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ABSTRACT

This is the first of four volumes that present the results of studies of two project topics, designated as Project 3 and Project 4. The topics are described as follows: Project 3--A study of the current and potential economic and social contributions of nonpublic schools and the potential for increased cooperation between public and nonpublic schools; and Project 4--A review and assessment of public assistance programs for nonpublic schools. The results of Project 3 are found, for the most part, in Volume I. The 10 chapters of this volume present what is believed to be the most adequate information any public body has had available thus far in connection with the issues of aid to nonpublic schools. A collection of nine papers is included in the volume. (For related document, see ED 058 473.) (DB)

Issues of Aid to Nonpublic Schools

Volume I (of IV) Economic and Social Issues of Educational Pluralism

**Prepared by
Center for Field Research and School Services
Boston College**



Submitted to The President's Commission on School Finance

THIS IS ONE OF SEVERAL REPORTS PREPARED FOR THIS COMMISSION. TO AID IN OUR DELIBERATIONS, WE HAVE SOUGHT THE BEST QUALIFIED PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS TO CONDUCT THE MANY STUDY PROJECTS RELATING TO OUR BROAD MANDATE. COMMISSION STAFF MEMBERS HAVE ALSO PREPARED CERTAIN REPORTS.

WE ARE PUBLISHING THEM ALL SO THAT OTHERS MAY HAVE ACCESS TO THE SAME COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THESE SUBJECTS THAT THE COMMISSION SOUGHT TO OBTAIN. IN OUR OWN FINAL REPORT WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ADDRESS IN DETAIL EVERY ASPECT OF EACH AREA STUDIED. BUT THOSE WHO SEEK ADDITIONAL INSIGHTS INTO THE COMPLEX PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION IN GENERAL AND SCHOOL FINANCE IN PARTICULAR WILL FIND MUCH CONTAINED IN THESE PROJECT REPORTS.

WE HAVE FOUND MUCH OF VALUE IN THEM FOR OUR OWN DELIBERATIONS. THE FACT THAT WE ARE NOW PUBLISHING THEM, HOWEVER, SHOULD IN NO SENSE BE VIEWED AS ENDORSEMENT OF ANY OR ALL OF THEIR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS. THE COMMISSION HAS REVIEWED THIS REPORT AND THE OTHERS BUT HAS DRAWN ITS OWN CONCLUSIONS AND WILL OFFER ITS OWN RECOMMENDATIONS. THE FINAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSION MAY WELL BE AT VARIANCE WITH OR IN OPPOSITION TO VIEWS AND RECOMMENDATIONS CONTAINED IN THIS AND OTHER PROJECT REPORTS.

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ISSUES OF AID TO NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS

VOLUME I

Economic and Social Issues of
Educational Pluralism

Submitted to the President's Commission
on School Finance

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INTRODUCTION

The four volumes in this report to the President's Commission on School Finance represent the results of our work on two of the Commission's study topics, namely:

Project 3: A study of the current and potential economic and social contributions of nonpublic schools and the potential for increased cooperation between public and nonpublic schools.

Project 4: A review and assessment of public assistance programs for nonpublic schools.

In the process of our research over the four month period allocated, much information was assembled that seemed too useful to discard, though it would have impeded the flow of the logic if incorporated into the running text. The materials have been placed in a special volume of appendices--Volume IV. Yet many parts of Volume IV are far more than usual appendices. Hancock's input-output analysis of arrangements for public and Catholic schooling in a major city (Appendix B), is the first comparative study of this kind, and provides surprising findings on the question of equal educational opportunity. Appendix C summarizes little-known data concerning the charge that nonpublic school patrons harm the public schools by withholding moral and financial support. Appendix D details a fascinating yet frustrating case study of how attempts to

achieve stable racial balance in a big-city community were thwarted by the actions of public school board members and central office administrators who seem obvious or insensitive to local conditions.

Our review and assessment of public assistance programs for nonpublic schools, called for in Project 4, appears in Volume III. The results of Project 3, "a study of the current and potential economic and social contributions of nonpublic schools and the potential for increased cooperation between public and nonpublic schools," are found for the most part in Volume I. Since the first chapter in Volume I is in important respects an overview and synthesis of what comes later, we have decided not to publish a separate abstract. Readers who wish to determine the gist of our analysis, yet can read very little, would be well advised to examine that chapter.

Since most questions addressed in the present report must be considered in the light of the current crisis in nonpublic schools, a separate volume (Volume II) has been devoted to an effort to describe, more thoroughly than has been done thus far, the nature of the crisis in the schools thus far primarily affected (the Roman Catholic schools).

While we would not want to be in the position of identifying the "best" papers in this collection (and thus, by implication, the not-so-good) it may be useful to mention a few that

seem unique, the first of a kind. Volume I, already mentioned, falls into this category. Vervoort's analysis of the Dutch policy of equal aid to nonpublic schools, the first we have seen by a resident of that country, lays to rest a number of contentions advanced by American scholars who have made quick trips to the Netherlands. Steeman's concept of inter-community and intra-community pluralism may constitute an important contribution to the literature in this area.

We believe that the chapters presented herewith embody the most adequate information any public body has had available thus far in connection with the convoluted issues of aid to nonpublic schools.

CHAPTER I

THE CASE FOR EDUCATIONAL PLURALISM

PART I: The Major Questions

CHAPTER I

THE CASE FOR EDUCATIONAL PLURALISM PART I: THE MAJOR QUESTIONS

As Table 1 is intended to illustrate, a complex matrix of public policy issues is involved in any rational decision with respect to educational pluralism. In a sense, the entire four volumes of materials we have prepared for the Commission are addressed to these enigmas. Even so, many questions deserve more empirical and analytic attention. The present chapter is intended as an overview of the major dilemmas, with particular attention to those not extensively discussed elsewhere.

The chapter is organized in terms of the eleven issues listed vertically along the left-hand margin of Table 1. The horizontal listing across the top of Table 1 emphasizes that the details of the public aid to nonpublic schools that may be considered at any point are directly relevant to the eleven issues. For example, some quality-control mechanisms would be conducive to experimentation, whereas others would not.

1. Will the proposed pluralism provide a necessary educational basis for future national unity?

Historically in the United States, it has often been assumed that a melting-together (and consequent homogenizing) of religious and ethnic distinctives is necessary to the development of a cohesive social order.

Like most educational reform endeavors in the United States, the battle for common schools during the early and middle 1800's was a response and reaction to a perceived social problem -- in this case, a condition which seemingly threatened the development of a politically egalitarian society.

TABLE 1

A MATRIX OF PUBLIC POLICY DILEMMAS CONCERNING EDUCATIONAL PLURALISM

Central Issues of Public Policy	Relevant Aid-Program Characteristics								
	1. public-private fiscal linkages	2. aid magnitude	3. start-up help	4. allocative discretion	5. discretion distribution	6. apportionment formulae	7. admission-expulsion regulations	8. quality control mechanisms	9. spatial arrangements
1. Will educational basis for future unity result?									
2. Will embitterment and strife be minimized?									
3. Will religious (and ideological) liberty flourish?									
4. Will cultural options be promoted?									
5. What consequences for educational experimentation?									
6. Will schools adept to diverse client needs?									
7. Will racial justice and harmony be facilitated?									
8. Will equality of educational opportunity result?									
9. Will fiscal burdens be distributed equitably?									
10. Will funds be used productively, efficiently?									
11. Is this feasible politically, constitutionally?									

Fearful lest an uninformed majority eventually find itself in the position of directing the destiny of a nation, a number of articulate educators, such as Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, John Pierce, Calvin Stowe and Caleb Mills, along with political leaders such as Daniel Webster and Edward Everett, concluded that "we must establish such a system of general education as will furnish a supply of well-informed, intelligent and respectable citizens, in every part of the country, and in every walk of life, capable of discharging the trusts which the people may devolve upon them."¹ It was a noble idea, argued eloquently and persistently. For these leaders, universal education would be the "great equalizer" of human conditions, the "balance wheel of the social machinery," the "creator of wealth undreamed of".² The objective was not a school for the common people but rather a school common to all people. "It would be for rich and poor alike, not only free, but as good as any private institution."³

Shortly after establishing itself as the American educational ideal, the common school was faced with its first severe test, the tide of immigration which hit American shores in the late 1800's and early 1900's. With over thirty-five million culturally diverse immigrants arriving between 1815 and 1915, the task of "equalization" was not an easy one. The common school rose to the challenge. "Let us now be reminded," stated Calvin Stowe, "that unless we educate our immigrants, they will be our ruin. . . . It is altogether essential to our national strength and peace, if not even to our national existence, that the foreigners who settle on our soil, should cease to be Europeans and become Americans."⁴ A new word, "Americanization," was incorporated into the lexicon of educator and politician alike. For educators such as the renowned Elwood Cubberley, "to Americanize" meant "to assimilate and amalgamate these people as a part of our American race

and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government, and to awaken in them a reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as people hold to be of abiding worth."⁵

The guidelines of the Americanization campaign were clear--the maintenance of Anglo-Saxon dominance.⁶ In the Second Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Indiana, we read:

Our policy as a State is to make of all the varieties of population among us, differing as they do in origin, language, habits of thought, modes of action, and social custom, one people with one common interest.⁷

While the main burden of Americanization fell upon the educator,⁸ scholars from other disciplines added ethical legitimacy and helped create a favorable zeitgeist for the process. Ethnic and religious diversity was viewed as "a problem"⁹ to which there was only one solution--cultural extinction.¹⁰

Historians began to praise both the power of the American frontier as the "crucible" of Americanization, liberation, and fusion¹¹ and the wonders of the "melting pot" as a vehicle of "spiritual transformation".¹² Other historians either traced the source of the "problem," reconstructing the economic and political issues raised by successive immigrations,¹³ or dwelt upon the disrupting influences on the psyches of the "uprooted."¹⁴

Sociologists were concerned with "culture conflict" and the emergence of the "marginal man" as a societal entity.¹⁵ Early emphasis in this area of endeavor was upon cultural resolution through "assimilation," "accommodation" or "acculturation."¹⁶

Psychologists generally adopted the concept of "conflicting role orientations" as a frame of reference for their studies of cultural diversity.

One study of second generation Italians, for example, catalogues "rebelliousness," "in-group reaction," and "apathy" as forms of defense against role conflict.¹⁷ Another study supplied a similar list of defense mechanisms which seemed to operate among minorities: "aggressive projection," "pattern maintenance," and "integrative behavior."¹⁸

Implicit in the acceptance of an Anglo-Saxon ideal as the dominant ingredient in the country's cultural crucible or melting pot was the belief that such an ideal was the only one that could preserve the American social order. It followed, therefore, that: (1) All ethnic and religious groups, if they were truly desirous of being "American" should cooperate in their own amalgamation. Anything less was divisive, dysfunctional, and un-American. (2) The success of the common school's equalization efforts could be measured by the Anglo-Saxon homogeneity of its product.

The latest phase of the equalization thrust of the common school can be called the inner-city crusade. An educational system which measures cultural socialization in terms of the learned ability of various minority group members to "disappear" as ethnic entities and to "reappear" as members of the host society can achieve some success with minority peoples who are of the same race and are willing to eradicate their non-Anglo ethnicity. Far less success, however, will be achieved when the host society's standards are such that certain minority groups can never "disappear," because of permanent, highly visible attributes peculiar to their ethnicity. Such has been the case with the Black Americans. It is largely due to their "discovery" by social scientists and politicians as an unamalgamated minority that the current crusade to "upgrade" the Black, the present occupant of the inner city, came into being. It is significant that the initial frame of reference

for the early crusaders was that of paternalistic concern for the culturally "deprived" and "disadvantaged."

That such a concept of equalization (often viewed as cultural homogeneity) is a pervasive element in American educational thinking is evidenced by the federally financed Coleman study, which concludes that since White and Black students do not display equal levels of achievement, the public schools are unequal.¹⁹ Equality, for those who conducted the Coleman study, was determined by achievement as defined by tests based on Anglo-Saxon norms. But recent changes in Black intellectual thinking concerning the long range feasibility of an Anglo-Saxon oriented common school for Black children indicates that the Black community may be reappraising its past willingness to join the American mainstream on White terms. The continued existence of the common school as an agent of Anglo-Saxon socialization now appears tenuous.

The original intent of the common school advocates was not to curtail educational freedom. Mann, for example, was impressed with the diverse character of the American people and wished only to help establish "a common value system within which diversity could flourish."²⁰ But the vision was never realized. The dictates of Anglo-conformity often served to subvert both cultural diversity and educational freedom. Nevertheless, despite these obstacles, the advocates of both diversity and freedom in American education, though in the minority, made themselves known.

Early in 1915, there appeared on the pages of The Nation a sequence of two articles under the title of "Democracy versus the Melting Pot." In these articles Horace Kallen wrote:

We are, in fact, at the parting of the ways. A genuine social alternative is before us, either of which parts we may realize if we will. . . what do we will to make of the United States--a unison singing the old Anglo-Saxon theme 'America', the America

of the New England school, or a harmony, in which that theme shall be dominant perhaps, among others, but one among many, not the only one.²¹

Kallen questioned the merit of Anglo-conformity and the melting pot as models of cohesion for the American social order. He condemned Americanization programs which forcibly imposed Anglo-Saxon uniformity on all aspects of American life and urged the conscious encouragement of ethnic and religious diversity. For Kallen, the "American way" was "the way of orchestration."²²

The ideal of cultural pluralism, first articulated by Horace Kallen, was echoed by others. In 1918, Robert E. Park, a sociologist, argued that education could enrich and develop racial and national social groupings, but could never dispose of them. "So far as Americanization is undertaken by the schools, effort should be directed, it would seem, toward maintaining and creating a mutual understanding among our peoples rather than toward perpetrating, as we have been disposed to do in the past, a sentimental and ceremonial patriotism."²³

In 1920, two educators, Isaac Berkson and Julius Drachsler, published separate accounts of immigrant assimilation and supported the pluralistic ideal. Berkson argued that ethnicity should be a matter of choice. No one should have ethnic membership forced upon him if he found spiritual sustenance elsewhere. Drachsler proposed that government institute a program in the public schools that emphasized the knowledge and appreciation of all ethnic and religious groups and their contributions to American society.²⁴ Other educators who seemed to appreciate this position, condemning the "steam-roller tactics" of the Americanization campaign, were William T. Harris and G. Stanley Hall.²⁵

The rise of Nazi Germany in the 1930's heightened interest in the role of race and nationality in human affairs and generated more sophisticated

study of ethnic life in America. Louis Adamic, an immigrant turned prolific writer, took up the theme of America's multi-cultural heritage and criticized continuous insistence on an Americanization program which implied, through its educational agents, that Anglo-Saxon culture was superior. He blamed feelings of ethnic inferiority and rootlessness among non-Anglo youth on the condescending climate which prevailed in American schools.²⁶

In 1938, Marcus Lee Hansen, another pioneer in the struggle for the acceptance of cultural pluralism as a practiced ideal in American life, bemoaned the tremendous waste of cultural resources which was a by-product of the amalgamation process. "Blind stupid America," he wrote, "the one nation of the globe which has offered to it the rich gifts that every people of Europe brought and laid at its feet, and it spurned them all."²⁷

Following the war, ethnic research grew in sophistication. Louis Wirth made clear the fact that ethnic groups cannot be treated as homogeneous social entities that are unanimous in all of their attitudes and actions. On the contrary, within each group can be found "internal differentiations, factions, and ideological currents and movements."²⁸ Nathan Glaser and Daniel Patrick Moynihan helped expose the melting pot ideal as a myth. In a monumental study conducted in New York City, they learned that: (1) ethnicity is still a vital part of life in New York; (2) each ethnic group reacts differently to the forces of assimilation; (3) ethnicity, even after distinctive language patterns, customs and culture were lost, was continually recreated by new experiences in America.²⁹

Within more recent years, there has been growing evidence that the ethnic factor, despite socio-economic and demographic controls, is still a statistically significant variable in human behavior, even into the third and fourth generation.³⁰ Of special interest to educators is a recent study

which indicates that ethnicity may be a crucial variable in mental-ability patterns. The study not only discovered that children from four different ethnic groups had different mental ability patterns but also that "once the pattern specific to the ethnic group emerges, social class variations within the ethnic group do not alter this basic organization."³¹

The role of nonpublic schools in maintaining ethnic pluralism in the face of a Melting Pot emphasis has never been adequately documented. Some facts, however, seem clear. The largest collectivity of privately supported nonpublic schools in the world--the nation's Catholic schools--at one time consisted in major measure of "national" parishes---Italian, French, Canadian, Polish, Lithuanian, Irish, German, Ukranian.³² Many Lutheran schools were predominantly German or Scandinavian.³³ The Greek Orthodox Church and Christian Reformed Church have long maintained day schools manifesting strong ethnic overtones. These ethnic schools were widely and furiously attacked in the Americanization movement during and after World War I.³⁴ With the help of the Ku Klux Klan, the Scottish Rite Masons, the American Protective Society, and other super-patriots of the times, laws were passed in several states to seriously hamper or even outlaw nonpublic schools. Three landmark decisions by the Supreme Court were necessary before the movement was stopped.³⁵ The schools were depicted (with no significant shred of supporting evidence) as hotbeds of foreign influence, crime, syndicalism, and juvenile delinquency. Even in the modern era, leaders as prominent as Conant have labelled nonpublic schools as divisive--a threat to national unity.³⁶

Warner was one of the first sociologists to take note in print that the ethnic nonpublic schools might be performing a public service, rather than a disunifying function.³⁷ They were cushioning the shock the immigrants

experienced in encountering a new culture, he suggested. More recently, the studies of Greeley and Rossi, based on carefully selected national samples, have added quantitative evidence to the view.³⁸ According to their data, Catholics who attended parochial schools in the past are not ghetto-minded, as compared with equally religious Catholics who attended the public schools. If anything, they may be more inclined to participate in the wider society, likely to go farther in educational and vocational spheres. The studies of Rosenberg indicate that it is important to the psyche of the individual to be reared, not as an "odd-ball" among his peers, but in situations where his religious or ethnic group is in the majority.³⁹ As an extreme example to illustrate the point, picture the ridicule to which an Old Order Amish child, dressed in his traditional dress, might be subjected in many main-line schools.

In a history of Greek Orthodox education now being conducted at the University of Chicago, Kopan finds evidence that the day schools operated by the Greek community were very effective acculturating agents.⁴⁰ Greek children in public schools evidenced much hostility, feeling they were under constant pressure to give up their culture and become "true Americans." The public schools refused to adapt in any way to Greek culture. They would not even provide interpreters for the many Greek children who could not understand the English instruction. Greek children in the parochial schools adapted just as much to the larger society as did their public-school peers, but without developing hostility and without sensing any coercion. The Greek parochial schools were a decompression chamber, preventing the "bends" associated with forced assimilation.

It is also instructive to consider, in more recent years, the struggle between the Old Order Amish and public school officials in Missouri,

Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, Kentucky, Indiana, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Kansas, and several other states. The groundwork for the struggle was laid shortly after World War II, when a vast reorganization of public school districts was launched. Armed with statistics on how much more a dollar would buy when school districts were enlarged, educators began joining together the thousands of small districts that rambled patchwork-like across rural America.

The failure of public schoolmen to weigh the consequences for the Old Order Amish of school district reorganization was lamentable.⁴¹ Apparently little or no thought was given to the welfare of the Plain People by these apostles of efficiency.⁴² Amish children had attended public schools for many years, for the buildings were small and close at hand. But when the simple schoolhouse at the country crossroads was closed and children were bussed to the nearby town, in dozens of cases the leaders of the Old Order quietly bought the abandoned buildings and "went private." They knew intuitively what social scientists declared on the basis of evidence--that to expose a group of this kind to the influences represented in a large, complex school in an alien setting would destroy the culture.⁴³ Had the alternative of nonpublic education not been available, the Amish way of life in the United States might have been virtually obliterated by now. Most followers of the Old Order might have left the United States in search of religious freedom, as numbers have already done, and most children of those who remained might have been alienated from their origins. Public schoolmen obviously were not ready, or not able, to take steps necessary to the preservation of this unique subculture.

The growing societal acceptance of ethnic diversity that seems apparent in the previously discussed literature could be used to bolster an argument

for governmental support of nonpublic schools, since it is apparent that public schools have typically been antagonistic to some varieties of this diversity. As we have noted, furthermore, there is no evidence, so far as we can find, that opportunities in the past to perpetuate this diversity have compromised national unity. In line with Vervoort's discussion of the Dutch experience (Chapter III), there is room to argue that the freedom to maintain the distinctives that major segments of the population desire defuses disruptive impulses.

Nevertheless, the issue of national unity is raised anew whenever any form of encouragement to nonpublic schools is considered as a matter of public policy. As Steeman points out (Chapter IV, A), "It cannot be said any more that the parochial schools are divisive." The conclusion is partially warranted by Steeman's rediscovery that Catholics have been assimilated in major respects to mainstream culture. Since a great many Americans seem still to exhibit anti-Catholic prejudices based upon another assumption, it appears that the relevant facts have never been adequately disseminated.

But the most difficult aspect of the issue of national unity, perhaps, concerns new groups that repeatedly spring up in dissent against the contemporary national consensus. Such groups are particularly visible today, given the widespread penchant toward demonstrations and even violence as a way of attracting attention to causes. In this connection, one must ask whether government can encourage nonpublic schools, through tax support or other means, without enabling extremists on the Right and Left to proliferate hate-mongering institutions.

The response of most legislators thus far has been to limit aid (one form of encouragement) to schools that have been in operation for at least two or three years, on the generally tacit assumption that the creation of

extremist schools will thus be discouraged. Little overt attention has been given to the certainty that exclusion clauses of this type will limit educational pluralism generally. While encouraging the schools parents and others have brought into being in the past, they discourage the options citizens may particularly desire in the future. The exclusion clauses say, in effect, that past diversity was relatively benign, but future diversity is too likely to be malignant. This is a fairly typical totalitarian rationale. Not much democratic impulse is required to tolerate what proved harmless in the past and is on the wane at present. Since education, like the press, is one of the nation's primary mechanisms for exposing ideas to discussion and debate, such tactics seem lamentable. As a barrier to needed experimentation, they could be disastrous. A high proportion of vital experiments could flounder if financial relief were unavailable until operations had been sustained at private expense for two or three years.

What steps should be taken to ensure that governmental encouragement would not proliferate genuinely harmful schools? The question is full of pitfalls, for thought control seems as evident in extending help exclusively to ideologically "safe" schools as in providing subsidies exclusively to ideologically "safe" magazines, newspapers, or television stations. As the Supreme Court once observed:

Probably no deeper division of our people could proceed from any provocation than from finding it necessary to choose what doctrine and whose program public education officials shall compel youth to unite in embracing. . . . Those who begin coercive elimination of dissent soon find themselves exterminating dissenters. Compulsory unification of opinion achieves only the unanimity of the graveyard.⁴⁴

The Supreme Court has maintained, however, that the state may insist in all schools (the dictum should be particularly applicable in schools given some form of public encouragement) "that certain studies plainly

essential to good citizenship must be taught, and that nothing be taught which is manifestly inimical to the public welfare."⁴⁵ Accordingly, authorities could be given power to inspect all schools and to disqualify any in which this demand was not met, while the schools, in turn, could have clearly specified due-process rights of appeal from those decisions. The courts would in all likelihood uphold disqualification of schools in which overt attempts were made to promote racist doctrines, or to train children to make Molotov cocktails, but officials would no doubt have difficulty excluding schools that seemed to them to be dangerous but yet were not manifestly inimical to the public welfare. Frustration of this type is in the highest of American traditions, a vital component of freedom.

As another approach, government could follow the apparent example of the Netherlands (see Chapter III), prescribing in such detail what must be taught and when it must be taught that little time is left for anything else. But then, as Vervoort suggests, nonpublic schools become public in most respects other than name, and may have little reason to exist as separate entities.

A particularly pertinent consideration in this regard is the likelihood (briefly addressed by Cohen in Chapter IV. B) that the media, particularly newspapers and television, have taken over the function of providing the nation's citizens with the common perceptions and values. Perhaps the resultant commonality is so great that schools should concentrate on producing diversity, as a necessary counteraction.

2. Will the proposed pluralism promote domestic tranquility?

One objective of constitutional separation of church and state is to obviate the bitter confrontations that may result when conflicting religious

viewpoints find expression in the legislative arena. Even when the possibility of domestic strife is not cut off constitutionally, it warrants attention. There is sufficient polarization at present over Viet Nam, civil rights, campus violence, and the burgeoning drug culture without the creation of a chronic cleavage over aid to nonpublic schools. The divisive potential of the issue scarcely needs arguing.⁴⁶ The current bitterness in Michigan, discussed in Chapter III of Volume III of this series, is a good example. If lawmakers openly consider various ways of assisting nonpublic schools, efforts to pass, amend, and repeal the resultant bills may result in acerbic campaigns along religious lines. The nation might reverberate with litigation on the topic. Vengeful counteractions might be launched against the religious and political leaders who did the most to provide or prevent the aid.

But the considerations are not one-sided. No alarming signs of religious warfare have emerged in several states that have recently enacted programs of unprecedented direct or indirect aid to nonpublic schools, such as Connecticut, Hawaii, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. Perhaps the storm has been delayed while citizens seek redress in the courts. Or perhaps most humans adapt to these realities once they seem unavoidable. Strident charges and countercharges while a bill is under consideration may die down surprisingly, for all we know, when the new policy seems permanently established. For many years Canadian provinces (e.g., Alberta, Ontario, Quebec, and Newfoundland) have supported public and "separate" (their equivalent to our "nonpublic") schools on a well-nigh equal basis without experiencing serious internal schisms on the topic (see Cheal's analysis in Chapter III). It appears inevitable, furthermore, that many proponents of aid to nonpublic schools will be resentful if what they view as simple

distributive justice is decisively withheld by their fellow citizens. According to Vervoort (Chapter III) the warfare over tax support of private education in Holland stopped, for all practical purposes, once a seemingly equitable arrangement was effectuated.

3. Will the proposed pluralism preserve religious liberty?

One primary purpose of state and federal constitutions is to protect such salient rights as religious liberty. It is not valid to assume, however, that clearly constitutional measures involve no threat to freedom. Often the constitutions forbid only the most blatant injustices, and frequently they fail even to do that. They were never intended as a substitute for legislative wisdom.

Like the two clauses of the federal First Amendment, the question of religious liberty is double-edged. One edge of the argument insists that to aid nonpublic schools is to tax one citizen to support the religious institutions that another citizen favors, thus, in effect, coercing the former to support the latter's religion. (The power of this argument seems determined by the extent to which support of the secular in church-related schools demonstrably involves support of the sacred. It depends, as well, on the extent to which the public schools themselves may be viewed as religiously neutral, an issue examined in more detail later.)

The other edge of the argument avers that the oft-reiterated right of parents to select on religious grounds the schools their children will attend is meaningless when economically unfeasible. Government activity is becoming ubiquitous, permeating many areas of life once considered exclusively private. There is little danger that this regulation will interfere with the religious beliefs and practices of the majority. As Galanter observes:

Whatever seriously interferes with majority religious beliefs and practices is unlikely to become a legal requirement--for example, work on Sunday or Christmas. And whatever the majority considers necessary for its religious practice is quite unlikely to be prohibited by law. And whatever the majority finds religiously objectionable is unlikely to become a legal requirement --for example, medical practices which substantial groups find abhorrent like contraception, sterilization, euthanasia, or abortion.⁴⁷

Similarly, services provided by government will seldom be extended so as to inconvenience or impede the majority in the exercise of its religious preferences.

Do minorities deserve similar consideration? In extending its services and regulations, should government take special steps to minimize the expense and inconvenience minorities encounter in putting their religious beliefs into practice? If it takes these special steps, is government exhibiting preferential, or merely restorative, action? Is it "supporting" the minority's religion, or introducing "a counterbalance to a wider regulation which has already accommodated the religious scruples of the majority"?⁴⁸

In earlier times and simpler societies, proponents of this view argue, government could promote religious liberty chiefly by abstention, by not compelling religiously repugnant acts and not prohibiting religiously required behavior. Nowadays, and in our nation, "outright prohibitions of religious practice are rare; indirect burdens which make it difficult or expensive are more common."⁴⁹ In terms of our present topic, the advocates of "balanced religious neutrality" would urge government aid as a means of reducing the price attached to nonpublic school attendance when preferred on religious grounds.⁵⁰

It is possible to argue that a new, more subtle religious bigotry has arisen in the United States to replace the overt prejudice of an earlier era. In other times, minorities were often forbidden to follow the dictates of their consciences. Today we do not forbid. We make it increasingly onerous,

and often financially prohibitive. In the early decades of this century, attempts were made to outlaw nonpublic schools. Today, we simply price them out of existence by steadily, steeply increasing the expense of competitive programs, requiring their patrons to shoulder a full share of costs in public schools, and denying fiscal relief to nonpublic schools.

The strategy of the Seventies is proving more effective than the strategy of the Twenties. Nonpublic education is now beyond the reach of most low income families. If current trends continue, it may eventually be an unrealistic alternative for the majority. Government obviously cannot attempt to provide all minority groups with a full panoply of their own institutions--special alternatives to public hospitals, transportation, fire departments, swimming pools, etc. Perhaps consideration should be given, however, to particularly sensitive functions, such as education, that have the potential of molding the basic philosophies and life styles of future citizens. So it may be argued.

In the chapter that follows, John Rohr finds in the Supreme Court a "schoolmaster" who is urging the nation to live up to its avowed values of freedom and equality in this regard.

If aid is extended to nonpublic schools or their patrons in an effort to maximize opportunities to make educational choices on religious grounds, the assistance obviously should go primarily to the families with the least opportunity to exercise these choices--the poor. Some bills contradict their own rationales in this respect. John Donovan points out that the legislation in Pennsylvania, until it was amended, was of much more benefit to opulent schools than to poorer schools (see Chapter II of Volume III.)

Some religious leaders feel that the integrity of churches will be

compromised if public support for church-related institutions, such as schools, prompts a decreasing sense of responsibility on the part of the faithful to support endeavors of this type. The possibility may be cited as an argument against aid, or as a reason for insisting that only incentive grants be provided. These could be designed to stimulate rather than discourage private contributions, for the availability or magnitude of public assistance would depend upon the degree to which school patrons were willing to contribute their own funds to the enterprise.

4. Are nonpublic schools necessary to cultural diversity and the life-style options it represents?

A strong rationale in favor of aid to nonpublic schools may be derived from the assumption that cultural diversity is essential to individual well-being and social liveliness, as well as to the exercise by individuals of the choices that are their basic right. When it leaves no room for this diversity, government is usurping unto itself and its agencies unwarranted powers of indoctrination, cutting off the availability of life-style options.

This is probably not the place to dissect the question, so insusceptible to conclusive analysis, of whether individuality is being smothered by mass society--through uncontrolled technology, automation, megalopolization, urban blight, bureaucracy, meritocracy, planned obsolescence, the arms race, and ecological decay. That position has been articulated in seemingly innumerable books and articles in recent years. An opposite thesis may be advanced--that routinization has had the primary effect, not of robotizing man, but of delegating to procedures and machines life's drab, repetitious functions so the human may concentrate on matters that really interest him. One may argue, similarly, that disenchantment with our institutions is more

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a function of rising ideals than of declining accomplishments. The demand for the accouterments of self-development and recreation is unprecedented-- for the materials, processes, and products of the fine arts; for equipment with which to roam and play in the outdoors; for adult education, books, records--though the tastes exhibited in the avocational bazaar still run rather raunchy. And is this not the "do-your-own-thing" era, characterized by a wide gamut of modes in clothing, hair styles, and deportment?

As for the role schools play in the promotion of diversity, major possibilities for diversity do exist in the nation's public educational enterprise. To visit Perry School No. 1 near Jesup, Iowa, the Chinle Public School in the center of the Navajo reservation, and the Ray Public School in Chicago's Hyde Park-Kenwood community is to witness three different worlds. Unlike most public schools in similar districts, the Perry School is kept nearly as primitive physically and pedagogically as the nonpublic Amish schools that operate nearby, in deference to its community.

The Chinle School has a fascinating mixture of Navajo, White, and Black students and an instructional emphasis that would make no sense at all in a suburb. The Ray School reflects the cosmopolitanism and volatility of an integrated university neighborhood encircled by a ghetto. Even within a single public school district, schools differ in keeping with the personalities and philosophies of administrators and teachers--in disciplinary approach, in the extent to which teachers work collaboratively rather than as a collection of individuals, in their approach to controversial issues. These examples scarcely begin to illustrate the disparate facets of the nation's public schools.

To what types of diversity, if any, is public education inhospitable? (Our examination of this question should not be regarded as a disparagement

of public education. It is no insult to any organization to assess the possibility that another organization, structured differently, may be better suited to some functions.)

The most obvious answer, perhaps, is that state and federal constitutions keep public school programs within distinct boundaries in several particulars. Religion is one. Public schools are not permitted to base their programs, in whole or in part, on theistic premises. There are several value-related subjects, such as literature and social studies, in which human interrelationships and the meaning of life must be discussed--if not in theistic terms, then in nontheistic terms. To choose nontheistic explanations rather than theistic, many philosophers insist, is not to be neutral. It is tantamount to declaring that the concept of God and the presuppositions generally defined as "religion" are unnecessary to an understanding of life's basic concerns. At any rate, as the constitutions are now interpreted, the parent who feels this way cannot legally expect any public school to be responsive to his convictions. And to the extent that the existence of any subculture depends upon the molding of sacred and secular considerations in the minds of the young, survival may depend upon the availability of a non-public school. Or so some scholars insist.

A second limitation upon diversity in public education inheres in the state school codes, most of which are replete with mandatory "standards" that have no shred of evidence to support them and that have been attacked repeatedly for their irrationality.

Herbert Thelen notes, for example, that teachers generally are nonplussed when challenged to make any firm connection between classroom behaviors and their passionately asserted ideals.⁵¹ The current collection

of pedagogical orthodoxies is characterized by Thelen as the "semi-sacred culture of the classroom," unscathed by more than seventy years of attempted reform. "Much classroom education and teacher training are witless, existing simply for their own sakes," and "efforts to justify their procedures and curricula remain extraordinarily unconvincing to a serious student of human behavior."⁵² In many states, nonpublic schools are thus far exempt from most old-wively rules of thumb imposed by law on the public schools.

