education were established and the Church strengthened its hold

over all aspects of Quebec life. In 1843, the Bishop of Quebec stated: "It is correct to say that, if education has made some progress in the country, it is mainly due to the constant efforts and sacrifices of the clergy" (Falardeau, 1953, p. 348).

During the 1840's and 1850's, the Church forged a strong link with French Canadian nationalism as the voice of la survivance by convincing society in Quebec that the unity of religion, nation and family was the best means of ensuring the survival of language and culture. By influencing the press and politicians from the pulpit, the Church was in the position of controlling how its members voted, and what they read and believed. In 1869 the Church brought about the demise of the Institut Canadien because of its liberal and anticlerical stance and exercised an ecclesiastical ban on a number of newspapers (Magnuson, 1980, pp. 29, 41). Through its power to exclude its members from the sacraments and to pronounce excommunication, the Church wielded a power greater than that exercised by civil authority.

For different reasons, both Catholics and Protestants resisted attempts by the government to determine education policy, and ensured that the post of Minister of Public Instruction was abolished in 1875, just seven years after it had been established. De facto power over education was vested in the two Committees of the Council of Public Instruction which met separately and which were structured on religious

lines. The 1875 Act by which this Council was set up was the legislation which established the structures in effect until the 1960's and put Catholic education firmly into the hands of the clergy. By an 1883 agreement between the Prime Minister of Quebec and the Council of Public Instruction, the government bound itself not to present before the legislature any bill regarding education without prior consultation with the Catholic and/or Protestant Committees (Parent Report, Vol. 1, p. 25). As Guindon (1953) observed, "Politics in Quebec structurally require a deal between clergy and politicians; this is the significant fact of democracy in Quebec" (p. 159). After 1875, the Bishops sat as members of the Catholic Committee and thus were able to control all aspects of education policy. The victory of highly conservative ultramontane Catholicism was consolidated and Roman Catholic philosophy of education permeated the entire curriculum of all levels of Catholic schooling. Until 1929, when the cours primaire supérieur was instituted (Parent Report, Vol.1, p. 18), secondary education was the responsibility of the private, clergy-operated collèges classiques and was essentially elitist. It also effectively excluded females, since the classical colleges were for male students only.

This either-or duality of French and Catholic or Protestant and English did not accord with reality, because from the early days of New France there had been English-speaking Catholics in Quebec. By 1860, there were 50,192 Irish

in Lower Canada, 14,179 of whom were in Montreal (Keep, 1950, p. 39). Influxes of Catholic Scots, Germans and Eastern Europeans, mostly non-English in origin, had become part of the English-speaking Catholic population (Moir, 1971, p. 56).

Once confessional duality became entrenched in education legislation, the English-speaking Catholics found themselves in a confessional and linguistic no-man's-land. By law they were eligible to attend Protestant schools, but tradition and religious differences kept this group in the Catholic schools. To go to English schools meant a sacrifice of their Catholic faith, but to go to the almost totally French Catholic schools, meant a sacrifice of their language. Thus the English Catholics constituted a double minority, or as described by Moir (1971), a third solitude. English Catholics with means could send their sons to the English-speaking section of Collège Ste-Marie (which later became Loyola College) for a collegial education. Their daughters could go to the Villa Maria Convent (founded in 1856 and run by the Congrégation de Notre-Dame), or to other convent schools for primary and secondary education.

It was not until 1908 that Catholic girls, either French- or English-speaking, were able to continue their education at the post-secondary level. Prior to 1908, Catholic girls wishing a post-secondary education had two options: to attend McGill University (nonsectarian but viewed as Protestant), or to go to another province, the United States or France.

Obviously these options were limited to girls from families with means and a progressive attitude towards university education for females. The Church approved of none of these options. In McGill or another university in Canada or the United States, the girls received an English education, and in France they received a secular education.

The second half of the nineteenth century was also a time of change within the Catholic Church itself as it grew dramatically in power in Quebec.

The conservative climate that permeated the Union period, the fear of assimilation, and the social problems brought about by the growth of cities all provided opportunities for the Church to expand its role.... By linking itself more closely to the Holy See, the Church was able to become the dominant social and cultural institution in French Canada (Danylewycz, 1987, pp. 21-22).

Strong and ambitious Church leaders like Bishop Bourget grasped every opportunity during the mid and later years of the nineteenth century to extend the power and authority of the Church, especially in the realm of education. The Church encouraged the growth of female religious orders, which until the 1840's had stagnated, their numbers never greater than 260 women in all orders in Quebec (Danylewycz, 1987, p. 17). By 1871, the number was over 2000 and by 1900, over 6000 (Census of Canada, 1871, 1901). Between 1840 and 1900, 24 female religious communities were founded or brought to Quebec (Mémoire, 1954, p. 19). All of the uncloistered communities directed their efforts to providing education and social

services, both of which areas were under Church control.

The growing political power of the Church assured these orders of a leading role in education and protected them from outside competition by controlling teacher training and hiring, and by certification of teaching brothers and sisters.

The granting of virtual autonomy to teaching communities...gave religious men and women exactly the kind of independence from secular authorities that the Church argued was their due. In time, each order began to take for granted this favoured status and to use it to its own advantage (Danylewycz, 1987, p. 24).

Plante (1971) observed that the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, for example, argued that the novitiate provided suitable teacher-training for its members.

From the mid-1800's, under Bishops Lartigue and Bourget, Catholicism in Quebec, especially in Montreal, was anti-liberal and ultramontane, a bastion protecting and advocating a traditional authority system. It had "established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority" (Weber, 1947, p. 328). The Church also stood against any form of secularism or government control of Catholic education. As Audet (1950) noted: "L'oeuvre de l'éducation leur a semblé trop delicate pour rester à la portée des contrecoups politiques" (p. 65). In promoting a classical, theological and literary tradition, the collèges classiques and universities trained the French Canadian élite, including priests who would reinforce and maintain the power of the Church. This also meant that the

traditional views concerning women and their circumscribed role in society were maintained and strengthened.

The Church was strongly paternalistic and patriarchal in its ideology. Lussier (1960) observed that after the Church itself, the second cornerstone of Catholic philosophy was the family. According to Church ideology, the most virtuous roles for women were marriage and motherhood, and the development of devotions to the Virgin Mary in the mid-1800's fostered this belief. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception "validated, reflected and reinforced the dominant attitudes that were developing toward women in this period" (Danylewycz, 1987, p. 41). The education deemed most suitable for Catholic girls was that which would best equip them for their role in Quebec society, such as that available in the instituts familiaux in which "the cult of the home, the cult of the virtues of the true mistress of the household" were inculcated (Lussier, 1960, p. 77). This attitude towards women was not, however, confined to the Roman Catholic Church and French Quebec; it was the generally held view during the Victorian era. In Quebec it was enshrined in the Catholic educational system and persisted for 25 years after female students were admitted to McGill university in 1870.

Instead of marriage, motherhood, or the uncertainties of a low-paying job, women did have the alternative of entering a religious order. It was in the best interests of the Church to encourage women in this, since the Church required

committed, dedicated personnel to staff the schools and to run the machinery of its various programmes of social welfare. Religious orders were bound to the Church by a vow of obedience. Thus the devotional revolution of the mid-1800's, the traditional views of women and the family, and the proliferation of religious orders all worked together to give the Church ultimate power over life in French Catholic Quebec.

#### The Congrégation de Notre-Dame

Founded by Marguerite Bourgeoys in 1671, the Sisters of the Order of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame occupied a special place in the history of Quebec as the first teachers of children in the colony. By 1692 the Congrégation had 14 schools in New France (St. Brendan, 1939, pp. 3-4). From the beginning of the Congrégation's work in the colony, there were English-speaking women in its community. English-speaking children, captured during Iroquois raids and then ransomed by the French, were given into the care of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame. Most converted to Catholicism and one of these children became the first English-speaking sister in the Congrégation de Notre-Dame (St. Brendan, 1939, p. 12). In 1823, English was given place on the official program of studies in the schools operated by the Order, and "the formal introduction of...the English language found English-speaking pupils and English-speaking teachers awaiting this recognition of their mother-tongue" (St. Brendan, 1939, p. 35). Several

of the Order's boarding schools, such as Villa Maria, had English-speaking sections.

As the Order expanded and diversified its education services during the 1800's, its administrative organization became large, complex and hierarchical (Lambert, 1969, p. 40). Divided into a number of religious 'provinces', each of which corresponded to the regional distribution of the Order's schools, the *Congrégation* was ruled by a Superior General and her governing council. Local and provincial superiors assisted the Superior General, supervised the day-to-day activities of the sisters and ensured obedience to the Sacred Rule. As Danylewycz (1987) observed, "Nothing was left to chance; every aspect of communal life was carefully codified. The process of standardization and centralization affecting late nineteenth-century social life had taken hold of the convent" (p. 19). The sisters belonged "to a well-disciplined and formally trained cadre whose spiritual and educational work was choreographed by a leadership intent on consolidating and expanding the community's wealth and power" (pp. 19-20).

By the end of the 1800's, the *Congrégation* controlled more educational institutions for girls than any other female order in Quebec and also had schools in the Maritimes, Ontario and several American states (Baeszler, 1944, p. 23). At a time when women's opportunities were largely limited to marriage and motherhood and they were denied any voice in business or the professions, the women of the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame*

were effective administrators in the business of education.

#### The Founding of a College for Women

By the late 1800's, and despite strong resistance from the male hierarchy of the Church, a lay feminist movement was beginning to get underway in Quebec. Two of the Congrégation's boarding schools, the Villa Maria and Mont Ste-Marie, became "the seedbeds of women's collegiate education and important centres of middle- and upper-class social feminism" (Danylewycz, 1987, p. 123). In these schools, girls received training in literature, sciences and arts. Also by the end of her schooling, "[la jeune fille] joue agréablement le piano, [et] écrit sans fautes d'orthographe" (Mémoire, 1954, p. 6). After this education, "ses seules préoccupations seront les caprices de la mode, l'attente des événements mondains et l'espoir d'un mari". The Mémoire concluded, however, "Mais à quelques jeunes filles, cela ne suffit pas" (p. 6).

Some of these young women became dissatisfied that no opportunity to continue their education existed unless they attended McGill or left home for the United States or France. In the convents they had learned about and often participated in the charitable and philanthropic work which was largely controlled by the religious women and integrated into the organizational structure of the Catholic Church (Danylewycz, 1987). After finishing their education, lay women often worked in partnership with the sisters as assistants in these

charitable activities. Everywhere they saw the expansion of these activities as day-care centres, boarding homes for the aged, schools for the blind and deaf, temporary shelters for rural women and domestic science schools were established. In the 1880's, the Congrégation de Notre-Dame added typing and stenography to the curriculum in some of their academies (Mémoire, 1954, p. 15). Everywhere it seemed, services were being expanded to meet the changing needs of women; everywhere, that is, except in providing higher academic education for them.

Lay women began to agitate for a more active voice in the social, cultural and political life of Quebec and because of the association they had had with the sisters in the convent schools, they saw themselves working in partnership with the female religious orders in expanding charitable work and improving social conditions. In 1893 a Montreal branch of the National Council of Women was established, and when a women's section of the Association St-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal was formed, its members turned their attention to educational matters. "Mais cette association a besoin de compétence, autant que de dévouement. Ses membres sentent le besoin d'une formation plus complète et pressent les Dames de la Congrégation de faire quelque chose dans ce domain" (Mémoire, 1954, p. 7). Marie Lacoste-Gérin-Lajoie and the other leaders in advocating greater educational opportunity for women looked to the Congrégation de Notre-Dame to support the cause

of higher education for women and to plead its case with Archbishop Bruchési.

During these years of lay feminist agitation, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church along with politicians like Henri Bourassa ridiculed these women who, in the view of the Church, betrayed Church and family by embracing the feminist cause. Although many members of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame were sympathetic to feminist concerns about the lack of higher education for women, they were publicly silent on the issue. They were, after all, bound by vows of obedience to the Church hierarchy. Some sisters, notably Sister Ste-Anne Marie, did, however, work within the Order to convince its members that higher education for women was advantageous, both in promoting religious vocations and in increasing the power and prestige of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame. Convincing the hierarchy of the Church was another matter.

In the early years of the 1900's, some small first steps were taken towards founding a college for Roman Catholic women. In 1904 Roman Catholic women won permission to audit literature courses at Laval University and the right to sit on the council of the National Library. Feminists like Robertine Barry kept up the pressure on the Congrégation, urging the sisters to revive the days when convents were "breeding grounds of learned women" (Plante, 1971, p. 29) and to establish a women's college so that young women would be equipped for university entrance. Lay women regularly met with

Congrégation sisters, especially with Sister St-Anaclet, the Superior General. Gérin-Lajoie published an outline of a tentative college curriculum in Le Journal de Françoise and kept reminding the sisters that her daughter Marie, a student at Mont Ste-Marie Convent, would be going to university when she graduated in 1908 -- if not in Quebec, then elsewhere in Canada, the United States or France (Pelletier-Baillargeon, 1983, p. 114).

Responding to this kind of pressure, the authorities of the Congrégation, despite their reluctance to launch their community into what they viewed as a perilous adventure, sought the advice of Abbé (later Canon) Gauthier who supported them in the enterprise. He had earlier encouraged Sister Ste-Anne Marie, the principal of Mont Ste-Marie, to introduce philosophy, chemistry and law into the high school curriculum as groundwork for a women's college (Plante, 1971, p. 46).

Additional pressure came from the parents of English-speaking students at Villa Maria. These girls did not have a diploma at the collegial level, and thus were not qualified for university entrance. Parents asked the sisters to obtain, "une certification collégiale en bonne et due forme" (Pelletier-Baillargeon, 1983, p. 114). These parental petitions were presented to the governing council of the Community.

Following a long internal debate, the Congrégation sought affiliation with Laval University for Villa Maria for certain

post-secondary courses (Archives, Congrégation de Notre-Dame {ACND}, Les Annales du Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys {ACMB}, tome 1). Armed with a letter from Archbishop Bruchési, who at times seemed sympathetic to the cause of higher education for women, two sisters had an interview on July 4, 1904 with Mgr. Mathieu, the Rector of Laval University. They pointed out that "quelques jeunes filles vont chercher un supplément de bagage intellectuel à l'Université McGill" (Mémoire, 1954, p. 8). The request was then referred to the Department of Public Instruction and thence to the Catholic Committee, which judged that the time was not ripe to have young women pursue higher studies. The Mémoire observed, "Il faut dire que les préjugés étaient alors nombreux et bien enracinés" (p. 8). Stung by this rejection, the Congrégation dropped the project for the time being.

Sister Ste-Anne Marie pressed the Order's General Council from 1904 to 1906 to keep pursuing the project of a college for women, but she met with little enthusiasm. The General Council saw that such a need might very well arise in the future, but mindful of the failed attempt of Villa Maria to procure an affiliation with Laval University for certain courses only, they decided there was no urgency. Internal division in the Order also delayed matters. While some sisters were supportive, others were outraged by Sister Ste-Anne Marie's "modernism" and disapproved also of the changes she had made at Mont Ste-Marie (Plante, 1971, pp. 50-52).

In 1906, after lengthy internal debate, Sister Ste-Anne Marie was authorized by the General Council of the Order to explore possibilities with Archbishop Bruchési, whose support was essential. Although he had shown himself favourably disposed to women's concerns, he nevertheless was indecisive about a proposal regarding a college for women. "Mgr. Bruchési se contentera de faire aux deux femmes [Sister Ste-Anne Marie et Marie Lacoste-Gérin-Lajoie] l'éloge plutôt évasif de la culture féminine et de son influence bienfaisante dans la famille et la société" (Pelletier-Baillargeon, 1971, p. 115). As Danylewycz (1987) pointed out, all major educational decisions involving religious communities rested in the hands of the Archbishop, and without his approval, no steps could be taken by the Order towards founding a classical college.

The Archbishop's hesitation ended abruptly on April 25, 1908, when headlines in La Patrie announced the September 1908 opening in Montreal of a non-denominational lycée for young women, with its programs and educational philosophy imported from France. Both the Archbishop and the Congrégation de Notre-Dame reacted with alarm. The General Mistress of Studies for the Order indicated the following day that the General Council was ready to act and that the Sisters might inform Archbishop Bruchési of this should they have the opportunity to do so (ACND, ACMB, tome 1). Sister Ste-Anne Marie lost no time in arranging to see the Archbishop, who this time was favourably disposed to a classical college for

women under the direction of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame. It would not, however, be called a collège féminin since such a name was judged to be "trop audacieux" (Galarneau, 1978, p. 41). Without the threat of a non-denominational lycée under lay control hanging over his head, it is doubtful that Archbishop Bruchési would have given his permission so quickly.

The sisters presented plans for a dual French and English institution to be housed in the new Mother House and for a four year baccalaureat program modelled on that offered in the male collèges classiques. On June 16, 1908, the Archbishop gave his full approval, expressing his wish that the parallel institutions should open within a year, and observing that "True learning will harm no one...[but] will contribute to the formation...of strong women which our society definitely needs" (ACND, ACMB, tome 1. Trans. Sr. M. Noonan).

Responding to mixed reactions from both members of the Congrégation and the clergy, and to the silence of the Sulpicians who had been long-standing advisers to the Congrégation, the Archbishop began to rethink his position and proposed to the Congrégation that they wait several years before opening the college. Canon Gauthier warned the sisters that if the Congrégation were to withdraw from or delay the project, he was certain that they would miss out entirely and that another order would go ahead with a college for young women. Following his advice, the sisters held firm with

Archbishop Bruchési who finally advised Sister Ste-Anne Marie to prepare an article for Semaine Religieuse announcing the opening and explaining the function of L'Ecole supérieure d'enseignement pour les jeunes filles and its parallel English institution, Notre Dame Collegiate Institute.<sup>1</sup> In September, 1908, the Rector of Laval University informed Sister Ste-Anne Marie that both institutions had been affiliated with the Montreal campus of Laval University by decision of the University Council. Sister Ste-Anne Marie was appointed as the first Directress of L'Ecole and Sister St. Agnes Romaine as Dean of the English college.

Both the French- and English-speaking institutions had as their aim "The training of students who in their future sphere will be distinguished for scholarship and womanly culture and emphatically [sic] for firm and uncompromising catholicity combined with the attractive grace of virtue" (Archives, Marianopolis College {AMC}, A.11.08). The official administration of the new college included the Superior General of the Order, the General Mistress of Studies, the Directress of L'Ecole and another sister from the college appointed by the Superior General. In practice the latter-mentioned member was the Dean of Notre Dame Ladies College. The Vice-Rector of Laval was appointed to attend all meetings on a consultative basis. A special Consultative Commission composed of three faculty members, two alumnae, the

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<sup>1</sup> In 1909 this name was changed to Notre Dame Ladies College.

Directress, and the Vice-Rector of Laval as Chairman, all prescribed according to a specific formula, could be called as occasion warranted, but ultimate decision-making power rested with the official administration in consultation with Laval authorities and the Archbishop.

The first classical college for women in Quebec was officially opened October 8, 1908.

#### Commentary on the Decision-making -- 1908

The Church through the bishops controlled and directed all Catholic education and this power had been consolidated during the second half of the nineteenth century via various acts of legislation. By the early 1900's the bishop in his own diocese exercised virtually total decision-making authority over whatever education innovations were to be permitted.

It is clear from the historical data that the Congrégation de Notre-Dame could not proceed with any plans for establishing post-secondary education for girls without first of all having the Archbishop's approval and consent. The Bishop did not require any input from subordinates to reach decisions, even though he did meet with Sister Ste-Anne Marie and listen to her proposals, largely because he seemed to have some sympathy with her hope to establish a college. The Archbishop had no obligation to accede to her request, but she was under a vow of obedience to accept whatever decision he

made. The vow of obedience was both to the hierarchy of the Order and to the Archbishop who acted as the Pope's appointed representative.

Decision-making style. The Archbishop had the authority vested in his office to operate in a manner described as levels I and II on the composite model of decision-making styles (Figure 1.1), and as the unilateral power to make a decision alone (Figure 1.2), with or without informational input. Lewin, Lippitt and White (1939) characterized this level of the continuum as autocratic leadership, Maier (1955) as autocratic management, and Likert (1967) as either the exploitive or benevolent authoritative system of decision process. Vroom & Yetton characterized this authoritative approach as either (a) making the decision alone using information available at the time, or (b) obtaining the necessary information from subordinates, then making the decision alone. In the second level of the continuum, the role of subordinates is clearly one of providing the necessary information, rather than generating or evaluating alternative solutions.

Sister Ste-Anne Marie was subject to the authority of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, vested in the Superior General of the Order and her governing council. She could not initiate discussions with or present proposals to Archbishop Bruchési without the approval of the officials of her Order to whom she

was bound by a vow of obedience. Thus she was subject to a two-tiered authority system in which the Archbishop by canonical law exercised authority over the Order, and the Order exercised authority over her actions through the Sacred Rule.

Participation in decision-making has been defined as a process of joint decision-making by two or more parties and the amount of participation of any individual is the amount of influence he or she has on the decisions (French, Israel and As, 1960; Vroom, 1960). In terms of this definition, Sister Ste-Anne Marie did not participate in the Archbishop's decision concerning the establishment of a college for girls. One could argue that she was persuasive in her discussions with the Archbishop, and that the Archbishop was sympathetic to the cause of higher education for girls, but neither observation changes the style of decision-making employed by Archbishop Bruchési. He listened, but in the final analysis, he made the decision for or against the establishment of a college. His decision-making style is thus best described by the first and second levels of the continuum. Sister Ste-Anne Marie participated in the decision-making process, but not in the actual deciding.

The Archbishop's decision-making style is consistent with the Weberian analysis of the three primary types of authority systems and the manner in which they are routinized. In the Roman Catholic Church charismatic authority had been

routinized and transformed into a tripartite authority structure, founded originally on pure charismatic authority, bound by tradition and run by a highly developed and educated bureaucracy. As Bendix (1960) observed,

The original charismatic message becomes variously dogma, theory, legal regulation, or the content of an oral or written tradition... and the belief in an extraordinary power and mission becomes founded instead upon a belief in authority sanctified by tradition (p. 307).

Weber (1947) saw bureaucracy "illustrated by the administrative role of the priesthood" (p. 334), and hypothesized the dual routinization of charismatic authority, pointing out that neither charismatic nor traditional authority systems preclude a bureaucracy.

For all types of authority the fact of the existence and continued functioning of an administrative staff is vital... [and] the habit of obedience cannot be maintained without organized activity directed to the application and enforcement of the order" (Weber, 1947, p. 383).

In Quebec, particularly in Montreal, the conservative and ultramontane stance of the Church during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries emphasized the traditional or patriarchal authority system in reference to women, who were instructed by the Church to learn the so-called "womanly" arts, to be subservient to Church, father and/or spouse, and to have no active role beyond that which was prescribed by the Church. The popularity of Marian devotions during this period enhanced the Church's reluctance to consider higher education for women. Thus the very authority system by which the Church

operated promoted an authoritative, autocratic, or unilateral style of decision-making.

Decision-making constraints. An important consideration in decision-making is the presence of constraints, defined as "a driving force or a restraining force, exogenous to the decision process, which modifies the process" (Bass, 1983, p. 115). Bass further observed that constraints are ordinarily beyond the immediate, complete control of the decision-makers and limit the available alternatives. Such environmental and organizational constraints were present, and influenced the decision-making of Archbishop Bruchési.

Constraints imposed by environment. March and Romelaer (1976) observed that what may be more important to the decision-making process is the contiguity in time and place of problems, available solutions, and decision-makers. As a result, environment plays an important role in forming the attitudes of the decision-maker and limiting what decisions are possible.

Coupled with the constraint of environment is also that of organizational purpose and goals, and that of the organizational structure of which the decision-maker is a part. Feldman & Kanter (1965) and Bass (1983) emphasized the importance of environment as a constraint, while Simon (1964), Porras (1981) and Kast & Rosenzweig (1970) tended to emphasize organizational purpose and goals. Feldman & Kanter, Bass, and

Kast & Rosenzweig also saw organizational structure and actions as important constraints on the decision-making process.

The environment of the late 1800's was not conducive to a decision to establish a women's college. The collèges classiques on which a college for girls was to be modelled were male preserves, and as such effectively closed higher education and entrance to the professions to females. Also, the Church had fostered a belief in the primacy of home, husband and family as the most desirable occupations for females. The prevailing view was that women wishing higher academic education did so to imitate men and compete with them (Mémoire, 1954, p. 2). This view was held not only by the Church, but also by society at large. The Church as the principal agent of conservatism supported the traditional view of woman's place and promoted the instituts familiaux as the most appropriate form of education for women. Politicians like Henri Bourassa ridiculed the notion of higher education for women. Canon Gauthier in encouraging Sister Ste-Anne Marie to pursue her plans for a college for women was the exception. As a result, Archbishop Bruchési's decision was influenced by a monolithic, conservative Church welded to a policy of traditionalism, and the general hostility to any idea of higher academic education for women. It has also been pointed out in the historical data that the Congrégation de Notre-Dame was not uniformly in support of establishing a

college because many sisters viewed the idea of a college for women as smacking of modernism. Many women as well as men viewed feminism as a form of anti-clericalism. McWhinnney (1968) pointed out that the environment affects the sense of certainty in decision-making and the need for dealing effectively with risk. Viewed in this light, Archbishop Bruchési's hesitation and vacillation in making a decision about something as radical as approval for establishing a women's college is understandable. He had to take into consideration the traditional view of the Quebec Church concerning the role of women, the wide-spread hostility towards such a venture, and what the long-term consequences of a favourable decision might be. It was a venture into the unknown, filled with the risk of change to values and attitudes which had been fostered by Catholic ideology. The last thing wished by Archbishop Bruchési, or any other bishop for that matter, was to alter the placid, stable environment of Quebec Catholicism to one which would be filled with turbulence and instability.

Constraints imposed by organizational structure. The structure of an organization is also an important constraint on the decision-making process. Simon (1964) argued that the organizational decision-making system is likely to contain constraints that remove from consideration courses of action that are inimical to survival. Likewise, Bass (1983) pointed out that the decision maker is limited by the structure and

authority relationships unique to his organization. Bass also observed that organizational structures provide status systems with defined roles which become premises for individual decisions.

According to Bass (1983), the classical, hierarchical organization is predicated on the traditional authority structure with downward flows of decisions. Rice & Bishoprick (1971) pointed out that in an autocracy, roles are defined by the superior, and the superior directs the activities of the subordinates, and that all wisdom, analytic skill, and knowledge are concentrated in the person of the superior. Thus, in the early 1900's, the principal constraint on the Congrégation de Notre-Dame was the organizational authority structure of the Church itself and the position of the Order's superior, the bishop, to whom the Order was bound by vows of obedience. As a result, however much the Congrégation de Notre-Dame wished to establish a women's college, the Order could not proceed without the expressed approval of Archbishop Bruchési.

The Order was also constrained by the organizational purpose of the Church to maintain stability and to promote the traditionalism of the Church in Quebec.

Decision-making strategies. Of the three major decision-making strategies -- optimizing strategy, satisficing strategy and incremental strategy -- a case can be made for the

presence of two of these strategies in the decisions made by Archbishop Bruchési regarding the establishing of a women's college. A characteristic of the Janis (1989) vigilant problem-solving model (Figure 1.5) is the careful survey of a wide range of alternatives, followed by an analysis of the full range of objectives to be fulfilled and the values implicated by the choice, an analysis of the risks and drawbacks of the choice, evaluation of new information relevant to further evaluation of alternatives, and re-examination of both positive and negative consequences of alternatives.

It would seem that a process very similar to what is delineated in this model was taking place within the Congrégation de Notre-Dame during the years 1906-1908 as Sister Ste-Anne Marie's proposal for a women's college was being studied and debated by the Superior General and the governing council. It is also possible that Archbishop Bruchési's hesitation to make a decision was driven more by following such steps as are present in this model than by uncertainty or hesitation to make any decision. This model is a variant of the optimizing strategy, but while the latter involves generating all possible alternatives, the Janis model evaluates a wide range of alternatives, but not necessarily all alternatives.

The strategy which, however, seems most appropriate to the Bishop's eventual decision to give approval for the

establishing of a women's college is the satisficing strategy, which Bass (1983) characterized as the model of bounded rationality. According to Simon (1959), the organizational decision-maker tries to discover and select a satisfactory alternative rather than an optimal one. The satisfactory alternative is based on a set of criteria that describe the minimum satisfactory conditions which could be met by an alternative finally chosen to solve the problem. Alternatives are judged one at a time against these minimum standards of acceptability and the first alternative that minimally meets all of them is accepted.

The historical data show that in 1908 an event occurred that brought an end to the Archbishop's hesitation. When La Patrie announced that a lycée modelled on those in France was going to open to provide higher education for girls, the Archbishop acted at once and told the Congrégation de Notre-Dame that they would have his approval for establishing a college. A non-denominational lycée would have driven a wedge into the clerical monopoly on secondary and higher education in the province by creating an alternative to the collegial system of French-Canadian education. It would also have opened the possibility of women's attendance at English and American universities. According to Danylewycz (1987), Archbishop Bruchési's decision in favour of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame was motivated by his desire to sabotage plans for the lycée. Whatever his motivation, he opted for the alternative

readily at hand, one which would create a collegial institution for women firmly in the hands of the Church through the Congrégation. It was clearly the option that was 'good enough'. The less desirable alternative for the Archbishop was the possibility of a non-denominational institution with liberal views. While there was much against establishing a post-secondary academic college for women, it was, at least, the better alternative from the Archbishop's point of view.