But if current compulsory educational "standards" are based more on folklore than on evidence, why not abolish these Tenuous Commandments for public as well as nonpublic schools? Some progress can and should be made in that direction. Nevertheless, organizations of educators, attempting not only to improve the schools but also (sometimes primarily) to improve their own working conditions, have demonstrated so much influence that some difficult-to-defend regulations will probably always be imposed upon the public schools. (Typical certification standards are an outstanding example of regulations that function primarily, not to make instruction more effective, but to control access to the profession for the benefit of those who are already in it.⁵³) Historically, it has not been possible for educator groups to impose the same regulations upon nonpublic as upon public schools, though the attempt has often been made.

To an increasing extent, furthermore, most public school students are educated in large schools, which in turn are located in massive school systems. To make these schools and systems function, bureaucratic procedures are often unavoidable.

To the extent that they are large, complex, and bureaucratic, public schools may be inhospitable to diversity of a particularly vital genre. There is growing evidence to suggest that the quest of education for economies

of scale, particularly since World War II, was guided by faulty assumptions about the social needs of individuals.⁵⁴ When schools grow larger, they do not usually increase their extracurricular activities in proportion. Proportionately fewer students participate or have opportunity to function in positions of leadership. Youngsters have less contact with either their friends or adults in the school. Guidance personnel, apparently because they do not know the children as well, are less effective. The students show less tendency to identify with the purposes of the faculty. Cheating becomes more frequent. Less student-learning is produced per unit of input. The major explanation, apparently, is that the institution is too cumbersome and impersonal to meet the psychic demands of its members. Human beings, particularly during their formative years, may need a chance to identify with communities small in scale but stable in structure.⁵⁵

When the school system is too massive, furthermore, board members and top administrators find themselves presiding over such a polyglot of competing communities that they can be properly responsive to none of them, particularly to communities that are impotent politically. Large number of parents are alienated, convinced that the system is insensitive to their needs. Nonpublic schools, catering to constituencies much smaller in size and more homogeneous in outlook, can adapt more readily to patron demands. It would be naive to imply that these differences mean there are "bad" people in public schools and "good" people in nonpublic schools. The explanation for apparent non-responsiveness is organizational structure.

A related limitation on diversity, largely independent of size, is the majoritarian nature of public education.

If a cultural or ideological group is dominant in a public school district, its interests will be reflected in many ways in the public schools.

Public schools respond to the demands of groups that are powerful in a given locality, demands articulated through political processes. In contrast, many nonpublic schools respond to the demands of groups which, because they are more dispersed geographically or for other reasons, are not influential in local politics. Their demands are articulated through the market rather than the political system. One may attempt, of course, to make public educational programs neutral toward the viewpoints and life-styles of local minorities. A great many court decisions in recent years may be viewed as a part of this effort. But though some progress toward this objective has been made, it may be impossible to make any educational institution truly benign toward all groups. The determining factor may be the extent to which a group departs from the cultural mainstream, as Steeman seems to imply (Chapter IV, A). The more it departs, the more will it perceive a mainstream school as biased against it. This phenomenon may explain, for example, why the Hutterites and Old Order Amish almost always consider modern public schools hostile to their interests, while few of their neighbors can understand that viewpoint at all. We are prone to ethnocentrism--the assumption that all moral, thinking people react as we do. If we sense no bias in the public schools, we assume no bias is sensed by anyone else. Few citizens considered the compulsory flag salute oppressive until Jehovah's Witnesses took the issue to court.⁵⁶ Mainline Protestants and Catholics still have difficulty perceiving the departures from neutrality that are lamented by Jews and Seventh Day Adventists.⁵⁷ Amish parents are still fined and jailed for refusing to patronize public schools which, prominent experts on Amish culture agree, are almost certain to alienate children from their faith and way of life, and some American courts still hold that no question of religious liberty is involved.⁵⁸

It may seem relatively simple to rid a school of the overt evidences of religious, ideological, or cultural bias. Religious observances, for example, are easy to detect and outlaw. Yet many public schools have failed to comply with the decisions of the Supreme Court in this regard.⁵⁹ As Theodore Powell observes, "the public school is usually a reflection of dominant local public opinion," the constitutions and the courts notwithstanding.⁶⁰

The school curriculum is even more difficult to neutralize. As was pointed out earlier, what one man views as neutrality is outright hostility to another. Some citizens view an education denuded of theism as neutral. Others disagree stridently. In the light of this dilemma, Councilis offers the intriguing suggestion that the public school curriculum should be restructured to present "several theistic and non-theistic world outlooks."⁶¹ Though deserving attention, the idea is fraught with difficulties. The idea of confronting a child with competing world views is repugnant to some groups.

But even if one succeeds in ridding a public school of all overt evidences of bias against subcultural viewpoints, and even if he succeeds in creating a neutral curriculum, he has not begun to control the primary sources of pressure toward conformity. While it has been difficult to produce systematic evidence concerning the effects of official observances and curricula on student values and attitudes, there is ample evidence that children are affected profoundly by the adults with whom they identify and the peers with whom they associate (particularly in adolescence).⁶²

How can we keep individual teachers and administrators from stamping out, through the influence they exert over the young, the ideologies and life-styles of minority groups? As one approach, we could forbid discussion of all value-related topics, since few individuals seem capable of presenting

positions with which they disagree as forcefully as positions with which they agree. But since virtually every aspect of life is fundamentally significant to someone, this policy would place a taboo on almost everything and make the widely documented boredom of the classroom more deadly than ever. And even if we could prevent teachers from presenting unbalanced discussions of value-related topics, we would have to reckon with such nonverbal influences as an attractive or repugnant personality. When he admires a teacher and begins to identify with him, the child is likely to acquire some of the teacher's attitudes and values. We could forbid all public school teachers from revealing their positions concerning issues on which minorities differ fundamentally from the local majority. Then what if the teacher's position becomes known to his students, in spite of efforts to conceal it? Should he be required to resign, or failing that, to desist at once from impressing students favorably, lest they begin to identify with him and in the process to view his position in an increasingly positive light? We could try not to hire any charismatic teachers, since they all have attitudes they may transmit powerfully to the young. At the same time, we should screen out all cantankerous instructors, lest students develop antipathy toward the positions these teachers embody. We could require a variety of ideologies and cultures to be represented proportionately among the attractive and repellent members of the faculty, so as to cancel each other out. Each child could be instructed, during a given school year, by at least half a dozen charismatic teachers, each representing a different position, to avoid uni-directional influences. But all of these approaches are ridiculous! There seems to be no feasible way of neutralizing effectively the tendency of teachers to influence children one way or another on important questions.

The aspect of the public school that is most difficult to neutralize, yet the most powerful of all, is the student subculture. Educators as yet know comparatively little about it, to say nothing of knowing how to control it. Furthermore, these influences, far from random in distribution, will virtually always be patterned in keeping with the community outside the school.

As James Coleman's study indicates, conformity to the norms of student peer groups is apparently induced by the "rating and dating system," which mercilessly dispenses popularity, respect, acceptance into the crowd, praise, awe, support, aid, isolation, ridicule, exclusion, disdain, discouragement, and disrespect.⁶³ The system's blunt estimation of the student's worth has a profound effect upon his self-concept. As Bernard Rosen's work with orthodox Jewish adolescents suggests, most young people may capitulate. In his study, 83 per cent of adolescents observed Orthodox dietary laws if their parents and peers both were observant. When both parents and peers were non-observant 88 per cent of adolescents were non-observant. When parents and peers disagreed, 74 per cent of the adolescents complied with their peers rather than their parents.⁶⁴

Whether he capitulates or not, the individual may acquire permanent scars from the confrontation. When Morris Rosenberg compared Catholics, Protestants, and Jews who had been reared in communities where their religious group was dominant with those reared in communities where they were the minority, he discovered a uniform tendency for the minority-reared to exhibit more anxiety, as reflected in psycho-somatic symptoms, many years later in adulthood.⁶⁵ On the basis of hundreds of relevant studies, Bloom concludes:

Where the home and the school are mutually reinforcing environments, the child's educational and social development

are likely to take place at higher and higher levels. Where the home and the school are contradictory environments, it is likely (though our evidence is not very systematic on this point) that the child's development will be slower, more erratic, and, perhaps, with a good deal of emotional disturbance for the child.⁶⁶

In summary, a close analysis of the public school suggests that it will always tend to enforce the viewpoints of the local majority. As one renowned anthropologist has observed, "Our public school system does an extra-ordinary job of moulding American youth to fit the culture of which we are a part. This is what disturbs us."⁶⁷ For children whose origins are close to the cultural midstream, it may be feasible to make public education reasonably neutral, but not for many others. If nonpublic schools are not available to meet the needs of groups too small or dispersed to exert a powerful local influence, it is difficult to see how this type of diversity can be maintained. And in the process, the psychic well-being of many children may be sacrificed.

We should now identify briefly another facet of the issue of cultural diversity. In the preceding discussion, we raised the consideration of how much diversity was good for society. It is also pertinent to ask to what extent parents and communities have a basic right to the educational diversity they prefer, even when one would not regard the diversity as essential in itself to the general welfare. Or to phrase a central aspect of the issue another way: What right do parents have to direct the upbringing of their own children--to determine the ideologies, life-styles, and forms of training to which their own children will be exposed systematically? A number of scholars are beginning to reexamine the assumptions built into the current degree of governmental control over these factors.

In his startling analysis of legislation in New York State, Economist

E. G. West concludes that the current pattern of public, compulsory schooling was never properly justified.⁶⁸ The most logical explanation for its development, he suggests, is that teachers, understandably prompted by self-interest, recognized the creation of an educational monopoly as a likely route to economic gain. First they talked merely of encouraging education through tax support, with no suggestion that nonpublic schools should be hindered or abolished. Later, they depicted private education as undemocratic, a source of "unfair" competition that must be destroyed through fiscal policy. Then they terminated most competition within the public sector by creating rigid attendance boundaries. New students could attend only assigned schools. Finally, they cut off the remaining avenue of escape for dissatisfied clients by making attendance compulsory, even though the state superintendent of schools insisted at the time that the major cause of pupil defection was poor teaching, not parental neglect. Educators, like Horace Mann demonstrated, to be sure, that financial help was needed to ensure instructional programs for the poor and for sparsely populated communities, but they ignored all possible solutions except a state school system. "Although representing themselves as champions of the needy," West observes, "the supporters and leaders of the Common School system do not seem to have given any serious attention to the possibility that the expansion and evolution of it might...serve to worsen, not improve, the chances of poor children. For in such a system, as subsequent experience has shown,...it often transpires that it is the poor who subsidize the middle class."⁶⁹ Earlier in England, in an analysis deemed compelling by leading American economists, West demonstrated that Britain's nationalized educational system was brought into being without benefit of adequate evidence.⁷⁰ In a related vein, reexamining all the relevant arguments he can find,

Schrag concludes that there seems to be no firm logical basis, at least in this society, for denying parents extensive control over their children's destinies.⁷¹

The widespread condemnation, quite unsupported by evidence, that public educators have heaped upon the suggestion of limited voucher-plan experiments seems to support West's suggestion that they fear competition more than almost anything else (except where racial integration is feared even more). Perhaps the most notable characteristic of the voucher concept is its potential for creating competition. Dissatisfied with his school, the parent could readily transfer, taking with him his child's share of tax funds for education. No school could thus be sure of either pupils or fiscal support. What well established administrator or teachers' union should be expected to welcome that state of affairs?

Later, however, we must examine a highly pertinent question: Given more control over their children's educational destinies, would parents make wise choices?

5. Is the educational pluralism represented in the maintenance of nonpublic schools essential to needed educational experimentation?

One frequently avowed objective of aid to nonpublic schools is to trigger more experimentation, both in public and nonpublic schools. If so, the form of the assistance should be designed to counteract current impediments to experimentation. One school of thought emphasizes that teachers and administrators lack sufficient autonomy to experiment freely--that parents too often interfere when their children are exposed to avant-garde ideas and teaching methods.⁷² It can be argued, on the other hand, that since discontinuities between home and school are counterproductive, as we

observed a little earlier, educators who cannot convince parents of an experiment's promise had better not introduce it.

According to another viewpoint, reflected in federal funded regional educational laboratories and research and development centers, the fundamental problem is that inadequate mechanisms exist for translating basic research findings into widely adopted methods for running schools.⁷³ If this is the assumption, it might make much sense, in programs of aid to non-public (or even public) schools, to lodge much allocative power in regional laboratories and R and D centers.

A third stance sees professional educators as sufficiently imaginative and well-informed, but views the bureaucratic constraints of public school systems (particularly in big cities) as destructive of most reforms.⁷⁴ But there is disagreement among scholars in this regard. Robert Havighurst condemns the demands of the "new 'establishment'" for sweeping changes in the structure of the nation's educational enterprise.⁷⁵ (He describes this "new establishment" as "a kind of counter-establishment, loose-knit and unorganized," composed of "sour old liberals and unripe young educationists.") What most needs changing, Havighurst insists, is the child, not the school. He emphasizes "the very solid set of facts about the failure of many low income families to provide a family environment which gets their children 'ready' for school learning, . . . [a failure] generally tossed off by the critics as though it was not the basic cause of the low achievement of children from low income families."⁷⁶ Rather than major organizational surgery, like a voucher plan, the creation of "open schools," or community control, he advocates such improvements as free preschool education for disadvantaged children aged three and four and the institutionalization of experiments that have been tried and proven successful.

Havighurst's contention is unassailable that conditions in the child's home and community have been linked much more conclusively than conditions in the school to levels of academic achievement. But it is not necessary to conclude, opponents of Havighurst's position argue, that the primary task of educators in this regard is to teach disadvantaged children the "values and motives that will lead to better learning in school," as Havighurst contends.⁷⁷ To adopt that stance, the argument runs, is to dismiss the contention, advanced increasingly by Black citizens, Americans of Spanish descent, American Indians, and a growing body of scholars, that most school systems today exact a narrow conformity to middle-class values as the price of success. It is not surprising that most youngsters who hold different values are typically thwarted. The answer in a pluralistic society is to develop a pluralistic educational enterprise, not to find more effective ways of fitting children to a Procrustean bed. Such is the argument.

Many scholars and citizens go further, viewing most schools today as a travesty upon education, even for the middle-class youngsters who succeed the most. On the basis of long months of first-hand observation, Philip Jackson concludes that the predominant classroom emotion is boredom.⁷⁸ Dan Lortie characterizes teachers as basically anti-intellectual.⁷⁹ Many researchers lament what they characterize as a well-nigh pathological preoccupation of schoolmen with control, devastatingly illustrated in the recent film, High School.⁸⁰ Most classrooms, Silberman insists, are "mindless."⁸¹ Goodlad, perhaps the primary advocate of nongrading, now states that it, along with a spate of other "innovations" installed with fanfare in countless schools since Sputnik, was almost always introduced in name only.⁸² Nothing fundamental changed. Even a decade of attempts by federal agencies to bribe the public schools into introducing basic reforms seems

to have produced no significant general improvement, Goodlad concludes.

A fourth posture suggests that there are many creative educators to be found, but their tendency to question the status quo generally guarantees that they will not rise to positions of power.⁸³ As a consequence of organizational processes of selection and socialization, key office-holders in education at local, state, and perhaps even national levels are too hide-bound to encourage unhackneyed programs.

Finally, one may argue that the experimentation needed the most will not come about until parents have freedom to "vote with their feet," leaving schools that seem unresponsive to the needs of their children and going to schools that seem more adaptable, taking their money with them.⁸⁴ The assumption is that parents are in the best position to know what techniques are working with their children.

All of these five rationales can be used, in one way or another, to defend assistance to nonpublic schools. But the aid must be extended with care if experimentation is the goal. If experimentation in nonpublic schools is intended as a device for improving public schools, consideration should be given to programs of support that include public and nonpublic schools within the same framework. In the design for the voucher experiments that may be launched by the Office of Economic Opportunity in the fall of 1971, for example, public school income will become more visibly affected by changes in student enrollment, for both public and nonpublic schools will derive their support through the vouchers.⁸⁵

If much experimentation is desired, the anticipated public aid should be sufficiently liberal to encourage enterprises not already subsidized from some other source, and start-up money and technical assistance may be advisable. Allocative discretion should be carefully located to overcome presumed sources of resistance to change (in terms of the five view-

points on this question discussed earlier)--in the hands of R and D centers, regional laboratories, established educational leaders, maverick schoolmen, or parents. It may be particularly difficult to ensure that more influence will be exercised by parents, in the light of the hegemony professional educators have established in recent years. A program of aid designed to accentuate parental autonomy should make direct or indirect aid to schools clearly dependent on enrollment, should enable parents to switch schools easily (even if transportation must be provided and admission-expulsion requirements must be imposed upon schools), should make parents fully aware of their freedom to move, and should not limit unnecessarily the variety of schools that may spring up in response to parental preferences.

Furthermore, if the intention of aid is to catalyze experimentation, wide discretion should be granted regarding the allocation of the funds. Orthodoxy may be enforced, for example, in terms of time, space, and traditional curricular pigeon-holes. To mention a few instances of this trend:

State codes usually condition approval and assistance on compliance with compulsory attendance laws, which in turn mandate school days and years of minimal length. Far from being supported by evidence, these rigidities could exclude the best programs for difficult-to-educate children. Common statutory language has been interpreted, in addition, to disapprove "un-schoolish" learning, as when pupils are not congregated in classes, when no recognizable teacher is present, and when the locale is not contained within school walls. ⁸⁶ Though this is idiocy, similar constraints are at least latent (in the form of language conducive to rigid thinking and mal-interpretation) in most programs of aid to nonpublic schools.

One example arises from attempts to avoid church-state proscriptions by defining "secular" areas of instruction that the state may support in

sectarian schools. From the constitutional standpoint, perhaps the most systematic effort of this kind is reflected in the Pennsylvania "purchase of secular services" statute (now before the Supreme Court of the United States), the prototype after which bills in many other states have been modeled. William Ball (the law's chief draftsman) differentiates three types of formal instruction: (a) "religious subject matter," (b) "value-related subject matter," and (c) "secular subject matter." Ball argues that the last of these, "secular subject matter," should be supportable constitutionally. It includes, he says,

those curricular items which no one ordinarily thinks of as "religious" and into which values are not easily, or inevitably introduced. For example, mathematics, foreign languages, manual training, physical education, chemistry, geography, spelling, and physics. Subjects like these admit of isolation into the "secular" compartment with relatively little danger that such value-ties as they do have need be jeopardized. A high school religion course, for example, is the proper place meaning fully to relate mathematics to Catholic philosophy or theology.⁸⁷

On this basis of this rationale, admirable jurisprudentially, Pennsylvania reimburses nonpublic schools for costs incurred in four subject areas only: mathematics, modern foreign languages, physical science, and physical education. The danger should be obvious. On the one hand, category-fixed state officials may disapprove schools whose instruction is not conventionally packaged ("mathematics," "modern foreign languages," "physical science," "physical education.")⁸⁸ On the other hand, schools may discourage idiosyncratic learning for fear of losing essential assistance.

Another example inheres in the seldom-examined assumption that schooling is in an important sense indivisible. When the state supports the schooling of a child, normally he must accept either the total package or nothing at all and must obtain it all in one place (except for "shared time" programs, discussed later). These requirements inhibit specialization among educational

agencies and minimize opportunities to match programs to student needs. They probably discourage some educational ventures altogether by making it unfeasible for a group to offer some areas of instruction without attempting them all.

As an alternative, the state could make the fruits of educational taxes separable, perhaps by allocating stated amounts to stated subject areas and permitting them to be spent in various places. Thus, a parent might purchase reading instruction at a storefront academy, mathematics instruction at a computerized facility maintained by Xerox, fine arts instruction at an art gallery, and other learning opportunities at the local public school. But serious inhibitions could inhere in the subject-matter divisions in terms of which the aid was made divisible, in keeping with considerations raised earlier.

As an approach more conducive to exotic undertakings, government could permit per-pupil tax funds to be apportioned among learning experiences in almost any way, no matter how nonconforming, so long as minimal cognitive (and perhaps effective) objectives were achieved in areas manifestly essential to the general welfare--a proposal to be discussed at more length in connection with quality mechanisms.

Even more radically, a legislature could allocate to each individual a stated lifetime sum for learning, abandoning the assumption that various investments in human capital "belong" within given age brackets. Individuals could then move easily in and out of the stream of formal instruction, returning to schools and colleges whenever the desire to do so reappeared, or could invest their learning legacy in travel, books, art gallery memberships, or other unschoolish opportunities.

One modification of these ideas, perhaps more feasible, would be to supply some stated minimal amount or proportion of tax-provided educational

benefits in "home base" public or nonpublic schools that would be sufficiently regulated to ensure the acquisition of fundamental skills, but beyond this to encourage selection from the full range of conventional and unconventional offerings, at least as a carefully evaluated experiment.^{88a}

"Shared time" (otherwise known as "dual enrollment") arrangements, now common in the United States, are very limited examples of this "home-base-plus-components-elsewhere" idea. The underlying assumption of shared time is divisibility--that each child is entitled to the benefits of public educational expenditures, either in toto (as when he enrolls in a public school) or in selected parts (as when he takes some subjects in the nonpublic, and others in the public, school). The most common application of the principle is to permit a few children from a Catholic high school (the "home base") to visit a nearby public school for instruction in such subjects as science, home economics, industrial arts, and business education--purportedly "value free" subjects that are costly to provide. In some states, not even this guarded divisibility of tax benefits is permissible, and where it is allowed, it generally depends on the willingness of local public educators to develop the necessary arrangements.⁸⁹ In the interests of needed experimentation, these meager beginnings should be extended.

Access to sharing arrangements should be granted, as a matter of right, to convention-defying schools that could never gain it through local bargaining. High school dropouts should be permitted to return to tax-supported schools for limited work when they cannot tolerate instruction in five-hour doses. Storefront academies should be able to reintroduce students into conventional schools little by little, a subject or so at a time, whenever that seems desirable. When a particular agency, public or nonpublic, proves expert in one area of instruction, students should be allowed to benefit in that area

at tax expense without tolerating mediocrity in the rest of the same school's program. Educational enterprises should be free to specialize without foregoing a share of the public largesse.

Delimited freedom to allocate state benefits unconventionally also inheres in unconvertible entitlements. These unconvertibles are a shortcoming of most current shared time, state-funded auxiliary services, and federal programs for disadvantaged youth in nonpublic schools. Under most shared time, pupils in nonpublic schools secure certain areas of instruction in public schools, but since the resources involved in the arrangement (e.g., classrooms, equipment, materials, teacher time and skill) are pre-packaged, like TV dinners, they cannot serve as grist for experimentation. They relieve some schools of responsibility in areas where teachers and administrators have limited interest and competency, enabling them to focus their resources elsewhere. But when fiscal emergencies push shared time beyond that point, into subjects nonpublic educators would prefer to teach themselves, it reduces the domain in which innovation can occur in nonpublic schools. Progressively extended, shared time functions as a phase-out technique. Whenever students are asked to study another subject in the nearby public school, the sphere of influence of the nonpublic school is minimized accordingly, until eventually nothing is left.

State-provided auxiliary services and federally funded "poverty programs" have a similar effect. Worse still, since the prevailing pattern is to design these provisions for public schools and offer them (more or less as an afterthought) to nonpublic schools, the programs in question (particularly the federal series) have often been grossly maladapted to the needs of children in nonpublic schools.⁹⁰ (The update of this study by Norton and Nuccio contained in Chapter I, Volume III of this series, found that this

is still the case.) Like typical shared time offerings, they come pre-cooked, for quick use but not reformulation.

With a little imagination and flexibility, these programs of sharing between public and nonpublic schools could be rendered more conducive to diversity. Buildings, playgrounds, equipment and services could be provided in less programmed ways. Children from nonpublic schools could receive instruction in public facilities, not only by public instructors, following conventional curricula, but by nonpublic teachers or technological surrogates, pursuing farout topics in novel ways. Public teachers could be used for segments of instruction artfully plugged into exotic frameworks. It might be instructive, to see what street academy inventors would do with a language laboratory or closed-circuit television installation.

6. Are nonpublic schools needed to ensure that educational programs will be responsive to the differential needs and interests of individuals and communities?

The typical resistance of established institutions to change is not the only reason given for the alleged "massive failure of big-city public schools to educate disadvantaged children."⁹¹ Schools may fail to meet the differential needs of students, parents, and communities because centralized governance demands too much standardization or because educators are not motivated to be responsive.

One approach to the problem is to decentralize big-city school systems, transferring some decision-making power to a lower level--ideally to individual schools. When decentralization is genuine (often it is not), principals and teachers are free to fit programs to the neighborhoods they serve. A more drastic strategy, based on the assumption that principals and teachers will not otherwise be motivated to adapt programs to community needs, is to put

authority into the hands of the community itself, as represented through a local school board. If the board has power to hire and fire, teachers and administrators may be more inclined to follow the community's wishes. Obviously the security of schoolmen will be jeopardized in the process. Gittell's studies indicate that "teachers and administrators largely view community control as a threat to their own status and will not be especially cooperative."⁹² It is not accidental, to cite two prominent examples, that the powers of local boards in New York City's recent reorganization and in Chicago's Woodlawn Experimental Schools Project are exceedingly vague. The most recent reputable study of which we are aware concerning the efforts of Chicago community groups to influence the schools concludes that (a) the ideology of school administrators is strongly opposed to this "interference" and (b) the efforts are effective only on those comparatively rare occasions when the co-existence of skilled community leadership and a volatile issue permit a systematic, unified action on the part of a major segment of the community.⁹³ The researcher concludes that the control disadvantaged communities need to exercise to make the schools responsive to their needs is unlikely to occur through school decentralization and political action.

In the struggle for control of the schools, the professional educator has advantages that are frequently overlooked. He generally controls the flow of information to his board. Many school policy decisions involve highly technical considerations. Community control is not produced by the mere creation of a local board and an ostensible delegation of power. At Rough Rock, Arizona, perhaps the most lauded example of "community control" nationally, the evidence revealed that, though the locally elected Navaho school board was legally in control, virtually all important policy decisions were made by the white administrator.⁹⁴ Too much risk was involved in

alienating him, and the board members were ill-equipped to cope with his arguments on most issues.

A different approach is to initiate a voucher plan. Schools are given money only to the extent that they attract and hold students. Parents who might otherwise be powerless to influence any school, whether it is decentralized, community-controlled, or traditional in structure, can "vote with their feet," moving their children (and more important, the funds for their children's education) from schools that seem unresponsive and ineffective to schools that seem to achieve better results. At least to the extent (probably considerable) that parents can gauge the responsiveness of teachers and administrators to the child's unique problems, the foot-voting procedure may represent an improvement.

To make highly visible options available to parents may be more critical than is generally recognized. Not only is it logical to anticipate that programs will be effective only if they meet the unique needs of the child, but a sense of powerlessness has repeatedly been linked to alienation. Measures to give impoverished people control over important decisions affecting themselves and their offspring could do much to instill hope and diminish hostility. If parents and children could protest school policies effectively without breaking windows, boycotting, and rioting, the violence in many big-city public schools might be defused significantly. A number of recent studies demonstrate a clear linkage between academic performance and the feeling that one may influence his own future.

In the light of the fact that schools have repeatedly shown themselves unresponsive to differential or rapidly changing needs, we tend to disagree with our esteemed colleague John Cheal (see Chapter III) in his conclusion

that education might be improved if all schools were so closely coordinated that some state agency could engage in central planning for them all. We have already noted evidence of the unwillingness of public schools to adapt to the needs of several subcultural groups, including particularly the Amish and the Greeks. There is little evidence that professional educators foresaw the crisis in the inner cities, and once it was evident, schoolmen responded lethargically. In Cremin's recent history of colonial education, the conclusion is suggested that the disconnected nature of colonial schools helped make education more adaptable.⁹⁵ Governed by a central planning agency, schoolmen would have served the group currently in power, neglecting special interest groups. Perhaps a brief elucidation will help emphasize the point:

We may begin in Massachusetts, the Bible Commonwealth, with two of the best-known dates in educational history.⁹⁶ In 1642, the commonwealth ordered the selectmen in each town to inspect the younger generation regularly to determine whether it was being properly versed in reading, the doctrines of Puritanism, and the major laws of the colony. Whenever a youngster's knowledge seemed neglected, the parents could be fined, as could masters to whom children were apprenticed.

As a follow-up in 1647, the famous "Old Deluder Act" was passed, to counteract the efforts of "the old deluder Satan to keep men from knowledge of the Scriptures." The act required towns of a certain minimum size (100 households) to furnish instruction in Latin grammar so youth might be "fitted for the university." The edict had its ups and downs. Enforcement was uneven and at times the provisions were removed from the statute books. Nevertheless, the nation's first significant collection of publicly administered schools was created, the town schools of Massachusetts, often

identified as forerunners of the current public school system.

Though not supported, in the main, from the public purse, the town schools were publicly administered, and as such they reflected faithfully the purposes of the established theocratic order. In addition to the Bible, they titillated the young with such delicacies as John Cotton's Spiritual Milk for Babes Drawn out of the Breasts of Both Testaments and the New England Primer, often called the Little Bible of New England. Rather than following the shopping trips of Dick and Jane, the youngsters recited:

Young Obadiah
David, Josiah
All were pious

Zaccheus he
Did climb the tree
His Lord to see.

Or, when flippancy needed to be supplanted by sobriety, they chanted:

I in the Burying Place may see
Graves shorter there than I;
From death's arrest no Age is free
Young children too may die. . . .

The school's main repertory consisted of the Three R's. Sometimes a little arithmetic. History, geography, the wonders of science--these were unmentioned. The classroom was the workshop of the Lord.

Now all of this pleased the orthodox Puritans, but soon a new spirit arose in New England, the impulse of the entrepreneur, the merchant-capitalist, the Yankee shipper. His interests were secular. Hardheaded, self-reliant, individualistic, he absorbed himself in practical interests, in pursuits with a payoff in the present. He began to have an impact upon the laws of New England and the publicly administered schools, but changes were slow. His youngster was not headed for the ministry or the other traditional vocations of the Bible Commonwealth. As a neophyte in the world of commerce,

the young man saw little purpose in Latin and Greek and the other ancient cargo of the grammar school. What he needed was useful and practical knowledge--knowledge to cast accounts, compose clear letters, and carry on business in alien lands and waters--perhaps the rudiments of a language or two and some principles of business law. Since reform was coming slowly in the town's grammar schools, private instruction began to flourish. Private teachers offered tutelage in whatever their clients wanted, so long as the money could be placed on the barrel-head: arithmetic, vulgar and decimal; physics; astronomy; surveying; fortifications; gunnery; navigation; marine law; drawing, "as far as it is useful for a compleat Sea-Artist"; French "by the most efficient method"; music; painting; and even dancing, which only yesterday the theocrats had condemned as carnal, especially if executed to lascivious music and by male and female together. To cite one advertisement from the Boston News Letter for March 14-21, 1713:

At the house of Mr. George Brownell in Wings Lane, Boston, is taught Writing, Cyphering, Dancing, Treble Violin, Flute, Spinnet, &c. Also English and French Quilting, Imbroidery, Florishing, Plain Work, Marking in several sorts of Stiches and several other works, where Scholars may board.

All in the all, the historians seem agreed, the colonial private school did good service, filling a void the publicly maintained schools were not at the time willing to acknowledge. There is little doubt that the example set by the private school, and by the soon-to-be created private academy, helped the publicly maintained schools adapt.

7. Will encouragement of nonpublic schools tend to impede progress toward racial justice?

Since we examine this question at great length in Chapter V, it may suffice merely to record here the conclusions of that effort. The available

data do not substantiate the frequent charge that nonpublic schools as a whole in the United States are an obstacle to the achievement of racial integration. It would be difficult to demonstrate (particularly outside the South) that public schools as a total group are significantly more integrated than nonpublic schools as a total group.

In some racially integrated communities, nonpublic schools are a vital instrument for preserving integration. In some predominantly white communities that resist integration, nonpublic schools help prevent a rapid exodus of whites and thus keep open the possibility of developing rapprochement between blacks and whites. Nothing could be worse in this regard than for whites to continue fleeing from blacks, intensifying the geographic separation of the races and polarizing more and more the interests of the cities and the suburbs. In some stable communities where integration is feasible, nonpublic schools are making strong contributions to that end. For the many disadvantaged children from whom integration is not feasible, the nonpublic schools may help produce a more adequate quality of education. There are also communities, no doubt, in which nonpublic schools are a net liability in the struggle for racial justice.

National studies should be launched to provide information concerning the frequency of these trends. In the meantime, it appears that potential for using nonpublic schools as an instrument for achieving racial justice is considerable. To state that the objective would more readily be reached if nonpublic schools were curtailed or abolished is obviously naive and indefensible.

8. Do nonpublic schools contribute to, or detract from, equality of educational opportunity?

As has often been noted, the nation has a poor batting average on

equality of educational opportunity.⁹⁷ Hastily designed policies concerning nonpublic schools could exacerbate the inequities. If nonpublic enrollment declines accelerate notably and government takes no compensating steps, many public schools with inadequate revenue resources may find themselves unable to maintain the current level of per-pupil operating expenditure, and many may have difficulty providing additional physical facilities.

Another consequence of a major phase-out of nonpublic schools would be, almost certainly, the virtually total obliteration of the nonpublic alternative in locations where the alternative is valued the most. The well-to-do, living in suburbs with reputable public schools, will have the necessary money to keep their nonpublic schools open, at least for some years to come. Even when the local nonpublic school closes, the rich have other options. If dissatisfied with their public schools, they may move to more expensive residential areas as a way of obtaining educational services financed at a higher level (since there is a marked tendency for public education to be more adequately funded in wealthier communities), or may send their young (at considerable cost) to nonpublic boarding schools at a distance. The poor, living in central cities with public schools that are castigated by practically everyone, will find alternatives less accessible than ever. This is hardly equality.

Recent actions of the Detroit Archdiocese, discussed in Chapter III of Volume III of this series, exemplify the efforts many Catholic diocesan officials have made to keep Catholic schools in the inner city from closing. According to evidence mentioned earlier, these schools may make vital contributions to equality of opportunity. Often they have sizable numbers of non-Catholic patrons and are bereft of any significant religious emphasis. If government shows no interest in helping, it seems unrealistic to expect

the church to continue these emergency efforts indefinitely, especially in the light of the opposition of many suburban Catholics to such "diversions" of denominational funds.

As Economist Milton Friedman points out, the poor are particularly disadvantaged in education as compared with other areas of life.⁹⁸ By sacrificing other advantages, a low-income family may often save enough money to buy the same automobile as a family in a high-income suburb. Similar possibilities apply to clothing, furniture, books, and many other goods and services. But a low-income family willing to extend itself to obtain superior instruction is frustrated in two particulars: both nonpublic schools and well-financed public schools are inaccessible geographically, and the particularly impoverished, who most need access to superior educational programs, find more and more that the occasional nonpublic school within distance is out of sight financially, since in most cases tuition fees are rising.

In a related vein, we must attach some danger signs to carelessly designed aid to nonpublic schools. If, through equal-value vouchers or some similar mechanism, fairly sizable funds were put into the hands of parents, the rich and the poor could easily sort themselves out into different institutions, liberally funded in the case of the rich and conservatively funded in the case of the poor. It would be even easier than at present for the well-to-do to ensure many educational advantages for their children that the impoverished could not obtain. Currently, a family whose income rises can usually gain corresponding educational advantages only by moving to a more costly neighborhood--an onerous and expensive step in most cases--or by incurring the entire burden of tuitions and incidental fees in a nonpublic school deemed academically superior. Under a well financed scheme of flat-grant vouchers, the family could move to the expensive nonpublic

school by paying only the difference between the voucher value and the school's total fees. The "threshold costs" would be considerably reduced.

If Peter Drucker is correct in his prediction that the clamor for superior educational services will vastly increase in the future, there is serious likelihood that monied parents would use their superior purchasing power increasingly to this end.⁹⁹ The poor, with little available money to add to the vouchers, could not afford entree to schools financed at the higher levels. Many families would have no alternative to institutions whose public funds (from the vouchers or through some other mechanism) would be supplemented not at all through private investment. The institutions attended by the poor would thus always be outbid by institutions attended by the rich in the competition for personnel with the highest qualifications, to say nothing of differences in facilities and instructional materials.

An attempt could be made to counteract these tendencies by supporting public schools at a very high level. Even if that tactic is assumed (rather dubiously) to be politically feasible once the affluent and powerful have deserted public education, it is often argued that the "dumping ground" image could be devastating to the impoverished child's self-esteem. Sensing he was relegated to an institution almost no one would patronize by choice, his sense of defeat might be dangerously reinforced. There is considerable evidence, moreover, that disadvantaged children learn best when their classes contain children from middle-class homes. Children from privileged homes may exemplify attitudes and behaviors that are functional in most schools. Teachers may expect more from, and attempt more with, classes that contain at least a few students who learn quickly.

We cannot be sure, however, to what extent these dire predictions are

warranted. As Coons, Clune, and Sugarman point out, "even those rich for whom the costs of private education are relatively insignificant have, for the most part, chosen public education," particularly outside New England and the South.¹⁰⁰ Families of middle-range wealth, these authors argue, are unlikely "for reasons of habit, political morality, and self-interest" to consider nonpublic schools seriously. They, along with the poor, may create "an irreducible consensus" for widely patronized, well-supported public schools. According to Vervoort (Chapter III), public schools in Holland did not become "dumping grounds" when equal aid was given to nonpublic schools.

The danger, however, is serious enough to warrant attention. Government might wish to limit the freedom of state-supported schools to skim off the best students from whatever pool they tap, leaving the alienated and slow-to-learn in public school dumping grounds. Any aid program launched should probably be examined while in action for consequences of this type. Early revisions might prove necessary.

9. Can aid be given to nonpublic schools in such a way as to ensure an equitable distribution of the burden of financing education?

In accepting nonpublic schools as an alternative to public schools under compulsory education laws, the legislatures and courts have declared, explicitly or implicitly, that socially necessary education (the education the state is entitled to demand) is provided in both public and nonpublic schools. With this difficult-to-escape premise in view, it has frequently been asserted that current money-raising methods for public and nonpublic schools are unfair. Let us assume for the moment that the state has worked out an equitable arrangement for distributing the burden of financing

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socially necessary education, so long as all students are in public schools. Let us further simplify discussion by assuming that there are exactly 400 families in the Smiths' community, each with one child in the local public elementary school, that socially necessary education costs exactly \$800 per year for each pupil (both in public and in nonpublic schools), that the public schools are financed entirely at the local level, and that the nonpublic schools are financed through tuition fees. Let us ignore economies of scale and the marginality of some costs. Though distorting our figures somewhat, these simplifications will not alter the principle we seek to illuminate.

Under the conditions we have specified, when the Smiths transfer their child to the nonpublic school, the total cost of providing socially necessary schooling to children in the local public school drops by \$800, or \$2 per family, but the Smiths now must assume an additional burden of \$800, the cost of providing their child with socially necessary schooling in the nonpublic school.

To provide socially necessary schooling to the children in the community, 399 families now shoulder an annual burden of \$798 each, but the Smiths must pay \$1598, more than twice as much. If it were known that the Smiths had transferred their child because of profound religious conviction or some other sincere, deep-seated commitment to his welfare, the community might want to do what it could, within constraints imposed by general welfare considerations, to lessen the price the Smiths were required to pay for their convictions. This issue was discussed at length earlier.

Equity in the distribution of fiscal burdens for socially necessary education could also be sacrificed if the per-pupil state support for nonpublic schools exceeded per-pupil state aid for public schools by a

significant amount. Under these conditions, some communities could, by transferring virtually all students from public to nonpublic schools, shift to the state (and thus to the totality of taxpayers in the state) a higher proportion of the costs of socially necessary education in their locality. Communities that maintained a strong commitment to public schools would be saddled with an unfair proportion of the state-wide burden (assuming other factors affecting the distribution of burdens did not counteract this tendency).

(For a further discussion of the equitable distribution of the burden of financing education, see Daniere's treatment in Chapter VI, Part B, of this volume.)

10. Does the existence of nonpublic schools curtail the efficiency of the total enterprise by requiring costly duplication of programs or in other ways?

Properly understood, efficiency concerns the relationship between costs and benefits. A concern for efficiency embraces this entire chapter, for we have been considering, in effect, which public policies are likely to create the most favorable balance between values foregone (costs) and values gained (benefits). This entire report represents an attempt to identify the important costs and benefits and to predict, at least tentatively, the factors that will affect the balance between them.

At this point, however, we must focus primarily on fiscal components of the cost-benefit equation. At one level, we may consider analyses by Schultz and other economists, indicating that the nation's investment in "human capital" (produced in major measure through education) is probably inadequate.¹⁰¹ It would probably be more efficient, in other words, to devote

significantly more proportionately of the nation's total wealth to the provision of educational services. The problem, well explicated by Galbraith and others, is that public taxing mechanisms in our culture have proven extremely sluggish. When consumer demand increases for some service provided in the private sector of the economy, the market responds rather well. Money flows rather quickly to the institutions that provide the service. But when demand increases for a service provided in the public sector, taxation mechanisms, controlled through the political system rather than the market, are notoriously slow to respond. The additional money that families would be willing to invest in their children's schooling cannot readily be introduced into the system. To cite a hypothetical example:

John Q. Axelrod, a would-be physician turned successful truck driver, wants to realize his thwarted dream through his son, now thirteen years old. The boy works hard, but his academic performance is only average. His school maintains mediocre programs at a per-pupil expenditure of \$600 a year. Axelrod attempts, as his income improves, to obtain a better education for his boy. A reputable independent school nearby charges a yearly tuition of \$900, just \$300 more than the public school's expenditure level. If given a \$600 voucher from the public coffer, Axelrod could supplement the voucher with \$300 of his own and enroll the youngster in the independent school. At the same time, he and his fellow patrons of nonpublic schools would probably be more willing than at present to encourage higher tax levies for education, for they would share in the benefits. But under current conditions, Axelrod is blocked by the threshold costs discussed earlier. The additional \$300 per year that he would willingly invest in education stays in his bank account or is used for another purpose. If many parents are in analogous situations, the nation's schools are being denied millions of

dollars in potential revenue, while families are deprived of the educational improvements they crave and are willing to support.

Once well established, the tendency of parents to finance education at increasingly higher levels under a voucher plan might be reinforced by the "demonstration effect." Assume that Smith and Jones are next-door neighbors, each with a six-year-old in the nearby Lincoln School. Both children have trouble learning to read. For an additional \$100 a year, Smith transfers his child to the Washington School, not far away, which is much like Lincoln in most respects, but employs one of the most skilled reading teachers in the area. Almost immediately the child's reading improves. Jones could hardly live with himself if he denied his youngster the same opportunity for less than the price of a Brooks Brothers suit. Under current conditions, neither Smith nor Jones could secure this educational improvement for individual outlays of only \$100 a year.

But even at present, revenue levels for education may be higher than if nonpublic schools did not exist, contrary to a common assumption. What laymen generally forget is that a mixed public-private system lets funds flow into education more readily, in response to parental demand, than does an exclusively public system. The often-emphasized resistance of nonpublic patrons to increased taxation for public schools is probably an important phenomenon, but it seems more than counteracted by the fact that the children of these patrons are educated largely at private, rather than public, expense. The implication of the sketchy research available on this topic is that levels of per-pupil support in public education is higher, not lower, in areas where larger proportions of school-age children are enrolled in nonpublic schools.¹⁰² (See Appendix C for a more extensive discussion of this topic.)

As a closely related consideration, it must be recognized that public revenue mechanisms at state and local levels are drastically overburdened at present. If government could facilitate the flow of private investment into education, not only might the schools be financed at a level more rationally related to the public weal, but the proportionate burden upon taxation systems might be minimized.

If a major purpose of aid to nonpublic schools were that of minimizing the proportion of educational support provided through taxation, or at least of inhibiting the tendency for education to be financed more and more exclusively from the public coffers, the principle of fractionality¹⁰³ seems essential: fiscal relief provided by the state to nonpublic schools or their patrons or pupils must never surpass some stated proportion of per-pupil expenditures in public or nonpublic schools. One approach to fractionality would be to extend flat grants (uniform amounts per pupil, teacher, or classroom unit) to nonpublic schools or their patrons or pupils on the understanding that the aid, though perhaps increased from time to time, would never exceed some agreed-upon proportion of actual costs in public or nonpublic schools.

If the principle of fractionality were written explicitly into the law, incentive grants would be created--the grants would depend upon specified levels of private investment. Unless some minimal level of private investment were maintained, the state aid would be discontinued. To overcome the tendency toward underinvestment in education, incentive grants could be designed, not merely to maintain, but also to increase, the flow of private investment. The amount of state aid could be made proportionate to the amount of private investment provided by the parent or maintained by the school. If the aid were considerable, it should attract considerably larger infusions of

private money into education.

As another aspect of efficiency, aid which induced a sizable proportion of the student population to shift from public to nonpublic schools could involve serious social costs, such as reduced economies of scale (through costly duplication of programs and the creation of too many small school units), social divisiveness, and inequalities of opportunity. To the extent that these outcomes are probable, it would appear that the aid should be withheld or that patrons of nonpublic schools should be required to shoulder more than their proportionate share of the burden of providing socially necessary education--as a way of compensating the state for the additional costs. Assistance plans could provide strong incentives for patrons of nonpublic schools to encourage liberal levels of tax support for public schools. In addition, the "surcharge" attached to patronizing a nonpublic school through stringent application of the principle of fractionality could be kept high enough to ensure that the majority of students would continue to attend public schools. These measures appear necessary so long as a strong, numerically dominant public school system is regarded as a sine qua non of a democratic society. But if the values customarily attributed to public education can be achieved as well or better through a system with a major private component, such safeguards may be superfluous.

As we pointed out earlier, the available evidence suggests that large size in education may produce diseconomies more often than economies. Even if it did not, economies of scale are not at stake in the current context. A more common consequence of an enrollment shift from public to nonpublic schools occasioned by levels of government assistance within the imaginable realm of political feasibility would be to relieve overcrowded, often tension-ridden public schools of a well-nigh intolerable burden. It is in the

crowded, harrassed inner-city that nonpublic schools most often represent a highly valued option to parents.

Economy could be sacrificed if state funds allocated to nonpublic schools eventuated in an inferior educational output. When inputs into the bulk of nonpublic schools are assessed by customary standards, they often look inadequate. Even when the value of contributed services is considered, nonpublic schools appear to be operating at considerably lower levels of per-pupil expenditure than is common in public schools. Yet the more studies of comparative student achievement control for important factors, the more public schools and predominating groups of nonpublic schools look similar. Are nonpublic schools utilizing subtle "production methods" not generally found in public education? If not, how can we explain the apparently comparable outputs in the light of the incomparable inputs? Does the explanation perhaps lie in the tendency of nonpublic schools to be responsive to the differential needs and interests of students, parents, and communities? There is probably no area of education more worthy of research than this.

To illustrate the question of efficiency in more concrete terms: Would government (assuming the way were clear constitutionally) obtain superior results per dollar if, instead of investing virtually all its educational funds in public schools, it fostered a few more inner-city Catholic or Lutheran schools? Or a few more street academies for dropouts at perhaps \$600 a year? Would a million or two be well invested in experiments spawned by groups with ideas most established schools are incapable of imagining, far less trying? Do the dying dozens of Catholic schools represent anything it would pay the public to salvage? Does the current crisis itself embody anything priceless, worth redeeming, perhaps through more daring methods

than any law-making body has adopted thus far?

11. What measures of direct or indirect support for nonpublic schools are constitutionally and politically feasible?

Since it is not part of our assigned task to explore questions of constitutional and political feasibility, we will merely note that these are vital considerations. One major danger is that rationally designed policies for nonpublic schools will become grossly irrational through amendments introduced by the political trade-offs that are typically required to get a measure passed. As we noted at one point in the chapter, clauses that make much jurisprudential sense can turn out to be harmful educationally. We terminate, then, precisely where we began, by pointing out that a complex matrix of dilemmas must be weighed in any adequate assessment of public policy for nonpublic schools. Finally, resolutions reached for the many cells of the matrix must be molded into a coherent legal and administrative framework.

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43. John A. Hostettler, Amish Society (rev. ed.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968).
44. West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624, at 641 (1943).
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46. See, for example: Leo Pfeffer, Church, State and Freedom (rev. ed.; Boston: Beacon Press 1967), pp. 530-33.
47. Marc Galanter, "Religious Freedoms in the United States: A Turning Point?" Wisconsin Law Review, 1966 (Spring, 1966), p. 291
48. Ibid., p. 290. Cf. Wilbur G. Katz, "Religion, Education, and the Constitution, the Doctrine of Neutrality," Educational Administration Quarterly, 1 (Spring, 1965), 1-11.

49. Galanter, "Religious Freedom in the United States," p. 278. Cf. Gianella: "In a political society characterized by significant governmental disability and wide personal autonomy, religious interests need not make special claims to achieve a wide zone of immunity. But in a society where governmental regulation is pervasive and individual freedom generally limited, religious interests must make special claims vis-a-vis the state if they are to enjoy an equally wide ambit of action....Doctrinal formulations designed to achieve certain ends may achieve different or perverse results when the assumptions on which they rest change." Donald A. Giannella, "Religious Liberty, Non-establishment, and Doctrinal Development: Part I. The Religious Liberty Guarantee," Harvard Law Review, 80 (May, 1967), 1381-1415.
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52. Ibid., p. 8.
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57. Milton Himmelfarb, "Secular Society? A Jewish Perspective." Daedalus, 96 (Winter, 1967), 220-236.

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64. Bernard C. Rosen, "Conflicting Group Membership: A Study of Parent-Peer Cross-Pressures," American Sociological Review, 20 (April, 1955), pp. 155-161.
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83. Edgar H. Schein, "Management Development as a Process of Influence," in Harold J. Leavitt and Louis R. Pondy, ed., Readings in Managerial Psychology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 331-351.
84. Center for the Study of Public Policy, Education Vouchers: A Report on Financing Elementary Education by Grants to Parents (Cambridge, Mass.: the Center, December, 1970); Charles S. Benson, "Economic Analysis of Institutional Alternatives for Providing Education (Public, Private Sector)," in Roe L. Johns et al., eds., Economic Factors Affecting the Financing of Education (Gainesville, Fla.: National Educational Finance Project, 1970), pp. 157-162; John E. Coons, "Recreating the Family's Role in Education," Inequality in Education, No.'s 3, 4 (March 16, 1970), pp. 1-3.

85. Center for the Study of Public Policy, Education Vouchers.
86. In a decision upheld by the Kansas Supreme Court and denied a review by the United Supreme Court, a Kansas district court outlawed several methods of unconventional learning, including correspondence courses, on-the-farm vocational training, and independent study, even though the facts showed the child in question to have been well educated. In explanation, the court said: "The defendant has not complied with Kansas compulsory school attendance laws. . . . To comply . . . such child must attend a private or parochial school having a school month consisting of four weeks of five days each of six hours per day during which pupils are under direct supervision of its teacher while they are engaged together in educational activities." In reaction, a Kansas newspaper drew a phrase from Charles Dickens, "The law is a ass, a idiot." Donald A. Erickson, "The Persecution of LeRoy Garber," School Review, 78 (November, 1969), 96. Also see home-instruction cases discussed by John Elson, "State Regulation of Nonpublic Schools: The Legal Framework," in Donald A. Erickson, ed., Public Controls for Nonpublic Schools (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 103-134.
87. William B. Ball, "State Purchase of Educational Service: Something New Under the Constitution" (undated brochure published by the Illinois Catholic Conference).
88. The example is not far-fetched. The writer visited the Scattergood School in West Branch, Iowa, some years ago when the Iowa State Department of Education was threatening to rescind approval. At issue was a lack of formal courses in "practical arts," though the school was maintaining the most extensive informal equivalent the writer has ever seen. Each student spent many hours each week participating in a non-credit "program of living" that developed skills in cooking, sewing, child-care, animal husbandry, gardening, carpentry, and many other areas on a rotating basis. But state officials said the learning did not count unless it was organized into courses with Carnegie credit units attached.
- 88a. Charles S. Benson, "Economic Analysis of Institutional Alternatives for Providing Education (Public, Private Sector)," in Roe L. Johns et al., eds., Economic Factors Affecting the Financing of Education (Gainesville, Fla.: National Educational Finance Project, 1970), pp. 157-162.
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90. Vincent C. Nuccio and John J. Walsh, A National Level Evaluation of the Impact of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 on the Participation of Nonpublic School Children: Phase I (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Boston College, 1967, mimeographed).

91. Marilyn Gittell, "The Balance of Power and the Community School," in Henry M. Levin, ed., Community Control of Schools (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1970), p. 125.
92. Ibid.
93. Joseph Weeres, dissertation in process, Department of Education, University of Chicago.
94. Donald A. Erickson, "Custer Did Die for Our Sins," School Review, 79 (November, 1970), 76-93.
95. Lawrence A. Cremin, American Education: the Colonial Experience, 1607-1783 (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).
96. This aspect of the topic has been amply discussed in such volumes as R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin, A History of Education in American Culture (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1953); Newton Edwards and Herman G. Rickey, The School in the American Social Order 2d ed.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963); Adolph E. Meyer, An Educational History of the American People (2d ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967).
97. For example, John E. Coons, William H. Clune III, and Stephen D. Sugarman, Private Wealth and Public Education (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970).
98. Milton Friedman, Capitalism and Freedom (Chicago: Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 92.
99. Peter F. Drucker, "American Directions: A Forecast," Harper's, February, 1965, pp. 39-45.
100. Coons, Clune, and Sugarman, Private Wealth, p. 274.
101. For example, Theodore W. Schultz, "Investment in Human Capital," American Economic Review, 51 (March, 1961), 16; Edward F. Denison, Sources of Economic Growth in the United States (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1962).
102. Miner, for instance, found a generally negative relationship between per cent of children in nonpublic schools and per capita expenditures for public education, and in McMahon's study the proportion of children attending nonpublic schools was negatively associated with an index of financial effort in public education. (Jerry Miner, Social and Economic Factors in Spending for Public Education. "The Economics and Politics of Public Education, 11" [Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1967], pp. 55, 59; Walter W. McMahon, "The Determinants of Public Expenditure: An Econometric Analysis of the Demand for Public Education" [unpublished paper, Department of Economics, University of Illinois, as reported in Miner, ibid., pp. 55-56, 59]). But Miner, along with James and his colleagues, found generally positive relationships between proportion of students in nonpublic schools and per-pupil expenditures in public education. (Miner, op. cit.; Walter I. Garms, Jr., "Ability and Demand Determinants of Educational Expenditures in Large Cities:

A Preliminary Report," paper presented at National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, Humboldt State College, Arcata, California, August 24, 1965). Alkin, in an inadequately controlled study, discovered that higher proportions of Catholics in a community (and presumably, higher percentages of children in non-public schools) were associated with increased expenditures per pupil in public schools. (Marvin C. Alkin, "Religious Factors in the Determination of Educational Expenditures," Educational Administration Quarterly, II [Spring, 1966] pp. 123-132.) Shapiro and Renshaw were exceptions; they found no consistent relationship between per-pupil expenditures for education and per cent of students in nonpublic schools. (Sherman Shapiro, "Some Socio-economic Determinants of Expenditures for Education: Southern and Other States Compared," Comparative Education, /October, 1962/, pp. 160-166; Renshaw, op. cit.)

103. The phrase is drawn from Andre Daniere, an economist at Boston College.

CHAPTER II

THE CASE FOR EDUCATIONAL PLURALISM

Part II: Educational Vouchers and
Contemporary Values

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CHAPTER II

THE CASE FOR EDUCATIONAL PLURALISM: PART II: EDUCATIONAL VOUCHERS AND CONTEMPORARY VALUES

by

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The Supreme Court has always presented a problem for Americans. How can a democratic polity justify a governing body whose members are appointed instead of elected and hold office for life? This anomaly has been discussed from the days of the Federalist Papers to the Haynsworth-Carswell nominations.

The most common justification of the Court's power rests on a distinction between law and politics. Congress and the President represent the "political" branches of American government. It is appropriate that these branches are rooted in popular support. The courts, however, deal with technical questions of law wherein popular judgment is both incompetent and irrelevant. So the argument goes. The politics-law dichotomy is similar to the politics-administration dichotomy of the Civil Service Reformers and the dichotomy of spiritual and temporal power of an earlier day. Such dichotomies are always illusory. Human affairs are too complex to be neatly packaged in boxes marked "law," "politics," and "administration."

Well over a century ago DeTocqueville commented on the American tendency to reduce massive political issues to legal questions. Subsequent events confirmed his observation. The Dred Scott case was an attempt to impose a legal solution on the burning political issue of the day--slavery in the territories. Throughout the Vietnam War numerous attempts have been made to get the Supreme Court to declare the war unconstitutional. This American tendency re-inforces the inherent

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ambiguity in any attempt to distinguish law and politics.

Ambiguity, however, is no solution to the problem of how Americans justify such a notoriously non-democratic institution as the Supreme Court. A light-hearted cynicism has been one response. "Mr. Dooley" once remarked that he did not know if the Constitution followed the flag but he did know that the Supreme Court followed the election returns. The rise of judicial realism led to a debunking of the Court's role. Prominent scholars warned that Americans had better soon realize that Supreme Court decisions were not "babies brought by constitutional storks." Still others insisted that the most fruitful way to study the Court was to look upon it as a government agency in which the bureaucrats wear robes.

Despite such cynicism serious attempts have been made to examine the theoretical foundations of the Court's role in the American political process. How does the Court immerse itself in this process without surrendering its distinctive role as a court? Ralph Lerner has suggested that we look upon the Court as a "republican schoolmaster" that reminds the nations of its fundamental values. He shows how effectively (and at times excessively) the first Justices of the Supreme Court fulfilled this role in their charges to the grand juries while they "role circuit."¹ Alexander Meikeljohn develops a similar point. The court must be a teacher--"an accredited interpreter to us of our own intentions." If the Socratic admonition to "know thyself" is the highest wisdom, "it is to our highest court that we must turn when we seek for wisdom concerning our relations to one another and to the government which . . . we have established and maintained."²

In this report I will discuss educational vouchers in the light of recent Supreme Court decisions. Following the lead of Lerner and Meikeljohn, I will look

upon the Court as a teacher rather than a decision-maker. In its latter capacity the Court is constrained by the "case or controversy" brought before it, but as a teacher it can offer a broader vision of our society and remind us of the fundamental values that hold us together as a people. In relying on the Court as "republican schoolmaster," I will discuss vouchers in policy terms rather than in terms of constitutional mandate. The method will be to look at the Court's interpretation of certain sections of the Constitution to see what underlying political values it is trying to uphold. We can then measure the wisdom of Congress' encouraging the states to adopt a voucher system in the light of these values. Thus, while the emphasis of this report is on Supreme Court decision, it is not the Court commanding or forbidding that is emphasized but rather the Court inviting the citizenry to share its vision of our salient contemporary values.

1. Cracks in the "wall of separation."

The most common position articulated by opponents of government aid to parochial schools is that the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment forbids it. If this is the case, there is, of course, no point in rehearsing the desirability of such aid. If the Constitution prohibits government aid to parochial schools, Congress can no more approve such aid than it could pass an ex post facto law or a bill of attainder. The issue, of course, has never been so clear cut. It has always been a question of constitutional interpretation rather than an explicit prohibition.

In Everson v. Board of Education³ the Supreme Court held that the Establishment clause erected a high wall of separation between Church and State. This interpretation was never accepted uncritically. The decision itself contained the seeds

of its own destruction by accepting the "child benefit" theory. This theory holds that the constitutional prohibition on government aid to religious institutions does not preclude aid to the children attending the religious institutions. For all its talk of high walls and separation, the Everson court nevertheless upheld the constitutionality of a New Jersey busing law which authorized transporting parochial school children at state expense. In dissenting, Mr. Justice Jackson said the Court's decision reminded him of Lord Byron's Julia who "whispering, 'I'll ne'er consent,' consented."

The child benefit theory has provided a principled response to those who would elevate the American tradition of separation of Church and State to an absolute doctrine. Parochial school children have benefited from government sponsored programs involving busing, free lunches, textbooks, health care and audio-visual materials. In Allen v. Board of Education,⁴ however, the Court went beyond the child benefit theory in finding ways to penetrate the "wall of separation." The case involved a New York statute requiring public school authorities to lend textbooks free of charge to all students in grades seven through twelve--parochial school children included. The Supreme Court upheld the statute not only on child benefit grounds but also because of the "secular education" provided in parochial schools. The Court distinguished two goals in the parochial school system--religious instruction and secular education. The second goal is a fitting object of government concern, regulation, and subsidy. In other words, in Allen the Supreme Court suggested the possibility that aid to religious schools (not just the children in the schools) is constitutionally permissible insofar as those schools concern themselves with secular ends.

This suggestion was developed explicitly in Walz v. Tax Commissioners of New York City,⁵ which raised the question of the constitutionality of tax exemptions for Church property. Walz is particularly interesting because it involved houses of worship rather than schools. The secular character of churches is less obvious than that of schools with religious affiliations. Nevertheless, the Court found that churches along with "hospitals, libraries, playgrounds, scientific, professional, historical and patriotic groups" are "beneficial and stabilizing influences in community life" whose contribution to the public interest amply justifies the tax exemption they received.

In permitting government to confer financial benefits on religious institutions for their contribution to the public interest, the Court was able to acknowledge a defect in the child benefit theory that "strict separationists" had complained about for years. In aiding children who attend religious schools the state obviously aids the religious schools as well. Chief Justice Burger frankly acknowledged that this was the case but this admission was not fatal for the tax exemption. By distinguishing the religious and secular goals of church-related institutions (schools in Allen and houses of worship in Walz), the Court was able to uphold the exemption without denying that it was a form of financial assistance to a religious organization. Indeed, one might say that in Walz the Court dismantled the wall erected in Everson. After admitting that there was "considerable internal inconsistency in the opinions of the Court" in Church-State questions, the Chief Justice offered a fresh approach:

The cause of constitutional neutrality in this area cannot be an absolutely straight line; rigidity could

well defeat the basic purpose of these provisions Establishment and Free Exercise clauses, which is to insure that no religion be sponsored or favored, none commanded, and none inhibited. The general principle deducible from the First Amendment and all that has been said by the Court is this: that we will not tolerate either governmentally established religion or governmental interference with religion. Short of those expressly proscribed governmental acts there is room for play in the joints productive of a benevolent neutrality which will permit religious exercise to exist without sponsorship and without interference.⁶

This statement of the Chief Justice liberates the voucher question from constitutional rigidities. The Establishment clause forbids government "sponsorship" of religion and the Free Exercise clause forbids government "interference" with religion. Otherwise there is room for play in the joints productive of a benevolent neutrality. In other words educational vouchers can be discussed on their merits. The Allen and Walz cases would seem to make it untenable to say any longer that one would be favorably disposed to educational vouchers if only the constitution would permit it. Allen and Walz have the merit of substituting desirability for constitutionality as the central issue in the debate over educational vouchers.

2. Fundamental Rights--no payments required.

The equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment has been the vehicle for the Supreme Court's attempt to bring about what one commentator has called an "egalitarian revolution."⁷ This was seen most clearly in the reapportionment cases, where the Court applied its principle of "one-man, one-vote" with breath-taking consistency. So relentless was the Court in following this principle that some critics maintained it yielded to a sterile dogmatism that relied upon

slogans as a substitute for thought. Regardless of the merits of the Court's decisions, there can be no doubt that equality is a salient political value in the eyes of most Supreme Court Justices.

Racial justice has been another area in which the Court has applied the equal protection clause with remarkable vigor. The prohibition on racial segregation in public schools is, of course, well known to all. But the Court has not rested with an affirmation of a merely formal equality--i.e. an equality in which black students could choose to go to school with whites. There has been considerable judicial concern with the effectiveness of the constitution mandate to desegregate school districts where de jure segregation existed prior to 1954. Green v. County School Board provides a graphic example of this concern with results.⁸ In Kent County, Virginia, there are two public high schools which draw students from all over the country. The students select the school they will attend under a "freedom of choice" plan. Every white child in the county chose to attend New Kent high school and eighty-five per cent of the black children chose the Watkins School, which had been "the Negro school" before 1954.

The Supreme Court ruled that Kent County's "freedom of choice" plan, though not unconstitutional per se, was unconstitutional as applied because its result was to render almost meaningless the constitutional mandate to desegregate. The decision is significant for the purposes of this report because it shows that the Court is willing to go beyond mere formalities in upholding constitutional rights. Theoretically, every black child was as free as every white child in choosing what school he would attend. In reality, however, the blacks were almost as unlikely

to attend an integrated school under "freedom of choice" as they had been under de jure segregation. Hence, the Court required that the School Board adopt a new method of assigning pupils.

A third area in which the Court has been concerned with equal protection of the laws is that of poverty. There has been considerable judicial concern that "fundamental" rights should not be restricted to the wealthy. In Harper v. Board of Elections⁹ Virginia's poll tax was declared unconstitutional because it was based on an "invidious" discrimination between rich and poor. The right to participate in the political process cannot be made a function of wealth. Criminal procedure is another area in which the Court has been vigilant in protecting the rights of the poor under the equal protection clause. In Griffin v. Illinois¹⁰ the Court held that an indigent defendant could not be denied a full appellate review of his conviction simply because he could not afford to pay for a transcript of his trial. In Douglas v. California¹¹ the same principles were applied to void California's practice of denying counsel to indigents at certain steps in the appellate process. The right to travel is another "fundamental" right which cannot be compromised by state action that discriminates against the poor. In Shapiro v. Thompson¹² the Supreme Court struck down a Connecticut statute requiring one year's residency for welfare recipients. The Court held that the statute was unconstitutional because Connecticut failed to show a "compelling state interest" in deterring indigents from exercising their right to travel and reside within the state's borders.

In deciding these and similar cases the Supreme Court has uttered some strong words upholding the principle that a citizen's poverty should not force him to

forego his constitutional rights. In Griffin, for example, the Court said:

Such a denial is a misfit in a country dedicated to affording equal justice to all and special privilege to none in the administration of its criminal law. There can be no equal justice where the kind of a trial a man gets depends on the amount of money he has. Destitute defendants must be afforded as adequate appellate review as defendants who have money enough to buy transcripts.¹³

In Roberts v. LaVallee the Court reaffirmed the Griffin doctrine:

Our decisions for more than a decade now have made it clear that differences in access to the instruments needed to vindicate legal rights, when based upon the financial situation of the defendant, are repugnant to the constitution.¹⁴

In McDonald v. Board of Election Commissioners, the Court gave an insight into the sort of test it would apply in determining whether or not the equal protection clause had been violated:

A careful examination on our part is especially warranted where lines are drawn on the basis of wealth or race, . . . two factors which would independently render a classification highly suspect and thereby demand a more exacting judicial scrutiny.¹⁵

By "a more exacting judicial scrutiny" the Court refers to the type of test a state will have to pass to justify classifying citizens on the basis of wealth or race. Since such classification are "invidious" or "suspect," the state will have to show a compelling interest in making such classifications. Classifications of citizens according to other norms--e.g. age, height, health, blood type, academic achievement, previous military service, etc.--can be justified by showing only a "reasonable relation" between the classification and its purpose. For example, if a state provided that only those students who finished in the upper half of their high school graduating class could attend a

certain prestigious state university, its policy could be defended by merely showing a "reasonable relation" between the classification according to academic performance and its purpose--the academic excellence of a particular state university. But if the university were open only to children coming from families with an annual income of over \$20,000, the state would have to show a compelling interest because of the suspect character of classifications according to wealth.

In Dandridge v. Williams¹⁶ Mr. Justice Stewart developed the notion of "more exacting judicial scrutiny" when he maintained that the Court would apply the compelling state interest test to cases involving a classification "infected with a racially discriminatory purpose or effect" or one which interferes with a "constitutionally protected freedom." Where other rights are concerned the state would be held only to the reasonable relation test. In combining Dandridge and McDonald, then, it seems that there are two types of situations in which the Court will demand that a state show a compelling interest to justify its policies under the fourteenth amendment: (1) if the classification is "suspect"--i.e. race of wealth or (2) if the right involved is "fundamental"--i.e. racial discrimination or a constitutionally protected freedom.