The fact that there was a viable alternative to the possible non-denominational lycée was due to Sister Ste-Anne Marie's long-range thinking and persistence. It was she who was prepared to take the risk of establishing a college for women. The Archbishop made the less risky decision to keep a women's college "in house" so that the Church could continue its control over all levels of education.

As Kast & Rosenzweig (1970) noted in discussing constraints, organizational decision-making usually involves finding a balance among objectives to be satisfied. The decision-maker may have to compromise a particular norm or value in a given situation, but he or she can be reasonably comfortable if he or she recognizes that certain other values are enhanced by so doing. Clearly the Archbishop saw the possible dangers of a feminist victory as less compromising to Church traditionalism and pre-eminent influence in all aspects of Roman Catholic education than the real dangers of a non-

denominational, secular lycée.

The Archbishop's decision is also an example of the part played by contiguity in time and place of problems and available solutions. If there had been no plans afoot for a lycée, it is conceivable that years might have passed before permission was given to the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, or another order, to establish a college for women. The Archbishop was, in effect, forced to make a decision; there was, however, a viable alternative at hand. Bass (1983) spoke of "serendipitous discovery" of solutions to problems (p. 6), and Bass & Ryterband (1969) noted that contingency planning must allow for the completely unexpected. It is reasonable to view the 1908 situation in that light, especially because the announcement concerning the lycée was totally unexpected.

Kinds of decisions. While the Archbishop's decision fulfills one characteristic of Barnard's intermediary type of decisions, in that it was a top-down decision, nevertheless, the decision to establish the first post-secondary academic college for women certainly was not an example of Drucker's generic type of decision. There were no established rules to apply in this situation, nor was this a frequently-met organizational problem. On Drucker's two-step scale, this particular decision then must be considered as a unique kind. No matter what the pressures operating upon the Archbishop, including the threat of a secular post-secondary institution

outside the control of the Church, he did have a problem that was not adequately answered by a general principle or rule. It was solely on Archbishop Bruchési's initiative that the decision regarding a college for women was taken. Thus, the decision qualifies on Barnard's terms as a creative decision, and on Drucker's as a unique decision. It was not until 1925 that the second classical college type of institution for women was established (Mémoire, 1954, p. 10).

### Chapter 3

#### The Middle Years for the College

##### General Historical Data--1908-1943

In 1943 the second of the three major events in the evolution of the college took place. To understand the full range of reasons why Marianopolis College came into being in 1943 as a college for English-speaking women separate in name, premises, curriculum, administration and faculty from its French-speaking counterpart, one must place it in the historical perspective of events taking place in the first 40 years of the twentieth century.

This period has been described by historians as the age of modernization in Quebec, a time when an agrarian, rural way of life was giving way to an industrialized, urbanized economy. From 1900 to 1920, manufacturing increased from 4% to 38% of the provincial economy (McRoberts & Posgate, 1984, p. 34); from 1921 to 1931, hydroelectric production increased eightfold and mineral production doubled (McRoberts & Posgate, 1984, p. 39). Between 1900 and 1920, Montreal tripled in size (Magnuson, 1980, p. 71). The boom-days of the 1920's were, however, fueled by Anglo-American money, and technical and business skills. By 1934, 349 American businesses were operating in Quebec, representing one-third of Quebec's industrial capital (Wade, 1983, p. 126). This economic growth

was accelerated by the First World War, and then slowed by the depression of the 1930's, resulting in social and cultural dislocation in the province during the first half of the century.

Dumont & Rocher (1961) pointed out that during the first 30 years of the twentieth century, "the image of a Catholic French Canada, faithful to its religious traditions and to its French origins, was elaborated" (p. 191) as a reaction on the part of the Church which saw in industrialization and urbanization a major threat to its authority and power. As a result, the Church strongly promoted the agrarian mythology and railed against the evils of the city and an economy increasingly run by the English. According to Rioux (1969), la survivance became an effort to defend French-Canadian culture and religion through a rejection of industrial society, and a rejection of economic and social change. Thus, religious and linguistic nationalism were joined by the practice of economic and political isolationism as the Church took up the nationalist cause with renewed vigour. "The sociological unity of the social and the religious was realized during the first thirty years of this century and...the unitary ideology of a Catholic French Canada was actualized" (Dumont & Rocher, 1961, p. 192). As Rioux (1969) also observed,

Le clergé et les membres des professions libérales qui contrôlaient, à toutes fins pratiques, la plupart des media d'information, des maisons d'enseignement, des livres, des manuels scolaires avaient tout le loisir de disséminer cette idéologie (p. 89).

Abbé Lionel Groulx, characterized by Wade as an ultranationalist (1983, p. 865), became one of the chief spokesmen for the unitary ideology of "race, country and faith". As a professor of history at l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, he attached a great deal of importance to economic history, blaming the English for the inferior role of the French-Canadians in the economic life of Quebec. In his writings, he sentimentalized rural life and carried on the ultramontane tradition, giving it "a racist, separatist bent" (Wade, 1983, p. 876). Others such as Edouard Montpetit and Georges Pelletier, without disagreeing with Groulx, stressed the need for education that would better equip the French-Canadian as technician and businessman, so that "Quebec could defend itself against the Americanization already threatening Canadian industry" (Wade, 1983, p. 885). In the face of the prosperity of Quebec during the 1920's, Groulx temporarily lost most of his support. His brand of nationalism was, however, revived and strengthened during the economic crisis of the depression. The schism which had been opened between French and English in the early 1920's was now widened. Where once it had been primarily religious and linguistic, during the 1930's it acquired an intensified nationalistic character.

Scientific and technical education had not been totally neglected in Quebec, but neither had it received the unqualified support of the clergy, a stamp of approval which

would have effected the changes necessary to make it possible for young French-Canadians to get scientific and/or technical education as efficiently and smoothly as did English students in the Protestant system. Educators such as Frère Marie-Victorin, Abbé Vachon and Adrien Pouliot were instrumental in seeing faculties of science instituted at the Université Laval and the Université de Montréal, but not without struggle and severe criticism (Galarneau, 1978, pp. 221-228). As Galarneau (1978) observed,

L'université Laval a refusé d'ouvrir une faculté des sciences appliquées même avec l'assistance financière de l'Etat, qui lui fit des offres en ce sens en 1870. L'Ecole polytechnique de Montréal fut longtemps ignorée par les collèges.... Le clergé ne voyait pas d'un très bon oeil ces grandes écoles, qui risquaient peut-être de lui enlever des vocations et dont la fondation et l'administration lui échappaient....très lentement, des bacheliers vont se tourner vers les carrières scientifiques (p. 152).

He further pointed out that it was not until 1935, after strong resistance from the colleges and after considerable struggles by Pouliot and others that the teaching of mathematics, physics and chemistry improved. From 1923 to 1955, those students who studied science at the Séminaire de Québec increased in numbers from 5% to 25% of the total number (Galarneau, 1978, p. 153). Nevertheless, the prevailing opinion about what was the principal purpose of the classical colleges was summed up by Galarneau, quoting from L'Enseignement secondaire (Vol. v, p. 94): "Dans nos collèges classiques, l'enseignement est avant tout religieux et

national: la maîtresse et l'inspiration bienfaisante de ces maisons est l'Eglise elle-même" (p. 234).

A further problem for students in the Catholic system was the long road they had to take in order to study science. Protestant students could go directly to university following secondary schooling and four years later receive a B. Sc.; until 1935, when a four-year scientific course was inaugurated in the Catholic public schools, Catholic students wishing to obtain a similar B. Sc. degree had to complete their baccalaureat in general arts at a collège classique and then take a three-year specialized program in science at the university, a total of seven years compared to the English student's four years. As Hughes (1943) observed, "...no one pretends that the French Canadians despise the technical pursuits of engineering and science; yet it is in this field that the education system has been especially weak, and French Canadian candidates are notoriously few" (p. 114). It was not until 1953 that Laval and Université de Montréal authorized the Latin-science baccalaureat in the classical colleges (Magnuson, 1980, p. 100).

English Catholics presented special problems. As early as 1928 legislation had been passed establishing a semi-autonomous administrative committee within the Montreal Catholic School Commission for the English-language schools (Carter, 1957, p. 76). D'Arcy McGee, the first public English-Catholic high school in Montreal, had from its 1931 opening

followed a course of studies patterned closely on McGill matriculation requirements. In 1931 and later in 1938 an English sub-committee of the Montreal Catholic School Commission was established to draw up a modern high school program which received the approval of the Catholic Commission and the Governor-in-Council.

By 1940, the English Catholics had formulated programs of study for both elementary and high school which were quite different from those of the French Catholic schools. For many English Catholic students, the way to university studies led to McGill, since the pattern of English Catholic public education followed that of the Protestant system more closely than it did that of the French Catholic system. The English Catholics, however, had no existence in law, and whatever concessions they gained in education were by the sufferance of the largely French Catholic system.

During these years from 1909 until 1943, the English-language section of Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys found itself frequently in a difficult position, struggling amid a majority of French-language students to maintain its identity and to provide programs attractive to its English Catholic students.

#### The College: 1909 to 1943

In the years following the founding of l'Ecole and Notre Dame Ladies College, the same pattern of authority continued. In order to make changes or to expand its program, the

Directress of the college and the Dean of the English section needed the permission of the Order and of the Church hierarchy. Plante (1971) observed,

Tous les règlements de l'École sont...soumis par le recteur à l'approbation de l'Archevêque catholique romain de Montréal, et n'ont de force qu'après avoir reçu telle approbation. Et tout amendement, changement ou modification apportée aux règlements sont sujets à la même sanction (p. 88).

The archives of Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys clearly indicate that both French and English sections of the college enjoyed good relationships with the Bishop and the authorities of Laval, thanks in no small part to Sister Ste-Anne Marie. She insisted that the college offer a solid academic program, employ well-qualified professors, adhere rigidly to university regulations and maintain good public relations with Church, state and university authorities. Throughout her life she was regarded as one of Quebec's leading educators and was the first woman to serve on the Montreal Catholic School Commission. Her efforts to promote excellent education for women were recognized by the Pope and by the French government.

The first two deans of the English section of the college, Sister St. Agnes of Rome (1908-1912) and Sister St. Eliza (1912-1935), worked closely with Sister Ste-Anne Marie to ensure that Notre Dame Ladies College developed and expanded apace with l'École. Sister St. Agnes did, however, have doubts about the future of the English section because of

the small number of students and the difficulties experienced in finding qualified teachers for them. From the beginning it was necessary to employ some lay teachers and English Catholic clergy to provide a full range of courses. Special non-degree courses were offered in both sections of the college, so that by 1914 programs in home economics, commerce, and fine arts joined the baccalaureat divisions and helped to account for the expanding numbers of students. By 1918, 45 baccalaureat degrees had been awarded to students of l'Ecole and Notre Dame Ladies College.

Special examination arrangements had to be made for English students, and for 1910, the jury assigned by Loyola assessed the English examinations of Notre Dame Ladies College. The following year, new arrangements with Laval were made for these students, no doubt motivated either by a reluctance on the part of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame to have such close ties with Loyola, or by Laval's fears that the English women's college might want to have the same special status as Loyola, which had been conferred by the Papal Commission and was known as Jamdudum. By this Papal decree of 1876, Collège Ste-Marie and later Loyola College were permitted to organize the examinations of their students and to give to those judged proficient a certificate stating that they were worthy of the degrees which the Université de Montréal conferred on young men of equal merit in other affiliated colleges. The autonomy thus provided by Jamdudum

placed Loyola in a more favourable academic position in relation to the university than the other affiliated classical colleges.

By 1918, at the request of the Catholic Social Service Guild of Montreal, Notre Dame Ladies College began to offer in co-operation with the Loyola School of Sociology a program to train social workers. This two-year program led to a diploma from Laval. In the years following, increased ties with English-speaking Loyola became the norm for Notre Dame Ladies College and its successors.

Once the classical college and its attached programs were established on firm ground, Sister Ste-Anne Marie turned her attention to what was to become her chief interest for the rest of her life: the establishing of a pedagogical institute that would train both French and English women teachers. As early as 1914 she wrote to Archbishop Bruchési, saying that in her opinion the two colleges could not remain for too much longer in the Mother House. She wanted to see the classical college combined with an école normale supérieure (ACND, ACMB, tome 6, July 27, 1914). This plan from the beginning had the support of the Superintendent of Public Instruction who advised that it be submitted to the Catholic Committee. The Rector of Laval, the Prime Minister of Quebec and the Provincial Secretary also gave her plan their approval, affirming the right of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame to be the founders of such an institution as the first educators of

Montreal. With the approval of Archbishop Bruchési the plan was brought to the Council of the Department of Public Instruction in May of 1914. Although the war delayed the project, Church and state authorities on several occasions reiterated their approval and assured Sister Ste-Anne Marie of their moral support (ACND, ACMB, tome 9, 1917).

When the statute of affiliation was transferred from Laval to the newly-created Université de Montréal in 1922, the Congrégation de Notre-Dame consented to take charge of the direction of courses for professional teaching, especially courses for English-speaking women who did not have the means to attend the Ecole normale in Quebec City. In a letter to Athanase David, Sister Ste-Anne Marie pointed out that Irish Catholic schools in Montreal especially "had a pressing need for teachers of recognized pedagogical competence" (ACND, ACMB, tome 14, 1922).

In 1923, a government grant was approved for the planned pedagogical institute, and in 1926, in a newly-constructed building on Westmount Avenue, l'Institut Pédagogique opened its doors, a project that had been 14 years in its realization. Mgr. Gauthier, a long-time supporter of Sister Ste-Anne Marie's educational plans, had blessed the project in 1912, made it his work since 1916, had it recognized by the Council of Public Instruction in 1923, and had had its programs approved by the state authorities in 1924 (ACND, ACMB, tome 15, 1923).

In the same year, l'Ecole and Notre Dame Ladies College moved from the Mother House to the newly constructed Institut Pédagogique and together the two classical colleges became known as Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys. Both the classical college and the teacher-training institution had English sections. With the two classical colleges both being known by the same name, much of the separate identity of the former Notre Dame Ladies College was lost, and the classical colleges became somewhat second in importance to the work of the pedagogical institute.

To her credit, Sister Ste-Anne Marie had from the beginning stressed the importance of the English-language section of the classical college, which also had been fortunate in having two deans who were committed to promoting the English section of the college. The archives indicate that at each convocation, a report was presented in English detailing the accomplishments of the English students and that a parallel convocation address in English was given. That the two colleges be known by the same name had been a recommendation of Canon Chartier, who felt that the time was soon coming when other colleges for women would open and that the name "l'Ecole" did not give the college a distinct identity. His suggestion was approved by both the Order and the Archbishop. A special contract with the Université de Montréal was sought for the English section to give it much the same kind of status with the university that Loyola

College had, but not the special privileges conferred by Jamdudum. No such arrangement was sought for the French section of the college, thus emphasizing the slowly diverging paths of the two linguistic sections of the college. Other events also supported this divergence.

In 1925, the English students had published the first volume of The Notre Dame, a review consisting of serious articles, poems, stories, and photographs. A corresponding publication by the French students was not permitted, since Sister Ste-Anne Marie felt that public opinion was too exacting for anything published in French. She did not want to risk comparison with revues from France by letting students undertake a publication their way. The English sisters, however, saw the matter differently and were quite satisfied with a student-published chronicle. Sister St. Eliza, the Dean of the English section, saw its merits in advertising the college and gave it her full support (ACND, ACMB, tome 17, 1925).

During the same year, Sister Ste-Anne Marie was indignant about the proposed affiliation of the Sacred Heart Convent with Loyola, and also about the question of "fractioning" the women's baccalaureat examinations, in effect permitting students to write only a portion of the total number of the examinations in any given year. Such a practice was allowed for members of religious orders who had other duties to attend to in addition to their studies. She felt that Loyola was

demanding even greater special privileges from the university than those it presently had, especially in the case of science courses, and that Sacred Heart was refusing to conform to the lettres-sciences program of the university. She was alarmed that the university was ready to give consent to the Loyola special program and to extend the same accord to all English sections of different communities. Her greatest fear was that such a move would create an element of discord between the two linguistic groups in Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys as well as in the convent schools.

In a brief to the Université de Montréal, she asked why the Jesuits merited such special treatment, and declared that in ten years time, Loyola would once again be seeking its own autonomy in Rome. In her opinion, special privileges such as Loyola demanded would kill the English section of her college after 18 years of hard work. She asked in her brief why the English section of her college would want to remain within the Université de Montréal when their approval of Loyola's plan would give such privileges to those who remained as much as possible outside of the university's control. If the Sacred Heart wanted to establish a girls' college, let them conform to the regulations of the Université de Montréal (ACND, ACMB, tome 18, 1925).

In addition she also strongly opposed the "fractioning" of the examinations for lay students. If such a procedure were followed only for English students, she felt it would cause

rivalry between the French and English. If all girls' baccalaureat programs had such a procedure, she feared that in consequence, the value of the baccalaureat for females would decline. According to Sister Ste-Anne Marie, like the male students, the girls sitting the baccalaureat examinations also should review the whole course, use judgment, and make applications of their learning, not prepare for partial examinations by straight memory work (ACND, ACMB, tome 18, 1925). Sister Ste-Anne Marie resisted any move that would accord special treatment to the English students, thus separating them even more from the French students. The archives of Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys report that "l'affaire Loyola est terminée", since Loyola was asked by the Université de Montréal to revert to the status of a men's classical college instead of becoming a university college (ACND, ACMB, tome 22, 1926).

At the 1927 convocation of Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys, the Rector of the Université de Montréal spoke, stressing that the good understanding between the two languages was not a vain expression but a happy reality (ACND, ACMB, tome 24, 1927). On the surface at least, all seemed harmonious at Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys, yet there is also evidence that this harmony was maintained because the French and English students in both the classical college and the pedagogical institute went their own separate ways. Separate alumnae associations existed, the English group having been

established in 1926. While a cordial invitation was extended to the French students, the English students and alumnae held yearly fund-raising bridge evenings which were attended as far as can be determined generally only by the English. The English students were especially fond of drama and every year presented a Greek play in English. The archives make no mention of similar presentations by French students. From the beginnings of the college in 1908, the Cercle d'étude had been dominated by the French students, and the presentation of study topics and discussion seemed to be in French only. There is no mention of the English students having had a similar organization. In the college archives for 1931, mention is made that student elections were carried on separately for French and English students.

During the 1930's, there are several years for which no English reports are present in the convocation records, indicating either the possibility that no English students were graduating, or else that no report in English was given, thus breaking a tradition of bilingual ceremonies which had begun with the first graduation in 1911. The only other possibility is that the English reports were simply omitted by oversight from the archives, but that is very unlikely. There is mention in the archives for 1932 that Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys operated with two separate sets of professors, indicating the increasingly separate nature of the two parallel colleges.

With the death in 1935 of Sister St. Eliza, who had directed the English side of the college from 1912, and then two years later the death of Sister Ste-Anne Marie, both colleges lost the women who had shaped their development through the years. If harmony between French and English students had characterized the two colleges, it was largely due to these two women, one French, the other English, who shared a common vision and purpose in their efforts to promote higher education for all Catholic women in Quebec. While Mother Ste-Théophanie, the successor to Sister Ste-Anne Marie, was capable, she had neither the same vision nor the wide-ranging contacts with the highest levels of government and the Church as did Sister Ste-Anne Marie. Although the archives are reticent, there are indications that both sections of the college lost a sense of direction and unity in the years following the deaths of the two women most responsible for the success of the college. For the years 1937 to 1943, extensive mention is made of the past and Sister Ste-Anne Marie's accomplishments, but little is mentioned about Mother Ste-Théophanie, who succeeded Sister Ste-Anne Marie, or Sister St. Rita of Jesus, who succeeded Sister St. Agnes of Rome as Dean of the English section.

Possibly in response to the growing gulf between English and French Catholic education at Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys, the Rector of the Université de Montréal spoke at the 1939 college convocation about his wishes that the university would

become more and more useful to the English population of Montreal (ACND, ACMB, tome 51, 1939). At the 1941 convocation, the Rector of the Université de Montréal and Principal Wallace of Queen's University spoke, both stressing the importance of the humanities in education. In the English part of his address, the Rector said that "the course followed here [at Marguerite Bourgeoys College] is the best method men have discovered to form cultivated minds" and Wallace said that the study of Greco-Latin humanities was "the royal road" to culture. He concluded "Our system of education is good -- let us stick to it and improve it" (ACND, ACMB, tome 53, 1941).

From these addresses, it is evident that in the minds of some at least, the increasing desire of the English students to have a curriculum different from that of the French section, one that would significantly expand offerings in science and permit a baccalaureat in science as well as in arts, was becoming an issue of importance, paralleling what was happening in the Montreal Catholic School Commission. The archives report that in 1942, five English students from the college wrote the university examination in chemistry, that a prize in mathematics in honour of Sister St. Eliza had been established by the English alumnae, and that a Birks bronze medal in chemistry had been awarded for the first time. Both the mathematics and chemistry prizes were awarded to English students. At the 1943 convocation, Rector Maurault, speaking in English, reminded the audience of how strongly he had

spoken previously in favour of liberal education and quoted Dr. James Bryant Conant of Harvard:

Even a man who speaks several languages and has a good educational background in mathematics and several sciences cannot be considered to be properly educated as a citizen of a free nation. An educational program which includes no art, no literature, no philosophy, lacks the vital elements (ACND, ACMB, tome 55, 1943).

In 1943, Sister St. George was appointed Dean of Notre Dame College, which, for one term only, was the new name of the now autonomous college for English Catholic women. Les Annales du Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys (tome 56, 1944) explain as follows how the decision to separate the English-language section of the college from the French-language section came about.

It had always been difficult to recruit students for the English part of the college, but the problem became more acute once D'Arcy McGee High School and other English Catholic high schools opened in the 1930's. The female graduates from the English Catholic public schools were not attracted to Marguerite Bourgeoys College, situated as it was in the Institut Pédagogique with its very French climate, given always the French majority both of religious and of students. "To our Sisters who worked on recruiting, these young women replied: 'Oh! it's too French!' and they went to McGill" (ACND, ACMB, tome 56, 1944). Many of these young female secondary school graduates also wished to enter a B. Sc. program immediately instead of doing the classical

baccalaureat for four years before embarking on a degree in science. While Marguerite Bourgeoys College offered courses in science and mathematics, it offered only the B. A. degree, in accordance with its affiliation with the Arts Faculty of Université de Montréal.

Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys also had to conform to a course of study and an examination system, prescribed by the Université de Montréal, that was more accommodating to French students than to English students. Comprehensive examinations at the end of the second and fourth years of the baccalaureat rather than yearly examinations made transfers to and from the classical colleges very difficult for the more mobile English students. It was also difficult to find English language texts and reference books to suit the rigid program of studies in the classical colleges, and often the English students were forced to use translations from French texts (AMC, A.11.08, 1943).

The curriculum followed the Quebec pattern of [French] women's colleges and was intended to be terminal, while many of the English-speaking girls were looking for something that would admit them to the graduate and professional programs of McGill, Toronto and American universities (Shook, 1971, p. 270).

In the late 1930's a committee had been formed, and the sisters began to look for some way of resolving the problem.

During her last years, Sister Ste-Anne Marie had grown concerned about overcrowding in the Institut Pédagogique, and had come to believe that the English college would require an

autonomous life sometime, but not in the immediate future. What she had foreseen, however, was that both French and English sections of the college would move, leaving the Institut Pédagogique as an institution for the higher education and training of teachers and as an institution involved in pedagogical research. The archives indicate that she would have been most hesitant to allow just the English section to move, simply because such an action would have emphasized the French-English differences of the two classical colleges. She was dedicated to promoting harmony, not division between French and English students.

In many respects, the English Catholic community had been very responsive to the growing need for science and technology in Quebec during the 1920's and 1930's, hence the requests for a curriculum different from that of the French Catholics in the Montreal Catholic School Commission, a hope that was finally realized in 1938. Although some changes had been made in the English curriculum of Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys to reflect what was happening in the wider English Catholic community, not enough had been done to satisfy parents and students.

Charbonneau, who became Archbishop of Montreal in 1940, was consulted by the Order. He had recently become aware that well over 200 English Catholic students entered McGill each year and he was concerned about the loss of so many students to a 'Protestant' university. He discovered that many of these

young English Catholics did not want a baccalaureat based on the humanities, but were looking for a B. Sc. program such as that given by McGill. The request of the sisters from the English college who asked for his advice and ideas found him already preoccupied with the problem. After having consulted and reflected, he asked the Jesuits at Loyola College to organize the B. Sc. program for their students, and the sisters of the English college to organize a similar one for the young women, while permitting them to keep the ordinary B. A. program which still seemed to suit a certain number of students (ACND, ACMB, tome 56, 1944). As Chancellor of the Université de Montréal, he was in a position to have his request accepted and for the university to make the necessary modifications to accomodate the English Catholic students.

From 1942, when the initial decision was taken to make the English section of the college autonomous, until 1944, the General Council of the Order examined all aspects of the transformation. An important decision made by the General Council was to relocate the English college, renamed Notre Dame College, in separate premises. In February 1944, Sister St. George, the Dean of Notre Dame College, was called to the Mother House. The Superior General announced to her that she and the General Council had decided to convert Mont Ste-Marie Convent school into the English college. The decision came as a complete surprise to all of the sisters and caused distress among those who had spent years teaching at Mont Ste-Marie.

In September 1943, the English students returned to the Institut Pédagogique and to an autonomous English college which offered the B. Sc. as well as the B. A. To emphasize the autonomy of the now separate English section, the English students were not required to wear the uniform which previously they had shared with the French students. A month later at convocation, Victor Doré, speaking in English, urged the students to continue their development and to conserve between them [French and English] the good relations they had always had (ACND, ACME, tome 56, 1943).

In June 1944, a new name was selected for Notre Dame College by the General Council of the Order. The Sacred Cross brothers who ran Collège Notre-Dame opposite St. Joseph's Oratory protested the use of a name to which they laid claim, since their college on Queen Mary Road had existed for 75 years. They felt that two colleges with the same name would cause confusion. The name "Marianopolis", modeled on that of "Regiopolis", a college in Ontario, was selected by the General Council (Archives, Marianopolis College {AMC}, A.11.08).

The summer of 1944 was spent moving the new Marianopolis College into new quarters on Dorchester Street. The English section of the Institut Pédagogique moved also, becoming an integral part of Marianopolis College. In September 1944, lectures began in Quebec's first and only autonomous English-language Catholic college for women. The Université de

Montréal granted Marianopolis College virtual autonomy to arrange its courses and examinations for the B. A. and B. Sc. degrees in line with McGill requirements. Marianopolis submitted the examination marks to the Université de Montréal and diplomas were signed by the Dean of Studies and the Chancellor of the Université de Montréal, and by the Dean and the Chairman of the Marianopolis Board of Governors. Thus, control of curriculum essentially passed to McGill and the affiliation with the Université de Montréal was pro forma only (AMC, A.11.08).

It is interesting to note that during the 1944 convocation at Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys, which was totally in French for the first time, the official reason given for the move was lack of space in the Institut Pédagogique. According to the archives, "Aucune raison nationale n'a joué dans cette décision, mais seulement l'épanouissement normal de la vie de notre collège" (ACND, ACMB, tome 58, 1946). Such a comment does not, however, explain why the English section of the pedagogical institute also moved out and became part of Marianopolis College. One is tempted to speculate that nationalism played a larger role than the archives record.

In Rector Maurault's address at the 1944 Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys convocation, there is mention that through the years Sister Ste-Anne Marie had successively entrusted to the two English deans the direction of the English section, keeping for herself the direction of the

French section. He further said that in its new premises, Marianopolis College was enjoying a newfound popularity and growth which would have been impossible while it shared premises with Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys. He concluded his address by saying "What the university wants is for this college [Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys] to hold firmly to its program of the traditional humanities" (ACND, ACMB, tome 56, 1944. Trans. Sr. M. Noonan). Quite obviously there was discomfort with the direction that both Loyola and Marianopolis were taking in offering a baccalaureat in science as well as in the humanities.

Le Devoir wrote of the first convocation held at Marianopolis College:

It is the glory of the Province that the rights of the minority are so fully and so completely recognized.... It is difficult to exaggerate the importance in the field of Catholic education in the city of Montreal this new college for English-speaking young women, responding as it does to a great need in the Archdiocese (AMC, A.22.02, Le Devoir, Dec. 13, 1944. Trans. Sr. M. Noonan).

Commentary on Decision-making--1943

Introduction. In the creation of Marianopolis College from the English section of Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys, there are two decisions to be considered: first, the decision to expand the program of the English section of the college to include a B. Sc. degree; second, the decision taken by the Congrégation de Notre-Dame to move both the English section of Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys and the English section of the Institut Pédagogique to separate premises.

Decision-making style. The years following the founding of the college in 1908 were marked by close co-operation between the Bishop of Montreal, the authorities of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame and both the Directress of l'Ecole and the Dean of the English college. Once the college was flourishing and established as an important contribution to the Catholic community, Archbishop Bruchési was a staunch supporter of Sister Ste-Anne Marie's other plans for furthering education among Catholic women, especially in promoting her hope to establish a pedagogical institute in Montreal. Canon Gauthier, who had encouraged Sister Ste-Anne Marie to persevere in her efforts in 1908, continued to be a staunch supporter during the 30 years following the founding of l'Ecole and Notre Dame Ladies College. It was Canon Gauthier who had helped her by interceding with State authorities in the founding of the Institut Pédagogique.

The Archbishop in 1908 exercised his authority in a manner described as the first and second levels on both the composite of models of decision-making styles (Figure 1.1) and on the proposed model (Figure 1.2). Historical data supports the view that in 1940 the new Archbishop Charbonneau was willing to consult with the sisters regarding solutions to the problem posed by the English students. It is significant also that a committee of sisters outlined to him the problem as it had developed over recent years and sought his advice, and that he was already aware of the problem which affected both male and female English Catholic students. Nothing in the archives of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame indicates resistance by either the Order or the Archbishop, but rather it was a meeting of mutual concerns about a mutual problem when the Archbishop met with the committee of sisters. Before making a decision, Archbishop Charbonneau consulted the Jesuits at Loyola College and the authorities of the Université de Montréal.

At this stage of decision-making, the Archbishop seemed to have moved from an authoritative style of decision-making to a more consultative style. Heller (1971) characterized this third level of the continuum as prior consultation with subordinates. Tannenbaum & Schmidt (1958), however, described this level as a decision-making style in which the manager presents a tentative decision which is subject to change with further consultation. There is no evidence that Archbishop

Charbonneau was tentative, nor that any decision he reached was subject to change. He was eager, however, to consult before reaching a decision. Likert (1967) saw this level as consultative without any further description or modification. The proposed model (Figure 1.2) characterizes the third level of decision-making style as consultative-authoritative to indicate that consultation would take place in early stages, but in the final analysis, the decision would be that of the Archbishop. The Archbishop certainly had the authority to make whatever decision he wished, but he was willing to consult with the appropriate administrative authorities of the two colleges before doing so.

The archives of Loyola College give evidence that for years Loyola had wanted a curriculum modified in keeping with the academic interests of its students, especially in regard to science, and would welcome the opportunity to give a Bachelor of Science along with the traditional arts baccalaureat. Such a B. Sc. would also be welcome in the English Catholic public system, as witnessed by the work done during the 1930's to change the secondary school curriculum of the public schools to bring it more into line with entrance requirements for McGill. Archbishop Charbonneau's actions at this time seem to be described best by the third level on the proposed model of decision-making style, in that he consulted with subordinates at the institutions involved and then made his decision.

The Superior General and General Council of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, on the other hand, did not employ a consultative style of decision-making regarding new premises for Marianopolis College. The decision was made without any consultation whatsoever with the Dean of the newly autonomous English college, the Directress of Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys, nor even with the Principal of Mont Ste-Marie Convent. The decision was announced first to Sister Ste-Théophanie and Sister St. George (ACND, ACMB, tome 56, 1944), and then to the Order as a whole. The archives of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame report that the decision came as a complete surprise to the sisters at Mont Ste-Marie Convent, many of whom were very upset by the news. Obviously in this instance, the General Council exercised a unilateral style of decision-making.

Decision-making constraints. The role played by environmental constraints on the 1943 decision cannot be overemphasized. Feldman & Kanter (1965) noted that organizational decisions are constrained by the social, political, and economic environment of the organization and its members. Of the four ideal types of environment described by Emery & Trist (1963), the one which most accurately describes Quebec during the 1930's is the fourth -- a turbulent environment with complexities and instabilities. As pointed out in the presentation of the historical data, two major opposing forces were at work during the 1930's: on the

one hand, Quebec was becoming increasingly modernized with science and technology assuming expanded importance; on the other hand, and in reaction to the increased urbanization and industrialization, the Church exerted its authority as the voice of la survivance. Survival, the Church insisted, lay in preserving and protecting faith, culture and history. To that end, the Church "played a predominant role in building a collective ideology through its influence in the Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Canadienne" (Dumont & Rocher, 1961, pp. 191-192). This and other movements in French society made the laity much more active in Church concerns, and consequently, the Church became more responsive to the endeavours of the laity.

During this period, the split between English and French widened as the English saw their future in a progressive, industrialized North America, while French Canada moved towards isolationism and a preservation of traditional values. While most French clergy and educators extolled the virtues of a humanities-oriented classical education, English Catholics were pressing for a more modern system of education similar to that of English Protestants, and increasingly dissimilar from that of the French Catholic schools and colleges. That Archbishop Charbonneau was well aware of the complexities of the environment, the increased involvement of the laity in matters that previously had been the exclusive province of the clergy, and the need for accomodating English Catholics within

a Catholic educational system, is clearly shown in the decision he reached -- to permit changes in the long-standing tradition of humanities-oriented training in the collèges classiques in order to give English Catholic students the desired training in mathematics and science. This decision was also in keeping with a parallel movement in some French institutions towards increased scientific studies and a greater ease in student movement from public schools directly to universities (Parent Report, Vol. 2, p. 23).

Another constraint on decision-making in 1943 was organizational purpose and goals. Simon (1964) argued that many, if not most, constraints on organizational decisions that define what actions will be satisfactory are associated with an organizational goal. He further noted that such constraints tend to remove from consideration possible courses of action that are hostile to survival. An examination of enrolment figures of English students at Marguerite Bourgeoy's College during the late 1930's and early 1940's indicates shrinking numbers. In 1939, only one baccalaureat was awarded to an English student (AMC, A.11.08). The number of English Catholic students attending McGill was correspondingly growing during these same years. The Dean of the English section of the college voiced concern that if something was not done, the English section of the college might very well disappear entirely (ACND, ACMB, tome 52, 1940). The purpose of the college was to provide excellent education within the

framework of the Catholic faith. The motto of both sections of the college was Auspice Maria, crescat scientia, regnet fides (With Mary as patron, let knowledge increase, let faith reign), and to fulfill that purpose, it was necessary to effect the changes necessary to keep Catholic students in Catholic institutions. According to Kast & Rosenzweig (1970) the decision-maker must perform a balancing act, just as Charbonneau and the Congrégation de Notre-Dame had to do in the early 1940's. The separation of the college into its French and English components must have been a very difficult decision for the Order, especially since Sister Ste-Anne Marie had worked so hard to preserve harmony and understanding. She had, however, devoted herself to the continued existence of both sections of the college, and had recognized in the mid 1930's that expansion of the Institut Pédagogique would inevitably necessitate changes for the two colleges. Whether she would have opted for the separation of the English and French sections of the college at this time is questionable. If the very survival of the English college depended on such a separation, she no doubt would have agreed with the decision taken.

Constraints imposed by organizational structure also were a factor in Archbishop Charbonneau's decision. As Chancellor of the Université de Montréal he had an understanding of its organizational structures for the baccalaureat, and realized that new structures would be required for a baccalaureat ès

sciences. He also was aware that by having approval from the McGill Senate for courses and examinations, the authority and control of the Université de Montréal over both Marianopolis and Loyola would be weakened. With this move, affiliation with Université de Montréal became merely a formality. The short term effect of this decision was to grant Marianopolis and Loyola the curricular and program expansion both desired, but the long term effect was to erode the whole system of collèges classiques which 20 years later resulted in the complete overhaul of the whole education structure.

Decision-making strategies. In reference to the decision to institute the baccalaureat in science for the English section of Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys, it is difficult to make a case for the optimizing strategy, even in its variant, the Janis (1989) vigilant problem solving model. The Janis model calls for an examination and evaluation of a wide range of alternatives, but there is no evidence that such an examination took place, especially regarding the decision to offer a baccalaureat in sciences. That seemed to be the only viable alternative to that of maintaining the status quo, a situation which would have done nothing to keep English Catholic students from attending McGill.

The satisficing strategy seems appropriate to describe what happened, especially in the light of Zeleny's model of the displaced ideal. Obviously Archbishop Charbonneau along with Loyola and the English section of Collège Marguerite-

Bourgeoys searched for a satisfactory solution, but the ideal solution, that both English and French sections of the college follow the same curriculum, was unfeasible. On several occasions Loyola had petitioned for a university charter, but had been refused for a variety of reasons (Slattery, 1962, Chaps. 2, 14). For Loyola at that particular time, the next best solution to a university charter was to have an expanded program that would allow for a baccalaureat in science. What was deemed achievable replaced the ideal, but the ideal alternative was never forgotten by Loyola. The best solution for Marianopolis at that time was to have greater curricular flexibility and to be able to offer a baccalaureat in science. The archives give no evidence that the Order at that time ever considered the possibility of a university charter for either Marianopolis College or for Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys. To have an expanded program for the English section was a solution which was ideal at that time.

It is also possible to see certain elements of the strategy of successive limited comparisons, or one of its variations, in the decision by Archbishop Charbonneau to permit Loyola and Marianopolis to expand their programs with a B. Sc. degree. The strategy of incrementalism seems appropriate to the situation in the early 1940's as the Archbishop became aware of the problems of English Catholic students opting for McGill rather than for Loyola or Marianopolis. He made the decision which caused the least

upset in existing patterns of collegial education. His decision differed incrementally from existing policies and practices and served to alleviate problems of the moment rather than to attain future goals. Undoubtedly, the creation of a new English-language Catholic university at that time would have brought down upon his head a storm of protest from the French clergy, especially from ardent nationalists like Abbé Lionel Groulx.

Harrison's model of accomodation and adaptation (1981), which can be considered as a variant on incrementalism, is also appropriate to explain Archbishop Charbonneau's decision-making strategy in this instance. With this model, decision-making is geared more towards alleviating present problems than toward finding a solution promising long-range benefits. The aim with this model is to proceed incrementally and to choose an alternative that will work and be suitable for the particular problem. Archbishop Charbonneau's decision thus took into account the desires of the two English colleges and satisfied their needs; it also was not a drastic decision which would cause upset for nationalists.

Kinds of decisions. The decision reached by Archbishop Charbonneau strictly speaking cannot be considered a unique decision in the sense of Drucker's two-step scale of decision types (1966), although it does exhibit some of the characteristics of a unique decision. Certainly, a modification of the college structure was required when

Marianopolis became a separate institution with an expanded program. It is important to note, however, that precedents did exist for the decision the Archbishop reached. English Catholic public schools in 1939 had won the right to modify their curriculum in the direction of English institutions such as McGill. For years the Séminaire de Québec had offered advanced teaching in mathematics, chemistry, botany and natural history and a number of classical colleges had scientific departments. Laval had a school of chemistry in 1920 and a science faculty in 1937; Université de Montréal had instituted a science faculty in 1920 (Parent Report, Vol. 1, p. 18). In 1935, a four-year scientific course in secondary school, described as 'collégial', had begun. In 1939, a supplementary twelfth year, called année scientifique had been added to prepare students to enter science faculties which began to accept students directly from public school without requiring of them the traditional baccalaureat ès arts (Parent Report, Vol. 2, p. 23). In this light then, Archbishop Charbonneau's decision can be seen as a generic type of decision, a kind of 'fine tuning' of an already extant system to accomodate special circumstances, and not a unique kind of decision.

## Chapter 4

### The Quiet Revolution -- Background to the 1960's

#### Introduction

As a result of the recommendations of the Parent Commission, Marianopolis College in the 1960's faced the greatest changes of its history. There was a range of alternatives presented, from becoming the women's college in a possible new English Catholic University, to becoming an affiliate of McGill or Sir George Williams, to disappearing altogether. Although these alternatives were all part of one major decision to be made -- that of determining the future nature of the college -- each should be examined separately. These alternatives must, however, first be placed in the wider perspective of the social, economic, political and religious changes that swept through Quebec as a result of the Quiet Revolution.

Background. During the decade following the Second World War, Quebec was caught between two opposing forces. On the one hand, the forces of modernization, including urbanization and industrialization, were putting increasing pressures on social service programs and especially on education. Although steps had been taken to modify the education system to include more and better courses in science and mathematics, not enough had been done to satisfy either the demands of the students or

the requirements of Quebec's expanding economy. On the other hand, the Church was exerting pressure to maintain its control over social welfare and to keep education in its traditional humanities pattern.

Other pressures were also becoming apparent. Following the Second World War, the ethnic mix of the province was changing as Italians, Greeks, West Indians and Asians began to make their presence felt, especially in Montreal. These immigrants were for the most part accommodated by the Protestant schools and the English Catholic schools, but as Carter (1957) pointed out, they increased the school population so rapidly during the late 1940's and the 1950's that both facilities and teachers were in short supply. Increasingly the Church resources, both financial and human, were being stretched more and more thinly as the increasing school population made demands that clerical educators could no longer meet.

Another important pressure emanated from Université Laval, where the School of Social Sciences had been established in the late 1930's. According to Martin (1966), "the forces that instigated...the social and economic transformation in Quebec were created by a small number of people belonging to the intellectual community" (p. 64). Martin pointed out that the School of Social Sciences brought together a large number of these intellectuals and coordinated their actions, helping to shape a new mentality and

a new social conscience in Quebec. Martin saw the introduction of the social sciences into the curriculum of a French university as a revolutionary move, one which was to have

lasting and strong effects because it begot a new philosophy of political, economic, and social life... and brought forth a new approach to the solution of the many problems created first by the increasing industrialization of the province and second by the rapid movement towards urbanization" (1966, pp. 64-65).

The graduates took positions in government, business, industry, the social services and education and according to Martin, without them the 'quiet revolution' would have been impossible (Martin, 1966, p. 66).

Wade (1968) agreed with Martin's assessment, calling the School of Social Sciences a "training school for the leaders of the new order" (p. 1113). Wade also pointed out that the School of Social Sciences aroused strong opposition from Premier Duplessis, who referred to it as a hotbed of socialism and communism. Duplessis also threatened to deprive the university of its annual grants. Just as many educators had opposed Pouliot's efforts to expand science education, so also did they oppose the work of the School of Social Sciences, seeing the innovations "to be a dangerous threat to a system of education which, in their minds, was designed to safeguard recognized spiritual values for a carefully selected élite rather than fostering the acquisition of knowledge in new fields" (Martin, 1966, p. 67).

One sometimes gains the impression that the Quiet

Revolution burst upon the Quebec of the 1960's suddenly, but such is not the case. It had been building during the twentieth century, and nowhere was its slow but steady growth more noticeable than in education. It was apparent in the expansion of government-run technical schools and institutes from the beginning of the century, in the establishment of l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales in 1915, l'Ecole des Sciences Sociales de Montréal, the school of Social Sciences at Laval, and in the various curricular adjustments in the classical colleges and secondary schools to improve science and mathematics education.

A major development during the 1950's was the expansion of the second part of the cours primaire in the French Catholic schools to allow for increased direct access to the universities. Prior to these reforms of the 1950's, the only course that led to the university was the cours sciences. Many as a result felt that French Canadian students at the secondary level were for the most part on a dead-end street (Carter, 1957, p. 51). As Carter further observed,

the private and church schools, the unwillingness to bear taxation for public school purposes, the political struggle necessary to obtain a bare minimum [sic], and finally and predominantly the great awareness and love of their collèges classiques have made the French Canadians slow to adopt high school education as it is known in the rest of Canada....The idea of a public high school system up to junior and even senior matriculation for everybody with the necessary talents was a foreign concept...viewed by some with doubt or reluctance (p. 52).

In 1955, the Catholic Committee gave approval to a new section

called cours latin-sciences, a secondary level program roughly equivalent to the course of the collège classique, and leading to university entrance. The English Catholic public secondary schools had had such a program for over a decade before it was accepted for French Catholic schools.

While expanded access to university was undoubtedly a major development, it did not, however, solve the problem of the confusing array of programs, education structures and terminology that plagued the Catholic system in particular. It also did nothing to solve the problem of funding for education, the role of government-run technical institutes in the whole education picture and the integration of various types of education into a diversified but harmonious whole. By the end of the 1950's, the Quebec education system resembled a patch-work of partial reforms and accommodations. As Audet (1950) pointed out, "Le système scolaire du Québec est compliqué en ce sens que nous avons de multiples autorités qui ont la responsabilité de veiller aux différents ordres de l'enseignement" (p. 119). This situation resulted in lack of cohesion and absence of logical progression between various levels. He nevertheless added, "on s'est appliqué avec succès, surtout depuis quelques années, à supprimer ces inconvénients" (p. 120). His optimism can be found in many other writers of the time, who refused to see that much more profound changes were required to bring an anachronistic education system into harmony with the economic, social and philosophical changes

that were increasingly characterizing the Quebec of the 1940's and 1950's.

The major stumbling block for extensive education reform during the post-war years was the Duplessis government. As early as the late 1930's, Olivar Asselin, the founder of Le Jour had dedicated his weekly publication to education reform. Asselin emphasized the need for free and compulsory education, system reform and the laicization of education institutions. He also demanded a royal commission of inquiry, and the creation of a provincial ministry of education. Furthermore, in his special concern for secondary education, he attacked the clerical monopoly of education and the weaknesses of the classical college system. Although most of his campaigns for education reform were in vain, he was in part instrumental in helping to bring about compulsory education in 1943.

According to Galarneau, and despite earlier efforts such as those of Asselin, "Au cours des quinze années qu'a duré le régime duplessiste, le silence est à peu près revenu sur les questions d'éducation dans les journaux, qui en parlaient surtout pour louer le régime et le système" (p. 228). There were other platforms for the expression of public opinion, but for the most part, "la critique en était le plus souvent absente" (Galarneau, 1978, p. 228). Financial problems were, however, to mark the end of this silence.

To address the funding problems of Canadian universities, the federally authorized Massey Report (1951) recommended

federal aid for university education. This was a field constitutionally under provincial control, nowhere more carefully guarded than in Quebec. In Quebec, a Royal Commission of Inquiry on Constitutional Problems (the Tremblay Commission) was set up in 1953 to study, among other issues, general education problems, especially those dealing with funding of education institutions. Of the 250 briefs submitted, over half dealt with education and forced the Commission to devote three chapters of its Report as well as a one-volume annexe solely to education (Parent Report, Vol. 1, pp. 20-21).

In their brief to the Tremblay Commission, the Fédération des Collèges Classiques held firmly to their traditional position concerning the central role of the classical college and the enormous contribution made by the clergy. As Galarneau (1978) summarized, "[Les collèges] n'ont pu survivre dans des conditions matérielles précaires que par le dévouement du clergé.... Tout cela reposant sur l'indépendance du collège". As for any changes in the traditional classical program, especially the introduction of options, the same brief affirmed, "Ce [introduction of options] serait commettre un crime de lèse-culture générale au profit de la spécialisation" (Galarneau, 1978, p. 229). The brief did admit the need for lay professors in the classical colleges, since the clergy was no longer capable of filling all the posts. The brief also argued for parity of State financing with public institutions,

otherwise too many students would be attracted to the public secondary institutions resulting in the closing of the colleges. Galarneau's analysis of the brief did, however, point out that the Fédération des Collèges Classiques did not wish to compromise in any way the traditional classical program of the classical colleges, because "les collèges sont seuls fondés à fournir les classes dirigeantes à la nation" (1978, p. 231).

A similar note was sounded in the Mémoire (1954) presented by 15 of the directresses of the classical colleges for young women. The Mémoire pointed out that only through the generosity of the religious communities, whose teaching sisters gave their services for free, were the classical colleges for young women able to deal with their operating expenses (1954, p. 84). Although the male classical colleges had received an annual \$15,000 subsidy from the provincial government since 1922, the women's colleges had not (1954, p. 87). As a result, the women's colleges had fallen into debt and were not able to provide sufficient facilities, especially science laboratories, for their students. Often students had to go to other institutions for their practical work in science. The Mémoire, like the brief submitted by the male Federation of Classical Colleges, stressed the élitist nature of the classical college (1954, pp. 110-112), and affirmed the superiority of the classical college program over that provided in the public schools.

The Mémoire also mentioned the Massey Report of 1951, and the disbursement of federal funds to Quebec universities and equivalent institutions. "Dans le cas des collèges classiques féminins, cette subvention avait une importance particulière car elle constituait le premier apport financier gouvernemental jamais reçu par cet enseignement" (1954, p. 125). Unfortunately, the federal funds were available only for one year (1951-52) because the Duplessis government on constitutional grounds refused to accept the federal grants any longer, although promising equivalent discretionary provincial grants (Wade, 1983, p. 1117). The Mémoire asked that the Tremblay Commission search for a funding formula which would guarantee provincial autonomy but at the same time, would assure the women's classical colleges of continuing financial support, and parity with the male classical colleges (1954, p. 155).

#### The Quiet Revolution

The beginning of the Quiet Revolution was marked by the death of Maurice Duplessis in 1959 and the election of Jean Lesage in 1960. Although a number of important education reforms had been instituted in the 1950's in response to the changing nature of Quebec society, Duplessis had maintained an iron control. During the 1950's, a spectacular growth had taken place in the number of students enrolled at the secondary level. In 1952-53, the number had been 70,092; by

1959-60, it had risen to 178,394 (Martin, 1966, p. 69). To address the need for expansion of physical facilities and programs for colleges and universities, Duplessis' successor, Paul Sauvé, responded to the need for greater financial help from the government by passing legislation to help universities obtain the buildings and equipment needed to accommodate the increasing numbers of students at the university level. According to Martin, not only was this legislation significant as the first general measure of financial help of a statutory character to be passed in Quebec, but also it represented the beginning of a new conception of the university as a public rather than a private institution (1966, p. 70). As part of this legislation, the Sauvé government worked out a formula to permit Quebec universities to receive their share of the federal grants which Duplessis had refused to accept.

The election of the Liberal party in 1960 is generally considered as the true beginning of the Quiet Revolution, characterized by Magnuson as "a revolution of ideas, a rejection of the prevailing ideology.... Central to the new ideology was the recognition of an expanded state role in all facets of Quebec life" (1980, p. 102). All of the old ideologies, including that of a conservative Church which controlled social welfare and education, the glorification of a rural way of life, and a sharply limited power of government, were swept away in a matter of a few short years.

The social change in Quebec coincided with a spirit of revolution in the worldwide Catholic Church set in motion by Vatican II, which advocated change and modernization in the way the Roman Catholic Church viewed itself in the twentieth century world. For Quebec, the changes which came in the 1960's affected every facet of social, political and religious life. Magnuson observed that

the religious nationalism of Lionel Groulx and others, so influential in the first half of the century, retreated before a revised ideology that held up the secular state as the model to which French Canadians could look for solving their social, economic and political problems (1980, p. 103). No change was more dramatic than that which involved

education, and it was here that the Lesage government first made its most important changes. In 1961, a series of laws known collectively as the Magna Carta of Education was passed. By these laws the school leaving age was raised to 15, school fees were abolished, the parents' right to vote in school board elections was affirmed, and public school boards were required to provide schooling up to and including eleventh grade. The latter provision led to the establishment of regional secondary schools and a great increase in funding for all levels of education.

With this legislation, the need for more thorough education reforms became apparent, and as a result the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education (the Parent Commission) was created. Its mandate was to investigate the entire education system of Quebec, public and private, Catholic and Protestant,

and to report its findings. Its five-part report, published between 1963 and 1966, recommended profound and sweeping changes in education. According to Magnuson,

few would mistake Quebec schools at the end of the decade for those of ten years earlier. The reforms... fundamentally altered the character and pattern of education, changing it from a decentralized, church-dominated system serving an elite to a centralized, state-controlled one catering to a mass population (1980, p. 114).

One of the most daring recommendations coming from the Parent Report called for the establishing of 'Institutes', post-secondary colleges which would serve as an intermediate level of education between secondary and university levels, and would combine academic, professional and vocational training. The institutes or CEGEPs (the acronym for Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel) were established to encourage students to continue their education beyond the secondary level and to bring into harmony the paths to higher education of French and English students. For the English sector, the CEGEPs were totally new institutions, with the exception of Marianopolis College. For the French sector, the CEGEPs were created by regrouping existing classical colleges, technical and vocational schools, schools of nursing and instituts familiaux and imposing a single administrative structure on several institutions. With the advent of the CEGEPs, the classical colleges, until then considered the glory of the French classical tradition of education, nearly all disappeared as such as they were absorbed into the new

institutions.

The most profound change during the 1960's was the loss of the dominant position of the Church in education to that of the State. The growth of education during the 1950's had served to stretch the capability of the Church to provide personnel and facilities beyond its ability to respond to the demands of a modernized school system. Between 1951 and 1961, the percentage of lay teachers in classical colleges had increased from 8.8 to 35.1 (Magnuson, 1980, p. 121). Vatican II had redefined the role of the Church in secular society. "In the final analysis, the elements of modernization, including secularism, materialism and rationalism, were responsible for neutralizing the clergy's authority and influence" (Magnuson, 1980, p. 120).

Marianopolis College--1944-1960's

As Figure 4.9 indicates, the years following the establishment of Marianopolis College were ones of generally steady growth.

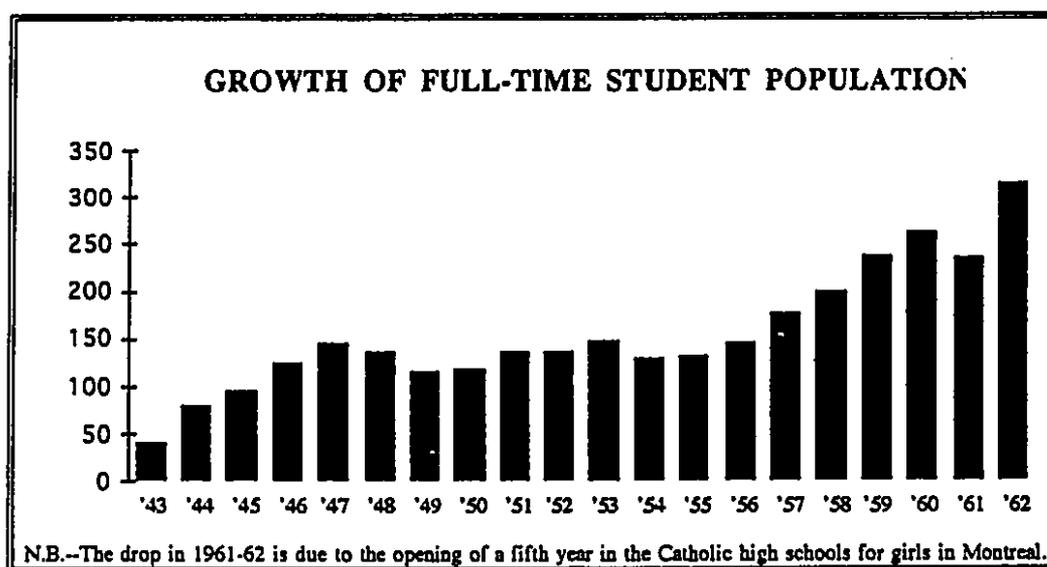


Figure 4.9. Growth of full-time student population, Marianopolis College, 1943-1963. Based on statistics in College Archives.

In addition to the growth the College enjoyed during the 40's and 50's, the wisdom of expanding the English sector program to include a B. Sc. degree is supported by comparable statistics from Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys and Marianopolis College: from 1940 to 1946, under the traditional humanities program of Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys, 33 B. A. degrees were conferred; from 1947 to 1953, under the revised program of Marianopolis College, 121 B. A. degrees and 24 B. Sc. degrees

were conferred (AMC, A.23.14, Brief to Tremblay Commission, p.3). Under the leadership of Marianopolis's first Dean, Sister St. George, the transition from merely being the English section of a predominantly French classical college to that of the province's first and only autonomous English Catholic women's college was smooth and successful. Like its male counterpart, Loyola College, Marianopolis also offered two four-year programs: the B. Sc. degree, giving both an honours course in chemistry and a general science course, as well as the liberal arts course leading to the B. A. degree. Until 1952, it also offered teacher training for English Catholic women.

In January 1945, a fire completely destroyed the former Mont Ste-Marie convent which had become the new premises of Marianopolis College. The students were temporarily housed in the Notre Dame Secretarial School, situated in the Mother House of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, until new premises were purchased at 3547 Peel Street and the college moved there in the fall of 1945, becoming neighbours of McGill University.

The following year on April 27, 1946, Marianopolis was incorporated by Letters Patent under Part 3 of the Quebec Companies' Act. The first Board of Directors, all men, included Archbishop Charbonneau, Rev. G. Emmett Carter and seven other leading English Catholics. The only act of this largely honorary body was to pass By-law 4, stating that all members of the Board of Directors must be Roman Catholics

(AMC, A.11.01). In the same year, Rev. Francis Moyle was appointed as Rector of Marianopolis College,

to assist and correlate the efforts of the Sisters in their task of providing higher education adapted to the needs of the community, and in general to represent directly the authority of the archdiocese in all the affairs of the College. In view of this appointment, the College ceases to be subject to the authority of the Board of Directors appointed by Archbishop Charbonneau during the early years of organization (AMC, A.22.02).

Two years later, Sister St. Gerald and eight other members of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame became the Board of Directors and the Members of the Corporation (AMC, A11.01).

In 1947, when the University of Montreal conferred its first science degree of the type introduced in 1943, four Marianopolis graduates were among the first students to receive it (AMC, A.11.08).

Since Marianopolis did not have suitable laboratory facilities for organic chemistry and physics, an arrangement had been worked out with Loyola College so that Marianopolis students could do their lab work there. A few years later, a similar arrangement was made with McGill University for biology and biochemistry majors. Marianopolis students also took certain linguistics courses at McGill. These close ties between Marianopolis and McGill were understandable, because not only courses but also the examining board for degree candidates had been approved by the Senate of McGill University. Granting the degrees by the Université de Montréal was, to all intents, a legal fiction (AMC, A.11.07). An

examination of the Loyola-Marianopolis and McGill-Marianopolis correspondence files in the archives reveals courteous cooperation between Marianopolis and the other two institutions, with every effort being made, especially by McGill, to accomodate the Marianopolis students (AMC, A.24.08).