At this point the reader may wonder whatever happened to educational vouchers and nonpublic schools. Perhaps a brief review is in order. We have seen (1) that the Court is deeply committed to equality as a political value in American life, (2) that this commitment is not satisfied by an assurance of merely formal equality wherein students have a "freedom of choice" that actually retains segregationist patterns, (3) that the state must show a "compelling state interest"

when it abridges constitutionally protected freedoms and (4) that it must pass a similar test when it classifies citizens according to the "suspect" category of wealth.

In applying these principles to the parochial school student we need only point out that in attending such a school he is using the constitutionally protected right of the free exercise of religion. To the extent that the state does not aid him in pursuing this education, it places a price tag on the exercise of this constitutionally protected right. If he is poor, therefore, his right to the free exercise of religion is a mere formality. He cannot exercise this right because he is poor.

In presenting this argument I do not wish to draw the conclusion that the states have a constitutional obligation to support parochial schools. My intention is rather to shift the burden of proof in the debate over aid to parochial schools from the proponents of such aid to their adversaries. It seems reasonable to suggest that proponents of such aid should demand that the several states show a compelling reason for withholding it. Since this report deals with federal aid to parochial schools, it would seem altogether appropriate for Congress to enact legislation creating financial incentives for the states to support parochial schools. Similar laws have been enacted to cover a wide range of policies from highway construction to pollution control. In creating such incentives Congress would be acting in a manner consistent with (if not required by) the Supreme Court's concern that the exercise of constitutionally protected freedoms should not be conditioned upon one's financial status.

3. Encouraging religious diversity:

The burden of the previous section was to demonstrate the appropriateness of Congressional incentives to the states to support parochial schools. In this section I shall appeal to recent Supreme Court decisions to show that a voucher system is the form of aid most congruent with the values upheld in these decisions.

In Torcase v. Watkins¹⁷ the Supreme Court struck down a Maryland statute requiring public officials to take an oath that they believed in God. The statute was voided not only as an Establishment of religion but also as a violation of the free exercise of an atheist's "religion." The Court held that for constitutional purposes atheism should be considered a religion and, as such, entitled to the protection guaranteed to those of a more conventional persuasion.

A similar line of reasoning appeared in two cases involving conscientious objectors. The Selective Service Act restricts the privilege of conscientious objection to men who "by reason of religious training and belief are conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form." In U.S. v. Seeger¹⁸ the government contended that the defendant did not qualify for the exemption because he did not base his objection to war on religious grounds. Once again, the Court showed itself eager to uphold the religious character of Seeger's profound but unusual views. His beliefs were religious because they occupied in his life "a place parallel to that filled by the God of those admittedly qualifying for the exemption." In U.S. v. Welsh the Court went even farther and defined as religious any "deeply held belief."¹⁹

One of the underlying principles in these cases is the Court's concern that the constitution's guarantee of the free exercise of religion should not be restricted to adherents of the major religious communities. Precisely because of their size and influence they are less likely to be the objects of harassment than those of less conventional beliefs. It is no accident the Jehovah Witnesses' cases have undoubtedly contributed more to the literature on the free exercise clause than the legal difficulties of any other religious group. The Witnesses are an aggressive religious community with teachings that are not always flattering to those of other persuasions. It is "insulated minorities," like the Witnesses, that stand in special need of the Court's protection. The larger Churches are usually quite equal to defending their interests through the ordinary political process.

It is the Court's sensitivity to the religious needs of the unorthodox that makes the voucher system a particularly attractive way of aiding nonpublic schools. At present only rather large and well-organized religious communities are in a position to maintain their own schools. If financial aid were given to existing schools there would be a danger of favoring Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Greek Orthodox and Jews. A "genuine" voucher system, however, would put the money in the hands of parents--atheist parents, black militant parents, Jehovah Witness parents as well as Catholic, Lutheran and Jewish parents. Such parents could pool their resources to start their own school if they desire. They would not need the massive organizational structure that has enabled the more conventional churches to develop their schools in the past. As long as they met the educational requirements established by the state, they could have a school with genuine "community control."

4. No racial discrimination.

A final consideration in this discussion is the question of whether a voucher system would re-inforce patterns of racial segregation. If so, its value as public policy would be dubious in the extreme. A government policy fostering racial segregation would be drastically at odds with the Court's massive efforts over the past seventeen years to achieve a racially integrated society. There can be no doubt that racial integration is a major--if not the major--goal in the Court's vision of American society.

If Congress should offer the states financial incentives to develop voucher programs, certain precautions would have to be taken to guard against racial discrimination. Private schools that refused admission on racial grounds would have to be dropped from the program. Special care would have to be taken against indirect forms of racial segregation. Relatively few blacks, for example, are Catholics, Lutherans, or Jews. It would not do for schools sponsored by these groups to say their schools are open only to their co-religionists and thereby exclude nearly all black applicants. To participate in a voucher system such schools might be permitted to admit only fifty per cent of their enrollment on religious grounds. Applicants could then be selected by lottery. This would mean that members of racial or religious minority groups interested in attending a Catholic school, for example, could not be systematically discriminated against. By permitting the administration to restrict one-half of its enrollment to Catholics, however, the Catholic character of the institution would be safeguarded. Among the fifty per cent admitted by lottery there would surely be some Catholics. Their presence plus the fifty per cent admitted precisely as Catholics

would mean the school would be predominantly but not exclusively Catholic. Members of racial minorities would have had as fair a chance as any other group in competing for one-half the seats in the school. Nonpublic schools refusing to accept these conditions would be excluded from the voucher system.²⁰

Conclusion:

At this point a recapitulation of the argument presented in the previous four sections may be in order. The first step was to liberate the argument from the shackles of constitutional restraint by showing that recent Supreme Court interpretations of the Establishment clause have considerably modified the doctrinaire rigidities associated with "the high wall of separation." The voucher question can be discussed in terms of policy rather than in terms of constitutional absolutes. In the second section we saw the Court's vigilance against state action that discriminates against the poor in areas of constitutionality protected freedoms. Since the right to attend a parochial school is safeguarded by the free exercise clause of the First Amendment, the failure of the several states to provide financial support for children attending such schools is seemingly at odds with values championed in recent Supreme Court decisions. The purpose of this step in the argument was to shift the burden of proof from the proponents of aid to parochial schools to their adversaries. In section three we argued that a voucher system was a particularly appropriate means of aiding children attending parochial schools. The reason for this appropriateness was the high priority placed by the Supreme Court on the religious views of the unorthodox. The fourth section provided a caveat

against permitting the voucher system to reinforce segregated education. The conclusion of the argument is that Congress has an opportunity to enhance fundamental social values articulated by the Court by offering financial incentives to those states that adopt a voucher system for the nonpublic schools students within their borders.

The reader will recall that I began this study with a consideration of the unique role of the Supreme Court in the American political system. I suggested that we look upon the Court as a republican schoolmaster constantly inviting the nation to reflect upon its fundamental values. At times we may be wayward pupils and wantonly ignore the invitation. At other times the Court may be no more than a querulous old school "marm." Nevertheless the method employed in this report enables us to make constructive use of a blatantly non-democratic institution in our democratic society. We would never look to Congress and seldom to the President as "teachers." Even in these days of student unrest we do not allow students to elect their teachers. The role of the teacher is not democratic, but because the Supreme Court has "neither force nor will but merely judgment," Alexander Hamilton felt justified in calling it the "least dangerous" branch of our government.²¹ If the reader disagrees with the interpretation of the decisions I have reported in this study, I will be neither surprised nor disappointed. Interpreting the Constitution is a notoriously subjective enterprise. A former Chief Justice once said the Constitution means what the Supreme Court says it means. When one stops to consider how often the Court tells us what the Constitution "means" by the narrow margin of a 5-4 vote, the subjective character of the Court's work (and that of court-watchers as well) is patent.

Whatever conclusions the reader may form on the wisdom of educational vouchers, I hope he will not disregard the method used in this report. By reflecting on the underlying values of major Supreme Court decisions, "we the people" can exploit for democratic purposes the best efforts of the non-democratic branch of our government.

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CHAPTER III

CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, scholars who are life-long residents of the countries in question summarize the social consequences of public support to nonpublic schools, given in various degrees (including none at all) in the various provinces of Canada, and given in full parity with public school support in the Netherlands. The papers were commissioned partly because of our assumption that scholars in the United States, many of whom have commented on conditions in Canada and the Netherlands, are in a poor position to understand subtle, though fundamental, cultural nuances in societies with which they are only superficially familiar. We think the results speak for themselves.

CHAPTER III

CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

Section A: Social Consequences of Financial Parity
of Public and Private Education,
The Dutch Case.

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1. Introduction

A number of problems arise as soon as an attempt is made to determine the consequences of the Dutch policy of equal tax support of public and private education. These problems are partly of a practical, partly of a methodological nature.

The most important practical problem is that, though strange it may sound, no systematic investigations are available dealing with the social consequences of the policy of equal financial support to sectarian and non-sectarian schools, made possible by a modification of the Constitution in 1917.

On the one side this means that an evaluation of the Dutch system cannot be based upon the results of social research. The consequence is that such an evaluation must bear a more or less impressionistic character.

On the other side the absence of inquiries - in a country where since World War II social research has played an important part, and virtually all important social problems have been at one time or another object of such research - indicates that the solution found in the Netherlands for the relationship between public and private education did not give occasion to problems considered so serious that special attention, either from the side of the authorities or from the side of certain interested groups, was justified.

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The conclusion is not that there are no problems at all, or that all parts of the nation are satisfied with the system in force. This situation is rather the expression of the conviction that with the settling of the "school struggle" a solution was found for the most important political issue in the second half of the 19th century and that for a raking up of this issue - although there are of course opponents on principle - in the Netherlands of today no majority can be found. It is not for nothing that the financial parity goes by under the name of "Pacification."

In addition to practical problems, a discussion of the consequences of the solution chosen in the Netherlands for the regulation of relations between public and private education poses some methodological problems. We point out two of these problems.

In the first place it is difficult to speak about the consequences of a certain measure in the abstract. A question arises immediately as to the institutional sectors of society in which the search for consequences is desirable and, in connection with this question, which criteria of relevance should be chosen to judge the significance of these consequences: the point of view one chooses for the examination of a certain course of action determines for the greater part what are to be considered as

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relevant consequences.

In the second place it is not possible to isolate the consequences of a certain measure from the total social-historical context, in which it comes into being and subsequently exerts its influence. Even in its origination, it is a part of a unique web of social, political, economic and cultural relations. The ultimate question here is the possibility for generalization of the results of an inquiry into the significance of the financial parity of public and private education for Dutch society. It should be clear that the question of whether generalization is defensible, or in a more limited sense, the question of what the consequences will be of a corresponding policy in a quite different social-historical context, requires at least a separate extensive inquiry into the conditions which made such a policy a relative success in the Netherlands and into the degree in which these conditions are met in a different context.

Confronted with these practical and methodological problems, also with the short time available for the writing of this paper, we preferred to take a pragmatic position. We confine ourselves to the discussion of some concrete issues, in our opinion relevant for an appreciation of the Dutch system - against the background of the more general question of what has been the significance of this system for the public weal. It is clear that in this

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way a rather arbitrary choice has been made.

2. The Dutch system of financial parity of public and private education

Financial parity of public and private education was laid down by law in the Netherlands in 1920, in the first place on the level of primary education, after a modification of the Constitution in 1917 made this equalization possible. The passage in question in the Constitution states that private education meeting conditions required by law is to be financed, to the same extent as public education, out of public means. This rule meant the conclusion of a nearly eighty-year "school struggle" between the upholders of public education and those of private education.

This struggle had two phases:

(a) The struggle for the right of existence of private education, which in principle was decided in 1848, when the Constitution stipulated that all education should be free; and

(b) The struggle for the possibility to honour this right, a struggle which was decided in two stages:

- in 1889, when for the first time the principle of governmental aid for the private school was accepted (very limited aid by the way); and
- in 1917, when the Constitution stipulated that all

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education is an object of constant care by government (instead of public education only), in addition to what was already mentioned about financial support of education.

The history of the "school struggle" is to an important extent also the political and social history of the Netherlands in the second part of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. It is not possible to say much about this history within the scope of this paper, although some knowledge about it is actually indispensable for a proper understanding of the specific characteristics of Dutch society in general, and of the Dutch educational system in particular. We must limit ourselves to a reproduction of the motives of the upholders of public and private education respectively as these motives were formulated in 1925:

The upholders of public education honour the opinion that education is a state affair. Whereas all kinds of different views of life find their supporters among the citizens of the same nation, they must live together in mutual tolerance and in respect of each others' religious opinion in the interest of national unity and national power. In that case it must be considered wrong to divide the children of the Dutch people, where education is concerned, in keeping with the creed of their parents. All these children must attend the same school and accustom themselves from childhood to mutual tolerance. And who is more equipped to deal with the school than the State, which has the biggest interest in the good education of its citizens? This school, which truly

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should be called the national school, should also be the public school - that is the school founded and supported by the civil government and open to all children in spite of their religious background.

The principles of the advocates of private education were, in brief, the following:

The child belongs first of all to the parents, not to the State. The right of the parents to educate their children is a right, given to them immediately by God; it is an indefensible natural right. Taking this into consideration, no school law is acceptable if it interferes, directly or indirectly, with the freedom of the parents to choose the sort of education given to their children. Concerning tolerance, a distinction should be made between tolerance and indifference. It is not tolerance to say that all views of life are equally good, which is the same as saying that they are equally bad. That is indifference. National unity relies mostly on peace and justice. If the state provides only neutral schools for whom that is necessary and otherwise leaves its citizens free to provide special schools for their children; if it makes no other demands on them other than those to which it is clearly entitled and therefore preserves freedom of ideological orientation, especially concerning the appointment of teachers and the choice of instructional materials, unimpaired; if in the end it provides support to its own schools and the private schools from public funds at the same level, then, in a country where no religious unity exists, as far as education is concerned the causes of struggle and discord are removed and the foundations are laid for unity and the strength of the people.¹

It is not easy to indicate the precise dividing-lines

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between the advocates of public education and the protagonists of private education, but, schematizing a little, one can say that private education - when creed is taken as starting-point - was and is advocated by the Roman Catholic and Protestant parts of the population, with the Orthodox Calvinists (in the Netherlands called Gereformeerden) as the most fierce defenders, while the latitudinarian groups within and outside the most important Protestant creed (the Dutch Reformed) and de 'buitenkerkelijken', (those who are "outside the church") stand for public education. When political orientation is taken as point of departure (religious and political cleavages partly coincide in the Netherlands) the confessional parties, who see a close relation between religious and political convictions, defend sectarian schools, while nonsectarian schools are advocated by the liberal and socialist parties (who are otherwise opponents on most social-economic issues). This is the situation at the moment; during the "school struggle" varying coalitions between the above mentioned groupings were formed.

As mentioned already, the school struggle has played an important part in Dutch history: the furrows ploughed into the Dutch religious and political landscape by this struggle have, for the greater part, determined the picture of Dutch society as it is nowadays and given rise to a specific type of societal

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organization known in the Netherlands as "verzuiling."

"Verzuiling," according to Goudsblom in his book on Dutch society,

means literally 'columnization' or 'pillarization,' the idea being that the various blocs of the population represent separate 'pillars' (zuilen), each valuable in its own right, and together indispensable in supporting the national structure. The phenomenon of verzuiling is by no means confined to politics. Each denominational bloc has set up a whole array of organizations encompassing practically every sphere of social life. Schools and universities, radio and television corporations, trade unions, health and welfare agencies, sport associations, and so on, fit into the zuilen system. The actual number of blocs represented may vary in different areas, depending upon special alliances; the usual division is fourfold, between a Calvinist, a Roman Catholic, a 'general', and a socialist bloc. The latter two may sometimes be combined to form a sort of 'antibloc', or they may be accompanied by yet another bloc of latitudinarian Protestants." ²

For an adequate understanding of the financial policy of equal support to private and public education it is not enough to know the motives expressed by the upholders of both systems, as summed up earlier; it is equally necessary to see the preceding struggle within the context of the process of verzuiling and against the background of the functions the verzuiling had and still has for the groups in question. We have available, in a study by Van Kemenade of the Dutch Roman Catholics and their education, a description of these functions:

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In historical perspective the verzuiling of the Roman Catholics has ... a twofold function. On the one side it is a bringing together of forces, a concentration of power to produce social changes, in this case to remove the discrimination and the subordination of the Catholics in all fields of social life. On the other side it aims at the protection of Catholics, by isolation, against errors and atheism. It tries to maintain the orthodox creed unchanged, in other words. It is a control-mechanism, a very rigorous way to reduce dissonance.

Especially this isolating, conserving and defensive function the Catholic and the Protestant verzuiling had in common. For the Catholics as well as the Protestants the verzuiling was, in this respect, quite reactionary; the chief aim was the conservation of orthodoxy - antithesis, protection and defence. It represented a negative reflection on the possible value of modernist tendencies for religion. The renewal of the creed through confrontation with revolutionary principles and modern thinking was out of the question....

The same defensive and isolating attitude was the background of the strife for own Catholic schools, which played a central role in the revitalization and reactivation of both groups [the Catholics and the Calvinists during the 19th century - CV]. Education had strongly gained in importance since the School Act of 1806; gradually it had become the most important and the most comprehensive socialization-mechanism along-side of the closed groupings of the family, the village, the neighborhood and the church. The consequence was that the traditional socialization-monopoly of the family and the church was broken up and the danger of dissonance was rendered more acute, the more so, on the one side while this education wore of old, a Calvinistic signature, on the other side while, as a consequence of the affiliation

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of education and science, it represented modernistic and rationalistic influences.

In the light then of the revival, the religious-orthodox reaction and the emancipation, it was self-evident that Catholics as well as Protestants gave their attention primarily to education....

How much the Catholics and the Protestants had the interests of private education at heart, follows not only from their political zeal, but in the first place from the fact that, by 1890, 1,252 private schools existed with 188,052 pupils and 4340 teachers, against 2,959 public schools with 454,920 pupils and 11,197 teachers; These private schools were founded and maintained without the slightest support by government, exclusively on the basis of the readiness of church people to make sacrifices, and, as far as the Catholics are concerned, through support of the religious orders and congregations.

The mainspring of this effort was, as has been said already, the need to protect the Catholics and the Protestants, by way of isolation and subcultural sovereignty, against the errors of unbelievers....

The verzuijing, and private education as its principal exponent, came into existence, then, while religious minorities felt themselves menaced in their possibilities for existence and tried to find in organizations of their own a concentration of power as well as a protection against this threat....

Strictly speaking, the verzuijing, at least the verzuijing of the Catholics, is the mechanism of emancipation and isolation of a threatened minority, which joined forces in this organizational exclusivism as a way of asserting itself, a way of protecting itself against the influences of the outer world, (which is viewed as pernicious). The verzuijing is also a mechanism to control the group and to guarantee its survival.

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In one of the following sections the importance of the verzuiling for the organizational structure of Dutch education will be elaborated. However, it follows from what has been said thus far, that the educational policy followed in the Netherlands, resulting in the "Pacification" reached in 1917, is closely related to emancipation (and isolation) of minorities suppressed in the past. It is not possible to see this policy as an isolated phenomenon, apart from a process of verzuiling, encompassing many institutional sectors of society in addition to education.

Naturally, the translation of the "Pacification" into provisions of law was not an easy task. The fact, to give an example, that the municipality (one of the most important bodies entrusted with the application of the law) partly fixed and controlled the claims of private schools to public funds, while this same municipal corporation constituted the board of the public school, opened up the possibility of a new "school struggle," now at the local level.

To prevent this, the legislature tried to lay down the obligations and the claims of private schools in clear-cut, well defined terms, according to objective standards, in order to withdraw them as much as possible from the subjective judgment of local authorities.

Once these objective standards are met, it is definitely

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established that the board of a private school has a right to claim, according to a certain formula, an allowance by the government for the salary of the headmaster and the obligatory number of teachers and an allowance by the municipality for such other costs as buildings, furnishings, and so on. The obligation of government to consent to the creation of a private school if certain legal regulations are satisfied is known in the Netherlands as the "automatism."

Of course, the principle of financial parity of public and private education has found diverging elaborations at the levels of secondary and higher education. We leave these more technical aspects of the principle of financial parity out of this consideration, because they are not relevant for the main topic of this paper, the social aspects of the introduction of a system of equal support to public and non-public schools.

3. Financial parity and 'pillarization'

We start this section with a short summary of the history of the verzuiling as given by Goudsblom:

One of the most striking features of the modernization of Dutch society has been the fact that the two most important religious minorities, the orthodox Calvinists and the Roman Catholics, were the first to launch a successful emancipation movement some decades before the working classes began to respond to the call of socialism. The immediate

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cause prompting the religious minorities to action lay in a series of measures initiated in the middle of the nineteenth century, measures by which the ruling bourgeoisie intended to further general education upon a secular basis. Against these attempts Calvinist as well as Roman Catholic leaders insisted upon school instruction with a religious background. Throughout the second half of the century the "school struggle" remained one of the dividing issues in Dutch politics.

As the franchise was gradually extended in the interim, national parties and leagues were founded which rallied the voters with an appeal to religious principles. Thus the scene was set for a process of "segmented integration" whereby several blocs of the population, defined by their religion or Weltanschauung, strove for fuller participation in society. When toward the end of the century socialism emerged as a political force, it joined the already existing pattern as a full-fledged ideological bloc. The liberal bourgeoisie that had originally controlled national affairs was increasingly forced into an equal position with the newly founded blocs. Although even today the liberals still like to cling to the epithet "general" in describing themselves, in effect they have come to constitute another bloc, characterized ideologically by their de-emphasis of either religious denomination or social class in political matters.⁴

According to this description, verzuiling can be seen as a phenomenon resulting from the interaction of traditional religious diversity and the modernizing process of national integration. It is clear, then that by and large Dutch society has not undergone an abrupt break with tradition. In this

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respect the zuilen system may have served as a mitigating factor, restraining the social and cultural impact of modernization.

It was not inevitable that the profusion of national organizations dealing with all sorts of activities, both compulsory and voluntary, would result in increased integration of Dutch society as a whole. Clearly, a society may be disrupted rather than integrated when some segments of the population build strong national organizations of their own. In neighboring Belgium, for instance, the competing movements of Flemings and Walloons have caused violent outbreaks of hostility that have jeopardized national unity.

The Netherlands, on the other hand, has hardly ever experienced internal threats to its nationhood. The national structure, established in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and for a long time controlled by the burgher elites, has not been assaulted by the popular emancipationist movements of the past hundred years. Instead of opposing the national structure as such, the formerly excluded minorities have claimed an equitable share in it, seeking integration according to the typical pattern of verzuiling.

For some generations verzuiling, based upon the two dimensions of religious and socioeconomic differences, has more or less monopolized all expressions of organized conflict in Dutch society. No other social division has yielded any lasting preponderant issues....

Religious and socioeconomic issues, then, are the principal foci of national conflict in Dutch society. Neither, however, presents a clear-cut dichotomy like the Flemish-Walloon antithesis in Belgium....

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Given this multiform differentiation of the population, it is understandable that the two dividing principles of religious and socioeconomic identification have not produced a single cleavage splitting the nation into radically opposed camps.⁵

The final aim of the confessional blocs can perhaps be described best as "segmented integration": they aspire to participate in all national decision-making and to benefit fully from all national facilities while at the same time maintaining internal unity and cohesion. In practice this means that they are willing to collaborate with others at the level of leadership, while at the same time trying to keep their rank and file insulated. The picture of the verzuiling is more complicated than the preceding description suggests.

In its neat simplicity the image may also suggest too much order, however. Actually the situation is highly entangled, if only because not all zuilen are based upon the same distinguishing criteria. Whereas the confessional blocs find their uniting principle in religion, the secular blocs deny the general validity of this very principle in social organization. The latter stress specific socioeconomic issues and interests, distinctions that the confessional blocs try to neutralize. The contingency of these two divergent axes renders the whole system of verzuiling very complex. Even the number of zuilen may be made a matter of discussion. Some observers count only three: the Roman Catholic, the Orthodox Calvinist, and the "neutral" zuil. They thus ignore the second dimension of verzuiling, which is no less essential to a proper understanding of its actual dynamics. It seems

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clearer, therefore, to make a systematic distinction between the so-called "general" or "liberal" bloc as opposed to the socialist bloc. The boundaries, to be sure, are vague and fluid, and in some areas, such as school education, they are virtually absent; yet wherever they become manifest they prove to be quite trenchant, as in politics, where the Liberal and the Socialist parties represent two sharply opposed poles. In principle both the Liberals and the Socialists reject verzuiling; yet in practice they are forced to accept it, and to assume themselves the role of zuilen in the shifting coalitions with the two confessional blocs.

The same situation holds for the large socioeconomic organizations. They, too, have to operate in a field subdivided by lines of religious confession and of liberalism and socialism. The economy generates a wide range of opposing interests, such as between the rich and the poor, the farmers and the industrialists, the white collar and the blue collar workers, and the producers and the consumers. As these potential conflicts give rise to national organizations, they tend to be drawn into the pattern of verzuiling. The religious blocs do not wish socioeconomic issues to detract from loyalty to the confessional formation; they therefore provide organizations incorporating these issues. By doing so, however, they also allow an element of internal tension to enter their ranks.

Thus the two crossing axes in the system of verzuiling are continuously at odds. Socio-economic antagonisms threaten to upset the confessional blocs, while confessional differences disturb the unity of socioeconomic categories. By thus confounding the issues and dividing the loyalties, verzuiling probably adds to the stability of the national order.⁶

As can be concluded from this analysis, the unique character of the Dutch situation lies not primarily in the phenomenon of "institutional crystallization" of social functions

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around value-systems and the formation of groups corresponding with these systems. Most democratic countries are characterized by value-differentiation and an accompanying social articulation, constituting points of departure for structuration: the concentration of like-minded people in society is not a typically Dutch, but a general international phenomenon. A prime characteristic of Dutch society is that levensbeschouwing (perhaps the best translation is "view of life") has been the principal starting-point for structural differentiation and has put its stamp on the process of "institutional crystallization." A number of factors were conducive to this development:

- the relative size of the different denominational groups in the Netherlands;
- the stringent experience of the faith and the force of the religious ties of the Dutch Roman Catholics, stimulated by suppression, consolidated by rigorous missionary spiritual care and influenced by Jansenism and Calvinism;
- the far-from-pliable spirit of the Reformation in the Netherlands;
- the religious, political, economical and cultural suppression of the Catholics and of parts of the country mainly populated by Catholics since the 16th century;
- (the fear of) positivism and so-called modernism, rightly or wrongly associated with the political liberalism of the 19th century;

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- the agnostic Weltanschauung of the early, at the outset Marxist, socialism at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century;
- and finally the fact that distinctions based on levensbeschouwing coincided for the greater part with economic, geographic, political-historical and cultural differences.⁷

Verzuiling, as a process of formation of organizations based on differentiation primarily along the dimension of levensbeschouwing, can take place with respect to all sorts of social functions, but it is obvious that the organized mechanisms of social control in society, such as education, the press, radio, television, youth work, social work and politics are of the utmost importance in this respect. Activities of these organizations imply values, and contrasting values are always at stake. Pre-eminently through these mechanisms it is possible to guarantee the continued existence and unfolding of the relevant values. It follows that the principal manifest function of the differential structuration is the maintenance of the respective group cultures and of the typical values considered relevant for each group.

Against the background of what precedes it is possible to examine the relationship between the verzuiling of Dutch society and the educational system. Clearly, to assert that the Dutch

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system of equal support to sectarian and non-sectarian schools has promoted the division of Dutch society into zuilen is to over-simplify the actual situation.

In the first place this assertion implies a negative view of the phenomenon of verzuiling as such. Now there are in the Netherlands defenders and opponents of an organization of society based on verzuiling; the stand they take in this matter largely determines the advantages and disadvantages they discern, both generally and so far as the verzuiling of education is concerned. The foregoing analysis shows, however, that if one examines as objectively as possible the historical and political situation in which verzuiling originated, and if one takes account of the consequences of the verzuiling for Dutch society, it cannot be denied that on the whole the Dutch way of doing justice to divergent value and group differentiations within one society can be seen as an adequate solution to problems generated by the modernization of Dutch society, insofar at least that on the one side this solution contributed to national integration, while on the other side it promoted the stability of society. A negative view of verzuiling is appropriate insofar as a solution which was once adequate can become a strait-jacket in a fast developing society, an impediment in the search

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for new solutions.

In the second place, the assertion that fiscal support of private education has intensified dissension within Dutch society turns things upside down. Public aid to private schools did not generate verzuiling. Rather, acceptance of verzuiling as leading principle for the Dutch system of societal organization produced the financial parity of public and private education as an inevitable consequence.

Partly this means a recognition of the fact that there is a close relationship between the situation of Dutch society in the last century, and the specific solution found in the Netherlands to the problem of the relation between public and private education. Partly it follows from what has been said that, apart from the stand one takes in the struggle for or against the verzuiling as specific way of societal organization, an objective position in the controversy around the equal treatment of public and private education is hardly possible. In other words: he who repudiates the verzuiling as such - and there are a lot of people in the Netherlands who reject the system - will in general, for reasons of principle, be a defender of public education; he who accepts the verzuiling and its consequences will also for reasons of principle, but on the basis of quite different ideals as far as the organization of society is concerned, acclaim the equal treatment of public

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and private education. These differing perspectives also determine the advantages and disadvantages one discerns in the system of public aid to private education.

These considerations do not alter the fact that the system of verzuilde education has certain consequences which are admitted by both adversaries and defenders. The nature of these consequences follow from the description Goudsblom gives of the way the system works:

At each level, from the nursery school to the university, parents may choose among three sorts of schools: the neutral public school, the confessional Protestant school, and the confessional Roman Catholic school. Since 1920 all of these schools have received full financial support from the state. The public schools are administered by the municipal town boards, the confessional schools by private boards. As the supplier of the material means, the state imposes binding conditions upon all schools regarding such matters as admittance, curriculum, degrees, number of teachers, qualifications of teachers, and so forth. Owing to the general arrangements incorporating all schools into one system, the Ministry of Education can guarantee that the various institutions at each level meet equivalent standards of scholastic performance.

Apart from the officially prescribed standards, however, the confessional and the public schools diverge in several ways. As is to be expected, the differences occur primarily in the religious teaching - biblical knowledge and articles of faith - but the dissimilarities extend into other subjects as well. In history, for example,

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the view presented in Roman Catholic schools of the Dutch revolt against Spain and the concurrent Protestantization of society deviates on critical points from the "public" or Protestant version. There are even some striking cases of typically Roman Catholic idiom in the Dutch language, due to the wording of the catechism taught in Roman Catholic classes. Yet more important than the varied cultural content of the teaching is the social isolation caused by segmental education. Every child spends a large part of the day in an insular environment where contacts are virtually restricted to members of the same confessional or non-confessional bloc....Thus the schools, while embracing the entire Dutch youth within one national system, also serve to perpetuate the distinctions connected with verzuiling as well as with socio-economic status.

Finally, it is worth noting that the percentage of Roman Catholic and Protestant students attending confessional schools decreases steadily as one moves up to higher levels of the educational system. This can be partly explained on the grounds of exigency, for in many areas the total number of students does not warrant a tripartition of advanced schools, so that one simply has no choice. But in addition, the same principle appears to be at work that has been brought to light in electoral surveys; namely, that the confessional blocs tend to be more "open" at the top and "closed" at the bottom. Members of the higher occupational strata and students at the higher educational institutions apparently enjoy a greater leeway in moving outside their denominational blocs.⁸

Clearly - and this quotation underlines it - the Dutch educational system is not only itself an essential part of the system of verzuiling, but also, at least as far as confessional

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private education is concerned, education aims on the individual level at laying the foundations for participation in a society based on verzuiling. This function is not only recognized by the advocates of private education, they even consider it as an important point of departure in the struggle for private education. In the words of Van Kemenade:

Catholic education is in the Netherlands undoubtedly the most important exponent, if not the cornerstone and the promoter of the verzuiling of the Dutch Roman Catholics. At least in quantitative and in historical respect the Catholic school occupies a central place within the totality of organizations in which Roman Catholics in the Netherlands have joined forces.

Quantitatively, because no other Catholic organization shows such a high degree of verzuiling (that is the percentage of Catholic institutions on the totality of such institutions) and such a high degree of participation (that is the percentage of Catholics participating in a Catholic institution on all the Catholics participating in such institutions) as education.⁹

The same study contends that the verzuiling has been functional in the development of all education, insofar as it made the task of building up educational provisions much easier.

The contrasts in values and interests between the Catholics and respectively the Protestants, the Liberals and the Socialists were rather big; in this situation Catholic education made possible an 'undisturbed' transmission of values, and contributed to the erecting of a defense, which was at that

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time very opposite in dealing with the conflict of interests. In this way not only the social and intellectual emancipation of the Catholics was promoted- but also, in our opinion, the development of Dutch education in general, which was spared by the verzuiling of continuous internal discussions on issues of a non-educational character; at the same time closer relations between the several parts of the population and in this instance the ecumenical idea were stimulated, because it was much easier to contact each other from "vested" positions. At the same time it cannot be denied that from an educational point of view the verzuiling brought along a number of disadvantages, such as "the splitting up of the scientific support of education, the enormous variety of organizations of teachers, which hampered the efficiency of the policy concerning socioeconomic and professional issues, and primarily the enormous number of independent bodies, dealing with individual schools, which made coordination and cooperation and an integral planning of educational provisions extremely difficult."¹⁰

These remarks demonstrate that even in the confessional camp certain disadvantages of the verzuiling of education are discerned. This does not mean, however, that the desirability of confessional private education is called into question. An important question which we cannot answer for lack of research on this point is whether this moment there are really substantial differences in content between public and private education - apart from the slight differences mentioned by Goudsblom. It is undeniable that the changes in the functions

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of education caused by the social and economic development during the first half of the century have influenced public and private education alike; the demands made by this development upon education have to the same degree forced public and private education to adapt. It is possible that the character of the school has not been modified substantially by the changes in the nature and content of education wrought by the development of society - that the differences as a consequence of the differing ideological starting-points have lost in importance, if they have not disappeared all together, except on some minor points. We repeat that there are no valid data on this issue, but nevertheless there are strong indications that the development sketched above is coming about. But with these remarks we anticipate two following sections, dealing with the development of the relations between public and private education and the future of the verzuiling of education, respectively.