The early 1950's were years of expansion for Marianopolis, as additional property on Peel Street was acquired in 1951 and 1952 to provide much needed facilities. Such expansion could not, however, take place without additional funds. Although the college had participated in writing the Mémoire des collèges classiques de jeunes filles to the Tremblay Commission, it also submitted its own brief in 1954, with the observation that its unique position as the sole institution providing college education for English Catholic girls "warrants special attention" (AMC, A.23.14). The brief emphasized the financial handicaps under which the college operated; its desire to expand the Arts program in order to provide a wider selection of electives and in the near future to establish degree programs in home economics, nursing, and fine arts; the cramped and uncomfortable lecture rooms and insufficient lab and library space. According to this brief, no such expansion or building projects could be undertaken "until such time as some type of supplementary income is established" (AMC, A.23.14, Brief, p. 8). The only government financial aid given to the college since its establishment had been the Federal Aid grant of \$13,462.50

received late in 1952. The annual operating deficit of the college was being met by the Congrégation de Notre-Dame through contributions from other institutions operated by the Order (Brief, p. 9).

In its conclusion, the brief pointed out that the Congrégation de Notre-Dame had borne the main burden of financing the college program throughout its development, but the time had come to lay claim "to the support and assistance of the Government to help it [Marianopolis] fulfill its destiny" (Brief, p. 11). Appended to the brief were four recommendations requesting a government subsidy to cover the operational deficit, a substantial building grant with an annual increment to allow for expanded physical facilities, scholarship aid for needy students, and financial aid for professors wishing professional advancement (Brief, p. 11).

The second half of the 1950's was marked by protracted property negotiations with Loyola. Looking ahead to the need for more expansion than the Peel Street property allowed, and to the future possibility of a university charter for Loyola and consequent federation of Marianopolis with Loyola, the Marianopolis authorities were interested in purchasing property on the south side of Sherbrooke Street West opposite Loyola with a view to moving the Marianopolis campus to this new location. The archives of Marianopolis and Loyola both contain extensive correspondence between the authorities of the two institutions.

As early as 1954, Rector Lahey of Loyola had written to the Marianopolis Dean, saying that for some years he had been aware "of the interesting relationships between Marianopolis and Loyola" and pointing out the close co-operation of the two institutions over the years (Archives, Loyola College; in Archives, Concordia University {ACU}, I.147, HA 432, July 8, 1954). A move by Marianopolis to close proximity with Loyola would, in the view of the Loyola authorities, strengthen their case for a university charter, since Marianopolis could become the women's college of a possible English Catholic university.

These negotiations dragged on for several years. It is evident from the correspondence that Loyola would sell the property, but only on its own terms. For instance, Marianopolis requested 500 feet of frontage on Sherbrooke Street, but Loyola refused to consider more than 250 feet (ACU, I.147, HA 432, December 19, 1956). In a letter to Father George, the Provincial Superior of the Jesuits, Marianopolis authorities asked for assurance that if Marianopolis moved to the Loyola property, Loyola would not at any time in the future admit women students to undergraduate courses. Marianopolis needed that official confirmation before proceeding further with any plans (ACU, I.147, HA 432, July 20, 1959). That same year Loyola admitted women students, although only to programs not available at Marianopolis College.

A letter in the Loyola archives justifies the hesitation

and concerns of the Marianopolis authorities in their dealings with Loyola officials and the Jesuits. Father Malone, the new Rector of Loyola, wrote to the Jesuit Provincial saying that the Marianopolis role on the Loyola campus should be that of "an affiliated participant in the educational effort of Loyola College". He asserted that Loyola would have overall direction and legal authority, that academic authority would be under the Loyola Rector, and that "the Sisters would be entirely free to follow any action conformable to the overall legislation of the parent [italics added] institution" (ACU, I.147, HA 432, March 22, 1960). Throughout these negotiations, Loyola authorities assumed that they would be in control and at no time did they view any association with Marianopolis as an equal partnership. Father Malone stressed that a proposed English Catholic university "must be a unity" (AMC, A.24.21, November 24, 1961). Marianopolis, on the other hand, continued to favour the tradition of separate institutions for men and women, and to insist that Marianopolis would maintain a separate corporate existence with its own autonomous administration, faculty, curriculum and financial independence. Of foremost importance to Marianopolis was the retention of its identity as a college for women. In a reply to the November 24, 1961 memo from Father Malone, the Marianopolis President Sister St. Mary Assumpta said that Marianopolis "should function as the College for Women within the proposed university" (AMC, A.24.21, December 29, 1961).

The Loyola request for a university charter in 1961, despite official Marianopolis support, was denied. Lesage decided not to deal with the two requests for a charter from Loyola and Collège Brébeuf, but instead to refer the matter to the recently established Parent Commission. Marianopolis in turn decided to postpone property negotiations with Loyola until such time as the matter of a university charter was decided, and until there was clearer understanding of what role Marianopolis would play in a new university structure. Father Moyle, the Loyola College Rector, also suggested that the stipulations regarding the independence of Marianopolis should be presented in writing to His Eminence the Cardinal (AMC, A.12.13, January 31, 1961).

In 1955, acting on legal advice, the Marianopolis authorities began to consider changing the college's type of incorporation to a form similar to that of Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys and other girls' colleges. By a new act of incorporation, the college would then have a civil status which would coincide fairly closely with the requirements of canon law, and would have simpler methods for changing corporation members and by-laws. It would also have financial privileges accorded to foundations. At length, on January 19, 1961, the former incorporation under the Quebec Companies' Act was dissolved and the new Act of Incorporation was passed by the Quebec Legislature (AMC, A.11.01).

As the college expanded during the 1950's, a larger and

more formal structure to share administrative responsibilities became necessary. In 1960, the first President of Marianopolis College was appointed to act as the principal administrative officer. Sister St. Mary Assumpta, who had been a member of the Corporation since 1954, was appointed to this office. Public relations were handled by a lay assistant, responsibility for academic matters rested with the Dean of Studies, and the Assistant Dean had charge of student activities and resident students. Academic records and financial matters became the responsibility of the Registrar and the Accountant respectively, and a full-time Librarian was appointed. Faculty committees, both permanent and ad hoc were established to aid the administration. The overall direction of the college was in the hands of a Board of Trustees appointed by the Congrégation de Notre-Dame and composed entirely of members of the Order. An Advisory Board including a representative of the Order's hierarchy, a member of the diocesan clergy and several lay persons assisted the administration in determining college policy (AMC, A.23.14). College expansion was reflected in increasing student numbers (Figure 4.9) and increased fulltime and parttime faculty, numbering 38 in 1962, 15 of whom were lay professors.

A major effort of 1961 and 1962 by both administration and faculty was the preparation of a brief to be submitted to the Parent Commission. In the brief, Marianopolis College stated its purpose, maintaining that it existed to provide

higher studies for Roman Catholic English-speaking women. While co-education had certain advantages, the Marianopolis position was that "the higher interests of women...are best served if women are educated in an environment...that is specifically feminine" (AMC, A.23.14, Brief, p. 10). At most, Marianopolis would support co-institutional education, in a college for women in proximity to a men's college with "certain buildings and other facilities shared", but having its own identity and autonomy. While Marianopolis supported the creation of an English Catholic university "as an integrated federation" of already existing colleges and institutes, "these constituent colleges should remain autonomous units possessing powers of direction and decision on internal matters of administrative and of academic policy" (AMC, A.23.14, Brief, p. 21). The governing body of such a university should be representative not only of its constituent parts, but also of the community it served. Throughout the brief, the Marianopolis concern for maintaining its identity as a separate college for women was emphasized, "not for sentimental reasons or for reasons of self-interest but because the services which it renders have fulfilled and are fulfilling a need that is being met by no other institution" (AMC, A.23.14, Brief, p. 22).

The brief concluded with three recommendations: (a) that a university be created to serve the needs of the English Catholic community of Montreal, (b) that the governing body of

such a university be representative of the component parts of both the university and the community, and (c) that the continued development of Marianopolis College as a college for women be guaranteed (AMC, A.23.14, Brief, p. 23).

Until the findings of the Parent Commission were made public, Marianopolis College could do nothing but continue on in the same pattern and wait, even though faced with "a drastic need for expansion and the necessity of determining its academic status for the future" (AMC, A.23.14, Brief, p. 19).

## Chapter 5

### The Parent Report and Its Effects

#### Negotiations with Loyola

From 1961 until 1964 both Loyola and Marianopolis awaited the recommendations of the Royal Commission. During these years the two institutions continued their talks concerning the proposed move of Marianopolis to Loyola property. Marianopolis remained adamant that it wanted to function as the college for women within the framework of a university pledged to inter-institutional co-operation but maintaining a separate corporate existence, its own separate campus, administration, faculty, curriculum and financial structure. Writing to the Loyola Rector in October 2, 1961, Sister St. Mary Assumpta said:

While desiring to be part of the English Catholic University, Marianopolis College is strongly conscious of the efforts which it has made to attain its actual status and with justification is unwilling to abandon its own autonomy. It recognizes the need for mutual support and assistance in the fulfillment of a common purpose but maintains that there are certain areas in which each college would function more effectively through independent action (Archives, Loyola College; in Archives, Concordia University {ACU}, I147, HA 432).

Loyola, on the other hand, stressed that such a university should be a unity with Marianopolis as a participant in an

all-embracing Senate to formulate policy for academic matters (ACU, I147, HA 432, November 24, 1961).

In a February 1962 meeting between representatives of the two institutions, Loyola maintained that honours courses must be the responsibility of the university, not of individual colleges (AMC, A.12.16). Realizing that Loyola wanted all negotiations on its own terms, Marianopolis administration and faculty agreed that it was necessary for Marianopolis to continue to be cautious regarding Loyola, and to insist on having specific, written stipulations in all dealings with its officials (AMC, A.12.16). Later the same year, Sister St. Mary Assumpta informed the Faculty Council that the Royal Commission was anxious to hear from Marianopolis before any decisions were made regarding university status for Loyola. As a result, the brief which Marianopolis presented stressed that the the college desired to retain its own identity as a university college within a federated institution, and that Loyola must be willing to operate as a federated university if Marianopolis were to participate (AMC, A.12.13).

Finally in late 1964, the second volume of the Parent Report was available with its recommendations regarding Loyola and an English Catholic university. Loyola received the recommendations with both jubilation and disappointment. On the one hand, the Report recommended that an English Catholic university be established with Loyola as its nucleus; on the other, that it be a limited charter university authorized to

grant the first university degree only, that the Jesuits should not have exclusive authority over a university largely financed by the State, and that Marianopolis College, Thomas More Institute and St. Joseph Teachers College should be part of such a project from its beginning (Parent Report. Vol. 2, sect. 339, p. 225). Recommendation 126 was vague about the constitution of an administrative board other than to indicate that it should be appointed "by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council on the recommendation of the English-speaking Roman Catholic institutions and groups concerned" (Parent Report, Vol. 2, p. 255).

The Marianopolis reaction to the recommendations of the Parent Report was favourable. Sister St. Mary Assumpta was quoted as saying that it served to provide "a nucleus of federated colleges serving the English Catholic community" (AMC, A.22.02, Montreal Star, November 21, 1964, p. 8). The Parent Report also indicated very clearly that Loyola would not have the free hand it had envisioned. Nevertheless, the immediate Loyola response to the Parent Report was to petition for a university charter, despite cautions from the other three concerned institutions.

At a meeting of the principals of the four institutions on December 9, 1964, Reverend John Hilton of St. Joseph Teachers College urged that the group not be hasty in pressing for a university charter, that details of the federation and representation of the four institutions on an administrative

board should first be worked out. Both Marianopolis and Thomas More agreed that clarification and further study were needed. The Loyola position was, however, clear and unbudging, that "a decision...must be quickly made--a decision to act or not to act NOW to secure possession of a university charter" (AMC, A.24.21). The Rector of Loyola, Father Malone, would not hear of any delay, and it became clear to the other three institutions that Loyola insisted on running the show, refused to listen to reason and consequently alienated the others. Loyola insisted that the first move must be the presentation of a Private Member's Bill requesting the charter, and that the constitution delineating the structure of the proposed university would be drawn up at a later time by the participating institutions (AMC, A.12.13).

In a position paper dated December 12, 1964, the Marianopolis President deprecated the "undue haste" with which Loyola wanted to proceed and requested more time for further deliberation to address such questions as the character of the new university, its administrative form, its academic structure, and the manner by which the four institutions would be integrated "within a framework rigid enough to assure unity of purpose and yet flexible enough to allow for variety and initiative." She also expressed the belief that the wider English Catholic community had not been consulted, nor had sufficient attention been paid to including representation from that community in establishing the founding corporation

of the proposed new university (AMC, A.12.13). The same day, in a private memo to the files, she expressed her fear that in any involvement with Loyola, the other three institutions would be absorbed and disappear into a Loyola University (AMC, A.24.21, December 12, 1964).

By December 15, Rev. Hilton withdrew his name from the list of those chosen to sit on the founding board. The following day, the principals of Thomas More, Marianopolis, and St. Joseph Teachers College sent a telegram to the Loyola representatives who would be presenting the petition for a charter to the government:

We have attempted to find a basis of trust within this first asking [sic] for a charter on behalf of the Anglo-Catholic community within the spirit of the Parent Report. We have failed to find this basis of trust. We are united in dissociating ourselves from this step as it is now proceeding (AMC, A.24.19).

On December 19, 1964, a notice appeared in the Official Gazette (Vol. 96, No. 52, p. 6648) that Loyola would be applying for a university charter. With or without the other three institutions specifically mentioned in the Parent Report, Loyola was determined to press for a university charter.

In The Challenge, an English Catholic newspaper, Evva Yellowley wrote: "The state must no longer entrust to a private group [the Jesuits] control of a university financed by the State. The whole English Catholic community must be involved" (No. 12, December, 1964). A month later, she wrote:

"From the beginning officials of Marianopolis, St. Joseph Teachers College and Thomas More were up against Loyola's dream. While they talked in terms of a totally new institution, Loyola officials talked in terms of a charter for Loyola" (The Challenge, No. 13, January, 1965).

In early January 1965, Bill 133, An Act to Incorporate Loyola University, was presented to the Quebec government. It was supported by the Archbishop and by prominent Loyola alumni from the business and professional sectors of Quebec society. While Loyola was waiting to hear the outcome, it resumed talks with Marianopolis, Thomas More and St. Joseph Teachers College, largely because interested English Catholic laymen having no direct association with any of the institutions had become aware of the importance of the questions involved and their implications. In an open letter to students and alumnae, the President of Marianopolis expressed her hope that "it will yet be possible for us to participate directly with good conscience and in a productive manner in the eventual establishment of a university in Montreal that will meet the needs and be truly representative of the English-speaking Catholic community" (AMC, A.24.21, January 11, 1965).

Rev. Hilton cautioned the Loyola Rector to listen carefully to what the Marianopolis and Thomas More representatives had to say, pointing out that St. Joseph Teachers College, as a public institution owned and operated by the provincial government, was in a different position from

that of the other three private institutions since its destiny would be determined by the Department of Education. Rev. Hilton saw his role in the discussions as a more objective one, giving him greater freedom to express frank opinions and to make recommendations. In a very candid open letter to Father Malone, Rev. Hilton observed

that the manner in which you hastened to this commitment [petition for a charter], without full consideration of what might yet prove to be factors essential to your aim has only served to add another complication to those already experienced by interested parties, making future overtures all the more suspect and future unity all the more difficult to secure (AMC, A.24.21, January 12, 1965).

While calling on all three institutions "to find a path of cooperation", he nevertheless asked Marianopolis and Thomas More to do "nothing which would constitute an obstacle to the acquisition of the charter." He concluded by urging all three institutions to look for "true communication and compromise" (AMC, A.24.21, January 12, 1965).

There followed a series of meetings of the Academic Integrating Committee, at which representatives of the four English Catholic institutions discussed academic problems that might arise in the creation of a new university, possible programs to resolve the difficulties, and possible academic structures that would be acceptable to the participating institutions.

As the meetings progressed, it became clear to the Marianopolis representatives that Loyola did not see them as

partners, but were as intransigent as ever, refusing even to consider seriously a name other than "Loyola" for the proposed university (ACU, I147, HA 432). The May 7, 1965 minutes of the Academic Integrating Committee reveal the sense of futility and betrayal felt by Marianopolis. Sister Calista Begnal, the Dean of Marianopolis, pointed out that despite many meetings over the years with Loyola officials, "there has been no core of thinking that would lead to any unified development of the two colleges". She further observed that much had changed since the early 1960's: the whole notion of separate education had to be reassessed in the light of co-education in the high schools and the projected Institutes, and especially in the light of Loyola's extending general admission to women students (AMC, A.24.21). It was this latter point which convinced the Marianopolis administration and faculty that their future did not lie with Loyola. Sister Begnal was moved to comment in a May 26, 1965, meeting, "I am personally doubtful of the feasibility of such integration [with Loyola] on a basis that would allow Marianopolis College the opportunity to make its full contribution in the area of higher education of women" (AMC, A.24.22). Her concluding remark was both accurate and prophetic: "The road ahead is long and difficult" (AMC, A.24.22).

On July 24, 1965, Revenue Minister Eric Kierans announced that the legislature would not consider the matter of a charter for Loyola during that session. The government had

decided to implement the Parent Report from the bottom up and would deal with primary and secondary institutions first and later with higher education (Shook, 1971, p. 266). It is possible that the government was influenced by a brief submitted by Marianopolis to the Royal Commission in June 1965, in which the Marianopolis administration pointed out that the views of the college had changed considerably since the original brief had been submitted. Since Loyola had become totally co-educational, with a projected 1965-66 enrolment of women comparable in numbers to the enrolment of women at Marianopolis,

it seems unrealistic to propose at this point a university structure with a small women's college alongside a large co-educational institution....If Marianopolis College were to become part of the new English-Catholic university it could only be by way of absorption in the larger structure and with the sacrifice of its objectives as a woman's college (AMC, A.24.22, June 28, 1965).

In October 1965 the Marianopolis President met with Dr. Roger Gaudry, the Rector of the University of Montreal, who thought that Marianopolis should seriously consider becoming an affiliate of McGill University. He pointed out that because a new French-language university was urgently needed, he was not very optimistic that a new English-language university would be created. In a November 26, 1965, memo to the files, President Sister St. Mary Assumpta observed that it had been six years since Loyola had asked Marianopolis for its co-operation, but the terms offered were too restrictive. Convinced that a co-educational Loyola College would be

transformed into a Loyola University with no role for Marianopolis to play except that of a women's residence, it was now time to examine other alternatives for the future of Marianopolis College (AMC, A.24.08).

Although Marianopolis did not close the door completely to negotiations with Loyola, and the four English Catholic institutions did have another round of talks in early 1967, the momentum necessary to bring about an English Catholic university was lost as discussions degenerated into semantic debates about the meaning of "catholic" and "vision" as applied to a Catholic university. While these debates were taking place among the English Catholic institutions, the questions about the need for a French university and what form the projected Institutes would take had gained center stage in Quebec City.

#### Commentary on the Negotiations

During the early years of the 1960's, Loyola was driven by its desire for independence and a charter and let nothing stand in its way in its quest to achieve both. Marianopolis, on the other hand, was motivated by its purpose to continue providing higher education for women and to maintain its identity. Over the years the Marianopolis administrators had been well aware of the ambitions of the Jesuit administration of Loyola and their tendency to be unbudging in attempting to fulfill what they saw as the destiny of Loyola. The ambitions

of Marianopolis were more modest, but just as clear as those of Loyola. Both institutions were caught up in the Quiet Revolution as the entire face of Quebec education underwent change.

It is easy to examine the situation in retrospect and to say what could or should have been done. It is possible that Loyola would have received its charter in 1965 if Marianopolis, Thomas More Institute and St. Joseph Teachers College had been able to support Loyola's request without reservations. If Loyola had been willing to be less unyielding and hasty, that might well have happened. If Thomas More Institute and Marianopolis had been willing to be absorbed into Loyola and consequently lose their identity as separate institutions, the charter might have been granted.

By 1966, however, the Quebec government was having second thoughts as the need for a French university gained priority and the political situation became more fluid and dynamic. Shook claimed that Loyola was correct in admitting women students, needing that particular constituency for its academic integrity, and that Marianopolis could have countered by admitting male students (1971, p. 271). Such an observation, however, showed a lack of understanding of the history, tradition and motivation of Marianopolis. Years of hardship to keep the college operating on a shoestring budget, the sacrifices made over the years by the Congrégation de Notre-Dame often in the face of an indifferent community, and

the entire mission of the College all mitigated against such a move unless the situation were desperate enough to warrant compromising most of what the college stood for.

Decision-making style. Examining the negotiations in the light of decision-making theory yields some insights and understanding. Father Malone pursued his own agenda for Loyola during all the negotiations, operating under the rules of the Jesuit community as the sole decision-making authority for the college. Writing several years later, Professor Perry Meyer of McGill, appointed as the adjudicator for a faculty problem at Loyola, said of Father Malone: "It is clear that individuals who have occupied positions of leadership over a period of time will not easily change their style of decision-making as circumstances themselves change" (Archives, McGill University {AMcG}, RG2.372, 1903, Ref. 315, p. 3). On the proposed continuum (Figure 1.2), Father Malone's decision-making style would be described as unilateral. Heller's terminology is also accurate, because Malone was used to making his own decisions without detailed explanation. Sister MacCormack<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, exhibited a much more consultative style of decision-making throughout the negotiations with Loyola. As late as 1962, the Faculty Council of Marianopolis was told by the President that the faculty could express opinions about the

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<sup>1</sup>During the summer of 1966, in accordance with the recommendations of Vatican II, secular names replaced religious names for members of religious orders. From this point on, Sister St. Mary Assumpta was known as Sister MacCormack.

future direction of the college, but could not make any decisions (AMC, A.12.13, May 10, 1962). By 1965, however, this situation had changed considerably. By that time, the faculty representatives on the Academic Integrating Committee were taking an active role in negotiations and consultation had become the norm for the college. Sister MacCormack remarked to a meeting of the Council, "It is a democratic principle, I believe, that everyone affected by a decision has a right to be involved in the decision-making process" (AMC, A.12.01). Unlike the Loyola Rector, Sister MacCormack displayed a consultative-participative style of decision-making, clearly operating at the fourth level of the proposed model of decision-making style. A final decision was in the hands of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, the President and the College Council, but before making that decision, extensive consultation of faculty, staff, students and alumnae took place. Faculty were encouraged to submit briefs about alternatives they most favoured, and singly or in groups faculty studied the alternatives available and made their recommendations.

In one such brief, faculty member Dr. Andrew O'Connor cautioned that the college should "actively resist demotion to the status of ladies' residence.... Years of devoted work [by the Congrégation de Notre-Dame] should not be written off so cavalierly" (AMC, A.24.08). The majority of faculty continued to favour negotiating with Loyola, even though all recommended

caution. That the negotiations continued, even after Sister MacCormack was convinced that the future of the college did not lie with Loyola, is evidence of her commitment to a consultative style of decision-making and the confidence she had in faculty opinion and participation. According to Sister MacCormack, affiliation with Loyola was never foremost in her mind as a choice option. She feared the loss of Marianopolis's identity in a university dominated by Loyola, but feared even more that a new small English university would be at the end of the list for government financing, and that financial priority would be given to a new French university (personal interview, March 7, 1990).

Constraints on decision-making. Many constraints on the decision-making process were apparent during the years of the negotiations with Loyola. Feldman and Kanter (1965), and Bass (1983) pointed out the importance of environment as a major constraint. Education was in a state of extreme flux during these years as the Quebec government attempted a thorough overhaul of Quebec education in accordance with the recommendations of the Parent Report. Education philosophy was changing from a position of Church dominance and a traditional élitist approach to one of centralization and égalitarianism under State control, with more participation in the education project by parents at all levels. French and English education for the first time were being put on a common path as inequalities and iniquities were being removed. The

charismatic-traditional authority of the Church was giving way to the legal-rational authority of the State. Laws and due process were assuming an increased importance as a Ministry of Education was created and the Quebec Education Act was rewritten. Emery & Trist's (1963) turbulent environment was apparent everywhere.

Simon (1964) and Porras (1981) both saw institutional goals and purpose as a major constraint on decision-making. Uppermost in the minds of the Marianopolis negotiators was the preservation of the college's identity and its purpose as an institution providing excellence in higher education for Roman Catholic young women. Absorption by Loyola into a university bearing Loyola's name would have destroyed both.

Kast and Rosenzweig (1970) observed that another important constraint concerning organizational purpose and goals involves balancing harmony and order against survival. According to Sister MacCormack, the Marianopolis negotiating team constantly had to balance the importance of the college's identity against the desirability of an English Catholic university, and in the long run, preserving the college's identity and purpose won out (personal interview, March 7, 1990).

Organizational structure and actions also act as important constraints on the decision-making process. Tannenbaum (1950) spoke of the 'sphere of discretion' of the decision-maker, who is limited by the structure and authority

relationships unique to his or her organization. While Sister MacCormack technically possessed the power to make authoritative decisions, she was constrained by the participative style to which she had committed herself and the college. Since the Marianopolis faculty clearly wanted to continue teaching university-level courses, and were encouraged to participate in the decision process, they pressed their committee to pursue negotiations with Loyola even while voicing reservations in their briefs and discussions. Kumar (1977) concluded that centralization of influence in decision-making decreased with the increase of technical uncertainty and the organizational complexity of the decision context. In the light of Kumar's conclusions, Sister MacCormack's own inclinations towards a participative decision-making style were compounded by the very complexity of the context of the decision-making and acted as an important constraint.

It is clear from the minutes of faculty meetings and those of various committees that Marianopolis had been moving towards a modified hierarchy characterized by Likert (1967) as 'overlapping groups' or 'linch-pin organization', as indicated by the increased input of faculty opinion and the frequent meetings of committee heads. Such an arrangement aids participative decision-making, but requires much more time for extensive consulting, thus slowing down the decision-making process and consequently acting as a constraint in a dynamic,

complex and fast-changing environment. This was certainly the case at Marianopolis College. On several occasions the Marianopolis members of the Academic Integrating Committee which conducted the negotiations with Loyola, Thomas More Institute and St. Joseph Teachers College had to postpone meetings with the other three institutions because various college committees had not had the opportunity to analyse faculty briefs or to complete their own deliberations (personal interview, Catherine Westbury, June 12, 1991). Sister MacCormack requested more time for serious consideration of structures for the proposed university.

Decision-making strategies. During these years of extensive consultation among Marianopolis administration and faculty, and numerous meetings with Loyola, Thomas More Institute and St. Joseph Teachers College, it would seem that a vigilant problem solving approach to decision-making prevailed. Even though Rev. Hilton, the Principal of St. Joseph Teachers College, advised Marianopolis and Thomas More that compromise might be necessary in their negotiations with Loyola (AMC, A.24.21), there is no evidence in the Marianopolis archives to support a satisficing strategy of decision-making. Simon's model of satisficing (1974), a strategy described as "good enough", or useful only for trivial, inconsequential decisions (Zeleny, 1981) and having no commitment to decision-making excellence, was not the strategy favoured by Marianopolis. Compromise would have led

to the sacrifice of identity and absorption into a Loyola-dominated university and a satisficing strategy would have led Marianopolis to accept Loyola's view that a charter should be sought first and only then would the details of federation be worked out.

Zeleny's model of the displaced ideal (1981) as a variation on Simon's satisficing strategy also is not appropriate. Throughout the negotiations with Loyola, Marianopolis wanted to be part of an English Catholic University, but as a full partner, and with its own separate identity. That was the ideal solution. Marianopolis sought that ideal solution throughout the years of negotiation, but at no time, as the ideal solution became unfeasible, did Marianopolis consider replacing the ideal solution by one deemed achievable. An achievable solution for Marianopolis would have been to support Loyola's petition without reservation and in all probability would have involved abandoning the ideal solution of becoming an autonomous women's college within a university structure.

Harrison's model of accommodation and adaptation (1981), a variant of the incremental strategy, also was not employed by Sister MacCormack and the Marianopolis negotiators. Harrison's model focuses on those policies that differ from existing policies rather than on any comprehensive survey and evaluation of alternatives. Most of the briefs submitted by Marianopolis faculty, and the meetings of Faculty Council

between 1964 and 1967, carefully weighed a number of possible alternatives for the future of the college and did not focus only on incremental change. Sister MacCormack encouraged the faculty to be adventurous in thinking about alternatives.

Both the administration and the faculty of Marianopolis were aware that the mid-1960's were years involving large, not incremental change, described in Lindblom's paradigm (Figure 1.6) as quadrant four and signifying "large change and quite imperfect understanding" (1959, p. 68). This quadrant accurately describes Loyola's hasty move towards acquiring a charter immediately following the recommendation of the Parent Report, despite opposition from the other three institutions involved, all of which counselled the need for more time to deliberate. Loyola seemed to feel that such a decision was inescapable, forced on them by circumstances. From Loyola's point of view, it was a "grand opportunity" they could not afford to pass up and they wanted to proceed quickly without the careful deliberation favoured by Marianopolis and the other two institutions. The potential reward of a university charter outweighed their imperfect understanding of what structures would be required for a university. It was not, however, the strategy supported by Marianopolis and the other institutions, as their telegram to the Loyola petitioners clearly indicated.

The strategy most favoured by Marianopolis was one involving careful consideration of all possible alternatives,

consultation, analysis and evaluation -- in other words, an optimizing strategy or a variant of it. According to Hoy & Miskell, the optimizing strategy of decision-making is "an unrealistic, if not naïve, ideal" (p. 317) because this strategy requires that all possible alternatives be generated and all possible consequences of these alternatives be considered. In addition, access to all possible relevant information is virtually never possible for decision-makers. A variation on the optimizing strategy, the vigilant problem-solving approach to decision-making formulated by Janis (1989), most accurately describes the decision-making strategy of Sister MacCormack and the negotiating committee during the discussions with Loyola and the other English Catholic institutions.

In their earlier studies of psychological stress in decision-making, Janis and Mann (1977) had found that a pattern of vigilance was most likely to lead to effective decisions. First of all, vigilance requires a careful survey of a wide range of alternatives. The Marianopolis archives reveal that such surveys were frequently carried out by the President, her administrative assistant, and the faculty acting individually and collectively (AMC, A.24.08, A.24.22). The vigilant problem solving model later formulated by Janis (Figure 1.5) requires an analysis of objectives and values, of risks and drawbacks, intensive search for and evaluation of new information relevant to further evaluation of alternatives

even when such information does not support the initial preferred course of action, re-examination of both positive and negative consequences of alternatives, and detailed plans for implementing the selected course of action. While Marianopolis in particular was committed to this kind of preliminary preparation in decision-making, Loyola was not. When Marianopolis wanted to examine carefully the implications of a new English Catholic university and work out the precise structures by which it would be administered, Loyola insisted that the first priority should be the charter, and details of structure and representation on an administrative board could be worked out later. Marianopolis kept asking for more time for study and discussion of alternatives and possible consequences; Loyola wanted to act without delay. Repeatedly Sister MacCormack spoke about the need for "serious thinking and discussion [and]...continuous analysis" (AMC, A.12.13, Feb. 16, 1965), "careful planning" (A.24.08), "testing, examining, exploring" (A.12.13). It is clear from the thorough preparation and examination of alternatives which characterized Sister MacCormack and the Marianopolis negotiating committee that a vigilant problem-solving approach to decision-making was the strategy of preference during the discussions with Loyola and the other English Catholic institutions. The Janis model (1989) quite accurately describes the approach taken by Marianopolis College during the mid 1960's as the four English Catholic institutions

sought to realize their hopes for a new university charter.

Kinds of decisions. It is safe to conclude that during the 1960's and the upheavals of the Quiet Revolution, the decisions Marianopolis College was called upon to make would fit Drucker's description of unique kinds of decisions (Figure 1.8). All established principles, policies and rules had undergone or were in the process of undergoing extensive change. This period was not characterized by generic decisions or rule-of-thumb heuristics, but instead called for creative or unique decisions. All institutions required bold, imaginative decisions which went beyond established procedures, and which called for new organizational structures that could change the basic direction of an organization.

It was this need for a unique type of decision that neither Marianopolis nor Loyola quite understood. Marianopolis refused to compromise on the issues of identity or autonomy. Based on a history of suspicion of Loyola's motives, Marianopolis refused to trust that a new identity within the proposed English Catholic university would be found, but instead always saw the spectre of absorption and consequently refused to throw in its lot with Loyola. On the other hand, Loyola was blinded by its desire for a university charter and simply did not see that new rules applied, and that Loyola would have to learn to play by those new rules.

### Negotiations with McGill

Through the years, McGill University and Marianopolis College, close neighbours on the slopes of Mount Royal, had enjoyed friendly relations. Honours biochemistry and linguistics students at Marianopolis took certain courses at McGill, and the correspondence making those arrangements was always cordial and co-operative. In 1957 and again in 1960, Marianopolis received letters from McGill inquiring about the Peel Street premises and whether Marianopolis had any plans to sell the property, especially in the light of rumours that Marianopolis was going to move to a site near Loyola.

The first hint about a possible association with McGill can be found in the minutes of a meeting of the Academic Integrating Committee (AMC, A.24.22, May 7, 1965), where mention is made that since 1943 the academic programs of Marianopolis College had been aligned to those of the English-speaking universities, and that both Loyola and Marianopolis had developed their curricula along parallel lines, because students from both colleges had to be prepared for graduate work at McGill, the University of Toronto and other English institutions. Despite its Roman Catholic orientation, Marianopolis clearly saw itself aligned with an English university and not with a French-speaking one, despite its affiliation with the Université de Montréal for degree-granting purposes. Given the close relationships with McGill

for two decades and the difficulties encountered in the negotiations with Loyola, it was therefore reasonable that Marianopolis would be willing to explore affiliation possibilities with McGill.

The first definite consideration of affiliation with McGill can be found in a memo to the files by Gloria Pierre, Sister MacCormack's Executive Secretary (AMC, A.24.08). It is dated September 30, 1965, and observes that during the summer discussions had been held at Marianopolis about alternatives, because negotiations with Loyola seemed to have reached an impasse. As a result of these informal discussions among administration, senior faculty members and interested members of the Marianopolis community, she was directed to explore the question: "In discussing a possible affiliation with McGill, what can Marianopolis offer?" Many possibilities were suggested in the memo: that Marianopolis could become a centre for continuing education for women, that it could offer professional counselling for women students, or that it could develop special English language programs for overseas students attending McGill. The memo also pointed out the special degree programs that Marianopolis could offer, such as applied linguistics. Marianopolis was the only institution of higher education in Canada offering such a program. It was the only institution in Quebec offering a B. A. with a major in music. Marianopolis was also considering offering degree programs in food and nutrition, clothing and textiles, and a

B. A. with a major in business administration. The memo also mentioned the strong library holdings in theology and philosophy which could be developed into a specialized library for McGill. It is obvious, however, that the most favoured possibility for Marianopolis was to remain as a small women's college affiliated with McGill. The memo observed that the latter possibility would cause no financial burden to McGill.

The following month Sister MacCormack met with Dr. Roger Gaudry of the Université de Montréal, who agreed that affiliation with an English-speaking university was a more reasonable possibility for Marianopolis than maintaining affiliation with the Université de Montréal. He also observed that he was not too hopeful that a new English-language university would be created, because there was an urgent need for a new French-language university to which the government was certain to give priority. Accordingly, he favoured the idea of discreetly exploring the possibility of affiliation with McGill (AMC, A.12.13).

The first major step taken by Marianopolis occurred November 22, 1965, when Sister MacCormack met with Dr. H. Rocke Robertson, the Principal of McGill University, and left with him a formal memorandum proposing negotiations for affiliation with McGill. In the memorandum, Sister MacCormack pointed out that in the ordinary course of events Marianopolis might have expected an orderly development involving a continued expansion and a sound undergraduate education for

young women in the English language and in the Catholic tradition. The memorandum continued:

The course of events in recent years in Quebec, obviously, has not been ordinary, and a quiet evolution has not been possible for Marianopolis. Our planning has been disrupted and our viewpoints have been changed by such factors as the Parent Commission's activities and its Report, by Loyola's aspirations for university status, by the growth of a religious ecumenical spirit.... It is imperative now that we arrive without delay at a decision about our future status... (AMC, A.24.08).

Sister MacCormack outlined the alternatives of remaining as an affiliate of the University of Montreal (the least desirable for both Marianopolis and the university), or of participating in the formation of an English-Catholic university with attendant loss of identity, because "it will be a co-educational Loyola College transformed into a Loyola University." The memorandum continued: "A final alternative which we personally would like to see become reality and which a few years ago would have been unthinkable in this province is the establishment of Marianopolis College as a Catholic women's college of McGill University." The memorandum pointed out what would be the advantages to Marianopolis of such an affiliation, but made no mention whatsoever of possible advantages to McGill. While the tone of the memorandum is dignified and restrained, there is clearly an appeal to McGill to help a smaller institution. The memorandum concluded: "We believe that, like McGill, we have made and are making a worthwhile contribution to Canadian education. We believe that

McGill, dedicated as it is to the furthering of this ideal, if convinced of the value of our contribution, would lend its support to our efforts in the interests of the common good" (AMC, A.24.08).

Sister MacCormack's memorandum did not, however, come as a surprise to McGill and Dr. Robertson, because the groundwork for the meeting with McGill had been prepared by the Rector of the Université de Montréal. He had pointed out both to Sister MacCormack and to Dr. Robertson that the future development of the Université de Montréal would certainly be along French lines and that it would be more than ever imperative for Marianopolis to affiliate with an English university. In late October 1965, Dr. Gaudry had initiated discussion of the matter with Dr. Robertson, and as a result of these and subsequent discussions, and acting on the advice of the legal advisor of the college, Sister MacCormack met with Dr. Robertson.

The memorandum was calculated to appeal to McGill and its focus on excellence in education and its sense of fair play. Sister MacCormack indicated to the Marianopolis Advisory Board that Dr. Robertson had stated that McGill was certainly interested in furthering education in any way possible and he agreed to consult the McGill Board of Governors on the matter.

Marianopolis lost no time in preparing for the negotiations with McGill. In the minutes of the Advisory Board (November 25, 1965), concern was voiced about the reaction of

Loyola to the initiation of talks between Marianopolis and McGill, and Sister MacCormack was asked to advise Loyola of the plans underway. "The timing of the approach to Loyola on this matter was of the utmost importance and must be such that it would not jeopardize the dealings with McGill" (AMC, A.12.12). She was also asked to carry on the necessary negotiations with the Church authorities to ensure that the Church approved of a possible affiliation of Marianopolis with McGill. The Advisory Board also began the selection of the negotiating committee to ensure representation from the financial, legal and academic fields. Dr. W. J. McNally, who had shown a keen interest in the project of affiliating with McGill and who had connections with McGill, was chosen by the Advisory Board. Other members would be chosen only after McGill had announced the names of its representatives, at which time the Marianopolis committee could be enlarged to include faculty members and others for discussions prior to each meeting with McGill. Various subcommittees at the College also began preliminary work to prepare for possible future meetings with McGill.

On November 22, 1965, Dr. Robertson formally replied to Sister MacCormack stating that the Chancellor of McGill had been empowered by the Board of Governors to nominate a committee to enter into discussions with a representative group from Marianopolis College concerning affiliation. To ensure government approval of these talks, Sister MacCormack

wrote to Paul Gérin-Lajoie, the Minister of Education, to inform him of this development and to ask for the approval of the Ministry of Education. Sister MacCormack also asked for assurance that talks between Marianopolis College and McGill University would not influence or jeopardize the possible granting of a charter to Loyola at any future time. She was assured by both Gérin-Lajoie and Eric Kierans that she need have no fears on that count.

By the end of 1965 McGill had established its committee to explore affiliation, and in a letter dated December 15, 1965, Dr. Robertson stated that a preliminary meeting had been held and that the McGill Committee was now ready to meet with Marianopolis.

In January 1966, a special meeting of the two committees was held at McGill. The chief outcome of this meeting was a plan to study various aspects of affiliation. To that end, three sub-committees were established to examine admissions policies, financial matters and academic matters. All three of these sub-committees had several joint meetings during February and March of 1966. The Marianopolis archives reveal considerable documentation of these meetings, and indicate the careful preparation and study of the relevant issues on the part of Marianopolis (AMC, A.24.08). For instance, a questionnaire was drafted by Marianopolis and sent to 20 affiliated colleges across Canada and the United States to gain information about details of affiliation, with special

emphasis placed on the degree of autonomy and identity these colleges still had following affiliation with a larger and more powerful institution.

The faculty of Marianopolis were also asked by the President to present their views about the proposed affiliation, and the archives indicate that nearly 100% of the Marianopolis faculty, either jointly or individually, took the opportunity to express their views. One such submission was made by Dr. Andrew O'Connor, and is a thoughtful analysis of the whole situation, indicating both the confidence and the support given by the faculty to Sister MacCormack and the negotiating committee. He observed:

The advantages of the McGill connection are obvious. Access to the facilities and perquisites of a world-renowned institution would be a boon to Marianopolis. The religious aspect of the question should cause no untoward difficulty. Twenty years ago affiliation of a Catholic institution with a secular or 'Protestant' university would have been unthinkable. However, the climate has changed: the Catholic community is more sympathetically aware of the secular world and of the tradition of intellectual excellence fostered in secular universities.

He did, however, offer a word of warning of possible repercussions in the Catholic community: "It may be assumed that considerable sympathy would be alienated from Marianopolis. Boycotting of the college and the application of pressure on McGill's Board of Governors, by influential Catholics, are also possible." The latter observation was indeed prophetic. In reference to the possible affiliation with McGill, Dr. O'Connor also observed that the college

should actively resist demotion to the status of a ladies' residence. Equally strong should be the resistance of the Congregation of Notre Dame, if its sole function be to supply a staff of housemothers, wardens and super-numerary duennas. (AMC, A.24.08).

It is obvious, however, from his brief that Dr. O'Connor favoured affiliation with Loyola, if such were still possible and if Loyola were to gain a charter. He did suggest that Marianopolis needed a quid pro quo from McGill in the whole matter of negotiations.

In an April 1966 meeting of the McGill committee, certain ground rules were established for any future negotiations with Marianopolis, but there is no evidence to suggest that these were ever communicated to Marianopolis. From the beginning, McGill took the position that the best Marianopolis could hope for was some representation on the McGill Senate, but that overall control would be in McGill's hands. It was also agreed that if affiliation took place, it would be on McGill's terms and under McGill's control. Such an affiliation would have little if any advantage to McGill, but could have some disadvantages if it were contrary to government policy. Regarding the Marianopolis fear of loss of identity, "McGill cannot offer them anything more as it [Marianopolis] would lose its identity and freedom by affiliation with McGill on terms satisfactory to McGill. It was agreed that the only satisfactory deal from the McGill standpoint is a complete merger" (AMcG, RG3, C26, 6401, April 12, 1966).

There is no evidence in the archives to indicate that these decisions were ever communicated to Marianopolis. In fact, Marianopolis at that time still saw its options with McGill as including independence in a form of federation, or as an affiliated college of the university. While complete integration was on the list of Marianopolis options, it was not seen as the only option (AMC, A.24.22).

In May 1966, a disquieting development took place. In a letter to Sister MacCormack, Dr. Robertson wrote: "We see serious obstacles to any form of affiliation at the present time" (AMC, A.24.08, May 2, 1966). He asked that a small group from Marianopolis meet with a small group from McGill. The meeting took place on May 12, consisting of the Chancellor, the Principal, the Dean of Arts and Science and the Vice Principal from McGill, and Sister MacCormack, the Dean, and Father Jonathan Robinson from Marianopolis. No definite decision was taken at that time, and the question of affiliation was left open to further study and discussion. The minutes of the Marianopolis Advisory Board indicate that "We had the impression that the meeting was called to break the matter off but there was some confusion in the McGill delegation..." (AMC, A.12.12, November 23, 1966).

One may wonder what happened to cause the "serious obstacles" of which Dr. Robertson spoke. Several possibilities present themselves. First, the same upheavals that the whole education community was suffering from also involved McGill.

Under the recommendations of the Parent Report, universities would grant undergraduate degrees after three years of study instead of the traditional four years. McGill saw the probability of a severe drop in student enrolment and a consequent decrease in student fees. McGill was involved in studying the possibility of establishing a program which would grant CEGEP equivalency until such time as the English community could establish separate CEGEPs. McGill was also concerned about the consequences of the new university funding formula to be established by the Quebec government, and could foresee difficult financial times ahead for itself. As well, the McGill archives reveal that the committee to study affiliation was concerned because McGill had never before had an affiliated college, and it saw serious problems in an affiliation with a Catholic denominational college in particular. The McGill committee also saw the negotiations shaping up as a conflict between McGill's insistence on academic control on the one hand, and Marianopolis's insistence on maintaining its autonomy (AMcG, RG3, C26, 6401). Given all these considerations, it is easy to understand why McGill might have been reluctant to embark on what could be considered yet another venture into an unknown and already troubled future.

In addition, there is strong evidence in the archives that the kind of machinations Dr. O'Connor spoke about in his brief to Sister MacCormack were indeed taking place behind the

scenes. In a letter dated March 30, 1966 to John O'Brien, a prominent Montreal attorney, Father Jonathan Robinson, Secretary to His Eminence the Cardinal and part of the Marianopolis negotiating team, wrote asking for O'Brien's help in dealing with Judge Casey, who, in the opinion of Father Robinson, was intentionally or unintentionally, "doing a great deal of harm" in informal discussions with Miller Hyde, a member of the McGill negotiating committee. According to Father Robinson, Hyde was "dead set against McGill accepting Marianopolis", motivated by his interest in Loyola and his fear that the McGill discussions with Marianopolis might jeopardize Loyola's chances of receiving a university charter. Father Robinson also pointed out to O'Brien that

Hyde has a great deal of influence amongst a certain group of the Governors of McGill. Certainly his influence is felt on all the meetings of the Committees which have been held, and on the main joint committee he is vocal in his concern for Loyola, and how much better Marianopolis would be if it were to go to the West End (AMC, A.24.08).

Father Robinson pointed out to O'Brien that there were many Catholics at McGill, and that Marianopolis could be an effective presence there. He went on to make a revealing statement:

It is this consideration which has moved the Cardinal to support the project, and he sent me to Mr. Mayne to tell him he didn't want Loyola interfering.... I mention this...to emphasize that if Judge Casey has any interest in the views of his Bishop then he is acting clean contrary to what the Cardinal thinks is the best interests of the English speaking Catholics as a whole - which includes more than the Loyola brigade" (AMC,

A.24.08).

In his reply (April 12, 1966), John O'Brien quoted Judge Casey as expressing the opinion "that an association between Marianopolis College and McGill University would not be for the benefit of either institution. He thinks that the authorities at McGill would find it very difficult to get along with the religious order controlling Marianopolis." O'Brien did, however, assure Father Robinson that Judge Casey "has no interest in trying to block the negotiations between McGill and Marianopolis,...but he sees no future in an association between Marianopolis and Loyola." Judge Casey assured O'Brien that all he could do was to remain silent about the whole matter (AMC, A.24.08). As events unfolded several years later, Judge Casey was right on both counts.

On October 20, 1966, Sister MacCormack spoke to the faculty, and the minutes of that meeting hint that the negotiations with McGill were not going well: "Sister assured the faculty that these efforts failing, other alternatives would be explored. 'In the meantime,' Sister MacCormack urged, 'we must not lose the vision of our own ultimate ends'" (AMC, A.12.13).

Before formal talks with McGill went any further, Sister MacCormack met with the Rector of Loyola and gave Father Malone the reasons for seeking affiliation with McGill. She said she was in sympathy with his wishes for Loyola, but that she could see no role for Marianopolis in the proposed new

English Catholic university (AMC, A.12.12). She then visited Dr. Robertson, urging on him the necessity of continuing the joint study proposed at the last meeting in May. The substance of this meeting is reported in the minutes of a general faculty meeting of March 6, 1967. According to Sister MacCormack, McGill gave assurance that "the doors of McGill are still wide open," but preoccupied with its own problems, McGill had been unable to devote much time to the study. "The Marianopolis College Advisory Board is emphatic in its desire to pursue negotiations and to bring them to a conclusion in a few months" (AMC, A.12.13).

Further in the same minutes, a note of desperation was sounded. Sister MacCormack pointed out to the faculty that "a more integrated type of affiliation" with McGill might be required, one which would require the abolition of separate departments at Marianopolis and their integration into McGill departments. She also stated that it might be necessary to sacrifice some institutional control. In the discussion which followed, faculty were upset at the possible loss of control and autonomy, since they feared the loss of the college's specific objectives and the possibility that Marianopolis could become merely an extension of McGill. It may well be that Sister MacCormack raised this spectre to convince the faculty of the dangers of affiliation with McGill, unless the college could maintain itself as a separate, distinct entity within McGill.

During the early months of 1967 Marianopolis awaited word from McGill. In a letter to Father Moyle, a member of the Marianopolis Advisory Board, Sister MacCormack mentioned that "the wheels are turning slowly at McGill" but was hopeful because "our geographic location favours some form of affiliation with McGill" (AMC, A.12.12). In reply, Father Moyle said, "I am convinced that the only way Marianopolis can survive and prosper and render our community the service we need is for it to affiliate with McGill" (AMC, A.12.12).

The options for Marianopolis were narrowing during these same months, as talks with Loyola, Thomas More Institute and St. Joseph Teachers College deteriorated into semantic debates. Father Malone was adamant that Loyola would not consider affiliation with McGill, because in his view such a move would relegate Loyola "to a second-class campus." Sister McCormack argued that the best interests of English Catholic education would be served by association with McGill, especially since it seemed increasingly unlikely that Loyola would receive its charter.

The climate in English education during 1967 was one of confusion and uncertainty. The question of establishing English-language CEGEPs was being hotly debated, and both McGill and Sir George Williams were taking steps to set up some kind of temporary CEGEP-equivalence program. An English sub-committee had been established to engage in a study of the needs of English-speaking students, and insisted that if an

English CEGEP was to be in place for the fall of 1968, then existing post-secondary schools had to make a definite decision and promise of co-operation by the end of November, 1967. The minutes of a Faculty Council meeting clearly showed the dilemma in which a small private college like Marianopolis found itself:

As the 'institutes' or colleges come into being, we must avoid, if possible, the situation where a five year program will be inaugurated with the first two years free while a private college that remains in existence will offer four years all tuition paid by the student. If the program goes into effect immediately, we shall have no university graduates one year."

The minutes concluded with a statement which must have been echoed by the whole English community: "These are vexing and perplexing questions that face the English language community in Quebec" (AMC, A.13.23, November 15, 1967).

Throughout 1967, Sister MacCormack wrote several times to Dr. Robertson, but until August no answer was forthcoming from McGill. When Dr. Robertson finally replied, it was to tell Sister MacCormack that "McGill was beset with problems. I shall get in touch as soon as we are in a position to have further discussions" (AMC, A.24.08). Also in August, ironically on the same day, Sister MacCormack received two puzzling and conflicting documents from McGill: the first, a document from the Dean of Arts and Science entitled "A Proposed Plan for Affiliation with McGill", and a letter from G.A. Grimson, the Executive Assistant to the McGill Principal, saying "It is pleasant to note this closer relationship

developing between Marianopolis and McGill" (AMC, A.24.08, August 22, 1967). Not only was McGill beset with problems, but also it seemed to suffer from a lack of internal communication. Nothing in Dr. Robertson's letter indicated that Dean Woods was preparing a document concerning affiliation, nor did Dean Woods seem to know about Dr. Robertson's letter to Sister MacCormack.

The preamble of Dean Woods' proposal pointed out that Marianopolis seemed to misunderstand the role of the university Senate. The Senate did not administer policies once they were approved, but decision-making and staffing were decentralized and under the control of departments and faculty committees. The proposals following detailed the role of Marianopolis in an affiliation with McGill, leaving the college little autonomy except in Philosophy, the only discipline in which Marianopolis would be free to offer a program of courses and to appoint staff members without university control. Marianopolis staff would not automatically hold university appointments, although joint appointments or 'courtesy arrangements' might be worked out. While McGill should undertake to absorb as many qualified staff members of Marianopolis as possible, no wholesale commitment should be undertaken (AMcG, RG3, C26, 6401). In essence, Marianopolis would be absorbed by McGill, with both autonomy and identity virtually lost.

Two months later in October 1967, Father Robinson met

with Dean Frost of McGill to try and dispel rumours circulating in the English Catholic community that Marianopolis had been turned down by McGill for academic reasons, or that "McGill couldn't afford to get mixed up in an Irish-Catholic row." Robinson asked Frost if McGill would like to have written assurances from the Cardinal, from Father Malone and others that no animosity existed between Marianopolis and the rest of the English Catholic community. Robinson also pointed out that Marianopolis was prepared to go along with much less independence than had been previously indicated (AMcG, RG3 C26, 6401).

In March 1968, John Trentman, a member of the Marianopolis faculty, wrote to Dean Woods, endorsing the proposals for affiliation and also indicating that the situation was becoming one of grave concern for Marianopolis:

My impressions from conversations with Sister MacCormack and Father Robinson are that they see their situation as desperate, the Loyola situation as hopeless and that they would welcome any reasonable proposals from McGill that would allow them some sense of identity and some task to perform for the McGill community. They feel, I think, that the initiative at this point must come from McGill.... If the matter is wisely planned ... McGill has nothing to lose and much to gain (AMC, A.24.08).

It is clear that 1968 was indeed a period of desperation for Marianopolis, and it was the one period when all hope of autonomy and identity seemed to be lost. If Marianopolis did not accept the Woods proposal, which essentially would have reduced Marianopolis to a centre for Catholic studies and

would have made much of the faculty redundant, Marianopolis faced the very real possibility of disappearing altogether. The official reply from Marianopolis to Dean Woods' proposal indicated willingness to accept the plan for affiliation and the faculty "would be willing to see its teaching load sharply reduced, ...and that the implementation of his proposals would be the best possible solution to the question of the future of Marianopolis" (AMC, A.24.08, June 28, 1968). At this point, Marianopolis was even willing to give up its status as a college, should that be necessary, but not before every possible alternative had been considered. The consensus reached by both faculty and administration was that Marianopolis could no longer continue to function in its present academic pattern in the 1970's, once affiliation with the Université de Montréal ended. The college position was that the buildings should continue to belong to the authorities of Marianopolis, that a new department to be called the Institute of Catholic Studies would be based at Marianopolis, and that the Sisters would have a supervisory role in the residence for female students (AMC, A.12.13).

The only bright note during 1968 occurred in a brief presented by Sister Sylvia MacDonald to Sister MacCormack, entitled "A meditation of what Marianopolis stands for: a questioning of its objectives." In this brief, Sister MacDonald mentioned the lack of interest in Marianopolis on the part of the Bishop and the Catholic community, observing

that the community "has, in some cases, taken steps to thwart our very existence." She also spoke of McGill's commitment to a posture of traditional thinking about university structures and how that might mitigate against affiliation with Marianopolis. Sister MacDonal concluded her brief by stating: "Much as indecision is frustrating and crippling, the time does not seem ripe to make representations to McGill" (AMC, A.24.08). In other words, she was cautioning that developments in the near future might work in Marianopolis's favour and make the loss of autonomy and identity as an affiliate with McGill unnecessary.

It is clear from subsequent developments that her words were taken seriously, and for the remainder of 1968 no further negotiations with McGill were held. This decision concurred with that reached by the McGill committee, which met October 23, 1968, and decided it was unanimously against affiliation with Marianopolis because of the unsettled situation regarding the CEGEPs and the uncertainty of the financial picture for education. The committee concluded that the Principal should report to the McGill Senate that the committee, while sympathetic to Marianopolis, recommended that the McGill decision should be to suspend negotiations (AMcG, RG3, C26, 6401).

In 1969, the future of Marianopolis began to look more optimistic. As Sister MacDonal had predicted, the government gave approval in late 1968 to the Private Education Act by

which a network of colleges was created to supplement the public interest. In September, 1969, after receiving the approval of the government, Marianopolis began its own CEGEP-equivalent program. Also, early in 1969, Marianopolis was approached by Sir George Williams University concerning affiliation or federation. Suddenly McGill was not the only alternative, and with that realization, new hope and optimism began to permeate Marianopolis.

Pressure was being brought to bear on Marianopolis by the Quebec government to make a decision about its university level program. In a June meeting with Germain Gauthier, the head of the Quebec Directorate of Higher Education, Sister MacCormack was advised to alter the college's "wait and see" approach, and to make an immediate decision about the future direction of the college. Sister MacCormack was not, however, going to be forced into a hasty decision. Although negotiations with McGill had not gone forward during 1969, neither had they completely broken down, despite the recommendation of the McGill committee. The new Marianopolis CEGEP-equivalent program was in its first year of operation and had attracted more students than had been anticipated. The college was adjusting to the presence of its first male students in its CEGEP-equivalent program. Finally, negotiations with Sir George Williams had begun, and from the beginning, Sir George Williams proved to be flexible and imaginative in exploring affiliation possibilities. Sister

MacCormack thus saw no good reason for rushing into a hasty decision that might not be in the best interests of the college. As long as Marianopolis could continue offering the CEGEP-equivalent program with government funding provided for it, there was no reason to make a final decision until a time closer to 1972 when the affiliation with the Université de Montréal would end. She also stated that she was confident that once the faculty had had the experience of working with both male and female CEGEP-level students, their enthusiasm for affiliation with a university would wane and they would be caught up in the exciting possibilities offered by the new CEGEPs (personal interview, March 7, 1990).

The Marianopolis position was further strengthened when in January, 1970, some private institutions, Marianopolis among them, were declared in the public interest by the Ministry of Education. Then, on March 16, 1970, the provincial government made a decision that collegial and university programs could not be offered by the same corporation, a decision which meant that the universities had to phase out their temporary CEGEP-equivalent programs. It was at this point that McGill had second thoughts and the Senate Development Committee suggested that discussions might be reopened with Marianopolis (AMcG, RG8, 0078). The combination of the approach from Sir George Williams to Marianopolis, the necessity for universities to phase out government-funded CEGEP-equivalent programs, and Marianopolis having been

declared a private college in the public interest now made affiliation much more attractive to McGill than it had been in the past.

For the first time, Marianopolis had something to offer which McGill wanted, other than its property on Peel Street. With the advent of the CEGEP program McGill was forced to rely more and more on students from Quebec, because students coming from outside the province either had to have one more year of studies before coming to McGill or they had to attend one or two years of CEGEP before entering the first year of university.