4. Public and private education since the introduction of financial parity

In this section we trace the development of the relation between public and private education since the 'Pacification'; special attention is given to the question whether - and to what degree - financial parity has been detrimental to public

education.

The point of departure for our examination should be a short summary of the way in which the principle of freedom of education has been worked out in the Dutch educational system. Characteristic of the Dutch system is that the right to, and the possibility of, education for every part of the population according to its own belief and choice have for the most part been realized. The Constitution not only acknowledges freedom of education for all, but in addition, a practically complete financial parity exists between public education (that is education founded and administered by the state or the municipality) and private education. All costs of a private school are subsidized at a 100 per cent level by the government, and every school is entitled to this subsidy automatically, if: (1) the founder is incorporated; (2) it can be shown that the school will have the minimum number of pupils fixed by law; (3) a security of 15 per cent of the costs of foundation can be laid up.

Now this freedom of education is considerably restricted in several ways. It is useful in this respect to make a distinction between freedom of direction—that is the freedom to educate on the basis of religious, moral or social conviction, the freedom of foundation, that is the freedom to start schools for like-minded people, and the freedom of organization, that

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is the freedom to determine independently the curriculum, the time-table, the subject-matter, and the educational equipment.

It can be said of Dutch education that freedom of foundation is completely guaranteed but that the freedom of organization, and as a consequence, to a large extent, the freedom of direction are severely curtailed. The requirements as to quality and the conditions for support, laid down by the legislature for every special type of school, contain detailed prescriptions with regard to the obligatory subjects and the hours that must be allocated to them. The room that in principle is left for free education to give a specific content to these prescribed subjects, and to add other subjects, is in many cases nullified by the extensive and concrete examinations requirements and by the fact that the compulsory subjects and religious instruction fill up the curriculum completely.

In reality, educational freedom in the Netherlands consists principally of the in-itself-important juridical and financial possibility for groups to found their own schools. The possibility to determine the form and the content of instruction according to particular views, to decide on the choice of the subjects, the subject matter and the curriculum is, given the statutory regulations, very small within the legal and in fact

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rather extensive and stringently prescribed framework.

It is, in the main, restricted to religious instruction and to rather limited nuances springing from the views of individual teachers.

The stringency of this framework is shown by the items, under supervision by the state: (1) the curriculum; (2) the time-table; (3) the age of the pupils; (4) the admission of the pupils; (5) the final examination and the grading of the pupils; (6) the number of teachers in relation to the number of pupils; (7) the qualifications of the teachers; (8) the legal status of the teachers; (9) the salary of the teachers; (10) the pension of the teachers; (11) the unemployment compensation of the teachers; (12) the size of the school; and (13) the budget of the school.¹¹

The purpose of these regulations is clear: wherever it was possible, safeguards had to be created so that the financial parity, introduced in 1920 for primary education in the first instance, would not lead to differences in quality between public and private education. A lot of attention was given to these requirements relative to quality when the bill was under discussion in the Parliament. In this respect, Idenburg, one of the best judges of Dutch education, remarks in his survey of the Dutch educational system:

No subject got more attention when the bill was under discussion than the safeguards

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for the quality of education. Some regulations obtain equally for public and private education; for the rest equivalence has been pursued. One or two hundred articles were not enough to work out everything. Later, quite a few modifications and additions were necessary. With all its regulations and jurisdiction the act fills some hefty tomes. In many respects freedom has been restricted. But democracy took its course. There is no law in the world which with so much cautiousness, does justice to the claims of even small groups for schools of their own, under their own direction. The education of teachers on the primary level was included in the system. Private schools mean also the possibility of private training-colleges.¹²

As far as is possible by means of statutory regulations, attempts are made to equalize the conditions under which public and private education functions. That the mark was not hit in all cases and that educational interests were sometimes less important than the political necessity of assuring a high degree of uniformity, is undeniable. One commentator scores a bull's eye when he remarks that the Primary Education Act 1920 in the first place tried to shape the idea of freedom of education as laid down in article 208 of the Constitution; secondly that as a consequence, financial parity of public and private education has been regulated down to the minutest details and finally that educational viewpoints were subordinated to the first two ends mentioned.¹³

The legislature has taken the relevant clause in the

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Constitution, stating that education, public as well as private, is an object of constant care for the government, very seriously. Is it nevertheless possible to detect differences in quality between public and private education? It is very difficult to answer this question in a general way. As far as we know, no systematic investigations have been conducted into this matter. It could be concluded from the absence of interest on this point that such differences are of minor importance: if they existed they would undoubtedly have attracted the attention of the many fervent defenders of either public or private education, for these defenders are present in the Dutch population.

One indication of the quality of a primary school can be the number of graduates each year admitted to one of the types of secondary education preparing for higher education. In this respect there are big differences between primary schools, and thus the question is to the point, whether there are differences in this respect between public and private primary education. The situation for the whole country with respect to the (probable) admittance to pre-university education after primary school can be judged from the following table.

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Table 1: Number of pupils leaving the primary school in 1957-1959 (average) with pre-university school as destination¹⁴

	total	boys	girls
Total	16.2%	19.2%	13.1%
public schools	15.7%	18.0%	13.3%
Protestant schools	13.2%	15.4%	10.8%
Roman Catholic schools	16.6%	20.3%	12.6%
non-confessional private schools	53.5%	54.3%	52.7%

More recent data on admittance to pre-university education are not available. There is no reason to presume, however, that in the years between 1960 and 1970 important shifts have taken place: the growing interest in pre-university education characteristic of this period is undoubtedly fostered by the three most important kinds of primary education.

Of course, the orientation on pre-university education has only a limited value as an indicator of the qualitative level of primary education. The significance of this datum is, that on the whole there is a high correlation between the social composition of the school and the transition to pre-university education. These data give the impression that, for the country as a whole (and with the exception of non-confessional private schools, comprising only 2 per cent of all the pupils in primary schools), public and private education show no spectacular differences in social composition of the pupils.

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As far as such differences are present, it is probably possible to explain them by differences in social composition between the confessional and non-confessional parts of the population, rather than by other factors, such as differences in status between schools of different ideological orientations. Naturally there are important differences in this respect between primary schools; but these differences are (again with the exception of non-confessional private schools) independent of ideological orientation.

For some kinds of secondary education, data are available on social composition; these data show that in this respect there are no differences between schools of different ideological background.¹⁵

For the present our conclusion must be that there are no indications - at least, we have not succeeded in finding them - that the fiscal policy of equal support to public and private education has reduced public education to the status of a 'dumping ground' for pupils of low ability and social status. There are, of course, public primary schools with quite unsatisfactory results, partly as a consequence of the low ability and/or the low social status of their pupils, but you will find such schools among the confessional schools as well.

Incidentally it may happen that a public school has to

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accept children a private school wants to get rid of, but things like this do not happen on a large scale: one in the Netherlands has the feeling such practices are extensive or that they cast a slur on the reputation of public education.

The fact remains, however, that the relationship between public education and the public authorities differs significantly from the relationship between private education and the public authorities, and that tensions can result from these differing relationships. In the history of Dutch education since 1920 such tensions have not been the exception. For example, in the difficult years before World War II, as the initiative of the Ministry of Education, 15 per cent of all public primary schools were closed; many pupils from these schools went over to confessional schools, which were not affected by this measure.¹⁶

Very favorable from the point of view of public education in this latter respect was the recent addition of article 19 to the Primary School Act, which made it possible to found new viable schools in several places - in places where schools that had been closed in the years between 1930 and 1940 - on the basis of an application by the parents of at least twenty children of school-age.

This addition must be seen against the background of the then-current interpretation of a clause in the Primary Education Act that stated that in every municipality there should be

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enough primary schools, open to all children irrespective of denomination. The interpretation of this passage had been that: (a) by cooperation of municipalities in the organization of common schools and (b) by making a settlement to give children from one municipality access to schools in another municipality, the requirement can be met.

In more than 100 municipalities the solution mentioned under (b) was in effect, and this means that the regulation laid down in article 19 had to be considered as an obligation to found a school only when the solutions (a) or (b) were not possible.

The prescription that there should be enough public schools everywhere in the country was thus immediately emptied of meaning, so that in one third of all municipalities, no public schools were present any longer. It is evident that the upholders of public education were strongly in favor of objective quantitative norms which could compel the municipality to found a public school, a desire which was met by the addition of article 19 of the Primary Education Act mentioned above.

In quantitative respect the policy of equal financial support has, as could be expected, given occasion to an important shift in the participation of public and private education. This shift is expressed by the following table, which shows the percentages of the school population in public and private

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primary schools from 1920 to 1969.

Table 2: Number of pupils in public and private primary schools, 1920=1969.¹⁷

year	% in public schools	% in private schools
1920	55	45
1930	38	62
1938	31	69
1945	27	73
1950	27	73
1960	27	73
1967	26	74
1969	27	73

As can be seen from this table, there have been no changes in the percentages since 1945. The same applies for the distribution of pupils over the ideological orientations: the 73 per cent of pupils in private schools consists of 44 per cent in Roman Catholic schools, 27 per cent in Protestant schools and 2 per cent on non-confessional private schools. Goudsblom comments on this percentage in private schools as follows:

This figure gives a slightly exaggerated indication of the degree of "confessionalization" among the adult population, inasmuch as it leaves out the number of children per family, which is comparatively high among the Roman Catholics and the Gereformeerden. Taking family size into account, the Dutch sociologist J.P. Kruijt has calculated that in 1957, 35 per cent of all parents sent their children to a Roman Catholic elementary school, 28 per cent to a Protestant one, and 37 per cent to a neutral one. This would mean that approximately 90 per cent of the Roman Catholic and Gereformeerden parents, 50 per cent of the

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Dutch Reformed and "others," and 10 per cent of the nonchurched chose a confessional elementary school for their children.¹⁸

These figures relate to primary education. On the level of secondary education the situation is much more complicated: most types of secondary education are less verzuild than primary education. The conclusion is not justified, however, that, for example, an important part of the Catholic students enroll in non-Catholic secondary schools and that the interest of Catholics for Catholic education is apparently greater on the level of primary education than on the level of secondary education. The complication is that in the participation figures the regional differences and the differences between boys and girls find no expression. It is a well-known fact that the "relative lagging behind" of Roman Catholic education diverges for the several types of schools in different regions, and it is also known that this "lagging behind" is more characteristic of girls than boys. Add to this that the factual presence of Roman Catholic schools in some types compared with others, can influence the participation. For the Protestant part of the population similar considerations apply.

Exact figures about the interest of Roman Catholics and Protestants in confessional secondary education are not available because there are no data about the number of Catholic and

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Protestant students in non-confessional schools. It is definitely established, however, that, as far as the Roman Catholics are concerned, the percentage of Catholic students in non-Catholic schools for secondary education declined in the years between 1950 and 1960. In 1951 the number of Catholic students in Catholic schools varied for some important types of secondary education from 55.6 per cent (lower technical school) to 70.1 per cent (pre-university school); in 1960 from 61.7 per cent (lower technical school) to 80.6 per cent (pre-university school). (These percentages are approximations, based on a number of plausible presuppositions.)¹⁹

The number of public primary schools shows, in accordance with the trends, mentioned previously a decrease from 3,457 in 1920 to 2,630 in 1969.

The financial consequences of the policy of equal financial support become evident from the following tables.

Table 3: The costs of primary education (ordinary and advanced primary education)²⁰

year	gross public expenditures ^a		number of pupils		gross public expenditures per pupil	
	public	private	public	private	public	private
before financial parity						
1860	3190000	18000	284440	81272	11.20	0.20
1900	14185000	1151000	519136	235857	27.30	4.90
1915	25814000	9050000	573625	420751	45.00	21.50
after financial parity						
1920	68291000	39105000	560907	479207	121.80	81.60
1930	62705000	80429000	473524	770188	132.40	104.40
1939	40963000	75746000	390982	853155	105.00	89.00

^a Exclusive of capital expenditures and without deducting the revenues because of school-fees a.s.o. (Dutch florins)

Table 4: Gross public expenditures on ordinary primary education^a

year	total	public	private
1930	145689000	59586000	86103000
1946	165387000	49213000	116174000
1950	252562000	78374000	174188000
1960	604714000	188554000	416160000
1967	1335300000	410000000	925000000

year	total	public	private
1930	125.44	130.79	121.99
1946	152.41	163.14	148.28
1950	216.37	248.54	204.46
1960	417.59	476.96	395.30
1967	941.24	1099.44	884.53

^aDutch florins

It is remarkable that the expenditures per pupil are, all along the line, lower for private education than for public education. The causes mentioned for this trend are a less efficient administration of public schools compared with private schools and the much lower number of very small public primary schools.

It is also possible to conclude from these figures that a problem brought to the fore in 1925 by a Dutch expert on constitutional law--to wit the combination of support to private associations on the one side and the maintenance of administrative order and good management on the other side--should not be seen as a very serious problem. Kranenburg remarked at the time:

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The disproportion lies in the right of private persons and association to money from the public purse, while they have themselves no direct responsibility for the control of the public purse, and, in most cases, do not feel such responsibility at all. The effort to obtain support degenerates as a consequence of the zeal of persons and groups directed to this one end, in an organized, unbridled hunt for aid which even has brought people into contact with the criminal judge. The abuse of the right to money from the public purse leads to needless duplication as a consequence of local bickerings.²¹

The comment of Idenburg is:

This was a sharp criticism of the "automatism." In particular there had indeed been a lot of "bickering" about the parental attestations required for the foundation of private schools. In series of decrees residue of abuse and struggle can be found. Still more shameful is the fact: that the misuse made the modification of the Primary Education Act necessary. These modifications in the law testify to the prevalence of morally objectionable tactics to obtain the cooperation of local authorities.²²

With this comment one of the least ennobling consequences of the automatism, characteristic for the Dutch system of financial parity, has been denounced. As late as 1952, 5 pupils in a Dutch municipality were taken from the private school they had enrolled in and for at least six months were placed in a private school in another municipality, as part of the struggle to establish a new private school in a legally permitted but morally objectionable way. Abuses like these occurred in

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the past more frequently than nowadays and probably are not entirely avoidable. It is a fact, however--the comparison between the costs of private education and those of public education shows it--that on the whole private education is not more expensive than public education.

Quite another question is whether the whole system of public and private education, financed out of public funds, can be considered efficient and economical. In a 1957 article, appearing in the monthly of the largest socialist party in the Netherlands--a party that opposed verzuiling but was forced to participate in the system--the costs of the verzuiling fosters smaller schools where bigger schools would be possible; on the one hand; this may have led to certain economics. On the other hand bigger schools have, in the opinion of the author, some educational advantages. But it is not the author's intention to suggest that the "Pacification" should be set aside for the sake of a more efficient educational system. Along with maintenance of the principles of "Pacification," many consolidations would be possible, especially in the big population centres.

Besides, it cannot be assumed:

that any financial diseconomies caused by the presence of verzuilde organizations are made wrongly, for such organizations meet urgent needs. This does not alter the fact that it can be useful to point out the disadvantages versus the advantages of giving

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each group its own schools. One of the disadvantages is that the educational system is imperfect from the point of view of output. Another disadvantage is that the omnipresent need for educational renewal, as far as this renewal could be better realized in bigger schools, cannot be satisfied as readily as it would be if education were not so strongly influenced by divergent ideologies. The pace of educational renewal is slowed down by the presence of ideological differences in our nation. Leaders are to such a degree involved in solving denominational problems, and the zuilen must be taken into account in studying the improvement of education, that the result is a slowing down of reform.²³

This last remark is not free from partiality: we have already quoted the opinion of another author that the verzuiling was precisely beneficial to the development of Dutch education: the verzuiling shielded it from continuous internal discussions, while closer relations between the different parts of the nation were promoted owing to the fact that the existence of 'vested' positions makes contact easier.

There is much diversity of opinion concerning the economic as well as the social costs of the verzuiling. Idenburg is of the opinion that mainly the size of the Dutch schools is influenced by the system of equal financial support, and that the expensiveness of this system should be blamed on the fact that small school-buildings are less economical than bigger ones with regard to construction and maintenance: "It is not

in the line with the Dutch ideas in this field to advocate very big schools. The higher costs to be found in this factor should not be exaggerated." This author holds the view that uniformity enforced by the state is worse than the undeniable danger of waste. The system of financial parity seems to him "the only possibility for people with different ideological orientations to live together in one nation; the school struggle still raging in other countries seems to affirm this point of view."²⁴

If a verzuild system of social organization means that certain costs will turn out higher for the government than in a system without zuilen, then the question arises as to whether it is justifiable to ask the several zuilen to contribute as a way of compensating for these costs. In this respect the opinion given by Miedema has significance:

Especially when it remains in doubt whether the extra-costs of a verzuild social activity are justified, there is, from an economic point of view, reason to demand contribution from the zuilen. This will help ensure that the zuilen will be maintained by government without any way for the government to gauge whether from an economic point of view there is a lasting need of verzuild organizations. At the same time, an unnoticed decline in social prosperity, the maximizing of which the government has at heart, is prevented in this way. Precisely because prosperity is a relative concept, subject to many changes in the course of time, it is necessary to see

through the petrifying effect of the 'zuilen' organizations. If this happens sufficiently, the offerings of the verzuiling shall always turn out to be costs and never wastages.²⁵

5. The changing function of private education

The "school struggle" ended in 1917 with a Pacification," but for a while old animosities were still evident. In the half century since the acceptance of the Primary Education Act, the educational situation in this country changed considerably. We have seen already that, thanks to financial parity, private education developed strongly, while the number of public schools declined accordingly. Numerically the private schools are in the majority.

Two factors, however, must be taken into account:

1. As a consequence of its enormous quantitative growth, private education has become an essential part of the educational establishment in the Netherlands. It can no longer consider itself as the educational provision for a separate self-contained part of the nation, but is forced to see itself within the framework of the whole nation and of the provisions, necessary from a national point of view to keep this country up to the mark as far as education is concerned. Those who are responsible for what is going on in society must be mindful of the whole and of the cohesion, communication and the mutual

influence of the parts. Educational policy is no longer conceivable unless it is national policy, aimed at the nation in its totality.

2. Since the "Pacification" public education, as well as private education, has been supported increasingly from public means for the full 100 per cent of costs. Every year the Dutch national community spends hundreds of millions on education, without distinction between public or private education. The Dutch nation pays for its education. Also, considered from this angle, Dutch education is a common affair, irrespective of ideological orientation, a concern of every tax payer. It is not justified to draw heavily from the public funds year after year without becoming conscious of the fairness and the necessity to feel solidarity with all other groups and to assume a collective responsibility.

Both these factors have gradually brought the relation between public and private education into a quite new phase. The landmark of 1917 cannot be considered the criterion for what should happen in the second half of this century.

On the one side private education is no longer the relatively restricted, distressed institution it was at the beginning of this century. Socially, it has become equivalent to public education. But, as has been mentioned already, the consequence of this development has been an increasing

responsibility.

On the other side, the system of complete financial parity, as it gained in importance, had consequences nobody could foresee in 1917. It is an interesting question whether, within an educational system with thousands of schools paid out of public funds, where the government exerts a strong influence by way of conditions as to the quality of education, it is still possible to call these schools "private" in the full sense of the word.

The initial impetus to give full scope to the real possibilities of private initiative has resulted in the situation of the present day, marked by the fact that the private school has become virtually a semi-public school, fulfilling a public function and forced to draw conclusions out of this development. This consciousness is widespread, and accordingly, the consequences certainly are not brought home to all the parties involved. Nevertheless, elements of this consciousness can be found in the new legislation on education.

Illustrative in this respect is the Secondary Education Act (Mammoetwet), dating from 1963. Two elements of this act are striking, because they demonstrate the adjustment to changed circumstances very clearly.

One element is the financial regulation of secondary education, combining the principle of financial parity with

the need to create an educational system, comprising the different kinds of secondary education, in a well-considered distribution over the whole country. The procedure necessary to found a secondary school can be considered as a compromise between the automatism of the Primary Education Act and the need of the government to develop a common overall policy in the field of education.

The other element concerns the way public and private education were united in the construction of the act. The usual division of the older education acts has been left behind. Formerly, public education was regulated in its totality in a separate chapter; another separate chapter contained the conditions for endowment of private education. The Secondary Education Act knows principally only one kind of education: education paid out of public funds. The whole first chapter is dedicated to this kind of education; two short chapters follow, containing some regulations specifically dealing with public and private education respectively. In this way, the legislator has tried to express the equivalence of public and private education. One sees no longer the old conception that public education should be seen as the model for private education, but an explicit acknowledgement of their equivalence. Both kinds of education are "education paid out of public funds,"

and as such they are on one level, irrespective of ideological orientation.

The Minister of Education had to endure fierce attacks from the Roman Catholic as well as from the Protestant side in this matter, but he was able to lean on the clause in the Constitution stating that the requirements to be met by education entirely or partly paid out of public funds are regulated by law. No distinction is made between public and private education, except the self-evident addition, "with due regard to the freedom of ideological orientation, as far as private education is concerned."²⁶

The new details of the Secondary Education Act reflect the changing function of private education since the "Pacification" of 1917.

6. The future of public and private education

The preceding sections demonstrate that in various respects a stabilization has occurred in relations between public and private education. This is a remarkable phenomenon, especially in view of the tempestuous developments in many fields of Dutch society in general and education in particular. An inquiry, dating from 1968, into the attitudes of parents towards public education showed that in spite of tendencies in Dutch society indicating a growing openness, the choice of a school

is still a matter of principle. This is certainly the case for the preference of Gereformeerde parents for the Protestant school. Roman Catholic parents showed a certain degree of divergency between behavior pattern and thought pattern in the sense that the behavior pattern is determined on principle and/or situationally, but that in the thought pattern a certain openness can be detected.²⁷

The developments in the Roman Catholic camp are very striking; therefore it seems appropriate to give some attention to these developments with the help of the already mentioned study by Van Kemenade. This author finds all along the line a declining interest for Roman Catholic education, particularly among the younger Roman Catholics; it is losing its significance especially as a means of defence and protection and a self-evident expression of group solidarity.

It is quite remarkable, however, that the importance of Catholic education as a means of religious cultivation is hardly declining. This does not imply that the attachment to precisely Roman Catholic schools as the only or necessary means for the realization of the need of religious cultivation remains the same. On the contrary, precisely among the younger Roman Catholics the personal identification with Catholic education is strongly on the decline. The need of alternative possibilities and the willingness to send children to oecumenical

or "algemene gezindten" schools (schools in which several denominations participate) is increasing.

On the ground of this development it is to be expected that in the future the Roman Catholics will no longer consider Roman Catholic education as a necessary and pre-eminently appropriate instrument for the realization of their need of religious cultivation and that the interest for alternatives warranting this religious cultivation will continuously increase. In other words, it is to be expected that Roman Catholic education will increasingly lose its self-evident priority among the Roman Catholics.

It is not necessary that this development leads at short notice to behavioral consequences. An important factor in this respect is the high valuation of the parents of what could be called the secular functioning of Roman Catholic education: in this inquiry 82 per cent of the (Roman Catholic) parents were satisfied with the school of the child and also 82 per cent were of the opinion that the ordinary subjects were taught equally well in Roman Catholic and non-Catholic schools. In other words: there are objections, in the first place against the seclusion of Roman Catholic education, but these objections give no occasion to an exodus, because of the high appraisal of the quality of the Roman Catholic schools. Nevertheless the need for alternative possibilities, guaranteeing

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religious cultivation without the drawback of seclusion, will increase considerably.

On the other hand, the Roman Catholic governing bodies in the field of education unmistakably opt on the whole for the maintenance and expansion of the existing situation. That is to say, they prefer exclusive Roman Catholic education, as has been demonstrated by a recent statement of the highest authority in educational matters, the Dutch Roman Catholic School Council.

Some factors, however, make this policy increasingly difficult. In the first place must be mentioned the need for cooperation among the zuilen in order to realize, within the possibilities opened up by the Secondary Education Act, an optimum package of educational provisions in a certain region. It is not always possible for one of the zuilen to comply with the criteria of the foundation regarding subsidizing of all necessary educational provisions in a certain region (a new district, a developing area), while the possibility is there when they join forces. Motives of an educational character may, in situations like these, lead to changes in the verzuilde structure of the educational system.

Moreover, school-boards responsible for the foundation of new schools in new districts, where plans must be made for the necessary educational provisions, will increasingly be confronted

with the choice between the realization of an exclusively confessional educational apparatus and the possibility, advocated by a still small but growing part of the public, of an interconfessional or ideologically mixed educational structure.²⁸

What applies for the Catholic camp is probably likewise valid for a great part of the Protestant camp, namely that the verzuiling of education is in discussion at the bottom (the grass roots) and that this will undoubtedly lead up to tensions between "bottom" and "top". It is not very probable that these tensions will demonstrate themselves at short notice at the level of primary education, but on the level of secondary education they are already discernable.

On the background of these tensions we call upon

Goudsblom:

It may well be that the process of verzuiling has already reached its pinnacle and is now on the decline. In some areas, especially education, the confessional blocs are still gaining strength; in others, such as organized sports, they appear to be losing ground. By and large it is plausible to expect that the integration [in some sectors -CV] accomplished at the top will gradually descend to the lower levels as well. Several factors possibly favoring such a development may be mentioned. One is that increasing prosperity and leisure widen people's range of orientation, enabling them to make comparisons with other creeds and other social strata. Most effective in this broadening process is the impact of radio and television. The mass media and the schools

also stimulate the general diffusion of the elitist standards of civility, facilitating "intersegmental" relationships. Closely related to each of these trends is the general "erosion of the religious landscape," expressed both in increasing secularization and religious apostasy and in the ecumenical rapprochement between different churches.

Some American sociologists have discerned signs of American society moving in the direction of a form of denominational segmentation similar to the Dutch. We shall not enter into the merits of their arguments with regard to the United States. As far as the Netherlands is concerned, however, the opposite prospect of a gradual "depillarization" of society seems likely. This conjecture, to be sure, speculates upon a far distant future: at the moment the zuilen still stand solidly, dominating the national scene.²⁹

It is difficult to foresee the consequences of this "ontzuiling" for the administrative structure of Dutch education. It is important to keep in mind that the gradually increasing resistance against secluded confessional education, at least against some of its aspects, should not be interpreted as a growing preference for public education: there is a lot of criticism of the management of the public schools. A system of control by local authorities is not the only possible guarantee for the public character of the school; in certain circumstances it is even no guarantee at all.

One of the principal developments within public education is a change from more contact with parents to consultation with parents. It can be supposed that the continuation of this trend will lead to a delegation by authorities of a part of

the control of the public school, to with more citizen influence over the management of the school. Such a development would mean that, as far as control is concerned, the differences between public and private education diminish.

If the process of "ontzuiling" continues, this means that in the future a discrepancy could arise between the organizational structure of the educational system, as a deposit of the most prominent cultural differences within the Dutch population in the 19th century, and the ideological differences coming to the fore in the 20th century, inasmuch as these differences demonstrate themselves in diverging educational needs. Undoubtedly this discrepancy will put a strain on the educational system. Most important for the way the resulting problems are solved is the acknowledgement of the right of educational diversity, laid down in the Constitution; this right gives a lead for the crystallizing of a new educational structure in the future.

The rising tensions with regard to the way the principle of financial parity has taken shape should not be seen as a failure of this system. In a certain phase of Dutch history it has worked as good as a compromise can work. But the development of society goes on and makes adaptation of institutional sectors to social changes necessary. This is the problem education in the Netherlands has to cope with in the future.

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NOTES

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3. J.A. van Kemenade, De Katholieken en hun onderwijs (Meppel: J.A. Boom & Zoon, 1968, pp. 62-65.
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6. Goudsblom, op.cit., pp. 124-126.
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14. Source: F. van Heek, Het verborgen talent (Meppel: J.A. Boom & Zoon, 1968), p. 11.
15. See: C.B.S., De ontwikkeling van het onderwijs in Nederland, deel 1: tabellen, Tabel 8 ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1966).
16. L. Doorn, 'Het openbaar onderwijs onder de Lager-onderwijswet 1920', Uitleg 225 (1970), p. 36.
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18. Goudsblom, op.cit., p. 103.
19. Van Kemenade, op.cit., pp. 45-48.
20. Source of the tables 3 and 4: Guiaux, op.cit., p. 30.

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21. Quoted by Idenburg, op.cit., p. 266.
22. Idenburg, op.cit., p. 267.
23. S. Miedema, 'De kosten van de verzuiling', Socialisme en Democratie (1957), p. 53.
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26. J.M. Crijns a.o., De Mammoetwet (Roosendaal: De Koepel, 1963), pp. 19-28.
27. Doorn, op.cit., p. 37.
28. Van Kemenade, op.cit., pp. 239-247.
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CHAPTER III

CROSS CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

Section B: Educational Pluralism,
The Canadian Case

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INTRODUCTION: PURPOSE AND PLAN OF THIS REPORT

It is not often that a Canadian educator finds himself able to share the fruit of Canadian experience with his American associates. The reverse is usually the case. Canadian educational organization and practice has borrowed heavily in the last forty years from the philosophy, theory, organization and practice of educational professors and practitioners in the United States. The adaptation has often been greatly delayed, and the selection not always wise, but it is a fact that in English-speaking Canada, educational systems have tended to evolve after the patterns of its southern neighbor.

Canada has, however, ploughed some unique furrows of its own with respect to the subject of this report: public denominational school systems. For over a century, it has been reaping the harvest from the seed sown in these furrows. It is now in a position to use rather objective measures to evaluate the fruitage and to make known the results of this evaluation for the benefit of others.

Education today seems to be on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, there is greater concern than ever before that education be relevant to the demands of society, that it meet the needs of the individual--of every individual. On the other hand, attempts to achieve this goal have so spiralled the costs of education that the cry is for more effectiveness, more efficiency, more accountability. At the same time, the insatiable demand of the public for more social services has

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increased education's competition for its scarce economic resources. Those concerned with the role of denominational education in a pluralistic society are placed squarely in the middle of this dilemma. Economic necessities and political expediencies have somehow to be weighed with cultural values.

The Purpose of this Report

It is the purpose of this report to attempt to present, in as objective a manner as possible, an overview of considered opinion and research on the nature and effectiveness of Canada's public denominational school systems. By so doing, it is further hoped that the experience, points of view, and recommendations reported will provide a new frame of reference within which those concerned with this topic may be able to formulate or evaluate policy for their own jurisdictions.

To attempt in one paper, however, to achieve such a purpose would be utterly presumptuous, unless some limitations and delimitations were readily admitted. There will be no attempt in this paper to present a current up-to-date report of the educational scene across Canada. This could well be the subject of another investigation. Instead, the paper will be delimited to a report and analysis of five distinct patterns of denominational organization in public school systems. These will be portrayed at one particular period in their evolution, at a point in time when provincial governments, entrusted with their administration, saw fit to establish commissions of inquiry. The inquiries, however, were all within the last twelve-year period.

As will be elaborated later, it is the availability of the Reports of these Commissions that lend detail and objectivity to the evaluative process. The events which have, or have not, followed the

public presentation of the Commissions' findings are not included in the data here reported. It is sufficient to say that education in all parts of Canada today is under increasing public scrutiny and pressure. In response to this pressure, major changes are in process, more in some provinces than others. Most of the changes follow the trends the reports indicate.

A limitation of this paper relates to the selection of specific topics and data for analysis and report. The five-volume report of the Quebec Royal Commission, and the two-volume report of the Royal Commission for Newfoundland and Labrador, obviously contain a great deal of data and a great number of topics not contained in this summary. Through the extensive use of quotations, an attempt has been made to present, on a selected number of significant topics, the stated opinions as well as the conclusions of the distinguished body of citizens who comprise the commissions.

These topics fall into four main areas: (1) administration of education at the state level, (2) administration of education at the local level, (3) education programs and output, and (4) the role of the denominations in education. The specific subjects discussed in these areas will vary from one case to another. Some of the topics included for consideration will be: the role of the provincial legislature and the state department, the size and structure of local school administrations, the adequacy of programs and instructional resources, the equity and efficiency of financial arrangements, and the qualifications of staff and level of educational output.

The Plan of the Report

Every situation has its historical antecedents. To judge or

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reform the situation, these antecedents must be understood and appreciated. Any discussion of denominationalism in Canadian schools will founder on the rocks of bigotry or ignorance unless some understanding is gained of its long historical tradition. In the next chapter of this report, a brief overview is given of the way in which the concept of what the French Canadians would call "confessionality" became an integral part of the evolving education systems. Here will be found the roots of the difference between Canadian and American patterns of public education, and between the pattern of denominationalism evolved in the public school system of one province of Canada and that of another.

As a background to what follows, Chapter 3 will include a brief comparative summary of selected social, economic, and educational variables associated with the five provincial systems reviewed in this report. It will be the purpose of this summary to relate the inputs and outputs of the educational system of one province to those of the others in order that the more detailed analysis which follows may be perceived in better perspective. This chapter will also discuss the nature and purpose of Canadian Royal Commissions on Education and the significance of their reports for the purposes of this study.

Each of the following four chapters will present as a case study, one particular province and its pattern of denominationalism. After describing in brief the organization of education in the province, it will proceed to an analysis of its denominational system under the four areas previously described. Major emphasis will be placed on the findings and views of the Commissions as they turned their investigations to these particular areas. A brief summary comment will conclude each of these chapters.

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The final chapter in this report will attempt to pull together some of the common and unique conclusions gained from the previous chapters. It will then attempt to summarize some of the strengths and the weaknesses of denominational forms of education as practiced in Canada. The chapter will conclude by turning the spotlight on some of the basic issues and major problems which society must resolve if it is to determine educational issues where denominational considerations are involved.