A private meeting was held between Sister Cahill of Marianopolis and Dean Frost of McGill on March 17, 1970. Sister Cahill pointed out that Marianopolis needed a definite answer from McGill. Negotiations were underway with Sir George Williams, and increasingly Marianopolis was becoming committed to private CEGEP-level status (AMcG, RG3, C26, 6401). In a meeting held March 23, 1970, a McGill negotiator considered that it would be a great advantage to McGill if it were connected with a private CEGEP which could provide these needed courses for foreign students to prepare them for entrance to McGill (AMC, A.24.08). Marianopolis, however, now much more in a position to make demands and maintain its desire for identity and status, held out for more than had been offered in the Woods proposal. One suggestion that was put forward was the formation of an interdisciplinary program

in the social sciences so that Marianopolis could continue to offer university-level courses. Once this suggestion, which had been casually made by one of the Marianopolis negotiators merely as an example of one possible program on which McGill and Marianopolis could cooperate, was put forward, the meeting never resumed its stated agenda. The McGill committee returned to this suggestion over and over, stressing the structural and financing difficulties engendered by such an interdisciplinary program.

Dr. Catherine Westbury, one of the Marianopolis negotiators, later said that her words to Sister MacCormack the next morning were "We blew it!" (personal interview, June 12, 1991). She also added in the same interview that Marianopolis lost its credibility with McGill during that meeting, but she felt all along that McGill's main interest in Marianopolis was the property. At the conclusion of the meeting, the Marianopolis negotiating team stressed the fact that time was of supreme importance, and that while the college was willing to consider other suggestions, it could not wait another five years for its future to be decided. Marianopolis also set a time limit of the end of April 1970 for McGill to submit other proposals.

In a College Council meeting, Sister MacCormack stated clearly that the future of the college would not be decided by McGill or Sir George Williams, but by Marianopolis itself. "The College can now survive through its collegial program"

(AMC, A.12.01, April 6, 1970). Two days after the March 23 meeting, the McGill Senate decided to set up a committee to re-explore affiliation possibilities with Marianopolis. "The Chairman answered several questions saying in reply that the possibilities of full integration of Marianopolis with McGill would be considered" (AMcG, RG8, C78, D36).

On April 9, 1970, Vice-Principal Frost of McGill submitted to Marianopolis a draft of a possible scheme for the collaboration of McGill University and Marianopolis College (AMC, A.24.08). This proposal stated that "Marianopolis will concentrate its energies on being a high-quality, post-secondary, pre-university college, [while] McGill will concentrate its energies on being a high-quality university-level institution." In other words, McGill saw Marianopolis becoming the university's own CEGEP, thus giving McGill the best of both worlds. In return, Marianopolis staff would be eligible for enrolment in the McGill fringe benefits plan, would have full privileges in the McGill library service, and could become members of the McGill Faculty Club. The most telling clause of the draft, and the one revealing what was probably the second most desirable aspect of affiliation with Marianopolis was the ninth: that Marianopolis would give McGill the first opportunity to rent or buy any space, facilities or property which the college might not need.

On April 9, 1970, in the final meeting held between Marianopolis and McGill, Frost stated that the memorandum was

drafted by him and had no official status. Nevertheless, it was agreed that the document would be the basis for discussion during the meeting. Despite this agreement about the agenda, the issues resolved themselves into two main concerns: how such an interdisciplinary program as proposed by Marianopolis could operate in a large university with separate, semi-autonomous departments, and where the funding for such a program, involving as it did so few students, would come from. It is obvious from reading the detailed minutes of this meeting kept by both institutions that the McGill negotiators had little understanding of Marianopolis programs, most of them interdisciplinary in nature, which the college had run successfully for a number of years. It is also obvious that the Marianopolis negotiating team did not have any other suggestions or proposals which might have been more palatable to McGill's traditional departmental structuring.

In a memo to the McGill president Dean Frost stated that the meeting "did not seem to advance matters much. We learned that when they [Marianopolis negotiators] talk, they really mean finding homes at the university level for their interdisciplinary concept, which they are unable to define and which is being put forward not by Marianopolis but by an unidentified group in Marianopolis" (AMcG, RG5, C26, 6401).

On April 23, 1970, Sister MacCormack received a letter from Frost, stating:

The conclusion we have reached is that since Marianopolis has decided to operate solely at the

college level, and since McGill is anxious to operate only at the university level, there are no very significant ways in which the two institutions can usefully coordinate their activities. Since the College is now entirely surrounded by McGill property, we are most anxious to have the very best relationships with the College and will do all in our power to promote this. But the difference of level of operation seems, as far as we can see, to restrict us to being good neighbours (AMC, A.24.08).

This "good neighbours" letter from Frost prompted an extraordinary meeting of the Marianopolis College Council on May 5, 1970, at which time members of the College Council "expressed dismay at the patronizing tone of the letter" and drafted a reply, the tone of which should be such "as to move those receiving it to further investigation" (AMC, A.12.01). College Council was also offended by McGill's monolithic intractability to consider any program which deviated in any way from the traditional programs offered by McGill. In her reply to Dean Frost's letter, Sister MacCormack pointed out that the written record of the meeting suggested a very different picture from the one which emerged in Frost's letter. Her letter also pointed out that the conclusions reached by Frost "are drawn on the basis of a number of wrong impressions" and that "we have felt it incumbent on us to correct those impressions forcefully, while accepting the decision reached" (AMC, A.24.08). Copies of the letter were sent to Dr. Robertson and all members of the McGill committee.

Dr. Robertson's reply (May 21, 1970) expressed regret that the negotiations had come to an end, but he also said

"our own situation at McGill vis à vis the CEGEPs is so confusing, and its outcome so unclear, that we would be unwise to embark on any major adjustments such as those which would be involved in affiliation." He also endorsed the "good neighbours" relationship as in Frost's letter. It is clear that Dr. Robertson regretted that a solution had not been found, and that Marianopolis felt insulted by the highhandedness of Frost's letter. He concluded by hoping that in the future McGill and Marianopolis could continue to be of assistance to each other (AMC, A.24.08).

In retrospect, and with both sides of the story available from the archives of the two institutions, it can be seen that problems existed on both sides. Marianopolis College was presumptuous and demanded from McGill an importance that its small numbers did not warrant; in the late stages of the negotiations, it sprang its social science interdisciplinary program suggestion without adequate preparation or thought for its ramifications. Granted, it was informally presented only as an example of what might be possible, but it would seem that that point was never made clear to McGill. Five years earlier, Gloria Pierre's paper on what Marianopolis had to offer McGill was full of imaginative possibilities; in 1970, Marianopolis had only one program to offer, thus giving the appearance at least of having nothing much except property to attract McGill.

McGill tended to be unyielding in negotiation and was

unused to the more informal approach of Marianopolis. McGill also kept Marianopolis dangling for far too long at a time when the College was becoming increasingly desperate about the future of its university-level program. The McGill archives indicate that from an early stage in the negotiations the university administration had decided against proceeding with affiliation, yet the message sent to Marianopolis was one of 'wait and see'. In all fairness to McGill, however, the many uncertainties under which the university was operating during the turbulent years of 1965-1970 did make decision-making difficult. In a very real sense, both McGill and Marianopolis were fighting for identity and autonomy.

An interesting footnote to the whole situation was provided several years later in a letter from Howard I. Ross to Father Jonathan Robinson, who had become Chairman of the McGill Department of Philosophy:

I still believe the Marianopolis situation was badly handled. I do not think anyone was seriously against working out arrangements, but somehow we kept fumbling the ball. In the delightfully free-wheeling debate on Campus, it is unfortunately sometimes impossible to get attention concentrated on making some quite straight-forward decision. (AMC, A.24.08, Nov. 22, 1973).

Commentary on the Negotiations

Decision-making style. The McGill-Marianopolis negotiations were quite different from those that took place between Marianopolis and the other English Catholic institutions. In the talks with Loyola, Thomas More Institute and St. Joseph Teachers College, Marianopolis shared a common religion and a similar vision with the other three institutions involved. Father Malone, the Rector of Loyola, was passionate and often intractable in his singleminded quest for a university charter for Loyola, with or without the other three institutions. Both Dr. Catherine Westbury from Marianopolis (personal interview, June 12, 1991) and Professor Perry Meyer from McGill (AMcG, RG2, 1903, Ref.315) have described Father Malone's leadership style as autocratic and dogmatic. Dr. Westbury also observed that Father Malone dominated all meetings, rarely allowing anyone else to express an opinion. On the other hand, she characterized the leadership style of the McGill negotiators as smooth, but very non-committal. No one member of the McGill team dominated the meetings, but all members seemed committed to a shared decision-making style.

The Marianopolis administration throughout the 1960's had been moving more and more towards a consultative-participative style of decision-making. An examination of the archival record of meetings held with McGill clearly reveals that the Marianopolis President relied on the college negotiating

committee to present the case for Marianopolis to McGill during the meetings which took place between the two institutions. The Marianopolis committee was chaired by Dr. Catherine Westbury, a member of the faculty, and not by Sister MacCormack. While the latter had been instrumental in initiating the discussions through meetings with the Rector of the Université de Montréal and the Principal of McGill, she did not dominate the meetings but instead consulted repeatedly with faculty and encouraged participation in the decision-making process.

Constraints on decision-making. Most of the constraints which characterized the Loyola-Marianopolis negotiations were also present during the discussions with McGill. For McGill, the increasingly important role of the government in university financing and policy making threatened the autonomy the university had previously enjoyed. The external environment of government policy regarding higher education, of observing laws and due process (Bass, 1983), had become a major constraint for both McGill and Marianopolis.

Another major environmental constraint for Marianopolis was the indifference and even hostility of the English Catholic community towards affiliation with McGill. This was shown in Jonathan Robinson's letter to John O'Brien, in which he asked for O'Brien's help regarding the behind-the-scenes machinations of Judge Casey and Miller Hyde to sabotage the McGill-Marianopolis talks (AMC, A.24.08). Sister Sylvia

MacDonald's brief spoke of "the need for greater support from the English Catholic community, or at least the guarantee that it will not try to impede our progress in negotiating with McGill." Her brief concluded by observing, "Our bitterest foe is public opinion" (AMC, A.24.08, March, 1968).

Although Marianopolis had been unwilling to yield in its concern for maintaining its institutional goals and purpose in the negotiations with Loyola, this constraint, characterized by both Simon (1964) and Porras (1981) as major, assumed less importance in the discussions with McGill. During 1968 in particular, Marianopolis seemed willing to compromise both purpose and goals in order to survive in some form. Trentman's memo to Dean Woods stated that "they would welcome any reasonable proposals from McGill that would allow them some sense of identity" (AMC, A.24.08, March 5, 1968). The Marianopolis response to Dean Woods' proposal pointed out that these proposals would "entail the disappearance of the College in the accepted sense. Marianopolis College sees the practical necessity of the proposals and would be willing to make the sacrifice" (AMC, A.24.08, June 28, 1968).

Decision-making strategies. Throughout the negotiations with McGill, a combination of decision-making strategies appears to have been used. In 1965, Sister MacCormack spoke in a faculty meeting about "the kind of serious thinking and discussion which has taken place since the appearance of the Parent Report, accompanied by continuous analysis and action

[which] are indispensable if Marianopolis College is to continue its services to the society which it serves" (AMC, A.12.16, October 6, 1965). This comment seems to characterize the decision-making strategy followed most of the time at the college, involving careful thought, examination of the issues and alternatives and their implications. It also could be a description of the Janis (1989) vigilant problem solving model, the first three steps of which are (1) formulating the problem, (2) using informational resources and (3) analysing and reformulating. Before approaching the Principal of McGill about affiliation, Sister MacCormack had met with Dr. Roger Gaudry, the Rector of the Université de Montréal, to seek his advice and help in preparing the ground with McGill. She had consulted with the college legal advisors, with the Minister of Education, and had informed the Rector of Loyola. She had also carried out the necessary negotiations with the Church authorities to ensure that the Church approved of a possible affiliation of Marianopolis with McGill. The steps she took indicate that Sister MacCormack believed in careful and thorough preparation. The memorandum she presented to Dr. H. Rocke Robertson formulated the problem facing Marianopolis, the alternatives which had already been explored with Loyola, and the advantages that Marianopolis would gain in an affiliation with McGill (AMC, A.24.08). The contents of the memo reflected both the discussions which had taken place with Marianopolis faculty and the memo to the files prepared by the

President's Executive Secretary.

Once these steps had been taken, the Marianopolis Advisory Board began the selection of a negotiation committee that would reflect financial, legal and academic representation. Various sub-committees of the College faculty began preliminary work to prepare for future meetings with McGill. Marianopolis sought information from affiliated colleges across the country in order to assess how they had preserved autonomy and identity in a larger institution. Faculty members were encouraged to submit briefs expressing their views specifically about affiliation with McGill and generally about alternatives they foresaw for the College's future. All of these activities support a strategy of vigilant problem solving.

There is some evidence in the archives, confirmed in a personal interview (March 7, 1990), that Sister MacCormack was also pursuing a strategy similar to Soelberg's implicit favourite model (1967) which involves a hidden agenda. While the faculty preferred an alternative that would allow them to continue offering university-level courses, thus opting for affiliation with either Loyola or McGill, Sister MacCormack from a very early stage in the quest for university affiliation, realized that the only viable alternative for Marianopolis was to become a CEGEP-level college and to abandon work at the university level. She was convinced that this was the only way for Marianopolis to maintain its

autonomy and identity. Once the Private Education Act was passed in 1968 and a few months later Marianopolis was confirmed as one of the colleges selected as being in the public interest and thus eligible for government funding, Sister MacCormack no longer had any doubts about the future for Marianopolis. She realized, however, that it was necessary to go through lengthy negotiations with Loyola, McGill and Sir George Williams so that the faculty would come to see the serious drawbacks of these other alternatives. It is significant also that of all the briefs submitted by faculty, only Sister MacDonald's mentions the alternative of becoming a CEGEP-level college. Sister MacCormack confirmed in an interview that she and Sister MacDonald had several private discussions about this alternative, but decided to let the negotiations run their inevitable course. One member of faculty interviewed said that Loyola was too stubborn, McGill was too large to concern itself with Marianopolis, and negotiations with Sir George came too late (personal interview, Tamara Zakon, July 5, 1991). According to faculty members who responded to the questionnaire and who were interviewed, becoming a CEGEP-level college was the least attractive alternative, but it was preferable to either the disappearance of the college or total absorption by a larger institution.

The Zeleny model of the displaced ideal (1981), a variant of the satisficing strategy, also seems appropriate in the

later discussions with McGill. Both the faculty and the administration of Marianopolis would have preferred the ideal solution of preserving identity and autonomy and at the same time continuing to offer university-level courses. As this ideal became more and more unfeasible and the price for university-level courses was the sacrifice of identity, what was deemed achievable replaced the ideal, or best solution. The available alternative for Marianopolis was to abandon the desire to give university-level courses and to become a CEGEP-level college. This alternative permitted the college to keep its identity and some measure of autonomy, as well as the most important part of the college purpose which was to offer excellence in education. As the talks with McGill dragged on and finally reached an impasse, the ideal alternative was displaced closer to the available alternative. As a justification for accepting the initially less desirable alternative, faculty began to see the challenge involved in embarking on a new venture. Further justification came with the knowledge that the Marianopolis CEGEP-equivalency program was attracting more students than had been anticipated.

Kinds of decisions. It is obvious in retrospect that one of the chief factors in the failure of the Marianopolis-McGill negotiations was the inability of McGill to make a firm decision regarding affiliation with Marianopolis, especially one characterized by Drucker (1966) as a unique decision. Marianopolis had done a great deal of preparation for the

negotiations using a strategy similar to Janis's vigilant problem solving model, and had been open to suggestions which would have very considerably altered the college's structures and programs. One is tempted to say that Marianopolis had nothing to lose and everything to gain, while McGill had nothing much to gain from an affiliation with the much smaller Marianopolis College. That is, however, to ignore the unique situation which could have come about if Marianopolis had become a centre for Catholic studies and an energetic presence on the McGill campus. Gloria Pierre's memo clearly indicated that Marianopolis would have been receptive to many different possibilities, if only McGill had had the foresight to see that a generic decision was not appropriate in the climate of change that marked the 1960's. The major concession that Marianopolis wanted was to keep its identity, whether as a college or as an institute. Trentman summed up the Marianopolis position in his memo to Dean Woods: "they [Marianopolis] would welcome any reasonable proposals...that would allow them some sense of identity and some task to perform. McGill has nothing to lose and much to gain" (AMC, A.24.08). Such proposals were not, however, forthcoming from McGill. In the long run, McGill's hesitancy to consider a unique decision cost the university the opportunity to move in new directions and to have an affiliated college.

### Negotiations with Sir George Williams

Because the affiliation with the Université de Montréal would cease in 1972, Marianopolis College needed affiliation or federation with an English language university in order to continue offering courses at the university level. Ideally, Marianopolis would have preferred status as a private women's college with its own identity and relative autonomy within a large university, and this had been sought in negotiations with Loyola College. This hope had been thwarted for three reasons: first, as has been pointed out, Loyola wanted to become Loyola University and had taken steps to admit women students, thus negating Marianopolis's hopes of existence as the women's college within the university; second, it had become increasingly apparent that Loyola was not going to be granted a university charter, since the need for another French-language university had assumed priority in government thinking; third, during the 1960's, the spirit of the Parent Report and public opinion in Quebec and elsewhere was directed towards co-educational learning and away from the separation of the sexes especially at the post-secondary levels of collegial and university studies.

By the end of 1968, negotiations for affiliation with McGill had been going on for three years, but McGill had its own problems, and while university authorities pronounced that they were still "favourably disposed to the possibility of

affiliation with Marianopolis" they also added that Marianopolis would have to wait for a decision (AMC, A.12.16).

In January, 1969, Sister MacCormack was contacted by John Hannan, a member of the Sir George Williams Board of Governors. He was involved in the investigation being made concerning a merger with Loyola and indicated the university's willingness to meet with Marianopolis to explore possibilities for co-operation. The college lost no time in preparing itself for talks with Sir George Williams. By the end of January, the faculty had been informed about the approach from Sir George Williams, a domestic committee had been established to look into all aspects of affiliation, and McGill had been informed that discussions with Sir George Williams were about to commence.

From the beginning, Sister MacCormack felt more optimistic about these proposed discussions than she had about the ones held in the past with Loyola and McGill (AMC, A.24.17, January 17, 1969). When a faculty member asked about the possibility of a joint proposal from Marianopolis and Loyola, Sister MacCormack replied that that suggestion should be passed to the College's Domestic Committee, which would judge the wisdom of such an approach<sup>1</sup>. Faculty members were also encouraged to think about questions to be discussed with Sir George Williams: Did Marianopolis want to consider merger,

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<sup>1</sup> It is a matter of record that no such joint approach was made. Marianopolis negotiated on its own with Sir George Williams.

federation or some other form of co-operation? What were the financial implications? Did Marianopolis want status as a private college, or to give courses in some kind of specialized or interdisciplinary program at the university level?

The minutes of the Marianopolis Domestic Committee reveal a very realistic attitude taken towards the whole question of affiliation. Members of the committee were aware that some parts of the original purpose of the college had been forced to change owing to changes in educational thinking during the 1960's (AMC, A.24.17, February 10, 1969). This time, the committee realized that merger, federation or affiliation would have to happen within a framework of university concerns and government regulation. To justify its existence, Marianopolis would have to offer a different kind of education, with a different style and shape. The day of the small private women's college was over, and steps should be taken for Marianopolis to become co-educational, whether as a university college or as a CEGEP-level college (AMC, A.24.17, March 4, 1969). At the same time, Loyola had publicly stated that it was opposed to a merger with Sir George Williams; Loyola wanted to maintain its identity and character, and preferred to think about federation. Marianopolis, having already travelled that road in its negotiations with both Loyola and McGill, was unwilling this time to place too many restrictions on what it would, or would not, consider. The

situation was too uncertain for Marianopolis to do anything that might jeopardize its existence (personal interview, Dr. Catherine Westbury, December 15, 1991).

By April 1969, a task force had been established to study possible programs that Marianopolis could offer, taking into consideration that Sir George Williams was receptive to experimental programs for small numbers of students (AMC, A.12.13). In May 1969, a letter from Douglas Burns Clarke to Sister MacCormack said that judging from "the events of February [referring to Loyola's aversion to merger] it might perhaps be advisable to wait until the general pattern of such a union may begin to emerge" before initiating discussions with Marianopolis (Archives, Sir George Williams; in Archives, Concordia University {ACU}, I010, RM533, May 12, 1969). At the twelfth meeting of the Sir George Williams Committee on Co-operation with Loyola College, it was pointed out that "their [Marianopolis] faculty were ready, in fact eager, to enter into some form of union with Sir George Williams University" (ACU, I010, RM533, May 20, 1969).

It was unanimously agreed by the Sir George Williams authorities that the university should undertake serious discussions with Marianopolis, with a view to merging the college with the university. It would seem that in part at least, this was a move by the university to force Loyola into a more tractable position, carrying as it did a veiled threat that negotiations with Loyola might be broken off in favour of

Marianopolis. Accordingly, in July 1969, Sister MacCormack was informed that Sir George Williams would welcome discussions with Marianopolis which would explore "forms of co-operation" (AMC, A.24.17), but that meetings should not begin until the new university principal had been appointed.

During the summer months, informal, personal meetings took place between Marianopolis and Sir George Williams officials. The Marianopolis Domestic Committee, with the assurance that the university was seriously interested in negotiating with Marianopolis, continued to meet and produced a memorandum which explored what Marianopolis had to offer the university, emphasizing its solid academic history in both arts and sciences. The memorandum proposed that Marianopolis should become a centre for interdisciplinary studies, offering integrated, individually-oriented academic programs. The memorandum also pointed out that "if there is no way for Marianopolis to make a contribution based on its long tradition of undergraduate teaching, the College would simply cease to exist" (AMC, A.24.17).

Finally in November 1969, the first two formal meetings of the university and college committees to explore the possibility of closer co-operation took place. In the first meeting, November 10, 1969, it was proposed that joint task forces in both Arts and Sciences be set up. In informal discussion, interest was expressed in programs proposed in Social Science and in Music.

In the second meeting held on November 24, the new Sir George Williams President, Dr. John O'Brien, presented two approaches which he characterized as extreme cases, thus leaving room for many possible positions between the two extremes. On the one hand, the college could continue to operate as it was currently doing on both the collegial and university level, and the regrouping of faculty would take place slowly after discussions with the appropriate university departments. At that time some of the Marianopolis faculty would become members of the university departments and some members of the university departments who were interested in a program of interdisciplinary studies would be transferred to Marianopolis. A similar regrouping of students would take place. The other extreme would be to merge all departments immediately and then regroup faculty. Those interested in the interdisciplinary programs would be transferred to the Marianopolis campus.

The Marianopolis committee members felt that the first proposal was more acceptable because the college already had a core of faculty interested in interdisciplinary programs who could begin to plan immediately for a proposed new program. Dr. O'Brien then noted that Marianopolis could become part of the university in one of two ways: either as a "Faculty" of the university where interdisciplinary programs would be centered, or as a "Department" of the Faculty of Arts of the university. In the former the main contact between the two

institutions would be at the university council level, and in the latter, all college faculty would be members of the appropriate university departments.

By the end of 1969, it appeared that Marianopolis had three alternatives for its future: first, to join a federated university (with Sir George Williams and Loyola) as a third Arts college; second, to be an interdisciplinary, experimental college as a division of Sir George Williams, an alternative that would require great reorganization; or third, to stay out of confederation and be totally a private CEGEP-level college. This third alternative depended entirely on the government which might or might not permit Marianopolis to operate the collegial program indefinitely.

Over the next two months, two joint task forces, Arts and Science, worked on proposals which were presented to the two institutions early in January 1970. The Arts Task Force proposed an integrated, interdisciplinary program of studies in the Social Sciences and in the Humanities to be housed at Marianopolis and to be administered as a college, institute or centre affiliated with the university. Attached to the proposal was a note pointing out that Marianopolis would continue to operate on its premises the first two years of the post-secondary program, the CEGEP-Parallel program which had been approved by the Department of Education. The Science Task Force recommended a merger of the Biology, Chemistry and Mathematics departments of Marianopolis with the corresponding

university departments. Also proposed was the establishing of a department of Nutrition Science and also the possibility of a department of Natural and Synthetic Fibers (ACU, I010, RM533). The date selected for the merger with the Sir George Williams Faculty of Science was September 1971. The Sir George Williams position regarding these proposals was that the university "should seriously consider the institution of some form of very close relationship with Marianopolis. We believe that the problems, although great, are not insurmountable" (ACU, I010, RM533).

In her report to College Council in March 1970, Sister MacCormack observed that "sincerity and honesty characterized every encounter. Although no fine points have yet been discussed and no bargaining carried on, there has been genuine eagerness on the part of Sir George Williams University to understand and to preserve what Marianopolis is doing and what it stands for" (AMC, A.12.01, March 16, 1970). It was at this point that McGill decided to reopen negotiations with Marianopolis, motivated by a concern for what would happen to the Marianopolis Peel Street property should a merger with Sir George Williams go through (AMcG, RG3, C26, 6401). An internal memo to Dr. O'Brien from Andrew Laprade of Sir George Williams supports this motivation: "Marianopolis was forced to reopen the matter with McGill because McGill has expropriation rights over their real estate and this question has to be settled before negotiations go much further with Sir George" (ASGW,

I010, RM533, April 23, 1970).<sup>2</sup> As a result, during the months of April and May 1970, Marianopolis was negotiating with both McGill and Sir George Williams.

In College Council minutes for April 6, 1970, Sister MacCormack observed that "McGill seemed interested in having Marianopolis associated with it as a private CEGEP." On the other hand, meetings with Sir George Williams were "informative and showed the possibility of cooperation between the two groups" (AMC, A.12.01). In this same meeting, Sister MacCormack reminded College Council members that "the College must not lose sight of its original purpose: to strengthen the CEGEP program by having a faculty integrated into both collegial and university work." It is obvious that Sister MacCormack gave priority to the CEGEP-level program that the College had recently instituted and that any teaching at the university level would be there to provide an outlet for professors involved in the collegial program. She concluded her remarks by saying that the future of the college would not be decided by Sir George Williams University but by the college itself. University work could be looked at for itself since an alliance was no longer necessary because the college could survive through its collegial program. As a result, the college could continue to negotiate with both McGill and Sir

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<sup>2</sup>In actual fact, a servitude had been placed on one property by the former owners. By the terms of the servitude, the college was obliged to give McGill first refusal if ever the college decided to sell the property. The term 'expropriation' is therefore incorrect.

George Williams from a position of strength, and not out of desperation. Although the faculty very much preferred the prospect of affiliation with a university, their positions were relatively secure if Marianopolis converted totally to the collegial program.

Following the lead of Sister MacCormack, the Domestic Committee decided that it was not feasible for the college to concentrate only on university level programs, but should look to some form of association that would permit the development of the CEGEP program but allow for some teaching at the university level (AMC, A.24.17). April 1970 was a month of high optimism for Marianopolis. Campbell, the Sir George Williams Dean of the Faculty of Arts, reported to Dr. O'Brien that plans were well afoot for the Marianopolis-Sir George Williams merger, and that the interdisciplinary program in Social Sciences leading to a Bachelor of Social Work was regarded favourably by the university. A meeting of the joint committee in early May indicated satisfaction with work done by the task forces to date (AMC, A.24.17).

Part of the college's optimism faded later in May when negotiations with McGill were broken off and Sister MacCormack received Dr. Robertson's "good neighbours" letter (AMC, A.24.08, May 21, 1970). It was also in May, as Marianopolis and Sir George Williams began to consider the details of affiliation, that complications arose. According to government regulations, an institution could function legally on only one

level, and as a result, what could be foreseen by Sir George Williams was an "arms-length" contract with Marianopolis for purposes of collaboration in specific areas on the university level. The university also felt that new task forces needed to be established to continue research on the practical details of affiliation. Both institutions reassured each other of their "serious interest in further investigating the terms and details of cooperation" (AMC, A.24.17, May 20, 1970).

As 1970 neared its end, the Marianopolis Planning Committee reported that "negotiations with Sir George Williams are continuing and it was suggested that the possibilities of pro tem participation might add a new dimension to these negotiations. A new formula for affiliation may emerge" (AMC, A.12.03, October 27, 1970). The Sir George Williams authorities sensed that interest on the part of Marianopolis in more than just some university level teaching was waning. A memo from James Whitelaw to Andrew Laprade spoke of the "uncertainty at Marianopolis with regard to their future vocation," and also pointed out that

Marianopolis intends to devote most of its resources to being a private CEGEP, and that they seem to feel they have government authorization to do so. What is much less clear is the kind of program that they might conceivably offer at the university level. As I understand it, the main purpose of retaining some type of undergraduate program is to give their staff, who will be mainly concerned with college level teaching, the opportunity to teach a few courses at a higher level. This then constitutes the main concern of Marianopolis College (ACU, I010, RM533).