THE EVOLUTION OF CANADA'S PUBLICLY-SUPPORTED DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Missionary Activities

Education had its beginnings in all provinces of Canada as an aspect of missionary activities. This activity was directed first towards the Christianization of the Indians and later towards the propagation of the gospel among the newly-arrived settlers. The goals of education were largely limited to these ends, and the education itself was of a very rudimentary character. Under the French régime, the settlement along the St. Lawrence River known as New France was governed by a triumvirate comprised of the Governor (the military head), the Intendant (the business manager) and the Bishop (the religious and educational leader). As no Huguenots were permitted in the colony, all religious and educational activities were under the direction of the Roman Catholic Church.

Within a few years after the coming of the English to Quebec, petitions were made to the Governor asking for financial assistance to support English Protestant schoolmasters. The Quebec Act, passed in 1775, while acknowledging the religious rights of French Canadian Catholics, also asserted the right and intention of the government to promote the Protestant religion and to provide support in the form of land grants for a Protestant clergy. In the next fifty-year period, the French Catholics resisted every attempt to establish nondenominational schools or school systems. They saw this not only as a threat to the monopoly of

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the church in educational matters, but also as an attempt to destroy the French Canadian culture.

When the Maritime Provinces came under British rule in 1713, there were a few French schools in existence. From that time on, religious societies of the Church of England and the nonconformist churches were active in the establishment of charity schools. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts established a school at Bonavista, Newfoundland, as early as 1722. Following the prevailing pattern in England, such schools were conducted as charitable institutions designed to propagate the gospel among the settlers through the provision of a very elementary form of education. In 1759, the Church of England received recognition as the official church of the Maritime colonies. Church-related grammar schools began to appear for the social elite, followed later by academies when American influences began to make an impact after the arrival of the United Empire Loyalists following the American Civil War.

It was the immigration from the United States of the settlers who wished to remain under the British flag after the Declaration of Independence which had the greatest influence on the development of Canadian education prior to Confederation. The United Empire Loyalists, as they were called, settled largely in the Maritime Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and in Upper Canada, which later became Ontario. They brought with them the emerging pattern in the American colonies of locally-supported common schools of a nondenominational character. In 1816, the first Act was passed to make provision in Upper Canada for the establishment of common schools throughout the province. About the same time, or a little earlier, a similar Act was

passed in Nova Scotia.

The settlement of western Canada occurred much later than that of eastern Canada. However, it was the activities of missionaries of various denominations which resulted in the establishment of the first schools. Often they were located at Hudson Bay Company posts where they could meet the educational needs of the white traders' families as well as that of a few Indians who camped in the vicinity. In British Columbia, for example, the chaplain of the Hudson Bay Company's fur trading post at Victoria founded the first school in 1849. In 1865, the first school legislation in that province was passed, establishing nonsectarian public schools, with the clergy permitted to visit the schools and teach religion.

Legal Provision for Denominational Schools

A significant development related to the establishment of denominational schools in Canada occurred in 1841 when an Act was passed in Upper Canada (Ontario) providing for the establishment of a separate school in any district where the religious minority (in this instance, Roman Catholic) dissented from the provisions for the common (public) school. Under the provisions of the Act, the dissentients would elect trustees to operate a separate school for the minority. These trustees:

- (a) held and exercised all "the rights, powers, and authorities" of public school trustees,
- (b) were subject to the same "obligations and liabilities,"
- (c) were subject to the same "visitation, conditions, rules and obligations," and
- (d) were to receive their due proportion of "the monies appropriated by law and raised by assessment for the support of Common Schools."

The "separate school districts" thereby created were coterminous with the common school districts. They were part of the public school system in the sense that regulations governing teacher qualifications, courses of study, examinations, and provincial inspection applied to them equally with the common schools and they shared proportionally to their numbers in provincial grants and local school tax revenues. The chief distinction of the separate school was that its local governing board and the teachers hired by it were of the same religious faith as the pupils. No special concessions were made regarding the educational program or the courses of study. During religious education periods, however, the teachers would have the opportunity to direct the instruction to their own particular tenets.

Similar provisions were made for the religious minority in Lower Canada (Quebec) in 1845. In this case, the minority was English and Protestant (largely Anglican). Whereas the term "separate schools" came to be used for the minority schools in Ontario, the term "dissentient schools" was used in Quebec. The legal rights gained at that time by the minority religious groups in Ontario and Quebec have been jealously guarded ever since.

Constitutional Provisions for Education

On March 29, 1867, the British Parliament passed "An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick," subsequently known as the *British North America Act*. This Act became the written portion of the Canadian Constitution. Section 93 of Article VI of this Act, the article dealing with the distribution of legislative powers, begins with the statement:

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In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions; . . .

By this Article, therefore, the Canadian Constitution specifically delegated to the provinces the responsibility for education. Subsequent court cases have affirmed the provincial prerogative in this area. It has been the major consideration in placing severe limits on any Federal Government participation in elementary and secondary education in Canada.

This exclusive right of provincial legislatures with respect to education is subject to one major limitation, expressed in Subsection 1 of the same Article, as follows:

Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union.

This provision was specifically designed to protect those rights to separate or dissentient (denominational) schools which the religious minorities in Ontario and Quebec had enjoyed by law before Confederation.

In the court cases which subsequently arose over the interpretation of this subsection, the key phrases around which the legal decisions hinged were "by law," and "at the Union." The rights to denominational schools protected by the Constitution were only those which existed "by law" at the time a province joined Confederation. Since provinces entered at different dates, beginning with the original four named in the British North America Act in 1867 and concluding with Newfoundland in 1949, and since the legal status of denominational schools had reached different states of recognition prior to their entry, there resulted no common provision for denominational forms of education throughout the ten provinces of Canada. Rather there evolved a continuum along which five distinct categories of provision could be discerned. These range

from a single public school system at one end, to a multid denominational system at the other.

Categories of Denominationalism in Provincial Systems

The Province of British Columbia is the only Canadian province which may be considered entirely comparable with the general pattern in the United States in regard to denominational education. There is only one nonsectarian public school system in that province, all denominational forms of education being operated privately. Though limited provincial assistance is made available to private schools, such as the provision of certain elementary textbooks, they do not receive revenues from local taxes or provincial school grants. In Newfoundland, on the other hand, there is no nonsectarian public school system. All schools have a denominational character, some seven different religions being recognized for educational purposes, five of them operating major school systems. Over 90 per cent of the revenues for these schools come from provincial grants. Only a limited use is made of local tax sources in Newfoundland.

In between these two extremes lie the "separate school systems" of Ontario, Saskatchewan and Alberta, and the former "dual system" of Quebec. Growing out of its pre-Confederation precedents, Ontario has continued with its separate schools for the religious minority. This privilege, however, has not been extended to the senior secondary school level. At that level, only nonsectarian public schools are supported by public revenues, and denominational forms of education are private. The Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, which were created out of the North West Territories in 1905, emerged from their pre-Confederation era with similar provisions for separate schools as those prevailing in Ontario. In Alberta, this provision was extended to the high schools but.

in Saskatchewan, until recently, it was limited to the elementary schools as in Ontario. In all three provinces, separate schools may be either Roman Catholic or Protestant, depending on the religion of the minority in a particular school district. In all but a few instances, however, the separate schools are Roman Catholic. The privilege of having separate schools supported by public revenues does not extend to individual Protestant denominations but only to Protestants as a whole, when they constitute the religious minority. In each of these provinces, several individual Protestant denominations have their own schools, but these are privately supported and operated.

In all provinces which have separate school systems, these systems are considered to be part of the general public educational system. In conformity with the provisions of the pre-Confederation Acts, separate schools are under the same provincial controls and regulations as the public schools. Where provincial regulations governing curricula, courses, references, examinations, and inspections are in effect, they apply equally to both systems. The same grant regulations, both capital and operating, and provisions for receiving funds from local tax sources, govern public and separate school systems. Teacher training and certification requirements are also identical for both.

As the pre-Confederation provisions for dissentient schools in the Province of Quebec evolved over the years, a dual system of education resulted which is only now being modified into a more unitary model. Under this dual system, Catholic education and Protestant education developed almost independently. There was little attempt to develop similar systems or to apply common regulations. After certain negotiations with the Jewish community, the Protestant system became in effect the

non-Catholic system of Quebec, and lost much of its denominational character. The Roman Catholic system, which accommodated approximately 90 per cent of the pupils in the province, remained largely under the direction of the Roman Catholic Church. This system had unique characteristics unlike those found in any other Canadian province. For example, until 1960, secondary education in this system was largely private, being under the control of religious orders which operated a large number of small classical colleges and normal schools. The curriculum in this secondary system was narrowly academic in character and the clientele very selective. On the other hand, the high school system evolved in the Protestant sector was more nearly comparable with that in Ontario and the other Canadian provinces.

One other category of denominationalism may be discerned in Canadian provincial school systems, though it is much harder to identify. As the result of failure to gain the support of the courts for their claims to the recognition of denominational schools, a number of provinces gradually worked out informal "gentlemen's agreements" with the religious minority. These agreements gave unofficial sanction to the denominational character of public schools in certain districts where the population was fairly homogeneous with respect to religion. Though this fact is well recognized, official statistics relating to it are not available. The Maritime Provinces and Manitoba would fall into this fifth category of denominationalism in the public schools.

The five categories of denominationalism represented by Canadian provincial school systems, therefore, when ranked according to degrees of denominationalism would include a multidenominational system, a dual denominational system, a separate denominational system, a single public

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school system with historical "gentlemen's agreements," and a single public school system with all denominational education being private.

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CASE STUDIES IN DENOMINATIONALISM IN SCHOOL SYSTEMS

In presenting an overview of the Canadian experience with denominationalism in public school systems, five case studies will be discussed, following which a summary of the findings will be given together with some major conclusions. The five case studies illustrate the five types of denominationalism recognizable in Canadian education and are represented by the following provinces:

1. Newfoundland: a multidenominational system,
2. Quebec: a dual denominational system,
3. Alberta: a separate denominational system,
4. Manitoba: a single system with informal arrangements for denominationalism, and
5. British Columbia: a single system with no provision for denominationalism.

Before presenting these case studies, selected comparative data are given to indicate the relative inputs and outputs of the five systems. The data used were obtained from the Education Division of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. These data serve as a background for the discussions in each case study and will be supplemented by additional data relevant to the particular provincial systems.

Royal Commission Reports

The case studies themselves have been largely based on the findings of Royal Commissions on Education. During the last dozen years,

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the concern of the Canadian public over the quality of education in its elementary and secondary schools has led to the establishment by provincial governments of seven Royal Commissions on Education. These Royal Commissions, committees of inquiry established by provincial legislatures, had specific terms of reference. Their terms of office were limited to the length of the particular inquiry, usually extending over two or three years. The reports of the Commissions were filed with the governments concerned and, when released, became public documents. Each Commission was comprised of a small number of outstanding lay citizens and educators, none of whom were members of the legislature. Their deliberations were based on written submissions, presentations at public hearings, commissioned studies, and direct investigations by the Commissions themselves. It was not uncommon for Royal Commissions to travel throughout a province holding public hearings and making investigations. Very often they visited other provinces and countries in order to view particular issues in broader perspective. Their final reports included recommendations for government consideration which may, or may not, have been implemented depending upon the views of the government and the political climate.

The role of such a Royal Commission is well presented in the following statement by the Quebec Commission:

A commission of inquiry like ours is a public body, emanating from the political power. Thus it is as a citizen that, at the government's invitation, each of its members serves on it. Such a commission, being an agency of the state, must assume the point of view of civil society as a whole and adopt in religious matters the neutrality which we shall, in a later paragraph, attribute to the state. Hence, a commission of this kind would be betraying its civil trust if it were to define society, the state or education in terms of one particular faith, and it would be abusing the authority entrusted to it if it sought to impose on everyone the point of view of a single, specific church. Just as the state must do, our Commission has made every effort to understand and respect the ideas

of the various churches and of all citizens concerning the schools; it is not competent to adopt one view in preference to the others . . . We have sought instead to make clear the lines of thought or principles which would be the most widely acceptable to the whole body of citizens and which might serve as a general rule for the state in determining its policy in this realm. (5: 27)

In an attempt to present a comprehensive and objective overview and evaluation of denominationalism in a country with ten distinct provincial systems, the use of Royal Commission Reports has the following advantages:

1. They represent an extended period of investigation by lay citizens and professional educators of the province concerned.
2. They take into consideration a wide spectrum of opinion from all areas of the province.
3. Their conclusions are drawn with knowledge of both local traditions and current practice elsewhere.
4. Their conclusions reflect a sensitivity to cultural and political factors operating in the province.
5. They reflect the views of responsible citizens charged with the task of assessing present practice in terms of current demands and future requirements.

The provinces which have had such Commissions on Education within the last twelve years are Alberta (which is now having its second), British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec and Newfoundland. Five of these have been selected for case studies. The Ontario Commission had more limited terms of reference than the others. Its comments relative to school denominationalism, however, will be reported in connection with the Alberta case study, as both provinces have separate school systems.

Differences in Cultural and Economic Inputs to Education

Since some attempt to make interprovincial comparisons is essential when discussing the effects of denominationalism, an overview may be helpful of certain input and output variables associated with the five provinces selected as case studies. The input variables are in two categories (cultural and economic), and the output in terms of a single variable. The selected cultural variables are: the number of children in the family, the educational level of the labor force, and the percentage of the 15-19 age group in school. Among the economic variables are the income levels of the population, per capita and per pupil expenditures on elementary and secondary education, and median teacher salaries. The single output measure used is the retention rate or holding power of the schools. It represents the only interprovincial measure of educational output which is available at the present time. As such, it is a relatively objective measure related to the stock of schooling in the labor force which, in turn, has been proven to have significant relationships with economic growth.

The provinces of Canada are often grouped for geographic and economic purposes into four main regions. From east to west they are: the Atlantic provinces, the central provinces, the prairie provinces, and British Columbia. In this study, Newfoundland represents the Atlantic region, which is the least economically advantaged of the four regions of Canada. Quebec is part of the more densely populated and industrialized central region, yet having large sparsely-populated areas. Manitoba and Alberta, in the prairie region, have a dominant agricultural economy, Alberta being slightly more favored due to its major oil industry. British Columbia on the west, with major primary and some secondary

industries, has a high per capita income comparable with that of Ontario in the central region.

The selected data in Table 1 reflect some of the cultural and economic differences among the five provinces in these four regions and some of their implications for inputs to education. At the time of the

Table 1
Cultural and Economic Variables

Degree of Denom.	Province	No. of* children per family	Per cent* 15-19 in school	Labor Force* Educ. Level		Personal Income**	
				Elem. %	Univ. %	per capita \$	per child \$
1	Newfoundland	2.7	52	48.0	6.2	1287	3516
2	Quebec	2.2	50	48.3	8.5		
4	Manitoba	1.7	66	37.1	9.0	2052	6726
3	Alberta	1.8	62	34.7	9.7	2215	6956
5	British Columbia	1.6	68	27.2	11.7	2438	8345

*1961 Census

**1966 National Accounts

last census (1961) the number of children per family was highest in the provinces of Newfoundland and Quebec, and lowest in Manitoba and British Columbia. In relation to the labor force supporting them, there were therefore relatively more children to be educated in the eastern provinces than in the western. It should be noted also that the education level of the labor force in Newfoundland and Quebec was lower than that of the other provinces. The range was from 6.2 per cent with some university education in Newfoundland, to 11.7 per cent in British Columbia. Conversely, 48 per cent of the labor force in Newfoundland in 1961 had no more than an elementary level of schooling, compared with 27 per cent in this category in British Columbia. The level of education of the adult population has been found to have significant implications for the

willingness as well as the ability of the population to support public education. In this sense, the percentage of the 15-19 age group in school in 1961 may be seen as a reflection of public attitudes towards the value of education, as well as being considered a measure of output.

Education level of the labor force is one indicator of its productivity and level of income. Personal income for each province in 1966 is given on a per capita basis and a per child basis in Table 1. The personal income per capita of Newfoundland was only one-half that of British Columbia. On a per child basis, the latter province had a personal income two and one-third times that of the former. Level of income is reflected in total provincial expenditures on education. It may be seen from Table 2 that expenditures on elementary and secondary education per capita in British Columbia were double those of Newfoundland in 1965. On a per pupil basis, they were two and two-third more. A high correlation would appear to exist between personal income per child and expenditures on elementary and secondary education per pupil.

Table 2

Input Variables

Degree of Denom.	Province	Expenditure on* Elem.-Sec. Educ. per capita per pupil		Median Teacher Salary**		Teacher with University degrees	
		\$	\$	Elem. \$	Sec. \$	Elem. %	Sec. %
1	Newfoundland	58	216	4344	6889	11.5	53.3
2	Quebec	111	522				
4	Manitoba	100	479	5745	8111	15.6	74.3
3	Alberta	124	532	6535	8309	33.9	75.6
5	British Columbia	118	581	7032	8934	32.3	77.3

*Survey of Education Finance, 1965, D.B.S.

**Salaries and Qualifications of Teachers, 1968-69, D.B.S.

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Differences in educational expenditure reflect differences in teacher salaries, which comprise about two-thirds of the total expenditures. The median elementary teacher salary in British Columbia, in 1968-69, was one and two-thirds times that in Newfoundland, and the median secondary teacher salary was one and one-third times the Newfoundland median. Salary differences express not only differences in scale but, more significantly, differences in teacher qualifications. Using a university degree as a standard of qualification, it will be seen from Table 2 that, in 1968-69, Alberta and British Columbia had the highest level of qualifications in the teaching force--both for elementary teachers and secondary teachers. Newfoundland had the lowest percentage in both categories. In 1968-69, of the elementary teachers in Newfoundland, two-thirds had no more than one year of training beyond Grade XI. In the three western provinces, the percentage of teachers in this category was negligible. Data are not available for Quebec.

Differences in Educational Outputs

Studies have shown significant correlations between both the cultural and the economic variables presented and educational output. Using the retention rate of the schools as the output measure, Table 3 presents a comparison among the five provinces, with the results for the two public systems in Quebec given separately. The data are based on an age-cohort study conducted by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for the period 1953-1965. Two measures of the variable are presented: retention to age 17 and retention to Grade XI. The data are reported separately for boys and girls. Grade XI and age 17 were selected for this table because Newfoundland and Quebec have traditionally terminated secondary education at the Grade XI level. On this measure, the highest retention

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rates are found in the western provinces of Alberta and British Columbia. The Roman Catholic System of Quebec and the Newfoundland system show the lowest retention rates.

Table 3
Output Variables

Degree of Denom.	Province	School Retention Rates*			
		To Age 17		To Gr. XI	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	Newfoundland	40	27	43	40
2	Quebec, Roman Catholic	30	15	38	37
	Quebec, Protestant	36	22	54	58
4	Manitoba	59	49	72	71
3	Alberta	61	52	80	82
5	British Columbia	83	82	78	79

Associated with the school retention rates have been the retardation rates of pupils as they progressed through the grades. These rates, which relate to current promotion policies, are found to be highest in Newfoundland and lowest in Alberta. In all provinces, the retardation rate for boys is higher than that for girls, in some cases being almost double. At Grade VII, the retardation rate in Newfoundland in 1965 was 28 per cent, compared with 15 per cent for Manitoba and 7 per cent for Alberta. In some districts of Newfoundland, the percentage of pupils retarded one year or more at age 14 ranged as high as 30 to 40 per cent.

From these input-output data, it will be seen that Newfoundland, in an economically disadvantaged area, and with its multid denominational school system, had both an educational input and output ratio which was about one-half that of British Columbia with its high income level and single school system. The level of educational output, as measured by

the retention variable, showed the Roman Catholic system of Quebec to be the lowest of the Canadian provincial systems. The Protestant system in that province was above that of the Catholic system and the Newfoundland multidenominational system in terms of output, but below that of the western provinces. The cultural data for Quebec indicate a higher ratio of children to be educated than the western provinces, but a slightly lower ratio than Newfoundland. The educational level of the labor force in Quebec ranked in a similar manner. Income and teacher-salary data for Quebec were not available. In terms of expenditures on education per pupil and per capita, in 1965 Quebec ranked above Newfoundland (almost double) and Manitoba, and below British Columbia and Alberta.

Alberta and British Columbia were found to be very close in terms of both economic and cultural inputs and educational outputs. Alberta had the highest rate of expenditure per capita, and British Columbia the highest per pupil. This difference is accounted for by the higher ratio of children to labor force membership in Alberta than in British Columbia. Teacher salaries were slightly higher in British Columbia than in Alberta. Alberta had a higher percentage of its elementary teachers with degrees than did British Columbia, but British Columbia had the highest percentage of degreed secondary teachers. Alberta's retention rate at Grade XI was slightly higher than that of British Columbia, but the latter province had a thirteenth year which caused a greater percentage of pupils to be retained through Grade XII than in Alberta. On many input and output variables, Manitoba occupied a middle position between the two other western provinces and the two eastern provinces.

In summary, the data in Tables 1 to 3 indicate that, associated

with the degree of denominationalism in the five selected provinces, there is a fairly consistent pattern of socioeconomic and educational variables. Newfoundland, with its multidenominational system, is found to have the largest number of children per family, the lowest level of education in the labor force and the lowest personal income. Its expenditure level on education and its output in terms of retention rates were among the lowest of the five provinces. British Columbia, on the other hand, with a single nondenominational school system, had the lowest number of children per family to educate, the highest level of education in the labor force, the highest income level, and the highest expenditure rate per pupil. In terms of output, it was also among the highest of the Canadian provinces. Among the five provinces, Manitoba was at the median on most variables.

Quebec, with its dual denominational system, had the highest number of children per family, next to Newfoundland. The education level of its labor force was only slightly higher than that for Newfoundland. Comparable economic data were not available. In terms of expenditure per pupil, however, its rates were more than double that for Newfoundland and higher than that for Manitoba. The retention rates in Quebec varied widely between the dominant Roman Catholic System and the smaller Protestant System. The average picture would be comparable with the retention rate for Newfoundland.

Alberta, which supported a separate denominational school system, had the highest per capita expenditure on education and the second highest per pupil expenditure. The number of children per family was slightly more than that for Manitoba and British Columbia, but considerably less than Quebec and Newfoundland. Next to British Columbia, Alberta had the

highest education level in the labor force and the highest income per capita. Alberta's retention rate at the Grade XI level was shown to be slightly higher than that of British Columbia and approximately double that of Newfoundland.

The relative positions of these provinces on the variables considered give some indication of the degree of concern expressed by the Royal Commissions investigating the educational systems associated with them. It was apparent that, however imperfectly, some cyclical relationship existed between the socioeconomic and the educational variables. Provinces with more children to educate and lower incomes could not make the same investment or expect the same returns from the educational system as provinces in the reverse position. On the other hand, provinces with low educational output could not expect the same level of skills and incomes in the labor force as other more favored provinces. The Royal Commissions, however, while concerned with the regional and inter-provincial disparities, devoted their main attention to an in-depth consideration of the effectiveness and efficiency of their own particular systems. Did the structure and operation of the system make the most economical use of the scarce resources available to education? Did it make available an opportunity for the youth of the province to fulfil their educational aspirations? Did it provide an education relevant to the current and future needs of society and of the individual? In the following chapters, the case studies presented will attempt to summarize the answers to these questions.

References

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3. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa. *Student Progress Through the Schools, 1965.*
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5. *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, Quebec, Volume 4, 1966.*

THE NEWFOUNDLAND CASE: A MULTIDENOMINATIONAL SYSTEM

The Organization of Education

When Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949, there existed by law in the province a multid denominational system of schools. The legal rights of the denominations to continue these systems then came under the protection of the Canadian Constitution. Under the Education Act in effect at the time of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth for the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1964-1968, the following denominations were recognized for educational purposes: Roman Catholic, Anglican, United Church, Salvation Army, Pentecostal Assemblies, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Seventh Day Adventist. Of these denominations, the first five operated school systems large enough to be represented on the provincial Council of Education. The Seventh Day Adventists operated a few schools, and the other two denominations none.

In Newfoundland, there were no "public" or "nondenominational" schools in the usual sense. There were three forms, however, of cooperative denominational schools. Since 1903, there had been a recognition of Amalgamated schools, which were operated jointly by denominational boards until an Act of 1943 permitted the setting up of Amalgamated school boards. The Anglican, United Church, Salvation Army, and Pentecostal Assemblies denominations have cooperated in this form of educational service. In 1965, over 11 per cent of the school population of the Province attended Amalgamated schools. Some of these were high schools fed by denominational elementary schools.

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Two other forms of denominational cooperation have been developed more recently. Under a Joint Service agreement, the school board representing one denomination may agree to provide instruction for all pupils in the community at specific grade levels. Boards of other denominations will then provide the educational service at other grade levels. In a third form of cooperation, the school board of one denomination may provide high school education for the pupils of other boards which operate their own denominational elementary schools. In 1965, there were twenty-three communities where Joint Service agreements were in effect and twenty-eight instances of agreements to provide high school services. The number had been steadily increasing.

In 1966, there were in Newfoundland 270 school boards operating 1,165 schools, with 5,625 classrooms accommodating 147,760 pupils. The significant ratios were:

Average class size:	26.5 pupils
Average school size:	126.8 pupils; 4.8 classrooms
Average district size:	547 pupils; 4.3 schools

These ratios indicated a large number of local denominational or Amalgamated school boards, each operating relatively few very small schools.

At the provincial level of school administration, a Minister of Education, an elected member of the Provincial Cabinet, headed a Department of Education in which the Deputy Minister was the senior civil servant and performed as the Minister's chief advisor and executive officer. There was a Council of Education consisting of the Minister, the Deputy Minister, and five Superintendents representing the denominations having major school systems. The Council, subject to the Minister, was the authority for all educational policy dealing with school boards,

schools and teachers under the Education Act.

Each Superintendent presents the views of his denomination at Council meetings and the decisions made are not arrived at by majority vote but rather by unanimous consent. This means that policy which has been agreed to by four denominations may be prevented from being enacted by the use of the "veto" by one denomination. (1: 52)

To each Superintendent was delegated the responsibility of administering the schools of his own denomination. This involved acting as the official channel of communication between the Council of Education and the denomination, recommending to the Minister persons qualified to be appointed to serve on school boards of his denomination, and acting as chairman of the denomination's Board of Examiners which had responsibility for the selection and certification of teachers. He also represented the Department of Education with respect to the administration of the provincial responsibility for curriculum, supervision, examinations, etc. A supervisory staff assisted in the carrying out of this regulatory function in the schools of the Province.

Within the Department of Education there were, therefore, five superintendents of schools, each administering a separate denominational system. They performed as representatives of both their own particular denomination and the provincial educational authority. In addition to these five superintendents, there was in the Department a Director of Amalgamated School Services and also a supervisory staff who were responsible to anywhere from one to five superintendents.

Evaluation of Administration at the State Level

The Report of the Royal Commission pinpointed the problems of administration at the state level of operation in three areas: the role of the Deputy Minister, the role of the Council of Education, and the

role of the Superintendent and his staff.

The weaknesses of divided control between church and state appear to be most evident in the relationship between the office of Deputy Minister and that of denominational Superintendents. It is here that these signs of tension are manifest that characterize all institutions seeking to embody divergent points of view. In practice, the Deputy Minister represents the Government in the Council of Education and has the responsibility of seeing that government policy, as defined in the Acts and Regulations of his Department, is carried out. The Superintendents, who are responsible to the churches for policy-making, are responsible to the Government for the administration of the schools of their own denominations. Although he has overall responsibility for the administration of the Department of Education, the Deputy Minister has no direct contact either with school boards or with teachers. His only contact is through the Council of Education, and thus his only recourse, if his counsel is not accepted, is to advise the Minister to withhold approval of Council decisions. This means that there are no clearly established lines of authority. The absence of such lines of authority is, in the minds of many, one of the greatest weaknesses of the Department. (1: 55)

With regard to the effective operation of the Council of Education, the major obstacle reported by the Commission was the need to obtain consensus before new directions in education could be taken. The threat of veto was always present, if not often used. This tended to inhibit innovation or the initiation of any major education change and maintain the *status quo*. The Anglican brief stated:

A major weakness of this method of policy making lies in the fact that policy which has been agreed to by all but one denomination may be prevented from being enacted by one dissenting denomination. Since the proportion of the population represented by the Council members range all the way from 35 per cent of the total population for the largest denomination to 4-1/2 per cent for the smallest, it is easily seen that the wishes of 95 per cent of the population may be set aside by the refusal of 5 per cent to go along with the majority. (3: 58)

The United Church brief commented in this regard, "it does tend to keep educational advancement down to the lowest common denominator as it seeks to reflect the views and policies of all the involved denominations. This could be detrimental to some areas of educational progress and we believe it safe to say that this has been true in the past" (6: 3).

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From a number of points of view, the Commission was critical of the role of the denominational Superintendents in the Department of Education. One statement in its report read:

As long as the authority for education in the Province remains in the hands of the Council of Education, composed of denominational representatives who are not necessarily professional educators, we cannot, with any degree of hope, look for major changes at the top.
(1: 7)

The Roman Catholic brief supported this contention when it recommended that "the Department should advertise for qualified applicants to fill the office of denominational Superintendent when it becomes vacant. The Department of Education should first approve these applicants on the basis of academic qualifications and professional background" (5: 21). From this approved list, the brief recommended that denominational authorities should select the candidate most acceptable to them and make their recommendation to the Minister.

The Anglicans, in their brief, expressed the conviction that the heads of divisions within the Department should be chosen on academic and professional grounds rather than denominational. From interviews with past and present officials of the Department, the Commission concluded that Superintendents were sometimes recommended for appointment because of their denominational loyalty, rather than their professional competence, and that there were cases where the decisions they made were designed to safeguard denominational interests rather than to advance sound educational policy.

Other problems associated with the denominational structure within the Department of Education related to the duplication of activities among the various Superintendencies, the confused lines of authority under which the field supervisors operated, and the varying

interpretations placed on decisions of the Council of Education by different Superintendents.

The fragmentation of the administrative side of the Department's work probably has its most nullifying effect on the work of the supervisory staff. While a few of these officials inspect schools of one denomination only, the majority are expected to report to two, three, or even five Superintendents. This fact and the necessity of reporting to a multitude of school boards contribute greatly to the frustrations of supervisors obliged to work with poorly trained teachers in classrooms with many grades. (1: 56)

The Commission pointed out that, should the present form of state department organization be retained, equal representation would have to be given to other denominations not currently represented. This would involve adding more Superintendents to the Department with the potential for more duplication, confusion, and immobility. The Commission recommended, however, that the Department of Education should be organized along functional rather than along denominational lines. It summed up its conclusions on this matter by stating that, as it currently existed, the Department was a divisive force in the provincial education scene, rather than a unifying one. The Commission expressed its conviction that departmental officials "should be fully committed to all children of the Province, irrespective of their religious beliefs" (1: 60).

Evaluation of Administration at the Local Level

The Newfoundland Royal Commission expressed deep concern over the fragmentation of school services which resulted from the Province's multid denominational system. It reported that two-thirds of the pupils were attending schools in communities where two or more denominations operated schools. Its Report commented:

In communities in which more than one denomination operated schools, there were 30,000 pupils attending elementary schools with fewer teachers than there were grades and attending high schools with insufficient pupils to permit two classes for a grade. The

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Commission believes that the education of these children particularly is adversely affected by the denominational multiplicity of schools.
(1: 100)

The Commission reported a duplication of school services in 132 communities, triplication in 39, and quadruplication in eight. In three communities, there were four different denominational schools. In 1955-66, there were 107 one-room schools in centers that had a second school of a different denomination. The brief from the United Church stated that the presence of such a large number of all-grade schools was one of the major problems of education in Newfoundland and was dooming many pupils to semi-illiteracy.

Associated with the small denominational schools was a large number of very small districts. The Anglican brief summarized the findings of its study of the weaknesses of small districts as follows:

1. Small educational districts have insufficient pupils to warrant the provision of a properly equipped high school. Furthermore, it is impossible to develop an adequate Education program much less a fully diversified program in such districts.
2. Small districts with inadequate school facilities and restricted educational programs are unable to attract and hold qualified professional personnel.
3. Small districts promote inefficient administrative practices.
4. Adequate local leadership is difficult and often impossible to secure in small districts.
5. School boards in small districts experience abnormal difficulty in financing education. This is particularly true with respect to borrowing money.
6. Boards in small districts are unable to avail themselves of many services and advantages . . . which the Department makes available to bigger administrative units.
7. In small districts, it is often difficult for the board to exercise adequate and legitimate authority because of pressures from various local sources.
8. It is extremely difficult for the Department of Education to exercise necessary control over and provide leadership to a comparatively large number of boards. (3: 7-8)

The problem of finding suitable board members to manage large numbers of small school districts was also noted by the Commission. A 1962 study of seventy-three Anglican Boards had revealed that only 10 per cent of the board members had been to university and half had less than a high school education. In some instances, inadequate preparation for the role of school trustee had led to neglect of school property and inefficient accounting procedures. With regard to the former charge, the Commission stated:

In many communities parents appear to have little interest in their schools. The structure stands in neglect year after year with a public apathy that passes all understanding, while larger schools have disproportionately higher maintenance costs, are well-kept and well-maintained. (2: 82)

The Provincial Department of Health submitted a brief, reporting a survey of 187 schools in 1965. The survey found that:

- (a) in 35 per cent of the schools surveyed structural conditions were unsatisfactory . . .
- (b) in 45 per cent of the schools, lighting was unsatisfactory . . .
- (c) in 40 per cent of the schools, ventilation was unsatisfactory.
- (d) in 35 per cent of the schools, heating was inadequate.

There are many reasons for these conditions. Only those who have attempted to introduce new ideas to our more remote areas will appreciate the degree of resistance that can be encountered as a result of prejudices resulting from years of isolation. (2: 74)

In the realm of educational finance, the Commission reported that few boards adopted a formal budget prior to the fiscal year. A special study carried out for the Commission revealed that each board selected its own method of bookkeeping, that not all funds raised through school activities were shown in school board accounts, that in some cases school board funds became mixed with church and other funds, and that only 11 of 258 school boards whose reports were reviewed had their books audited by a firm of professional auditors. The study concluded

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that "a potentially dangerous situation was created by these circumstances whereby funds could be misappropriated and never detected" (1: 78). The Commission Report includes the statement, "The Commission views with alarm, that on occasion millions of dollars are spent on education with no better justification than a general consensus, or even the opinion of one or two people" (1: 85)

The small school districts also had difficulties with respect to capital budgets as well as operating. The Commission pointed out that the business transactions necessary for building and equipping a modern school, which involved borrowing large sums of money over long terms and making arrangements for repayment, presented too great a problem for board members with little experience with modern methods of business.