Despite these reservations, negotiations continued into

1971. The last full meeting of representatives from the two institutions took place on January 19, 1971. At this meeting, it was reported that the proposed plan for the social sciences interdisciplinary program leading to a Bachelor in Social Work had been sent to the appropriate authorities for approval. A great deal of interest had been shown on the part of the Fine Arts Department of Sir George Williams in the Marianopolis Music program, and co-operation between the two institutions would be mutually beneficial to present a full major program in Music. Discussions had been held between representatives from the Humanities Department at Marianopolis and the Sir George Committee on Experimental Programs, but no definite programs had been proposed. The Science Task Force reported that they had recommended that the Division of Natural Science and Mathematics be merged with the appropriate departments at Sir George Williams.

Sister MacCormack put forward a new proposal for a continuing education program to be operated at Marianopolis but with the co-operation of the university. The university committee agreed that these were all worthwhile programs, especially the proposal for continuing education, but once the representatives of the two institutions began to consider the practical details concerning financing and staffing, problems and complications arose. Sir George Williams representative Despland pointed out that the problem of the Marianopolis role in decision-making for such a joint program had to be

considered. According to Dr. O'Brien the university itself had no arguments to put forward regarding any of the Marianopolis College proposals, but the real argument would be with the Department of Education (AMC, A.24.17).

As the meeting progressed, both institutions came to realize that no plans could be determined by either institution until there was contact with the government. According to Dr. O'Brien, the most pressing problem was to draw up a proposal to be forwarded to Quebec, and to decide which level within the Department of Education should receive it. Marianopolis conducted its business with the Private Institutions section and a special committee; the university dealt with the Conseil des Universités.

When Sister MacCormack reported to the Marianopolis College Council in February concerning the outcome of the January meeting with Sir George Williams, she pointed out that the university committee was, as it had been from the outset, eager to co-operate with Marianopolis in whatever way possible, but the proposed Bachelor of Social Work must have government approval before either Marianopolis or Sir George Williams could proceed further. An integrated program in Humanities presented problems for Sir George Williams, since budgetary restraints made it impossible for the university to absorb the entire faculty of Marianopolis. The same financial restraints were present in a program of continuing education. Both institutions recognized the need for such a program, but

without financing from the government, neither institution could proceed further with planning.

Sir George Williams by this point was committed to Loyola, and of Loyola and Marianopolis, Sir George Williams had to give the former priority, both because of governmental pressures and also because Sir George Williams wanted and needed the west end campus and sports facilities of Loyola (AMC, A.12.01, February 8, 1971).

Sister MacCormack also reported to the Marianopolis College Council that she had met with M. Beauregard of DGEC, who informed her that college and university work were to be completely separate, and that the only way Marianopolis could retain its permission to operate as a CEGEP-equivalent institution was to abandon all thought of any kind of formal association with a university. He pointed out that the only way Marianopolis could be involved with Sir George Williams was to rent property to the university. He was also enthusiastic about a program of continuing education, but at the collegial level only. She concluded her remarks to College Council by saying "It seems that the only course open to Marianopolis College is to continue to function as a private collegial institution. Let us hope that government approval of this program will continue" (AMC, A.12.01, February 8, 1971).

From that point on, Marianopolis archives reveal that no more hopes for affiliation on some basis with Sir George

Williams were entertained by the college. According to Dr. Catherine Westbury, telephone calls were exchanged and informal meetings did take place, but no records of these contacts were made (personal interview, December 16, 1991). Sister Noonan, the archivist of Marianopolis, has confirmed this, as do the archives of Sir George Williams. Marianopolis now turned its attention and commitment to surviving as a private collegial-level institution. A year later, in 1972, the last class of Marianopolis students in the old four-year program graduated, and the affiliation with the Université de Montréal ended. With that last graduating class went a tradition and way of life that stretched back to 1908.

#### Commentary on the Negotiations

The archives of Marianopolis support the contention that if it had not been for government restrictions and budgetary constraints, affiliation of Marianopolis with Sir George Williams would have taken place, either by means of a merger or by federation. The Marianopolis negotiating committee felt comfortable in their discussions with Sir George Williams officials and were impressed by their frankness and willingness to consider all possible alternatives. Mutual respect seemed to prevail.

Decision-making style. Both negotiating teams exhibited a multilateral or shared decision-making style. The same high

level of consultation and faculty participation which had characterized the negotiations with McGill were evident on the part of Marianopolis in discussions with Dr. O'Brien and the other officials from Sir George Williams. In fact, many meetings took place in which faculty members met with their opposites at the university without the presence of the top administrators from either Marianopolis or Sir George Williams. For instance, Dr. Catherine Westbury, head of the Science and Mathematics Division at Marianopolis, conducted the talks with the Sir George Dean of the Faculty of Science and other university faculty members; Sister Mary O'Neill, head of the Marianopolis Music Department met on many occasions with members of the Fine Arts Department of the university.

Sister MacCormack's remark in the January 17, 1969 faculty meeting, that the Domestic Committee should be free to decide about the possibility of a joint proposal by Marianopolis and Loyola to Sir George Williams, is evidence of her commitment to a multilateral leadership style which encouraged the highest level of faculty participation in the decision-making process. Faculty questions, suggestions and opinions were always referred to the Domestic Committee for consideration. These events illustrate well the fifth level of the proposed model of leadership style in the decision-making process.

Constraints on decision-making. Both Sir George Williams

and Marianopolis were feeling environmental constraints and increasing confinement within government regulations regarding what would and would not be permissible. In the final general meeting that took place between the two committees, Dr. O'Brien repeatedly mentioned that government approval would have to be obtained before any further steps could be taken, and that any new programs were subject to government budgetary restrictions (AMC, A.24.17, January 19, 1971). Certainly Marianopolis felt in a precarious position because the college realized that its CEGEP-equivalency program was at the mercy of the government. Both Bass (1983) and Feldman & Kanter (1965) stress the importance of environmental constraints on decision-making, and nowhere is this more evident than in the Marianopolis-Sir George Williams negotiations.

These negotiations also point out the importance of purpose as a constraint on decision-making. Although Marianopolis was willing to be much more flexible regarding the sacrifice of some of its identity and autonomy in seriously considering a merger, Sister MacCormack's remark in the memorandum concerning the importance of the college's continuing to make a contribution can be taken at face value. From her point of view at least, that was the primary purpose of the college, and ceasing to exist was preferable to sacrificing the college's longstanding tradition of providing a true service to the community. In the light of changing social conditions, the original purpose of the college to

provide education just to Roman Catholic women could be abandoned, but not the tradition of excellence and service. The college motto from the beginning emphasized scientia and fides. The former would not be sacrificed under any circumstances, and the latter could have a wider, ecumenical interpretation. Porras' observation (1981) that "purpose is the fundamental glue that bonds the organization by providing definition for the system's reason for being" is supported by the stance taken by Sister MacCormack in these negotiations. There is no archival evidence to indicate that she, or the faculty for that matter, were ever willing to compromise the purpose of excellence in learning that was at the very heart of the Marianopolis tradition.

Feldman & Kanter (1970) saw previous experience as a constraint on decision-making. Marianopolis had learned from its negotiations with Loyola the importance of a certain flexibility. Both institutions in those negotiations had adhered to a rigid set of demands. Loyola's headstrong quest for a charter without consideration for input from the rest of the Catholic community and the consequent internal dissention probably cost it the very charter it sought. In negotiations with Sir George Williams, Marianopolis presented many alternatives for consideration and was willing to be as flexible as possible, even if it meant the disappearance of its identity as an autonomous institution.

Kast & Rosenzweig (1970) observed that constraint on the

decision-maker may come from a need to balance valuing harmony and order with valuing survival and effects on others. There may be need for the decision-maker to compromise a particular value in a situation, but if other values are enhanced by so doing, then the decision-maker can be reasonably comfortable. Although both Sister MacCormack and the Domestic Committee wanted to preserve Marianopolis intact if at all possible, they realized that the college would have to move with the times, even if that meant giving up its status as a small women's college, becoming co-educational, and offering a different type of education. Marianopolis was striving to achieve a balance in its organizational structure in order to give faculty a sense of job security, to ensure the survival of the college, and to preserve some measure of its identity. This constraint became most apparent in the negotiations with Sir George Williams.

Decision-making strategies. Before formal negotiations with Sir George Williams began, Marianopolis seemed to employ the same decision-making strategies as it had in the past. A great deal of careful preparation took place at Marianopolis as soon as Sister MacCormack announced that she had been approached by Sir George Williams. The first act was to form a Domestic Committee to gather as much information as possible. The minutes of a Faculty Council meeting indicate that the size and composition of this committee were seriously debated, with a view to having the most comprehensive

representation of all sectors of the college (AMC, A.12.13, January 22, 1969). The resulting Domestic Committee solicited suggestions from the whole college and weighed each for its merits. Surveys took place among faculty and students to determine what programs were the most attractive and most likely to prove successful. When negotiations actually began later that year, the Marianopolis committee was well prepared to represent the views of the college. This kind of advance preparation on the part of Marianopolis reflects Janis's vigilant problem solving model, with its steps of formulating the problem, using informational resources, analysing and reformulating, evaluating and selecting, and then deciding after adequate search, appraisal and planning what proposals should be put forward. The same approach was used in the joint meetings, as both institutions weighed possible alternatives, debated the pros and cons, consulted widely with faculty and administration, and then selected the proposals that would mutually benefit the two institutions.

These negotiations did not result in successful closure because neither institution could move beyond the general consideration of the proposals to grapple with the specific details of implementation; that stage depended on government program and budget approval. The vigilant problem solving of both institutions was constrained by foreseen limitations on financing, and the perplexing question of deciding which section of the Department of Education to approach and which

institution should make the first approach to its respective section.

To a large extent the fourth quadrant of Lindblom's paradigm (Figure 1.6) also applies to these negotiations, which could be characterized as having the potential for large change but with the decision-makers possessing low understanding. It was certainly a "grand opportunity", in fact the last opportunity for Marianopolis to have an affiliation with a university, but the college was forced by circumstances beyond its control to forgo any further formal negotiations unless it wished to jeopardize its status as a CEGEP-equivalent institution. The government was adamant that Marianopolis could be one or the other, but not both a CEGEP-level college and an affiliate of a university. In this instance, the potential rewards did not outweigh the perils. These negotiations quite accurately reflect quadrant four of the Lindblom paradigm.

In these negotiations, the Harrison model (1981) of accommodation and adaptation is also applicable. As the two negotiating committees jointly examined the alternatives, they continually redefined the problem requiring a solution, ultimately settling on an integrated program in the Social Sciences, but rejecting integration in the Humanities because of structural difficulties in joint operation. They had to abandon a joint proposal for continuing education because of lack of government funding for such a project at the

university level (AMC, A.24.17, January 19, 1971). Marianopolis focused on those programs with which the college was most familiar and could most easily accommodate with its existing faculty and resources. At this stage, as the necessity for making a decision was most critical, consideration of any other alternatives was out of the question.

It would seem in this instance that the Lindblom incremental strategy and the Harrison model of accommodation and adaptation complemented each other, largely because the issues were complex, uncertainty was high, time was running out for a comprehensive consideration and evaluation of less familiar alternatives, and both institutions were being squeezed by government regulations and restrictions.

It is also evident from Sister MacCormack's remarks that the Soelberg implicit favourite model (1967) was also applicable in these negotiations. While she was agreeable to pursuing possibilities for some form of co-operation with Sir George Williams, she also reminded College Council about the importance of the CEGEP-level program, and that faculty opportunity to teach on the university level was not an end in itself but would serve to enhance the CEGEP-level program (AMC, A.12.01, April 16, 1970). She also pointed out on several occasions that the college could survive through its collegial program, possibly showing more optimism than the precariousness of the program warranted.

Kinds of decisions. For the third time the opportunity for a creative or unique (Drucker, 1966) kind of decision presented itself. If Marianopolis had become an affiliate of Sir George Williams, or had merged totally with the university, there would of necessity have been organizational restructuring and the direction of Marianopolis would have changed. That this was not the course pursued was the fault of neither Marianopolis nor Sir George Williams. Both were sincere in their desire to reach an accomodation, and cooperated with each other in open and friendly discussion. Both, however, were prevented from realizing this objective by government restrictions.

In a way, Marianopolis did employ a unique kind of decision-making in opting to abandon all thought of university-level work and to devote itself entirely to college-level teaching. As will be shown in the next chapter, that alternative was the greater venture into the unknown, involving risk, a new level and kind of education, new structures of organization, and a new educational aim.

## Chapter 6

### New Directions for Marianopolis College

#### Background

"Quebec's structure of colleges and universities represents a break with traditions prior to 1960 and in many ways is without parallel in other provinces and states" (Henchey & Burgess, 1987, p. 99). The significance of the collegial system in Quebec is also pointed out in the Nadeau Report: "The college system may be considered the hub of the reform of the Quebec school system" (1975, p. ix). The Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education aimed to rectify the confusion of educational structures in post-secondary education and to suggest means to overcome the "lack of vertical co-ordination between secondary and higher levels, the lack of horizontal co-ordination between the various forms of instruction following secondary school" (Parent Report, Vol. 2, p. 58).

The 'institutes' or CEGEPs were conceived as a bridge between two levels of education, and in the general or pre-university stream specialization in subjects would be discouraged, allowing only for some degree of concentration. Specialization would be reserved for the university level of education. The institutes would provide two years of pre-

university education for those students who wished to go on to university studies, and three years of study for students in vocational and/or professional studies. These proposed institutes, according to Section 280 of the Parent Report "should be conceived and accepted as a level of studies complete in itself" (Vol. 2, p. 174).

In the French Catholic education system, at the outset the institutes would be formed through a consolidation and reorganization of already existing facilities such as vocational and technical schools, collèges classiques, instituts familiaux, and other institutions. For the English system, the institutes would create a new level of studies and would require beginning from scratch to provide the physical plants for such institutions. The authors of the Parent Report insisted from the outset that these institutes should have no connection with either secondary or university studies, and should not be housed in the same facilities (Parent Report, Vol. 2, p. 177).

By Regulation 3 of the Ministry of Education (March, 1966), collegial education could be offered "in any institution which, after consultation with its teaching faculty, obtained the authorization of the Minister for this purpose, under conditions determined by the Minister's regulations" (Nadeau Report, 1975, p. 5). In June 1967, the General and Vocational Colleges Act (Bill 21) was passed, and in September of the same year the first 12 CEGEPs opened. By

1974 there was a total of 37 CEGEPs. The first English-language CEGEP, Dawson College, opened in September, 1969.

The late 1960's were years of confusion and uncertainty as this new level of education was put in place, a curriculum was established, and the CEGEPs sought their identity and purpose. These were also years of greatly increased student numbers, and in order to cope with the influx into the CEGEP level, ad hoc arrangements had to be made, especially for English students because until 1969 there was no English public CEGEP. As a result, universities were temporarily permitted to offer college parallel programs, and a number of private institutions, including Marianopolis College, were also given temporary permission to offer the pre-university program of collegial studies. In 1968 the Private Education Act was passed, setting the stage for the creation of a network of colleges operating as private institutions in the public interest and funded to a large extent (up to 80%) by the provincial government. These private colleges, for the most part operated by religious orders, were permitted to charge tuition fees, and were characterized by small enrolment and an academic program limited to pre-university studies.

The Nadeau Report observed that in 1966-67, 81 classical colleges were offering the college level program, and 33 of these institutions became CEGEPs or were integrated into a CEGEP. In 1973-74, 11.8% of collegial-level students were registered in the private CEGEP-level institutions (1975, p.

7). Although the Parent Report had made no provision for private CEGEP-level colleges, and indeed had emphasized that this new level of education would be public, the long tradition of private education in Quebec encouraged the transformation of many classical colleges into CEGEP-level institutions.

This new level of education in Quebec was a revolutionary departure for the English sector, which previously had proceeded directly from secondary school into university without the intermediary step of the classical college. In this respect, the establishing of the CEGEP system was a much more distressing and confusing problem for the English, requiring a reorganization of the entire university undergraduate program and the setting up of a brand new level of education. According to LeBlanc (1985),

The French accepted the idea of the CEGEP with open arms. At one point it seemed like every community in Quebec wanted its own college, and the political infighting was ferocious. On the English side just the opposite was the case. It took two years before the first English college opened its doors, and the Establishment soothsayers predicted a speedy demise of this anachronism. Instead three other English colleges speedily appeared. By the mid 1970s the English population by and large had been won over (p. 275).

#### Marianopolis -- The CEGEP Alternative

The first mention in the Marianopolis archives concerning the possibility of Marianopolis becoming a CEGEP-level college is found in an informal letter to Gloria Pierre,

the President's Executive Assistant. Dated March 30, 1965, the letter pointed out,

McGill will be trying out the 'institute' idea next year by making the first two years somewhat similar to the program outlined for the institute. It is, of course, only an experiment, but could not Marianopolis also try it? The purpose of this is, among other things, to ensure that the institutes will truly be on a high level (AMC, E.32.06).

A year later, the same question was asked in a meeting of the Academic Integrating Committee which was negotiating with Loyola College (AMC, A.24.22, February 25, 1966).

In a meeting of the four institutions concerned with the establishing of an English Catholic university, Father Roche, the Director of the National Education Office and the mediator of the meeting, expressed the attitudes of many of the English community concerning what was happening in education in general and the institutes in particular:

I get the impression that in Quebec at the present time in the area of education we are facing a revolution without balance..., that the powers that be are developing in the direction of monolithic education structures and verging on an almost totalitarian approach to education.... This new bill establishing the Institutes is probably as critical as any of them. I expected that when Bill 21 came in we would have time to see what the impact of the Bill would be. Actually we do not have any time (AMC, A.24.21, February 17, 1967).

At this same meeting, Father Malone, the Rector of Loyola, observed: "The government may say to us that we should affiliate with a university or be an Institute. This latter would give us more autonomy, but cut back our level of work." With these two remarks can be seen the essential dilemma

facing an institution like Marianopolis College. From 1967 on, the college felt constantly under a time pressure to make, in its view, a hasty decision about its future. There was also a growing feeling that the ultimate decision might well be out of its hands to a large degree. The autonomy that might be gained through becoming a CEGEP-level college was attractive, but the decrease in status from university-level to collegial-level was not palatable to the faculty.

In 1968, Marianopolis was involved in negotiations with both Loyola and McGill, trying to find some acceptable plan for affiliation or federation with a university that would preserve the identity of the college and as much of its autonomy as possible, but time was running out. The faculty had been asked to present briefs to the President and the negotiating committee, outlining their preferences for the future. Only one brief mentioned the possibility that Marianopolis might become a CEGEP-level college, that of Sister Sylvia MacDonald, who had been involved in the College Organizing Committee for Metropolitan Montreal that was working towards the establishment of the province's first English-language CEGEP. She pointed out that Marianopolis would have its present position respected until September 1971, the earliest date at which the universities would begin phasing out their college-equivalent programs. She also observed that sometime in the winter of 1968/1969,

...in a 'loi-cadre', the case for the private colleges will be presented to the government along

with the reasons for retaining such institutions in the provincial education system. It is generally believed that there is room for a restricted number of private colleges,... that they may complement the teaching carried out in public institutions. If such privileges should this year be granted at the CEGEP level, there is a probability that the Minister of Education at a later date and when the crowding in universities becomes critical, may consider the private college. If the government of Quebec sees fit to allow some private colleges to continue to function and allows them the grants sufficient to insure their survival, it would seem that Marianopolis finds herself in a favourable position.... (AMC, A.24.08, March 4, 1968).

As the various committees and the Faculty and Academic councils of the college considered alternatives, a motion was made at a meeting in February 1968 that it would be advisable to try to get a formal statement from the Ministry of Education on how Marianopolis might fit into the new pattern of education (AMC, A.12.13). At the end of the year, a letter from Paul Lacoste of the Ministry of Education to Sister MacCormack spoke of "une collaboration de votre institution à l'établissement du niveau collégial dans le secteur anglophone" (AMC, E.32.06, December 24, 1968). It seemed that Sister MacDonald had been correct in her assessment of the possibility of another alternative for the college. Early in 1969 Marianopolis received official word from the Ministry of Education that it could operate temporarily on the collegial level, as was the case for the universities.

A task force was set up at once to plan the Parallel M program and to publicize it in Montreal and area secondary schools. Those going out to the high schools were to stress

that Marianopolis was open to all, that already a cross-section of religions and nationalities was represented on the faculty. The program being planned would be student-oriented, flexible and experimental, and would provide excellent preparation for university (AMC, A.12.13). It was also decided that while male students would be admitted to the Parallel M program, the college would not advertise itself as co-educational until there was a sufficient number of male students to merit such a description.

Thus, in short order, Marianopolis in part ceased to be a university-level college for female Roman Catholics. The university-level program was being phased out and a new pattern was in the process of being established in the college. Nevertheless, the negotiating committee continued its work with McGill and Sir George Williams in an attempt to preserve some university-level teaching in an integrated interdisciplinary program in co-operation with a university. In a document concerning the nature and goals of Marianopolis, the following reflection by Don Thompson, the pastoral animator, is worth noting, since it set the stage for the present-day college:

Without denying its Catholicity, Marianopolis College opened its doors to a broader clientele. Signs of apostolic success that once comforted have in large part disappeared. Sisters are required to rely more on faith and hope and upon occasional glimpses of what they may be doing in the service of the Catholic faith. This basic insight within the Catholic Christian tradition that there is a natural desire towards truth, goodness and God seemed the only sufficient foundation capable of

surviving the shift of becoming an interdenominational co-educational college. The whole motivation of the CND to an educational project is that striving for academic excellence is a secular form of striving for the right, the good and the true in the sense of striving for the transcendent (AMC, A.11.07).

In April 1969, the college received word from the Ministry that it would be permitted to charge the collegial students a \$375 fee and that the government would grant a subsidy to cover the difference. The college was also assured that it would not be obliged to adhere rigidly to the CEGEP blueprint of Dawson College. As a result, Marianopolis was free to design its own collegial program within certain broad perimeters, giving it the opportunity for creative thinking and planning for an integrated program. In its planning, the task force concentrated its efforts on providing a program focused on university-bound students, one that would give the most thorough preparation possible.

A sub-committee on structures was also created to formulate a new one-tiered administrative structure for the college. In September, 1969, Marianopolis became the first college in Canada to introduce the 'council' concept of governance, a method also used by the University of Waterloo. This concept of college and university governance had been advocated in the Duff-Berdahl Report, commissioned by the Canadian Association of University Teachers and the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, and published in 1966. The Duff-Berdahl Report said that both

administrative planning and academic planning were inextricably linked and that there should be better communication and representation between the two bodies. In addition to internal communication, a college or university needed windows on the world and the report advocated the creation of a single governing body composed of administration, faculty, alumni, students and representatives from business and other areas of the community. Speaking of the advantages of this new administrative structure, Sister MacCormack told the faculty, "As you are aware, this new form of government for Marianopolis College constitutes a major reform and involves the various parts of the college community in all decisions affecting the college" (AMC, A.12.01, November 24, 1969). Thus September 1969 heralded both a new program of collegial studies and a new governing structure for Marianopolis College. This new governing structure was called College Council.

Earlier the same year, Sister MacCormack had met with Germain Gauthier, the head of the Directorate of Higher Education. He emphasized the necessity of an immediate decision by Marianopolis about the future direction of the college, pointing out that the government grant for collèges classiques had been repealed. Legislation was being prepared which proposed that first year enrolment only would be covered for the purposes of government grants, and that funds for students in upper years at Loyola and Marianopolis would be

covered by a special Order-in-Council. The government, however, must have assurance from the two institutions that it would be a temporary situation. While Gauthier did not promise any relief, he nevertheless told Sister MacCormack that before the Order-in-Council went through, Marianopolis would have to decide whether to be a pre-university college or to affiliate with a university. He further pointed out that there was a place for an English private CEGEP-level college in Quebec, that Montreal should be the place, and that Marianopolis should be the institution. His hope was that Marianopolis would take advantage of this opportunity, and that it should make its decision in favour of abandoning thoughts of university-level work. He assured Sister MacCormack that by no means should the college think that the government expected it to close, especially in view of its long-standing contribution to education in Quebec (AMC, A.24.17, June 25, 1969).

According to Sister MacCormack, from this point on she was willing to commit the college totally to the collegial program, but realized that the faculty, unwilling to lose status as university teachers, still wished to explore affiliation possibilities with McGill and/or Sir George Williams (personal interview, March 7, 1990). Affiliation with the Université de Montréal would end in 1972, so she felt that the college still had some time to continue negotiations. Meanwhile the collegial program would be in place giving the faculty the opportunity to become familiar with this new

program. As a result, they would come to realize its possibilities and the challenge it presented.

Following the interview with Dr. Gauthier, the college submitted a detailed report, and in early September for its collegial program Marianopolis was granted status as a private institution in the public interest, with 80% of its funding provided by the government. An extension of the same funding status for students in the third and fourth years of its university program was also granted, but for the 1969-1970 year only.

At this point, three alternatives still remained open to Marianopolis: (a) to develop and continue only the Parallel M collegial program; (b) to continue the collegial program but also to seek affiliation with a university and continue university-level work in certain specific programs; (c) to opt for university level only in a complete federation with a university. All three alternatives, however, depended on talks with McGill and Sir George Williams and what kind of deal could be worked out. At that time, the possibility of the same college corporation operating on both levels, but with special administrative units responsible one to the Ministry and the other to the university, still existed. This was the situation prevailing at Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys, which was operating at both the collegial and the university level, the latter through its continuing affiliation with the Université de Montréal.

In its first year of operation at the collegial level, the college had 147 students enrolled, 10 of whom were males. In its second year, 1970-71, it had 269 students in College 1, and 117 in College 2, for a total of 386 students in the collegial program (AMC, A.12.03). A report of the Curriculum and Academic Policy Committee in 1970 observed that the integrated interdisciplinary collegial program had met with only a degree of success because students were dissatisfied with the lack of flexibility imposed by the program. The faculty needed to consider whether total integration was the path to take, or whether occasional integration, via a planned set of courses integrated in content and co-operative in procedures, would be more attractive to potential students (AMC, A.12.04).

In 1970, negotiations with McGill had come to an end leaving Marianopolis with the one alternative of pursuing its talks with Sir George Williams if it wished to have any university affiliation. In March 1970, the government announced that collegial and university programs could no longer be offered by the same corporation. For Marianopolis this decision meant that severe restrictions would be imposed on any consideration of affiliation, that, in effect, it had become an all-or-nothing proposition. While Marianopolis had been assured that as yet no time limit had been set on the college's operating a private collegial program, and that it could continue as long as there was need and demand, the

future of the college was still uncertain. Lower than hoped for enrolment in the collegial program did not guarantee long-term financial viability. This was a problem that could not be settled as long as the universities were permitted to provide collegial-equivalent programs and the whole collegial concept was so fluid and uncertain. Thus, when Sister MacCormack told the McGill committee in April 1970 that the college could survive through its collegial program, she was being very optimistic, no doubt attempting to save face in the light of McGill's rejection of an affiliation with Marianopolis. It is also further evidence that she at least was committed to the collegial program.

A month later, in a meeting of the Marianopolis Domestic Committee, Sister MacCormack asserted that the college could function legally, according to government regulations, on only one level, and therefore Marianopolis would be identified as a private CEGEP-equivalent college. While the collegial program looked more promising, the future of education in general and of private colleges in particular was still ambiguous (AMC, A.24.17, May 20, 1970). Two months later, College Council recommended that information regarding policies in the French public CEGEPs and in other private French CEGEP-level colleges should be obtained in order to examine all factors. Sister MacCormack pointed out that "at present there is a need for the private CEGEP, but one cannot be certain that the need will be permanent" (AMC, A.12.01,

July 27, 1970).

Early in 1971, Sister MacCormack was informed by DGEC that college and university levels of work had to be completely separate. Both Collège Jean-de-Brébeuf and Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys would be involved solely in collegial work by 1972. At the latter, the music department rented space to the Université du Québec, but the arrangement was not going to be permanent. In an association with Sir George Williams, other than complete merger, the only possibility for Marianopolis would be then to rent space to the university, a legal nicety that would not threaten Marianopolis's collegial status. Sister MacCormack informed College Council that "at the moment, it is clear that the only course open to Marianopolis is to continue to function as a private collegial institution" (AMC, A.12.01, February 3, 1971).

To a large degree, the college's future was determined by government regulations and not by the college itself, as options were narrowed to those of total merger and a consequent loss of college identity and autonomy, or total collegial status which allowed for maintenance of identity and a measure of autonomy. In February 1971, College Council voted to opt for the second alternative. As Sister MacCormack observed, "Marianopolis then joyfully moved into becoming a full CEGEP-level college. There had been a fear that faculty would leave, but that was not the case. Not one faculty member resigned because Marianopolis was no longer a university-level

college" (personal interview, March 7, 1990).

Once the decision was taken, it then became necessary to bring about extensive changes in internal structures which had been geared to university work. After considerable study by various committees and the whole faculty, it was proposed that the traditional autonomous departments would be discarded, to be replaced by several areas of study, each area to restrict the number of courses offered on its own in favour of the central area of Humanities which would become the core of the integrated studies program. The college, however, could not reach consensus on this proposal and a consultant was engaged to help the Planning Committee work out an acceptable structure system. In his report, he observed:

There is a general feeling that progressive change is desired in order to generate security, but without causing any imposition on the existing order of things. This is a human and organizational impossibility (AMC, A.12.03, June 4, 1971).