School transportation services were also subject to critical comment by the Commission. The Report stated, "The information supplied by the school boards indicated a wide range in unit cost. . . . Even allowing for difficulties caused by terrain and for disproportionate overhead costs where small numbers of pupils were involved, the difference must be considered as extraordinary" (2: 65). Many school bus operators were found to provide a very small service, 46 having only one bus and only one operator having more than seven. Nearly 75 per cent of the reporting boards had no written policy with regard to the selection or training of school bus drivers, and 19 of the boards reported no inspection service. Perhaps most alarming to the Commission was the reply to a question asking what improvements were needed in the transportation services. Eighteen boards failed to reply at all and 26 saw no need for improvements (2: 69).

Evaluation of the Educational Output and Program

In an earlier chapter, the low retention rate of the Newfoundland educational system, relative to that of other Canadian provinces discussed in this paper, was clearly illustrated. The Royal Commission concurred in this, stating:

The number of students attending school in Newfoundland declines dramatically during Grade IX, X, XI, so that by the end of Grade XI only a small percentage of those who began school are in attendance. (1: 46)

Studies carried out by the Commission indicated that, at the Grade VIII level, the standard of achievement was very low, except in the larger schools. In the all-grade schools, levels of achievement were found to be one to three years below that expected. Of particular concern was the low level of reading ability, which the Commission felt was a problem requiring a concerted effort to solve--an effort which appeared impossible due to the fragmentation of schools and school systems, and within the Department of Education.

Of the pupils who did survive to Grade XI, the standard of achievement was found to be very acceptable. Both retention and achievement were found to be higher in large schools than in smaller ones.

The studies conducted by this Commission and the Department of Education show that in many small rural schools educational attainment is far below accepted standards. For too many students in the Province equality of educational opportunity is more a myth than a reality. (1: 48)

Behind the low output of the educational system, and associated with the many small districts and schools, was an inadequate educational program and poorly qualified teachers.

Whereas all of our elementary schools teach the basic subjects of reading, arithmetic, geography, and history, relatively few of the smaller schools teach such subjects as science, music, and physical education . . . At the high school level in three- to five-

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room schools, only 18 out of a total of 252 schools stated that they taught physics; 11, that they taught earth science; one, that it taught chemistry; and one, biology. (1: 98)

Of the regional high schools, nearly all taught physics, 80 per cent taught chemistry, but only 33 per cent, biology. Of the small central high schools, only 74 per cent taught physics, 24 per cent taught chemistry and 11 per cent biology.

In the large majority of cases, a very restricted academic program was the only high school offering available to students. This was seen by the Commission as the inevitable outcome of the small high school resulting from the fragmentation of the educational system, and a major contributor to the high dropout rates at the secondary level.

Briefs from the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, Memorial University, and the Newfoundland Teachers' Association stressed the need for a more diversified curriculum . . . The Brief from the Roman Catholic Hierarchy states that our present single-stream curriculum, geared as it is to the college-bound student has proved inadequate. It states that:

The exceptionally bright pupils are compelled to regulate their pace to accommodate the average students. Lacking a challenge, they soon lose interest and join the ranks of the mediocre, or worse still, for the want of something worthwhile to do, become disciplinary problems. On the other hand, there is a large percentage of students who for various reasons cannot cope with the demands of the existing curriculum.

The University Brief states that the Newfoundland curriculum is restrictive in that the range of subjects covered is narrow . . . no adjustments are made to take account of different levels of ability among students, different interests, or the possibility of different vocations. (1: 146)

Associated with the narrow curricular offerings was the low level of teacher qualifications referred to in a previous chapter. When it is realized that secondary education in Newfoundland terminated at grade eleven, the significance of having two-thirds of the elementary teachers with one year or less of professional training becomes all the more serious. Those with "less than one year" of training would likely

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have had only a short summer course in teaching methodologies after finishing their grade eleven year. At the time of the Commission study, a general teacher shortage existed which the Commission associated with the low output of the secondary schools.

While the general picture of teacher qualifications left much to be desired, the situation with regard to subject specialists and trained guidance counsellors was even more desparate. The Commission reported:

In 1965-66, 29 teachers were employed in the Province who had specialist certificates in physical education, 68 in music, 5 in art, 12 in home economics, 3 in reading, and 6 in guidance. More than half the specialists were employed in schools in the St. John's area. It is a reasonable deduction to state that there are large numbers of rural and even urban pupils who go through secondary school each year without having taken science, physical education, music or art from a teacher who had specialized in the teaching of that subject; or without having had the benefit of guidance from a trained guidance specialist. (1: 99)

An associated problem revealed by briefs to the Commission was one of inequities in the evaluation of teacher qualifications for certification purposes. The difficulties arose because each of the five denominations represented on the Council of Education had its own Board of Examiners for the certification of teachers. The Anglican Church brief contended that there should be only one such Board for the grading of all teachers. While acknowledging the problem, the Roman Catholic brief stated, "Our denomination guards most jealously the powers and duties of its Board of Examiners in the recruitment, indenturing, and education of its teachers" (5: 18). It proposed as a solution to the problem the establishment of a Teacher Certification Review Board. The Royal Commission, however, concurred in the opinion expressed in the Anglican brief and recommended that a single Board of Teacher Certification be established.

To the limitations of inadequate educational programs and teacher qualifications was added the lack of instructional resources necessary to carry out the curriculum as it did exist. Science teachers, for example, presented a brief to the Commission based on data collected from thirty-one of the central and regional high schools. They reported that many of these schools were without such basic equipment as galvanometers, voltmeters, barometers, balances, and vacuum pumps. The results of a questionnaire sent to 124 larger elementary schools indicated that 58 had no laboratory equipment or supplies and 29 had very little.

A survey of library facilities conducted for the Commission gave as its conclusions that:

(1) 124 of the 268 schools returning questionnaires reported that they had no library, (2) the amount spent for library materials, on the basis of the 1960 standards of the American Library Association, was about four per cent of what it should be, and (3) the libraries have too little space, inadequate equipment, such as shelving and library chairs, and too few librarians. Gushue points out that the returns of the survey represented, in the main, the larger schools in the Province. It is reasonable to assume that the situation would have been even worse had all schools been surveyed. (1: 95)

The Commission also sent out a questionnaire relating to sports and playground equipment. It found that over 90 per cent of the 520 small schools responding had no such equipment. "The percentage of large elementary schools reporting no equipment available was 48; the percentage of large all-grade schools, 32; the percentage of central high schools, 17" (1: 97). Coupled with the picture of inadequate and poorly-maintained school buildings, the educational environment in the majority of small schools in Newfoundland was found to be anything but stimulating or encouraging.

The Role of the Denominations in Education

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, five of the several denominations in Newfoundland operated their own systems of schools and had senior representatives in the Department of Education where they were members of the policy-making Council of Education and involved in the administration of the Government's decisions respecting education. One other denomination operated a few schools and two others had received recognition under the Education Act. The briefs presented to the Royal Commission by these denominations represent a variety of viewpoints with respect to the role of the churches in the administration of education.

At one end of the continuum is the United Church of Canada, which states emphatically that it has historically been opposed in principle to a denominational system of schools. Its brief quotes a statement made by its Superintendent of Education which received the unanimous endorsement of the Newfoundland Conference of the United Church of Canada and which said, in part,

We have gone on record before and we go on record again today in saying that the United Church has no personal interest or desire to assume responsibility for public school education in this Province. As a Church we would be willing to withdraw from public school education at any time the Government of Newfoundland could or would assume that responsibility. We are further willing to unite in common cause with any other Protestant denomination or denominations in creating a larger and more fully integrated school system with common School Boards, property and management. (6: iv)

At the other end of the continuum, the brief from the Pentecostal Assemblies Board of Education took the position that the existing denominational system represented the ideal, "the most realistic and practical in the whole Western world" (4: 12). One statement in their brief read:

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Therefore it can now be stated that the educational responsibilities of Christian parents are best fulfilled--indeed, can only be truly fulfilled--when their children's schooling is based on, and operated in accordance with, the religious tenets of the parents' church. This is to say, in other words, given our philosophical presuppositions, that a denominational school system--a system which reflects the deepest parental convictions--represents the educational ideal. (4: 10)

The brief of the Pentecostal Assemblies did indicate, however, that where their numbers were inadequate to operate a school of efficient size, they would be happy to cooperate with other denominations in an Amalgamated school--provided that such schools maintained their church relationship and did not become nondenominational public schools.

In a Supplementary Brief presented by the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, reference is made to the fact that there is some agitation for a "Public System of Education." The brief contends that what is meant by the advocates of such a system is a secular system of education, as opposed to the denominational system. It claims that the existing system is "public" because it operates under public authority and with public revenues. It contends that Newfoundland has shown educational leadership by providing freedom of choice among denominational schools, and suggests that this freedom may have contributed to the relaxation of interdenominational tensions.

Recognizing, however, the educational problems resulting from a proliferation of small denominational schools in sparsely-populated settlements, the Roman Catholic brief suggested that cooperative action could solve the problem.

In certain areas, we see that need for some form of interdenominational cooperation in the pooling of resources and the sharing of facilities and/or personnel, provided that:

1. religious liberty be in no way jeopardized and continue to be safeguarded according to the provisions in the Education Act.

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2. provision be made in the regular timetable of the schools for the teaching of religious knowledge by teachers (religious or lay) of the same denominations as the pupils concerned. (5: 14)

In areas where the children of one denomination were too few to establish a school, the Roman Catholic brief recognized the desirability of them attending a school of another denomination, provided the safeguards stated above were assured.

Recognizing both the educationally desirable and the politically expedient, the Royal Commission expressed the opinion that the churches should continue their interest in education, but that their emphasis should be less on controlling the educational systems and more on the development and implementation of religious education programs.

At the provincial level, the churches should act in an advisory capacity, with responsibility in certain specified areas. . . .

1. The development and administration of Religious Education programmes.
2. The distribution of any grants that may be administered on a denominational basis.
3. Assisting in the recruitment of teachers.
4. Making representations to the Curriculum Branch concerning the religious content of proposed courses of study and texts.
5. Making representations to the Department of Education concerning any educational matter in which it is interested.
6. Working with and assisting denominational schools and school boards . . . (1: 69)

In fulfilling these responsibilities, the Commission felt that some denominations might perform most effectively by pooling their resources with others.

The Commission affirmed its belief that religion was a most important subject area. With regard to this aspect of education in the Newfoundland schools, the Commission reported:

Early in the course of its enquiry the Commission sent a questionnaire to every school in the Province. Included were a number of questions related to religious education as a subject. The replies present a picture which is not encouraging. One-third of the elementary schools reported that they spent one hour or

less a week on this subject. The percentage spending an hour or less a week was even higher for secondary schools. About six per cent of the schools reported giving no religious instruction at all.

While officially many educational authorities have been rather vocal in proclaiming their belief in the importance of religion in the Newfoundland school curriculum, the studies of the Commission supply some evidence that in many schools practices have not been in complete accord with what has been professed. (1: 68)

While expressing its agreement with those who maintain the significance of religious education, the Commission also stated that it "also feels strongly that it is not necessary to endanger the whole education of large numbers of children in order to provide instruction in religion" (1: 169).

Conclusion

While some religious denominations in Newfoundland give whole-hearted support to the existing multidenominational system of education, most recognize its weaknesses in terms of the intellectual and occupational goals of education. Some briefs, such as the Roman Catholic, indicated that considerable progress had been made in consolidating schools within their own system. Others pointed to success in cooperative efforts with other denominations. The Commission stated,

In concluding this section, the Commission emphatically condemns the duplication of school services in Newfoundland which has left and is still leaving hundreds of children to face a hopeless future. In particular, there can be no justification for the existence of two or more schools in a small community. One must conclude that those who advocate the establishment or retention of such schools are unaware or unconcerned with the educational practices in them. In the interest of the common good, the Government must resist the pressures of all those who promote the continuation of such conditions. (1: 102)

References

1. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth, Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, Vol. 1, 1967.*

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2. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth, Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, Vol. 2, 1968.*
3. *Brief to the Newfoundland Royal Commission, The Diocesan Synod Education Committee, 1966.*
4. *Brief to the Newfoundland Royal Commission, Pentecostal Assemblies Board of Education.*
5. *Supplementary Brief to the Newfoundland Royal Commission, The Roman Catholic Hierarchy.*
6. *Brief to the Newfoundland Royal Commission, The United Church Council.*

THE QUEBEC CASE: A DUAL DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM

The Organization of Education

In 1961, at the time the provincial legislature of Quebec passed an Act to establish a Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, there existed in the province a dual system of denominational schools, one Roman Catholic and the other Protestant. This system had evolved from the pre-Confederation laws in Lower Canada relating to the provision of dissentient schools for the religious minority. A subsection of the Constitution Article relating to education stated:

All the Powers and Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissentient Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec.

This subsection provided an additional guarantee to the Protestant minority that their pre-Confederation rights to dissentient schools, already protected under the first subsection quoted in an earlier chapter, would be safeguarded to no lesser degree than those of the religious minority in Ontario.

The Education Act of the Province provided for a Department of Education to supply an administrative service to local school corporations. The Department included a Superintendent of Education for the Province and two Secretaries, one for each of the two systems, who had general control of the Department's services. The Act also created a Council of Education, divided into two Committees, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant.

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The Council of Education comprises the Superintendent of Education, all the Roman Catholic bishops whose dioceses are situated either wholly or partly in the Province, and equal numbers of Roman Catholic laymen, and as many Protestants as there are Roman Catholic lay members. (The Council of Education has at present 67 members, of whom 45, including the Superintendent are Roman Catholics and 22 Protestants. Only three or four are career educators.) Its ex officio members are the Superintendent of Education and the Roman Catholic "bishops, ordinaries or administrators" whose dioceses have the specified geographic location. All its other members are appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council (provincial Cabinet) "during pleasure." In fact their appointment is for life. The Council of Education is under the presidency of the Superintendent of Education and has as its joint secretaries the two Secretaries of the Department of Education. (1: 29-30)

The two committees, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant, were derived from the Council of Education but were completely separate from it. They were also separate from one another. In fact, there was a fifty-year period during which the two committees never met together. The Council had no authority over its Committees, they had neither to report to it nor have their decisions ratified by it. However, the composition of each Committee included all the members of the Council representing that particular denomination, with some additional persons added--usually educators.

The Education Act entrusted the general organization and control of the two educational systems to the two Committees. For its own system, each had control over the curriculum, textbooks, examinations, and school calendar. Each had authority in the area of teacher qualifications and conditions of employment, teacher education and supervision, and regulations governing the construction and maintenance of school buildings. According to the Act, the Council of Education and its Committees were subject to orders and instructions from the Cabinet which also must give final approval to their regulations. In practice, however, the subordination was largely theoretical and the two Committees operated autonomously.

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At this time in the Quebec educational structure, there was no Minister of Education in the Cabinet. For many years, the Provincial Secretary represented the interests of education, but in 1961 this responsibility was transferred to the Minister of Youth. It should be noted, however, that he did not head the Department of Education as was customary in other provinces. The stated intent of this arrangement was to keep provincial politics out of education.

Both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Committees met in general session about four times a year. To carry out its decisions, there were under the Roman Catholic Committee a multiplicity of committees, governing boards, agencies and commissions, chosen from its own membership. Drawing also from among its own membership, the Protestant Committee established a number of standing and ad hoc subcommittees.

The departmental services clearly reflect the existence of two public school systems, and to a large extent fall under two separate sectors, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant. The following are duplicated, each of the sectors having its own service: school inspection, teaching personnel, examinations, audio-visual education, the official periodical of the Department. A curriculum service exists only in the Protestant sector. The Roman Catholic sector includes a number of additional services not to be found in the Protestant sector. (1: 42)

The inevitable outcome of this historic arrangement was almost complete autonomy for the minority Protestant System and the evolution of two completely different patterns of educational organization and administration. By 1961, there were in the Roman Catholic System nearly 1,500 school corporations with 45,000 teachers serving over a million pupils in 7,000 schools. On the Protestant side, there were 225 school boards with a teaching staff of 5,000 serving 300 schools enrolling 115,000 pupils. The significant ratios are given in the following table:

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	<u>Roman Catholic System</u>	<u>Protestant System</u>
Average P/T ratio:	23 pupils	23 pupils
Average school size:	147 pupils; 6 teachers	383 pupils; 17 teachers
Average district size:	687 pupils; 4.7 schools	511 pupils; 1.3 schools

Close to 900 school commissions, or approximately 60 per cent of all of them, each accomodate less than 300 pupils in their schools; . . . a little more than 500 accomodate between 300 and 1,000 pupils; and . . . only 200 have in their care more than 1,000 pupils. . . . Thus . . . more than half of them would have budgets under \$10,000; a little over a third, budgets varying from \$100,000 to \$500,000; and a little over one-tenth, budgets over \$500,000. (5:57)

One contributing factor to the multiplicity of small districts and schools was the dual nature of the educational system. Another, within the Roman Catholic System, was the practice of having separate educational institutions for boys and girls, even at the elementary level.

A similar multiplicity of institutions occurred in the area of teacher training, another responsibility under the Committees. On the Roman Catholic side, there were in 1963 eleven normal schools for men, 70 normal schools for women, and 25 normal schools for scholasticates preparing for religious teaching orders. Of the 150 teacher training institutions in Canada in that year, 106 were to be found in the Roman Catholic System of Quebec. The Protestant System of Quebec, on the other hand, entrusted all its teacher training requirements to the Institute of Education of McGill University.

At the secondary education level, the Protestant System provided high school opportunities up to grade eleven. Until 1961, education under the direct control of the Roman Catholic Committee generally terminated at grade seven. Secondary education was provided for an intellectual elite in the eight-year baccalaureate programs offered by a large number of relatively small classical colleges operated by religious

orders. Other forms of education, particularly of a trade or technical nature, were available in certain areas of the Province under the jurisdiction of various other Departments of the government. It was not until 1943 that compulsory school attendance was made part of Quebec law, and it was not extended to age 15 until 1961.

The 1961 Acts required all school commissions to provide secondary education through the eleventh grade . . . few school commissions had enough children under their jurisdiction to think of providing secondary education themselves . . . The same Acts allowed neighbouring school commissions to join together in order to create a regional school commission covering the whole area within their boundaries. (4: 142)

With regard to special provisions for the education of exceptional children, this is an area of responsibility which had been left largely to the private sector. In the majority of instances, institutions for such children have been operated by religious communities, outside of the control of the Department of Education. It was not until 1959 that the Government began to provide some service to exceptional children and in 1961 appointed a special educational advisor to help public schools with the problem.

Evaluation of Administration at the State Level

Constitutionally, it has been noted, education is the responsibility of the Province. The Quebec Royal Commission Report made a number of statements relative to the State's responsibility for the education of its citizens. Among these statements are the following:

The modern conviction that everyone has a right to schooling makes it essential that education be available to all children without regard to class, race or belief, from the primary grades to the university. No longer is education the privilege of an elite . . . (1: 72)

Education is . . . essential in a democratic society, and it must be equally accessible to all . . . (4: 3)

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Not without many misgivings has society been obliged to acknowledge that education, just like health, is an essential social service, as indispensable for the individual as it is for the community. (5: 156)

Up until now, society has had a narrow and restrictive concept of education. Formal instruction has long been the perquisite of specific social and economic groups. In our province, the democratization of education has still only been partly accomplished; it remains a goal to be attained. (2: 323)

Moreover, a large proportion of our adult population did not finish secondary school, not through lack of aptitude or talent, but because it was given no opportunity to do so. The future security of all these people, and also the prosperity and progress of Quebec as a whole during the next ten or fifteen years, will depend on what measures are taken immediately to provide all these people with guidance, further education and means of acquiring culture. (2: 329)

Finally, public opinion must become aware of the long neglect it has manifested towards elementary education . . . Our society has misjudged the importance of the school. (2: 118)

This line of thought led us to conclude that the state must assume greater responsibility for education. (4: 4)

The Commission Report emphasized three areas in which the state must assume a greater responsibility for the educational opportunities of its citizens. The first was the relationship between the Cabinet and the Department of Education; the second, the relationship between the Department of Education and the local school commissions; and the third the relationship between the Department and the private sector.

With regard to the first area, the Commission stated:

The history and description of Quebec's educational system, . . . showed how the Council of Public Instruction and its two Committees gradually came to exercise a power belonging, in the last resort, to the Legislature and the Cabinet. . . . On occasion the importance of the prerogatives of the provincial sovereignty has been minimized, and a restrictive interpretation has been applied to its powers, but this is contrary to the spirit of the laws and to present practice. For whenever the State has had to accept a more active role in education, either by itself in establishing new educational services or by large-scale assistance to school commissions and private institutions, it has had to take upon itself direct responsibility for financing education and for institutional management. The social

importance and the magnitude of a modern educational system inevitably has led the State to the assumption of broader responsibility. (1: 80)

The Commission felt strongly that the lack of effective articulation between the Cabinet and the Committees of the Council of Education had seriously hindered the establishment of an overall educational policy for the Province. It therefore recommended that the Department of Education should be represented by a Minister of Education in the provincial Cabinet. It found that, far from the existing structure keeping politics out of education as had been intended, it led in practice to an increase in political influence.

One of the reasons most frequently alleged for excluding the State from direct exercise of its responsibilities in this domain is the determination to protect the schools from the pressure of politics. This was the reason given for abolishing the post of Minister of Public Instruction in 1875. Yet, paradoxically enough, from then on the Superintendent was almost always chosen, not from the ranks of professional educators, but from the ranks of political personalities, former Members of the Assembly or Cabinet Ministers. Moreover, it is a matter of common knowledge that Members and Ministers have frequently acted as intermediaries between the Department of Education and school commissions seeking help from the public treasury. (1: 81)

The Commission also recommended that the function of the Minister should be to promote and coordinate educational services at all levels and in all sectors, public and private. To make possible the performance of this role, there was a further recommendation that a Superior Council of Education should be created to advise the Minister and that it should act as a unified body.

We have no desire to see history repeat itself, or to see the Council again split into isolated parallel committees. This predominant concern for coordination inspired our recommendations regarding the structure of the Ministry; it plays no less a part in our recommendations for the Council. (1: 114)

The Commission was concerned that a rational organization should be developed at both the state and local levels that would avoid waste,

costly duplication, and administrative inconsistencies. It repeatedly stated that the Commission did not agree with the widely-held belief that "confessionality of education necessarily implies the confessionality of the public bodies charged with administering the schools" (4: 150). It therefore recommended that the provincial Department of Education should be reorganized along functional lines, rather than denominational, and made the following statements:

The strict division which has always existed between Protestant and Roman Catholic education has not always been to the advantage of pupils or of the community as a whole; in some respects it has delayed progress and prevented a fruitful exchange of ideas. (1: 95)

We are convinced that great advantages for educational progress will also derive from more closely associating the Protestant and Roman Catholic and the English and French sectors of education, which have for a long time paid too little attention to each other. In each sector, worthwhile experiments have been conducted, studies and tests have been carried out, foreign educational specialists have been consulted; but none of this has been exchanged or shared. (4: 152)

With regard to the Department of Education's relations with local school commissions, the Royal Commission expressed the view that the State could not permit educational progress to be left to chance or to be designed to meet purely local needs. By permitting a fragmentation of the educational system, the State had been guilty of neglecting a major part of its constitutional responsibility for public education. The Commission made the recommendation that the Minister's efforts to develop an integrated and balanced educational system would be greatly assisted by the creation of a Council of School Development in each economic area of the Province. The Council would consist of representatives of regional commissions within the area and would be a unitary body concerned, among other things, with the approval of the budgets of the regional commissions and with the coordination of their programs.

The Royal Commission's concern with the provincial Government's role in educational planning and development was reflected in its assessment of the relationship between the Government and the private sector. It considered the existing isolation between the various sectors of Quebec's education system, public and private, to be a major contributor to its weaknesses. It led to varying standards from one section of the system to another, with the consequent difficulties for students who wished to make transfers. Private initiative alone, the Commission concluded, could not achieve the coordination that was needed. Only strong government leadership and the development of a master plan of education for the province could achieve the goal. To this end, private institutions desiring public funds for their support would have to give up some of their autonomy and find their place in the master plan.

At the time of the Royal Commission's study, and for several hundred years before, the private sector--particularly the classical colleges--had played a major role in the provision of secondary education in the Province. With regard to the Government's relation to this sector, the following summarizes the Commission's opinions:

1. That the purpose of state intervention in the private sector is to ensure the quality of education it offers and thereby protect the public.
2. That it is reasonable for the state to use public funds to provide support to this sector because it is contributing to the state's ultimate responsibility for the children involved.
3. That there should be no connection between the regulatory measures for this sector and government grants. That in according permission for private educational institutions, it does not thereby commit itself to provide financial support.

4. That a distinction should be made between those institutions which make specific agreements with the Department of Education to provide specified services within a provincial plan and those which only meet certain government standards for subsidy purposes. The former the Commission labeled "semi-public" institutions and the latter "subsidized private" institutions.
5. That "semi-public" institutions which accepted government grants equivalent to those in the public sector would have to accept comparable admission and program standards to be eligible.
6. That a structure entirely built with public funds could not be owned by a private institution. Because of the building needs in the public sector, the Commission believed "that the state must make it a rule to make no grants-in-aid for the building of new private or semi-public institutions." (4: 224)
7. That the two major criteria which would guide officials in their decisions relating to private institutions would be "the extent of the public service rendered by each institutions, and the quality of the education it dispenses." (4: 44)

Evaluation of Administration at the Local Level

Reference has already been made to the very large number of school commissions in the two systems of Quebec. The Commission reported that "close to 900 school commissions, or approximately 60 per cent of all of them, each accommodate less than 300 pupils in their schools . . . and that only 200 have in their care more than 1,000 pupils" (5: 57). Although the Island of Montreal is a densely populated area, 41 school commissions existed on the Island.

Some of the problems associated with this multiplicity of small school commissions are suggested by the following Royal Commission statement:

The major disadvantages resulting from this fragmentation, in Montreal as in the rest of the province, are the inequality of the financial burdens placed on rate-payers and in the inequality of school services offered to the population. Particularly in the case of Roman Catholics, assessment of private property and real estate tax rates vary from one school commission to another . . . In other words, the majority of school commissions under Roman Catholic auspices, outside the territory of the Montreal Catholic School Commission, either do not have the requisite school population, or else do not have the means to enable them to set up or finance good schools, especially at the secondary level. Furthermore the split between two entirely separate administrations, one Roman Catholic, the other Protestant, and the absence of communication between them, have been detrimental to both; each could have greatly benefited from a continuous exchange of ideas with the other.
(4: 189)

Other problems which the Commission became aware of were the inability of the small school commissions to employ competent administrative and supervisory personnel and the tendency for such commissions to become more and more subordinate to the state. The Commission felt that until such time as school commissions, through consolidation, were able to employ competent educational personnel, the Department of Education would not be willing to grant any large measure of local autonomy.

The Commission also recognized a growing demand on the part of the public for a system of nonconfessional schools. Conscious of the pluralism of Quebec society, it acknowledged this as a legitimate demand, yet one which could fragment the school system even further.

The following statements summarize the Commission's recommendations with regard to the establishment of nonconfessional schools.

The proposed school system assumes that, wherever they are requested and are practicable, non-confessional schools will be found alongside confessional schools, both being equally subsidized out of the public funds and administered in accordance with the

same standards. Whenever, in a given educational jurisdiction, the minority is too small, or else too divided in its religious or philosophical convictions, to justify placing at its disposal one or more schools fulfilling individual needs, all the groups involved will have to collaborate with each other in order to find the compromise solutions best adapted to the situations prevailing in their communities. (4: 65)

The point has previously been made, at the state level, that the Commission did not believe that the administrative structure had to have a denominational character, even though the schools were denominational. It took the position that "it is at the level of the school and of instruction that confessionality and nonconfessionality are to be found, and not at the level of administrative structures, whether local or provincial" (4: 67). It therefore proposed the unifying of both confessional and nonconfessional schools in a given area under a single large unit of administration known as a region school commission. It gave as part of its argument:

Maintaining the present division between local administrations for Roman Catholic and for Protestant schools, and adding to these a new structure for the non-confessional schools would be to accept a factor of rigidity which could prevent or limit in practice the various accommodations which we desire. Then too, educational diversity would be more difficult, for a number of groups each walled off from the others would find it almost impossible to join forces in order, when necessary, to set up jointly a school that could pass muster. The unifying of local administrations into a single body responsible for the management of all schools--Roman Catholic, Protestant, non-confessional, English and French--would hence seem to be a means of helping all citizens freely and effectively to exercise their educational choice. (4: 67)

As an intermediate step in this process, the Commission recommended an acceleration of the trend towards consolidation of school

Although progress had been made in this direction, particularly in the Protestant sector, 60 per cent of the school commissions in the two systems had less than 300 pupils in their schools in 1964-65.

Evaluation of the Educational Output and Programs

Data presented in Chapter 2, Table 3, indicated the low output level of the Quebec school systems relative to the other Canadian provinces, as measured by an estimate of retention rates. The data actually show considerable improvement over the results of a similar study completed five years earlier. The Commission quoted 1961 census data indicating that 54.3 per cent of the population of Quebec ten years of age and over and not attending school had only completed elementary education or less. Referring again to the census data, they stated that:

. . . forty-three percent of the young people in Quebec, between the ages of 20 and 24 and not attending school, had not continued beyond the elementary course, whereas the equivalent figure for Canada as a whole was 30 per cent, for Ontario 25 per cent and for British Columbia 16 per cent. Of this same group, only 51 per cent in Quebec had wholly or partially completed their secondary studies as compared to 64 per cent for all Canada, 60 per cent for Ontario and 76 per cent for British Columbia. This means that additional education must be given to the population now between 25 and 30 years of age in order to supply Quebec industry with the necessary quota of competent workers. (5: 17)

The Commission acknowledged that the Protestant system had a relatively high school retention rate compared with the Roman Catholic system. It went on to say:

We are here in complete agreement with the Quebec Economic Advisory Council which asserted that French Canadians play only a limited part in the economic life of Quebec, the primary explanation being the level and the manner of formation and education. (5: 18)

A basic problem was the former elitist concept of secondary education in the French Catholic system. There secondary education was seen as a different sector of education reserved for a social and intellectual elite rather than a higher level of education for all students in the province.

Accepting as its premise that the secondary level of education must be prepared to accept the whole of the elementary school population, the Royal Commission recommended the development of secondary education along the lines of the comprehensive high school. This development would first of all require the coordination of all existing secondary school programs then being offered by a multiplicity of institutions under diverse agencies. A first step would be a reconsideration of the practice in the Roman Catholic system of having separate institutions for boys and girls. The acceptance of a coeducation principle would reduce the costs of education resulting from a duplication of services and make a higher quality of service possible through the more efficient uses of professional and material resources.

It may well be said that for many years, the rejection of coeducation has weighed heavily on the budgets of school commissions with relatively small student bodies. . . . Moreover, the pedagogical aspect deserves as much consideration as the economic. For the type of programme with electives which we envisage to be organized in a school on a sufficiently wide basis, it will certainly be necessary to be able to count on a student body both large and varied . . . The division that has existed up to the present between institutions for boys and institutions for girls has certainly contributed to the inequalities and delays to which young women have been subject in the types of education offered to them by our school system.
(2: 136-137)

The Royal Commission was very critical of existing conditions in the elementary schools of the Province. It commented that major reforms were necessary, beginning with a rejection of the traditional concept that elementary education was terminal. A second major area of reform had to do with the "dispersal and isolation of elementary grade teachers in a multitude of little schools" where it was impossible to utilize their talents efficiently or provide the leadership and support necessary to improve their performance. Except in the major cities subject specialists in the elementary schools were rarely available.

Few principals in the small schools were sufficiently relieved of teaching duties to provide the professional support required. The Department of Education played largely a regulatory function in relation to these schools and, rather than providing support services, burdened the schools with provincial examinations.

The critical comments on the elementary and secondary schools extended to the school programs and facilities. The current provincial program of studies for elementary schools in the Roman Catholic System dated back more than a dozen years, yet many of the more advanced concepts in it were not being implemented. A more satisfactory picture was presented on the Protestant side, though it too had need of reforms. The textbooks in use in the French Roman Catholic system were described as dull, tasteless, inadequate, and with many errors. A major problem existed in building up adequate libraries in most schools.

The important role of books in contemporary teaching is today generally accepted in principle. In practice, however, our school libraries have not reflected the importance of books in education. Until recently, our educational system far too frequently permitted the existence of schools without libraries and indeed without books, or with a small number of class libraries in locked book cases, or again with a general library in the college open to the teachers only. . . . The recognition of the paramount importance of the school library is also a recognition of the necessity for a sufficient budget, a suitable location, and a competent staff. (3: 298)

With regard to the learning environment in the schools, the Commission commented:

We regret that, in general, we have been unable to find in our elementary schools that direct, unconstrained, trustful, happy atmosphere which is so important for the fullest development of the child. Too often the existing atmosphere of the elementary school locks the child within himself, warps his natural growth. . . . A school's atmosphere depends also on its cleanliness and on the way in which it is decorated, which we have too frequently found to be in bad taste, sombre and depressing in its general effect. . . . The atmosphere of the elementary school also seems to us in some measure distorted by the overemphasis on religion which has resulted from

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a lamentable withdrawal or neglect on the part of the family and the clergy. (2: 96)

Related to all these inadequacies, another major area in need of reform in the Commission's view was the qualifications of the teaching staff. Unfortunately, current data on this subject were not available from Dominion Bureau of Statistics sources. According to an estimate made by this Bureau in 1960, just prior to the commencement of the Commission study, 69 per cent of the elementary teachers in the Roman Catholic System, and 57 per cent in the Protestant System, had one year or less of training beyond grade eleven. This might be compared with over 75 per cent in this category in three of the four Atlantic provinces, 16 per cent in Alberta and 14 per cent in British Columbia. The Commission pointed out that a number of teacher candidates were acquiring their training through summer and weekend courses.