The beginning of the college term in September 1971 revealed a precarious situation for the college which was now totally committed to the CEGEP level. The total enrolment for the collegial program was 351, well short of the hoped-for 500, the lowest number that would permit the college to break even financially. While there had been a modest but encouraging increase in student numbers during the first two years of operating the collegial program, the third year was marked by a sharp decrease in numbers accepted into the first year -- from 270 in 1970 to 157 in 1971. While promising that

they were going to phase out the college-equivalent program, the universities had not yet done so, thus cutting down the pool from which Marianopolis drew its students. The college explored the possibility of sharing surplus faculty with Dawson College, of having Dawson students take courses at Marianopolis, and of renting space to Dawson, but for the latter two proposals, it was decided that Marianopolis was too far away from Dawson to make such a proposal feasible (AMC, A.12.01).

In October 1971, College Council faced the fact that Marianopolis would need to enrol at least 360 students in College 1 in 1972 in order to maintain the collegial program financially. That number seemed impossible to realize; never in the history of the college had so many students been registered in one year. As a result, College Council had to address itself to the serious problem of the future of the college. The Council considered various options, among which were closing completely, adding new programs that would attract students, and embarking on a vigorous publicity program. To give the matter the kind of close study required, College Council appointed an ad hoc committee under the chairmanship of Gloria Pierre.

The committee went to work immediately. A questionnaire to assess attitudes of present students and faculty, high school students and high school guidance counsellors was formulated and administered, and extensive interviews with

Marianopolis students and faculty, as well as with high school students, were conducted. While the college was given a high rating for its small size, the personal attention from faculty, its academic excellence and university orientation, it nevertheless was criticized for insufficient choice of courses, its 'high school' atmosphere of compulsory class attendance, its lack of extra-curricular activities and its apathy. Its departmental structures were also viewed as a drawback since they encouraged rigidity. Even the name of the college was criticized, since it promoted the public misconception that the college was still Roman Catholic, had female students only, and was staffed only by nuns. One respondent even thought it was a convent. (AMC, A.12.01, November 8, 1971, preliminary report of ad hoc committee).

At the December 13, 1971 meeting of College Council, Sister MacCormack encouragingly reported that the Order had no intention of withdrawing from the college, and that the salaries of the sisters in administration and teaching were ploughed back into the college to help with the deficit. Regarding name change, she pointed out that since 1908 the college had had five different names and she did not see a new name as a solution to its problems. She also stated that Marianopolis was given private collegial status in view of the past work done by the college, and that was a responsibility not to be taken lightly nor abandoned hastily (AMC, A.12.01).

In its final report to College Council (December 13,

1971), the ad\_hoc committee made several observations and presented a series of recommendations. The report indicated that the college could operate in the black with either 600 or 700 students, and that there was adequate classroom space for 700 students. The report emphasized that since many students had never even heard of Marianopolis, the college would have to try harder to make itself known and that a radical change in its overall organization -- in structures, curricula and instructional methods -- was needed immediately if the college was to survive.

The following recommendations were made: (1) Marianopolis needed to redefine its objectives; (2) It needed to adopt the basic principle that courses should be student-oriented and give it more than lip service; (3) It seriously needed to change its administrative structure and the rigid classification of faculty; (4) It should change its name and re-open as a "new" institution; (5) It should employ a professional as director of admissions, preferably someone young, vigorous and male; (6) A public relations program should be mounted with the help of an outside professional organization; (7) A program for mature women should be initiated, with child care facilities provided by the college. The report closed by stating categorically, "We believe the risk is worth taking. If College Council and other sectors of the college community do not believe the risk is worth taking, then we recommend that the college cease operation" (AMC,

A.12.01).

In early 1972, as a response to the report, a concerted program of change was begun by the college. In February, a Director of Admissions was hired, courses were revamped to be more in line with student interests, and in March departmental structures were finally dropped in favour of the area of study structure that had been proposed a year earlier. Most important, during March and April an aggressive public relations program was undertaken complete with radio and newspaper advertisements and several open house presentations for parents, students, faculty, and guidance counsellors from the high schools.

At the August 16, 1972 meeting of College Council, the Registrar announced that over 400 students had been accepted into first year. A month later, in September 1972, that number had swelled through late registration to bring the total registration to 551 collegial students. Effective publicity had worked, and all thoughts of changing the college name were dropped. The crisis had passed, and from that point on Marianopolis prospered and grew, in the process becoming officially co-educational and multiconfessional.

In its November 1972 meeting College Council decided to plan for a total enrolment of 700 for 1973-1974. A month later, after the Planning Committee had completed studies of facilities, that number was revised upward to 800 since McGill and Sir George Williams both had announced that they were

definitely phasing out their college-equivalent programs in 1974. This announcement made Marianopolis confident that it could expect a great increase in applications. In June 1972, Bill 56 was passed, assuring Marianopolis of its future as a private CEGEP-level college operating in the public interest, and providing funds for capital costs.

All of these factors worked together to swell the numbers of students at Marianopolis to the extent that the Peel Street campus quickly became unsuitable because it had no space for athletics, no parking lot, and no available land on which to build. Early in 1973, confident that Marianopolis could attract 1200 or more students, College Council toured the Sulpician Séminaire de philosophie on Côte des Neiges. This building had been vacant for some years, and with its 17 acres and central location, was a solution to the already crowded Peel Street campus. The Sulpicians were reluctant to sell but were willing to give Marianopolis a long-term 40-year lease on the property. Through the terms of Bill 56 the government would pay the rental value of the property, and a loan could be secured from the Congrégation de Notre-Dame by the Marianopolis Corporation to pay for the extensive renovation that the building required. Sister MacCormack later said of the decision: " There was a great risk involved in sinking millions into the renovation of a property not owned, but everything in life involves risk -- we cannot move ahead without risk" (personal interview, March 7, 1990).

In August 1974, Sister MacCormack resigned as President of Marianopolis College and spent the next year supervising the renovations required before the move from the Peel Street campus could be made. In September 1975, the college opened its doors in its new location and welcomed both a greatly expanded faculty and 1241 students.

The press release announcing Sister MacCormack's resignation noted that "her tenure of office fell during an era of unprecedented development and change." During these years of confusion and uncertainty,

As leader in the decision-making process within the college which resulted in [its] transformation, Sister MacCormack was consistently guided by the desire to find a use for the resources of Marianopolis which would be of greatest benefit to the Montreal community.... Despite the apparently revolutionary external changes which marked Sister MacCormack's presidency, she endeavoured always to maintain unchanged the values and ideals which had always been fundamental to the philosophy of education at Marianopolis: the quest for intellectual excellence; the realization that education is as multifaceted as is the human person; the importance of discovering and developing the unique gifts of each student; the maintenance of warm personal relations among all members of the college community (AMC, A.22.02, August 4, 1974).

#### Commentary on Decision-making

In accordance with the recommendations of the Duff-Berdahl Report, in 1969 Marianopolis introduced a unified body for decision-making, replacing the Faculty Council and the

Academic Council with College Council. In her memo to the faculty, who had had the opportunity to vote on this new structure for the governance of the college, Sister MacCormack stressed that all parts of the college were involved in the decision-making process (AMC, A.12.01). For the first time in the history of the college, students were part of the major decision-making body and had a direct input into policy-making. One could argue that such a move was merely an indication of the activist times and that students in most education institutions were demanding a voice in decision-making. There is, however, no archival evidence to indicate that Marianopolis students had ever made such a petition to the administration; instead, their participation was sought and welcomed.

Decision-making style. It has been established that throughout the 1960's Sister MacCormack fostered an increasingly participative style for the process of decision-making and that faculty members took an active and often leading role in the negotiations for affiliation with Loyola, McGill and Sir George Williams. On the proposed model of decision-making style, throughout the 1960's Sister MacCormack had steadily moved from a consultative-authoritative position, through consultative-participative and, with the establishing of the College Council in 1969, to a multilateral position. The archival evidence clearly supports such a conclusion.

The faculty and students who responded to the

questionnaire used in this study also supported this conclusion. In response to question 8 (Appendix A), "In your opinion, who would make the final decision about Marianopolis and what it would or would not become?", the students replied that administration and faculty together made the decision for Marianopolis to become a CEGEP-level college. Six of eight faculty members who responded, several of whom were closely involved in the negotiations for affiliation, said that the final decision was either in the hands of the administration or was made by the government. One respondent disagreed, answering, "The Congregation, after consultation. Obviously, it had to be this way." To question 9, however, all faculty who responded chose responses that reflected the fourth and fifth levels of the continuum to describe the decision-making method or style which prevailed during the 1960's at the college. One respondent added a note to her answer to this question: "The number of decisions with full faculty, or faculty reps. was unbelievable." While all faculty respondents felt a certain helplessness in the face of government regulations, at the same time they recognized that insofar as was possible, they were involved in the decision-making process. These responses, then, support the archival evidence that Sister MacCormack's decision-making style required extensive consultation and participation from the faculty.

Constraints on decision-making. Increasingly throughout the 1960's and early 1970's, the environmental constraint of

government decrees and regulations was felt by the college. Funding for the college was almost totally in government hands by 1969 and the college realized as never before that its future depended on government grants. The Order-in-Council that Germain Gauthier spoke about in his meeting with Sister MacCormack in 1969 is a case in point (AMC, A.24.17). The negotiations with Sir George Williams had come to an end largely because the university also had to observe government regulations regarding financing and was feeling constrained by cutbacks, a situation that all English universities in particular experienced from then to the present.

As Marianopolis began its new life as a private CEGEP-level college, it also was constrained by purpose. Both Simon and Porras stress the importance of goals and purpose as important constraints on organizational decision-making. In its desire to maintain its purpose and identity as a women's college, Marianopolis had refused to support Loyola's petition for a charter; in discussions with both McGill and Sir George Williams, the college had been most reluctant to sacrifice its identity and autonomy and merge with the larger institution. Once Marianopolis became a CEGEP-level college, its goal to provide excellence in education governed all decisions made concerning the type of curriculum to be formulated and the necessary new structures to be implemented. Sister MacCormack repeatedly asserted that if Marianopolis could not provide a useful service to education then it would close its doors.

That sense of apostolic mission to be useful and to provide the best education possible had been the 'guiding light' of the college from its inception and acted as a major constraint on all of the decision-making in the college.

Kast & Rosenzweig (1970) spoke of the constraint imposed through balancing harmony and order against effects on others. This organizational structural constraint was very much present in 1971 and 1972. As various college committees struggled to find new organizational structures compatible with the new aim of providing general rather than specialized education, efforts were made to preserve at least some subject area autonomy for the sake of the faculty, who had been used to the departmental autonomy of a university pattern of organization. The consultant hired to help the Planning Committee find an acceptable structure referred directly to this particular constraint when he spoke about the desirability of change on the part of the faculty, but without "causing any imposition on the existing order of things" (AMC, A.12.03, June 4, 1971). The administration seemed sensitive to the effects all the changes were having on the faculty, and wanted very much to preserve harmony and order throughout the college. As the consultant also pointed out, it was an organizational impossibility to have both change and stability at the same time.

Decision-making strategies. As the college struggled during the early 1970's to find its new identity as a CEGEP-

level college, the same decision-making strategies which had characterized the negotiations with Loyola and the two universities can also be observed. The Harrison model of accomodation and adaptation (1981) is evident as the various committees searched for an alternative to the university departmental structure which the college had previously used. The minutes of the Planning Committee meetings indicate that the members looked for a structure that differed as little as possible from that with which they were familiar. There is no evidence to suggest that a comprehensive survey and evaluation of alternatives were done. It was rather a case of 'fine tuning' what was already in place, and could also illustrate Lindblom's incremental strategy, in that the proposals involved small or incremental change.

It would seem also that many of the decisions made in the early 1970's could be used to illustrate the Janis model (1989) of vigilant problem solving. After all the negotiations of the 1960's and early 1970's, decision-makers at the college had become very familiar with a pattern of carefully examining alternatives, formulating the problem, using informational resources, analysing and reformulating, evaluating and selecting, and only then moving to closure.

A clear example of the vigilant problem-solving approach can be found in the situation of September 1971, when the college faced a critical situation of lower than expected enrolment and had to make a 'do-or-die' decision about the

future of the college. The report of the Ad hoc Committee of College Council indicates the steps the committee took to find a solution to the problem (AMC, A.12.01, December 13, 1971). A crisis situation was at hand. The committee first formulated the problem by asking "How valid is the product Marianopolis has to offer?" Then a careful study of the problem was done through a questionnaire and extensive interviews with the college students and faculty, and also with prospective clientele in the high schools. Through analysing the data gathered, the committee was able to pinpoint areas of strengths and weaknesses, satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and through evaluation of the data, formulated their recommendations for necessary action. College Council wasted no time in acting on the most important recommendations, thus showing both internal consolidation of and social commitment to the choice. That this strategy of decision-making worked is evident in the dramatic growth in numbers of applications a few months later.

Kind of decision. It has already been pointed out that Marianopolis did accept the risk and challenge of a unique type of decision in opting to commit itself totally to a future as a CEGEP-level college. Throughout the 1960's, Marianopolis College, like all education institutions in Quebec, had been part of a whole pattern of unique decisions brought about by the implementation of the recommendations of the Parent Report.

It is irrelevant that Marianopolis may have been forced into that decision by government regulations which systematically eliminated other alternatives. In being willing to take that step into the unknown, with all of its attendant risks and uncertainties, the college and its administration in the 1970's were upholding a tradition of faith that had begun in 1908 when Sister Ste-Anne Marie realized her dream of providing the best post-secondary education possible for young women. The original college motto -- crescat scientia, regnet fides -- had characterized the mission of the college from its beginnings. Adherence to learning and faith, coupled with the dedication of both the Sisters of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame and the faculty, and some careful decision-making, no doubt accounts for the successful survival of Marianopolis College through all the major changes in its history.

## Chapter 7

### Summary and Conclusions

#### Summary

This study has examined three pivotal decision-making points in the history of Marianopolis College and its forerunners: (1) The decision-making practices which led to the founding of Notre Dame Collegiate Institute in 1908 as the English section of L'Ecole supérieure d'enseignement pour les jeunes filles; (2) The decision-making practices which culminated in 1943 with the separation of the English section of Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys, its renaming as Marianopolis College, and its relocation to new premises; (3) The decision-making practices which guided Marianopolis College through the Quiet Revolution of the 1960's, its negotiations concerning affiliation or federation with Loyola College, McGill University, and Sir George Williams University, and its transformation into a private CEGEP-level college in 1969. These three points were selected for examination because each one marked either a beginning or a re-orientation for the college. Each of these three pivotal points involved differing kinds of decisions, decision-making strategies, styles and constraints.

Throughout the history of Marianopolis College and its forerunners, the importance of purpose as a guiding principle

and a major constraint on decision-making cannot be overemphasized. The college's reason for being in 1908 was to provide excellence in higher education for Roman Catholic young women. While it may seem that this purpose was altered during the chaotic decade of change during the 1960's, it can be argued that such is not the case. In accordance with the changing times, Marianopolis did open its doors to male students and to students of other religious faiths and became both co-educational and multi-confessional. In 1972 with its final graduating class, it abandoned its role as a university-level college. At two critical points the college was willing to sacrifice its identity as a separate, autonomous institution. It never once, however, considered relinquishing its commitment to useful service and to educational excellence. That was, and today still is, the guiding principle, the raison d'être of the college, and in that sense the purpose of the college has never changed.

To a large degree the successful survival of Marianopolis College throughout the years of the Quiet Revolution can be attributed to sound decision-making practices. Sister Patricia Simpson, a former member of faculty and a Sister of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, once observed that there is a saying among other religious orders concerning the Congrégation de Notre-Dame: that they are the last to leave but the first to arrive. No decision concerning the college has ever been hasty or ill-conceived, and sometimes it may

have seemed as if the administration was overly slow or reluctant to reach a decision. The administration of the college, still today led by members of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, has always taken the time to study alternatives and to make every attempt to choose the one most advantageous to the college for realizing its commitment to service and excellence.

The decision-making strategy most often employed by the college administration is best exemplified by the Janis (1989) vigilant problem-solving model. It is not a model conducive to hasty decisions since it requires step-by-step analysis of the problem, employment of informational resources, further analysis, evaluation and commitment. It also takes constraints on decision-making into consideration. Adherence to a strategy closely resembling this model has prevented the college from making hasty decisions that might not have been in the best long-term interests of the college.

A satisficing strategy, with the pejorative implications of making a "good enough" decision has never seemed to appeal to the administration of the college as a strategy for making important long-term decisions. The Zeleny (1981) variant of the displaced ideal was, however, evident during the negotiations which took place in the 1960's. The ideal solution of remaining a separate, autonomous university-level college either with its own limited charter or in affiliation with a university became unrealistic and unrealizable in the

light of powerful constraints imposed by the government, and had to give way to a solution that was as close as possible to the ideal. As has been shown, in opting for the alternative of becoming a CEGEP-level college, Marianopolis kept its identity intact and as much of its autonomy as has been possible in a strongly centralized government-controlled system of education.

The Harrison model of accomodation and adaptation (1981) is also evident at various change points in the history of the college. It is a strategy that seems to have worked effectively along with the Janis vigilant problem-solving model since it also requires defining and redefining the problem and careful examination of alternatives. While the Harrison model differs from the Janis model in that its focus is much more limited to policies that differ the least from those presently in place and does not involve the same comprehensive survey and evaluation of alternatives as the Janis model, it is useful when time is short and/or the change to be made requires a generic rather than a unique type of decision. Such was the case in 1943 when the academic program of the college was expanded to include a B. Sc. degree.

The single most important constraint on decision-making throughout the history of the college has been the external environment. Until the Quiet Revolution the primary environment of the college was the Church, to which the Congrégation de Notre-Dame was bound by a vow of obedience.

Any major decision contemplated by the college administration was thus subject to the approval of the Archbishop, either directly and personally, or indirectly through the Université de Montréal, the institution to which the college was affiliated. With the Quiet Revolution, the government replaced the Church as the major environmental constraint on decision-making. This was especially evident in the negotiations with Sir George Williams University and in the college's decision to become a CEGEP-level college. It has been argued that aside from complete disappearance through absorption or through ceasing to exist, the only alternative the government left the college was to become a private CEGEP-level college.

At one time or another, all other constraints reviewed in the theoretical literature have played a part in the evolution of the college, especially that of organizational purpose and goals. During the 1960's in particular the college had to balance harmony and order against survival in its negotiations with Loyola College, McGill University and finally with Sir George Williams University. Only by having a strong sense of purpose was the college able to survive and evolve. Organizational structure was also an important constraint as Marianopolis struggled to survive the first difficult and uncertain years as a CEGEP-level institution. New academic structures had to be found, a new system of governance had to be established, and faculty had to be convinced to adopt new instructional methodologies.

It becomes evident in an overview of the college's evolution that decision-making styles also underwent a steady change. The early years of the college were characterized by a unilateral decision-making practice. Until the 1960's, there was very little or no participation on the part of the faculty in major decisions, all of which were in the hands of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame and the Order's appointees who administered the college. It was only in the 1960's that lay faculty became the majority in the college. That, coupled with the clearly articulated desire of Sister MacCormack for increasingly active input from faculty, led to a participative style of decision-making. A study of the college archives indicates a movement during the 1960's from a consultative-authoritative decision-making style (early 1960's) to a consultative-participative style (mid to late 1960's) and finally, with the new organizational structure of College Council, a multilateral decision-making style. Whether this progression from limited to multilateral participation can be attributed solely to Sister MacCormack and her own particular managerial style, or whether it can be attributed to the spirit of the times, is beyond the scope of this study. It would, however, be an appropriate subject for further research.

### Conclusions

From this study, certain general conclusions may be

derived:

(1) The negotiations of the 1960's clearly show that sometimes no strategy of decision-making, no matter how thorough, can be successful in achieving desired objectives, especially when constraints imposed by the external environment are too strong. No education institution during the 1960's was untouched by the implementation of the recommendations of the Parent Report. Many did not survive; many were absorbed by a larger institution. That Marianopolis College not only survived but also kept its purpose to provide excellence in education is a tribute to the decision-making practices of the administrators and the various negotiating committees.

(2) A conflict of decision-making styles and/or goals, along with differing decision-making strategies can be a formula for failure to reach a decision acceptable to all groups concerned. The negotiations which took place among the four English Roman Catholic institutions with a view towards establishing an English Catholic university attest to that. Loyola had its own agenda and wanted to be Loyola University, despite the wishes of the other three institutions involved. While the Marianopolis strategy used the deliberative approach of the Janis model, the Loyola approach was to forge ahead and then attend to details later. It is just possible that if the four institutions had used the same strategy for decision-making and could have presented a united front to the

government, there would have been a charter creating a new English Catholic university.

(3) The decision-making practices of any institution are vital to the success of the institution in coping with change. The model most applicable to the Marianopolis negotiations is the Janis vigilant problem-solving model, which takes constraints into consideration. This model seems to be a realistic description of a decision-making practice that is characterized by careful consideration of the problem and by a high degree of participation of subordinates.

(4) This particular case study shows the great importance of a sense of organizational purpose, and supports Porras's statement that without a broadly understood and accepted purpose, an organization cannot effectively survive over the long term. The case of Marianopolis College illustrates how important it is to have that 'star on the horizon' to guide an organization through its various choice points.

(5) Decision-making involves much more than simply selecting an appropriate decision-making strategy; the managerial style of decision-making must be taken into consideration and may have to be modified in the light of whatever constraints on decision-making are present. It is also important for those involved in decision-making to understand clearly what kind of

decision--generic or unique--is required by the circumstances.

(6) This study has traced also a major change from operating within the charismatic-traditional authority system of the Church to the more legal-rational authority system of the State. From the particular case of Marianopolis College, one could conclude that there is little difference in the degree of choice presented by the two systems. Indeed, one might argue that the college had more autonomy under the Church than it has had under the State. This also would be an area of productive research.

#### Need for Further Research -- Collegial Education

(1) Since the inception of the CEGEPs, much research has been done by government and scholars from many different perspectives. LeBlanc's "Collegial Education in Quebec -- A Bibliography" (1985) shows both the range and the depth of studies about the public CEGEP development of policy, administrative practices, curricula, programs, evaluation methods, standards, students, faculty and philosophy. Very little research has taken place concerning the private CEGEP-level colleges, yet each has its distinctive history and evolution. A comprehensive study of these private colleges, like that of the classical colleges by Galarneau, could yield productive and illuminating insights.

(2) No comparative studies have yet been done of French and English private CEGEP-level colleges. Admittedly the number of private English colleges is very limited, but research with a view to comparing administrative structures, implementation of the Cahier in a small institution, methods of attracting students and what kinds of students attend, could be of benefit to these institutions.

(3) Sufficient time since the beginning of the CEGEPs has now passed to allow for longitudinal studies of CEGEP graduates in order to ascertain the answers to such questions as: (a) Have the CEGEPs prepared students adequately for the universities? for vocational and/or professional work? (b) Has student literacy been influenced by the CEGEPs? (c) How much predictive value for success in university do CEGEP results have? (d) In terms of raising the education level of Quebec, have the CEGEPs fulfilled the purpose for which they were created? (e) To what extent have the CEGEPs been able to articulate and maintain a clear sense of their purpose?

(4) As a follow-up to this particular case study, a more detailed study of Marianopolis College administrative structures and how they interface with the Congrégation de Notre-Dame could produce insights valuable to the college.

Need for Further Research -- Decision-making Theory

(1) Numerous studies have been published on decision-making theory in its many aspects. Few of them, however, specifically address decision-making within an education institution. As long as the assumption can be made that education institutions are the same as or at least very similar to business and government organizations then there is no serious deficiency. If education has its own peculiarities in the form of product, clientele, needs or administrative practices, then there is a great need to study decision-making theory as it applies specifically to education.

(2) There is a need for a unified theory of decision-making. There are models of decision-making strategies, styles, constraints and kinds, but no models that attempt to encompass all of these aspects of decision-making. The Janis model of vigilant problem-solving takes constraints into consideration, but does not include kinds of decisions nor decision-making style. Such a comprehensive model would be a valuable addition to decision-making theory.

(3) Research needs to be done on possible relationships between authority structures and decision-making practices to address such questions as: (a) Does any relationship exist between the particular authority structure in which a decision-maker operates and his/her decision-making style? (b)

To what extent does the authority structure in which an institution operates influence the decision-making strategy chosen? (c) To what extent do institutions in differing authority structures have differing constraints in decision-making?

(4) Research needs to be done to determine to what extent administrators in education actually make use of decision-making theory to increase their understanding of what is involved in decision-making, and to improve their decision-making practices.

#### Implications for the Future

This study has investigated how Marianopolis College dealt with some pivotal decision-making points in its history, and the decision-making strategies that were employed to cope with those changes. This study ends in 1975 with the move to the new facilities on Côte des Neiges at a time when student enrolment had increased rapidly and the faculty had nearly doubled. During the next ten years, Marianopolis continued to grow until it had over 1500 students. In 1987 a multimillion dollar sports complex and computer centre was constructed, since the college felt that excellence in education required modern sports facilities and current computer technology. In short, Marianopolis fulfilled the promise of its early years as a CEGEP-level college and justified the faith Sister

MacCormack expressed in risk-taking.

In the coming years Marianopolis will be facing other challenges, other changes. In the face of both shrinking numbers and an aging population in the Order, how much longer will the Congrégation de Notre-Dame desire or be able to continue its involvement with the college? If the Order must sometime in the future decide to end its commitment, will the charter of incorporation be transferred to another, possibly secular, body? These are questions that are only beginning to be addressed.

The property on which the college sits belongs to the Sulpician Order, and is leased to the Marianopolis corporation for a very modest sum, considering the size and downtown location of the property. That lease will expire in 2014. Will the Sulpicians be willing to renegotiate that lease on any terms, or on terms that the college can afford? Would they be willing to sell the property, and in view of high real estate costs, would the college be in a financial position to purchase it? The answers to these questions are unknown.

No doubt a more pressing potential for change concerns the immediate future of Quebec. For example, if Bill 101 were extended to include the CEGEPs, would the English colleges be able to survive? Would private colleges be included or excluded from the restrictions? At the present time about one-third of Marianopolis students come from francophone secondary schools; student numbers in English secondary

schools have been shrinking and will continue to do so. At what point would diminished numbers make the college no longer financially viable? Would it become a francophone CEGEP-level college in order to survive? If Quebec were to become a separate and sovereign state, what would be the impact on English-language education in general and Marianopolis College in particular?

During 1990 and 1991 Marianopolis has been conducting a college-wide study of its mission and its administrative and organizational structures. The study has involved extensive consultation with administration, faculty, support staff and students. In a few months, the final report of that study will be made. There are definite indications that many extensive changes will take place in the college organizational structures if the report is implemented. One can only hope that the same flexibility, soundness, care and imagination that characterized the administrative policies and decision-making practices of Marianopolis College in the past will prevail in the uncertain future.

**APPENDIXES**

Appendix A

**Marianopolis College Questionnaire  
Decision-making During the 1960's**

Your position at Marianopolis during the 1960's:

- 1) Administrator
- 2) Faculty member
- 3) Staff member
- 4) Student
- 5) Parent
- 6) Other \_\_\_\_\_  
(specify)

1. Of all the possible alternatives open to Marianopolis, which did you most favour?

- a) affiliation with McGill in some form
- b) as per the Parent Report--an English Catholic university formed with Loyola, Thomas More and Marianopolis
- c) affiliation with Sir George Williams, with or without Loyola
- d) that Marianopolis should become a two-year CEGEP-level college, as it now is
- e) other \_\_\_\_\_  
(specify)

2. What was your reasoning in support of your choice in (1)?

3. What alternative(s) did you least favour? Why?

4. During the years of negotiation with Loyola, McGill and Sir George, what did you perceive to be the greatest concerns of the Marianopolis community?
  
5. How important to you personally was it for Marianopolis
  - a) to preserve its separate identity?
  - b) to continue offering higher education to women students only?
  - c) to remain a predominantly Roman Catholic college?
  - d) to continue offering university-level courses?
  - e) to survive in whatever way could be found?

(Please check off as many of the above as you wish)
  
6. Would you please explain why you checked off the items you did in (5)?
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
7. To what extent did you feel involved in the negotiations as various alternatives were explored?
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
8. In your opinion, who would make the final decision about Marianopolis and what it would or would not become?

9. There are many decision-making methods used by organizations. Of those listed below, which, in your opinion best characterized Marianopolis during the 1960's?
- a) unilateral--administrator uses existing information to make the decision alone
  - b) administrator seeks information from subordinates, then makes the decision alone
  - c) administrator consults with relevant subordinates individually, soliciting their ideas and suggestions, then makes the decision, which may or may not reflect subordinates' influence
  - d) administrator consults with the group to obtain their collective ideas through discussion, then makes the decision, which may or may not reflect subordinates' influence
  - e) multilateral--administrator shares the situation and problem with the group, then the group decides. All group members share equally as they generate, evaluate, and attempt to reach consensus in a decision.
10. Other than the methods listed above, were there other methods used at Marianopolis? Please explain.
11. What were your own personal opinions about the decision-making method(s) used during the Marianopolis negotiations?
12. Did you have confidence in the committees which were involved in negotiations and exploration of alternatives?

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### Statement of Originality

No extensive study of the history of Marianopolis College and its forerunners has previously been done, nor has any other study been done applying decision-making theory to the decision-making practices of the college.

No other research has been done using the Loyola College, McGill University, and Sir George Williams University archives to determine the role of these institutions in the negotiations with Marianopolis College during the 1960's.

No other study of decision-making practices at pivotal points in the evolution of an institution has employed the same four dimensions of decision-making theory selected for this study.

The particular combinations of models of decision-making styles, constraints, strategies and kinds employed in this study are original.

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