Back of the teacher qualification problem, the Commission saw traditional public attitudes to the role of the teacher in society. It felt the urgency of raising the status of the teaching profession and improving the preparation program. Reference has been made to the multiplicity of teacher-training institutions which existed at that time in the Roman Catholic System.

In 1961-62, more than half of the normal schools for women had fewer than one hundred students. . . . Only a few Roman Catholic normal schools had over 500 students. . . . Obviously, the majority of these institutions did not have the staff and the educational equipment needed for an education at this level. Moreover, the Roman Catholic normal schools are separate from the university schools of education and do not usually maintain relations with the classical colleges, whose general instruction resembles their own. (2: 274)

The Role of the Denominations in Education

Given the constitutional guarantees and the traditions of denominational forms of education in the Province of Quebec, it is not

surprising that the Commission did not reject the role of the church in education. It laid down two basic principles in regard to this subject:

1. "The neutrality of the state in religious matters. We mean by this that the state must not use its authority in any way which would constrain its citizens to profess one religion in preference to another, to profess any religion in preference to none, or to profess no religion" (4: 28)
2. "Freedom of conscience. . . . If the state denies itself the privilege of taking sides in religious matters, it is because this realm belongs wholly to each man's most intimate personal conscience" (4: 29)

The Royal Commission expressed the view that the state did not contravene the neutrality principle by supporting denominational forms of education. To the extent, however, to which it could lend support was related to its other obligations with respect to education.

At this point it is important to stress the fact that the obligation of the state to ensure public education for everyone has priority over whatever duty it may have to authorize religious instruction for groups of children in its schools. (4: 31)

Recognizing that the state had no right to compel parents to send their children to a denominational school not of their own choice, it affirmed its position that the state should provide a nonconfessional form of education for those who desired it.

At the same time, the Commission recognized the economic and educational costs of a fragmented school system, hence its proposal that while the schools themselves might have a confessional or nonconfessional character, the governing bodies at the state and local level should be unitary. It acknowledged the ecumenical movement and the changes taking place within the churches themselves and in their relationship to society, and felt that the time was now approaching when wholehearted

collaboration could be effected among authorities in all educational sectors.

Conclusion

The traditional dual system of education in Quebec, like the multid denominational system of education in Newfoundland, had resulted in a fragmented educational system at both the state and local level. As a result, pupils educated in small, inadequate schools had high dropout rates which lowered the education level of the labor force and the output of the provincial economy. Considerable inefficiency and ineffectiveness had resulted through duplication and isolation of educational services. Teacher qualifications and working conditions left much to be desired.

The Commission's major recommendations related to the unification and consolidation of administrative structures. At the provincial level, it suggested a more direct relationship between the provincial Cabinet and the Department of Education, the organization of a unitary Superior Council of Education, and the structuring of the Department along functional lines. It conceived of all sectors of the educational system, public and private, fitting together in an overall educational master plan through participation in regional and state planning and coordinating bodies, and with strong state leadership.

References

1. *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, Province of Quebec, Vol. 1, 1963.*
2. *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, Province of Quebec, Vol. 2, 1964.*
3. *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, Province of Quebec, Vol. 3, 1965.*

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4. *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, Province of Quebec, Vol. 4, 1966.*
5. *Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, Salaries and Qualifications of Teachers, 1961.*

THE ALBERTA CASE: A SEPARATE DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM

The Organization of Education

The Province of Alberta was carved out of the North West Territories in 1905. As early as 1875, before the area had become settled, a dual denominational school system after the Quebec pattern had been provided for by an Act of the Territorial Council. During the next twenty-five years, a succession of School Ordinances gradually unified the educational structure. The School Ordinance for 1901 resulted in the provision for a "separate denominational school" upon the petition of the religious minority in a school district, after the pattern found in Ontario. The origins of the Ontario separate school system were given in an earlier chapter. Since the Ordinance of 1901 was the last school legislation before Alberta became a province within the federal structure, its provisions for denominational education are those protected under the first subsection of the constitutional Article dealing with education.

With respect to separate schools, the Alberta School Act reads, in part:

50(1) The minority of electors in an district, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, may establish a separate school therein, and in such case the electors establishing a Protestant or Roman Catholic separate school are liable only to assessments of such rates as they impose upon themselves in respect thereof, and any person who is legally assessed or assessable for a public school in the district is not liable to assessment for any separate school therein.

55. A separate school district and its board shall possess and exercise all the rights, powers and privileges of, and are subject to the same duties of government as, a public school district and its board.

57(1) Where a separate school district has been established, the religion of the owner of property liable to assessment, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, determines whether the property is assessable for public or separate school purposes.

59(2) The board shall also submit a list of the names and addresses of all persons who were at the time of the establishment of the separate school district electors of the public school district, and who are separate school supporters by virtue of section 53 and section 57 according to the information available to the board.

59(8) Any person may at any time give written notice to a municipality stating that he is Protestant or Roman Catholic or is neither a Protestant nor a Roman Catholic and thereupon the municipality shall adjust its records to indicate that person's property as being assessable and taxable for the school district of which that person is or is deemed to be a supporter.

These excerpts point up the following characteristics of the separate school system in Alberta, which are similar to those in Saskatchewan and Ontario.

1. A public school district must first exist before there can be a separate school district.
2. The separate school district may be designated as either Protestant or Roman Catholic, depending upon the denominational character of the minority.
3. There are only the two designations of denomination: Protestant and Roman Catholic. Individual Protestant sects are not recognized for separate school purposes. To have a Protestant separate school district, Protestants collectively must be associated with it and must constitute a religious minority in the district. The schools of individual Protestant denominations are therefore not "separate schools" and do not enjoy any of the provisions of the Act but must operate as private schools.

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4. The boundaries of the separate school districts are coterminus with the boundaries of the public school districts.
5. The separate school trustees establish their own tax rates and their supporters are not taxable for public school purposes. On the other hand, public school supporters set their own tax rates and are not subject to taxation for separate schools. Both systems share in provincial government grants.
6. Separate schools and their boards are subject to the same governmental regulations and responsibilities as the public schools.
7. Whether or not a child attends a public or separate school, where both districts exist, depends upon the religion of the parent registered as the property owner. In Ontario, taxpayers who are denominationally eligible to send their children to separate schools may determine to which system their children (and their taxes) may go.
8. The separate school board is authorized to present the municipal collecting agency with the list of taxpayers whose religion would make them separate school supporters. The only recourse of the listed taxpayer who wishes to support the public rather than the separate school system would be to make a declaration to the separate school board that he is not a member of the religious minority represented by that board.
9. Other subsections of the Act deal with the complexities of the allocation of corporation taxes among the two systems.

The Alberta Royal Commission on Education gave its interpretation of the legal status of separate schools as follows:

1. Separate schools are first and foremost part of the public school system, whether Protestant or Catholic. They must maintain such standards and abide by whatever regulations may be thought appropriate to the public school system as a whole.

2. Separate school supporters have one unique right only--to establish a tax-supported denominational school system in any school district where they constitute a religious minority as among persons of all other religions. Beyond this, their "rights" are identical with the "rights" of public school supporters, as specified in the Alberta School Act. (1: 270)

Because the separate schools in this province are considered as part of the public school system, there is unitary control at the provincial level. Alberta, like other western provinces, adopted a pattern of school organization first developed in Ontario. Under the first Superintendent of Education, Edgerton Ryerson--a contemporary of Horace Mann--there evolved in that province the tradition of local school boards superimposed by a strong provincial authority. This authority established and regulated the administrative, curricular and instructional patterns and standards of all public schools in the province.

Alberta has a Minister of Education in the provincial Cabinet who heads a Department of Education organized along functional lines. There are no divisions, services, or advisory boards of a denominational character. The regulatory functions carried out by provincial superintendents of schools are applied equally to public and separate school systems. The curriculum division of the Department authorizes the same educational programs and courses of study, and text and reference books for all schools. It is the prerogative of the Minister to issue teaching certificates upon recommendation of the Teacher Certification Board. The same standards apply to all teachers in the province, regardless of the system in which they may be teaching. All teacher training is under the three public universities and the junior colleges which feed their

students into them. Two of these colleges have a denominational character but their graduates spend one or two years in a university before being certificated.

In the early days of the province, school districts in rural areas were small units usually supporting only a one- or two-room school. In the late 1930s, the provincial government began to consolidate these districts into large units known as "school divisions." As many as 60 or 70 small school districts might be combined into one school division. With the population explosion following World War II, the school divisions were able to accommodate the increased school enrolments, particularly at the secondary level, by the closing of small schools and the building of centralized secondary or all-grade institutions. The opportunity to consolidate small school districts was not extended to separate schools whose legal entity depended on the existence of the school district form of education. They therefore continued with small schools in rural areas.

In 1967, there existed in the province 60 large rural units of school administration (many of which included towns). There were eight city public school districts and nine city separate school districts; 11 town public school districts and 33 town separate school districts; 30 village and rural public school districts and 48 village and rural separate school districts. Altogether, there were 109 public school districts and divisions, and 100 separate school districts. The enrolments are given in Table 4.

In that year, 75 per cent of the school population attended schools in the public system and 25 per cent in the separate system. From Table 4, the average enrolments by type of district for each of the systems may be derived as follows in Table 5.

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Table 4

Enrolments in Alberta's School Systems, 1967-68*

	Public School Systems	Separate School Systems
Divisions	143,821	
Cities	167,213	53,274
Towns	9,243	10,877
Villages	611	303
Rural	7,295	1,082
Total	328,183	107,933

*(4: 209)

Table 5

Average Enrolment in Alberta by Type of Administrative Unit, 1967-68

	Public School Systems	Separate School Systems
Divisions	2,397	
Cities	20,901	5,919
Towns	840	330
Villages and Rural	263	29

There were, therefore, in the separate school system 48 village and rural school districts with an average pupil enrolment of 29, and 33 town separate school districts with an average pupil enrolment of 330. This might be compared with 30 public village and rural school districts with an average enrolment of 263 and 11 public town school districts with an average enrolment of 840.

Evaluation of Administration at the State Level

Three documents serve as the basis of the evaluation of Alberta's

separate system of denominational schools. The first is the *Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, 1959 (1); the second, an independent study of the public and separate schools systems, included in *Investment in Canadian Youth*, 1963 (2); and the third, a study of *The Small High School in Alberta* (3) commissioned by the Alberta School Trustees' Association, 1965. Only the first reference comments on the structure for the administration of education at the state level.

The Alberta Royal Commission made the following statements regarding the briefs presented to it on this subject:

Alberta's separate schools constitute a major feature of the public school system. The privilege of creating separate school districts is extended to Catholics and Protestants only. Adherents of both denominations have exercised this privilege. In fact, however, the matter is fundamental to Catholics primarily, and the submissions which urged further development of the separate school status were presented wholly by Catholic clergy and lay groups . . .

The Catholic separate school idea, as made apparent to the Commission through briefs and hearings, would be realized most fully under certain conditions. Fundamentally, an intimate relationship must be established between the church and education, the latter being subject to conduct and interpretation specifically conceived by the church to serve its own ends. This relationship can be established only if Catholic children are segregated from others, if they are taught by specially-trained Catholic teachers and within a school environment rich in religious symbols and exercises. (1: 267)

The Commission indicated, however, that in its discussions with certain educational and religious leaders, it appeared that the ecumenical movement, which was then beginning, was raising some doubt in the minds of these leaders as to the validity of the assumption that a completely independent school system was desirable. There was some concern expressed that the Catholic point of view in regard to education was not being adequately represented to the government by Catholic members of the legislature. The suggestion was made that there should be policy-making bodies at the provincial level on which they would have specific repre-

sentation. The opinion of the Commission on these matters was expressed in the following recommendations:

268. That the provincial government firmly resist any steps toward a dual school system.

269. That no denomination be granted special representation at the provincial level upon authoritative, regulatory or official policy-making bodies governing public education.

270. That where separate schools exist or are contemplated, controls be implemented to safeguard the scope and quality of the programs of both public and separate schools.

271. The provincial administrative procedures be devised, particularly with respect to school grants, so as to prevent duplicate grants for any phase of school operation in an area where public and separate schools co-exist.

272. That with the exception of privileges suggested in Recommendation 273, the requirements for texts and references, curriculum and teacher training be identical as between the public and separate school systems.

273. That all provisions and regulations affecting accredited and non-accredited schools be applied to public and separate school systems alike. (1: 273)

Evaluation of Administration at the Local Level

As the Royal Commission pointed out, any evaluation of administration at the local level must distinguish between urban and rural areas. In the city areas, as the previous data would indicate, both the majority and minority school systems had sufficient pupils and tax resources to operate effective and efficient educational systems. There would be some duplication of administrative services and capital programs which added to the overall cost of education for the municipality. It is not uncommon to have both schools and administrative centers of the two systems in close proximity to one another. In some cases, there may be, in addition to extra capital costs, an underutilization of space in one or more of the buildings. The complete separateness of the systems would not allow the flexibility in use of space and other resources which

shifting populations might demand.

Tables 4 and 5 clearly indicate that a large number of small separate school districts existed in the small urban and rural communities. The average enrolment in these districts would indicate that the school population in many instances was exceedingly small. The number of separate school districts in the province has considerably increased since the Commission Report, yet at that time, the Report stated:

The indiscriminate establishment of some separate school districts in Alberta may be taken as a tangible indication of the priority of religious over secular tasks of education. Particularly in rural areas of small school population and limited resources, the formation of separate schools has resulted in such fragmentation of the public school system as to produce inevitably substandard educational opportunity. (1: 271)

The concern of the Commission in this respect was not only with the smallness of the resulting separate school districts and their schools, but equally with the fragmenting effect this had on the public schools in the area. The danger was that two ineffective school districts could result in a situation where the population and financial resources would only support one marginally-effective unit.

A recent study by an Ontario Commission, in recommending the establishment of larger units of administration for that province's public school system, indicated that "it is necessary for separate school boards to be organized in units of adequate size" (4: 162). The Ontario Commission recommended that the two tax-supported systems in that province should be brought into administrative cooperation to bring about the sharing of special services and a reduction in duplication. The lack of coterminus boundaries between the two systems made the problem more difficult of solution in that province.

Evaluation of the Educational Output and Programs

From the tables presented in Chapter 3, it is apparent that Alberta, with the highest per capita expenditure on education of all Canadian provinces, had a relatively high educational output in terms of retention rates. The question arises, were there any significant differences in output between the public and separate school systems? In answering this question, more precise measures of output were available. Over several decades, the Department of Education administered province-wide examinations in all major academic subjects at both the Grade IX and Grade XII levels. The independent study, referred to earlier, examined the provincial examination results at these levels as they applied to the two systems over a three-year period from 1958 to 1960.

At the Grade IX level, it was found that the pass rate in the four major cities of the province was 93.9 per cent for the public system and 91.9 per cent for the separate system. For the smaller urban and rural areas of the province, excluding the large public school divisions, the pass rate was 91.4 per cent in the public system and 83.7 per cent in the separate system. The school divisions had a pass rate between these two at 87.9 per cent. At this grade level, it was apparent that public and separate systems had comparable outputs in the major cities. In the other areas of the province, the smaller separate schools had a lower success rate than either the public town and village school districts or the public school divisions (2: 117).

In the cities, the Grade XII examination results were again almost equivalent for the two systems, with the public system exceeding the separate in some subjects and the separate system exceeding the public

in others. However, in the town and rural separate high schools, students averaged 26 per cent below those in the city public schools, 22 per cent below the city separate schools, and 17 per cent below the town public schools (2: 118).

It would appear from the foregoing data that a considerable difference in educational opportunity existed between urban and rural areas for both public and separate schools. A significant difference also existed between the separate schools in the small towns and the public schools in the towns and in school divisions. A key factor in this difference would appear to be school size.

Some of the differences in specific subject areas of the Grade XII program were as follows for the town public and separate schools and the rural school divisions.

Table 6
Percentage of Students Receiving a "B" Standing
or Higher, 1958-60

	Public Town Schools	Separate Town Schools	Divisions
English	60	48	53
Social Studies	61	45	55
Mathematics	66	45	54
Chemistry	63	36	54
Physics	61	44	56
Biology	62	40	58

It would appear from these data that students in the physical science subjects fared least well in the small separate high schools. It should be noted that most of the divisional high schools would be centralized in a town setting.

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While the School Trustees' Association study reported that over one-half of the Province's high school students attended large schools with an enrolment over 400 in Grades X to XII, yet 85 per cent of the high schools of the Province were small schools, 25 per cent of them having fewer than 40 students. The report stated:

A number of social forces (community pride, economics, ethnicity and value systems) operate for the preservation of small high schools. . . .

Religion (and the legal provisions for separate schools) continues to be one of the major factors producing smallness in schools. However, the signs are that both leaders and supporters of separate high schools are concerned over the ineffectiveness that has attended separateness and smallness in secondary education. . . .

Indications are also, however, that separate high school supporters are reluctant to explore avenues of cooperation with the public high schools because they are fearful of losing certain rights which they consider to be important. . . .

RECOMMENDATION: That in areas where good relations and mutual respect prevail, separate and public high school boards and administrators hold discussions to explore ways and means of extending cooperation and shared services, perhaps, within the context of the "large high school complex." (3: 58)

With regard to small high schools generally, this study indicated that only 75 per cent of the teachers in these schools had four or more years of education beyond Grade XII, compared with 87 per cent in the large urban high schools. At the same time, it was found that the teachers in the small high schools were deprived of advantages enjoyed by teachers in typical city high schools, such as the leadership of a department head, the consultative services of a central office, adequate libraries and instructional equipment and supplies.

In summary, it may be observed that students who attend Type I High Schools (1-39 pupils) are seriously handicapped in terms of the educational offerings available to them; in many cases they are offered less than a matriculation program and in all cases nothing more. Students who attend Type II High Schools (40-99 pupils) are also handicapped--though not quite so seriously; they are offered a reasonable matriculation program along with a few electives which, unfortunately, appear to be of doubtful value, as presented.

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Students who attend Type III (100-199 pupils) High Schools do have the advantage of a reasonable selection of electives; but these electives are not sufficiently extensive to be patterned into any kind of a systematic preparation for post-high school life. (3: 39)

After interviewing a limited sample of university students who had graduated from the small high schools, the investigators for the Trustees' study reported that the students had found little opportunity in these high schools to learn the library and other skills necessary for success in a university program.

Furthermore, the very way of life of the university is so unlike the small high school that the small high school graduate is likely to spend the first few months of his university life in a state of awe--if not downright anxiety. (3: 41)

After presenting its case illustrating the inadequacies of the small high school, the report recommended as follows:

That schools enrolling fewer than 200 students not be accorded "full high school status;" that such schools, in future, be designated as "partial or special purpose high schools;" and that such schools be required or encouraged to become a part of a "larger high school complex." (3: 59)

The Role of the Denominations in Education

Recognizing that denominationalism was one of the contributors to the small high school problem, the School Trustees' study went on to say:

We have no intention, in this report, of questioning the wisdom of the lawmakers who established the separate school system. Nor have we any intention of questioning the right of religious minorities to establish and operate their own religiously-oriented high schools. We suspect, however, that the conditions that first gave rise to separation in education in this province have since changed appreciably. And we believe that, in many areas, a greater degree of cooperation between public and separate school authorities might be contemplated and, if achieved, might result in better education for the children of all parents--both Catholic and Protestant. (3: 52)

Through the resolutions of the Alberta Royal Commission on Education, already reported, it is evident that this body did not desire to see any extension of the existing legal provisions for denomination-

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alism in Alberta schools. In particular, it rejected the suggestions that denominations should have specific representation on policy-making bodies at the provincial level. It also stated as its conviction that:

No denominational group should have direct influence or control over even a segment of the public school system, particularly since denominational interests are given priority over educational interests in any situation where the two are in conflict. (1: 271)

On the relationship between public education and denominational interests, the Commission elaborated further with the following statement.

It has become indelibly clear that numerous individuals, groups and organizations seek to further their legitimate and commendable ends through the capture of the public schools. The public school is only one of many institutions in society, not the least of which are the home and the church. Each has its own unique potential and primary purpose; their failure or general decline cannot be corrected by the superficial transfer of responsibility to the public schools. This is not to say that the public school system can be oblivious to the ends of other institutions. In its every action it must respect and support those things sacred and privileged to the home. Further, its whole operation and conduct must respect and even reinforce the basic intellectual, social, moral and spiritual values of society. But the school *does not* set these values--they are set by society. However, values spiritual and temporal, historic and contemporary come into focus in a manner appropriate to the curriculum and operation of the public school. Thereafter, the individual pupil together with his home and his church must establish his own values and weave them into a pattern to govern his life. In this context, the primary function of the public school is one of secular nature, clearly removed from metaphysical and theological teaching. The schools can thus exemplify the highest of Christian ideals but avoid sectarianism and dogma. (1: 43)

Conclusion

In spite of its operation of a separate denominational school system, Alberta has been able to maintain its general high level of educational output. The unitary character of its Department of Education ensured similar educational programs and teacher qualifications in both systems. Major disparities appeared, however, between the performance

of students in the urban public and separate schools and the rural separate schools. There was some suggestion that students in town schools fared less well than their city counterparts because of a fragmentation of the school enrolment and services due to the presence of a separate school district in the same community. There was also a suggestion that there would be some duplication of services and facilities where both systems operated, resulting in higher educational costs. Whether or not such differences in output or cost of operation would be considered by the public as significant would depend entirely upon its system of values.

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THE MANITOBA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA CASES: UNITARY
PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Both Manitoba and British Columbia have unitary public school systems with no legal provisions for denominational schools. It was indicated earlier, however, that in the historical evolution of Manitoba's school system, certain informal arrangements had resulted in a degree of denominationalism not to be found in the British Columbia system. This degree of denominationalism may be conservatively measured by taking into consideration the percentage of the province's teachers who were members of religious orders and teaching in the public school system. The degree of denominationalism may be considerably underestimated, because the number of lay teachers of the same denomination working in schools with members of religious orders may not be known. In 1968-69, there were 112 elementary and 62 secondary teachers in Manitoba who were members of religious orders. They represented about 2 per cent of the teaching force. In British Columbia there were none.

In Chapter 3, the comparative data on the five school systems indicated that Manitoba usually occupied an intermediate position. Its inputs and outputs were above those of the eastern provinces but below those of the western provinces. As the reports on the small high school indicated, effective secondary education can only be provided where large units of school administration are able to consolidate the pupils and instructional resources necessary to offer a comprehensive educational program. It is in the establishment of such larger units that informal

agreements intended to meet special interests tend to create problems and obstruct progress.

The Background to the Manitoba Case

Manitoba was created as a province and entered Confederation in 1870. As a result of missionary activities, there were already established a number of schools in the territory. They were all denominational schools controlled by the Roman Catholic or Protestant denominations and supported by voluntary contributions. There were no state or tax-supported schools. In 1871, the provincial legislature established a dual system of education similar to the Quebec pattern. There was a Board of Education with two sections, one Catholic and one Protestant, each of which independently operated its own schools with state support.

In 1890, the earlier legislation was repealed and a new School Act passed which replaced the dual system with a unitary system of non-sectarian schools for which Roman Catholics and Protestants were taxed alike. Two major law suits followed which contended that the legal rights of Roman Catholics to their own denominational schools had been "prejudicially affected," to use the terms in the Canadian Constitution. Since the dual system had been created subsequent, rather than prior, to Manitoba's entry into Confederation, the first legal case was lost after exhausting all means of appeal. The results of the second case, however, gave the minority in Manitoba the right to petition the federal government for redress, according to another subsection of the Constitution. The result of the attempt by the federal government to introduce legislation which would over-rule the Manitoba legislature on a matter of provincial jurisdiction resulted in a defeat at the polls of the federal party in power.

In resisting this appeal, the Manitoba government maintained that the old school laws had been found inefficient and ineffective, that under the dual system "many people grew up in a state of illiteracy; that, apart from the objections to separate schools on principle, the weight of school taxation and the sparseness of settlement made it impossible to carry on a double system of schools" (3: 4). It was subsequent to these events that the informal arrangements were made.

The Manitoba Royal Commission Report

The Manitoba Royal Commission on Education made its Report in 1959, the same year as the Alberta Royal Commission. In its chapter dealing with private schools, it discussed the denominational issues. At that time, there were 9,292 pupils enrolled in private and parochial schools. Pointing out that their attendance at these institutions placed a financial burden on the institutions' supporters, and at the same time relieved the state of this expense and responsibility, the Commission reported that it had received many representations asking some support for parochial schools. It also acknowledged that it was a matter on which there was a sharp difference of opinion.

The Commission gave the major arguments which had been presented on both sides of the question, and then took the position that minorities have a right to dissent on the matter of the education of their children, and that the majority view should not be imposed on them "unless it is clearly necessary in the public interest." In this connection, the Commission went on to say, however, "As far as the Commission, by logic and from experience of other jurisdictions, can judge the likely consequences here, we believe that in many districts a second school would harm education in those districts" (2: 179).

The Commission summed up its conclusion in the following recommendation:

The Commission therefore recommends that wherever minorities, religious or other, can be provided with the kind of education they wish for their children, this should be done. However, the Commission believes it must guard against its recommendation for tax support of alternative schools leading to their establishment in districts in which, as best we can judge, they would be harmful in themselves and to the public schools. The problem, as the Commission sees it, is to provide some measure of public support for private and parochial schools without injuring the public school system. (2: 179)

Further recommendations of the Commission were to the effect that all private and parochial schools should be required to incorporate and that they should not be able to operate in more than one school district. The schools should, however, be permitted to operate with limited state controls, but with rigid state inspection in order to determine that the education provided came up to public school standards.

The British Columbia Case

British Columbia, with its unitary school system, has been shown to rank highest among the Canadian provinces in terms of both educational inputs and outputs. The relative number of children to be educated being smaller than in other provinces, less financial effort was required to provide the same level of education. The higher education and income levels of the labor force would indicate that both the educational aspirations and the ability to support those aspirations were relatively high.

The Royal Commission Report of 1960 indicated that there was a total of 113 private and parochial schools with an enrolment of around 18,000. There had been a total of 210 pupils transferring from public to private schools during 1958-59, and a total of 530 pupils transferring

in the other direction, leaving a net gain to the public schools of 320 pupils which the Commission considered a conservative estimate.

The Commission recommended that the Department of Education should exercise tighter controls over the curriculum and instruction offered in the private sector, and that these controls should include approval of the curriculum and periodic inspection.

The British Columbia Commission stated as the primary and general aim of education in the public sector the promotion of the intellectual development of the pupils. With regard to religious instruction, it stated:

The church has a special responsibility with reference to religious instruction. There are many different sects even within any one religion, and each adheres to its own beliefs, observances, and tenets. Religious instruction lacks the general acceptance that is typical of the intellectual skills and knowledge, which it is the primary responsibility of the schools to impart. It follows that the public school system as an institution designed to serve the whole community cannot attempt to fulfil the functions of the church, because no comprehensive program of religious instruction could be devised that would be acceptable to all faiths. (1: 20)

This Commission took the position that it was not incumbent upon the public schools to teach children everything which it was important and useful for them to learn. It affirmed that public schools should not try to assume the functions of other societal agencies or try to duplicate their efforts. The failure of other institutions to fulfil their own functions was not accepted as a reason for transferring the functions to the schools.

Conclusion

The discussions of both the Manitoba and British Columbia Royal Commissions on Education which are most relevant to this paper deal only with private and parochial schools, there being no public denominational

systems to consider. In the Manitoba case, there was clear evidence of support for some form of assistance to what was then the private sector. It is apparent from the Report that the question of church-state relationships which was such an explosive issue in that province in the 1890s may be still smoldering. Perhaps because it was marginal to its terms of reference, the British Columbia Royal Commission gave only brief attention to the relationship between the state department and the private sector, and to the question of religious education.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It has been the purpose of this paper to present, in summary form, an overview of the Canadian experience with denominational school systems. It has been shown how the legal roots of these systems extend to the pre-Confederation era. It has also been shown how Article VI, Section 93, of the North America Act safeguarded those legal rights to denominational schools which minorities had enjoyed prior to the entrance of their province into Confederation. It was because the legal provisions for such schools varied from province to province, and because the entrance of the ten Canadian provinces into Confederation was spread over a period of eighty-two years, that a variety of patterns of denominationalism in public school systems evolved.

In this chapter, the structure of these patterns will be briefly reviewed, followed by a summary of some of the general findings of Royal Commission and other reports which evaluated their effectiveness. To conclude, some of the major issues and trends which emerge will be underlined.

The Organization of Education

Five distinct patterns of denominationalism in public school systems have been evident in Canada. For the purposes of this study, the five patterns and the provinces which represented them were shown to extend on a continuum of denominationalism as follows:

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A multid denominational public school system: Newfoundland

A dual denominational public school system: Quebec

A separate denominational public school system: Alberta

A unitary public school system with informal arrangements for
denominationalism: Manitoba

A unitary public school system with all denominational schools in the
private sector: British Columbia.

Newfoundland's multid denominational system was comprised of five individual denominational systems with three other denominations recognized by the Education Act. Under a Minister of Education in the provincial Cabinet was a Department of Education with a Deputy Minister and five superintendents of schools, each representing a different denomination. This group constituted a Council of Education which developed educational policy through the means of consensus. With the assistance of supervisors in the Department, the Superintendents administered the schools of their own denomination throughout the province. School boards existed at the local level, most having only a few small schools to administer. Ninety per cent of the educational revenues were derived from provincial sources, very little use being made of the property tax. Teachers were prepared in the one provincial university, but the majority, particularly at the elementary level, had a minimum of training.

The dual system in Quebec was comprised of a Roman Catholic system which enrolled almost 90 per cent of the pupils in the province, and a Protestant system which had arrangements to provide educational services for the Jewish population. The Department of Education for the Province was not at that time under the direction of a Minister in the provincial Cabinet. Communication to the Cabinet was through the office

of the Provincial Secretary or the Minister of Youth. Effectual control of education was vested in a Council of Education which had two Committees, one for the Roman Catholic and one for the Protestant system. The Committees were comprised of the members of the Council who were of that particular denomination, together with a few supernumeraries. The Committees were not responsible to the Council and had little contact with one another. As a result, the two systems in Quebec developed almost completely independently. At the local level, there were a large number of school commissions which also had considerable autonomy, but in many cases limited resources. Each system established its own teacher training provisions and set its own qualification requirements.

The separate school system found in Alberta was typical of that found also in the provinces of Saskatchewan and Ontario. This system, which had pre-Confederation origins, permitted the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority in a public school district to establish a separate school district coterminus with the public. Its board and its schools, however, were under the same regulations and responsibilities as the public school boards. This included not only the financial and facility aspects of the system, but also matters of curriculum, examinations and inspection. At the state level, there was a unified Department of Education under a Minister which was organized on functional lines. There were no concessions to denominationalism at this level, even on advisory boards. Teacher training provisions and qualification requirements were identical.

Both Manitoba and British Columbia had unitary public school systems, parochial schools being in the private sector. Out of Manitoba's historical experience with the separate school question,

however, there had emerged some informal "gentlemen's agreements" which gave a denominational character to a limited number of schools. In both provinces, there was no direct provision for denominational views on policy-making bodies.

Evaluation of Administration at the State Level

The Royal Commissions investigating the administration of education at the state level were rather critical of both organization and practice in the multid denominational system of Newfoundland and the dual system of Quebec. In Newfoundland, the Deputy Minister was in a rather impotent role, serving as an intermediary between the Minister and the Council of Education, but having no direct contact with schools and school systems. The Royal Commission for that province received many complaints that the potential use of the veto in the Council resulted in a discouragement of innovation and a maintenance of the status quo. It was theoretically possible for a small proportion of the population represented by one of the five denominations on the Council to overrule the wishes of the large majority through the use of the veto. The Commission was also critical of the fact that, in some instances, denominational rather than educational considerations had determined the appointment of a Superintendent to the Department of Education, and that all too often these considerations influenced the policy decisions of that body. It also found confused lines of authority in the Department which made the role of the provincial supervisors of instruction an almost untenable one. The Commission recommended that the Department be reorganized along functional rather than denominational lines.

In Quebec, there was concern that the government, through the

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provincial Cabinet, was too far removed from educational policy-making. The Royal Commission strongly recommended the appointment of a Minister of Education who should head the Department. It also recommended that the Council of Education with its two independent Committees should be replaced with a Superior Council of Education of a unitary character. It felt that a great deal could be gained, which would be beneficial to both systems, by a close liaison between those responsible for administering them. Like the Newfoundland Commission, the Quebec Royal Commission recommended that the Department of Education be reorganized along functional lines.

In Alberta, which already had a Department organized along functional lines, the Royal Commission resisted any of the recommendations made to it that there should evolve either a dual system or one in which particular denominational interests were represented on provincial policy-making bodies.

The British Columbia Commission was concerned that the institution of education should not attempt to take on responsibilities which had traditionally been shared by others. It saw as its major concern the provision of quality academic education and was prepared to leave religious education to the churches.

Several of the Royal Commissions made the suggestion that a provincial planning agency should be established which would provide leadership and coordination for the total educational system of the province, including the role to be played by the private sector. The Quebec Commission spelled this proposal out in some detail. Emerging from this seemed the clear recognition that the responsibility for education delegated to the provinces by the Constitution was a

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responsibility not to be taken ^{lightly} and not to be dissipated through excessive fragmentation of either the Department of Education or the school system evolving from it.

Administration of Education at the Local Level

The word "fragmentation" appeared over and over again in the Commission reports, particularly in those concerned with the multi-denominational, dual and separate school systems. This fragmentation was applied to both the clientele and the resources available to educational systems. At the local level, it related to the multiplicity of boards administering very small districts, particularly in Quebec and Newfoundland. It related also to the many small schools, and particularly small high schools, which were a phenomenon of almost all of the provinces. Although geographic factors entered into the reasons for this fragmentation, it was generally recognized that the presence of denominationa systems which split the local population into two or more groups was also a significant factor.

Fragmented school districts left a situation where consolidation of schools was difficult and the provision of a comprehensive form of education an impossibility. Commission investigations and studies done in Alberta indicated that there was an important relationship between size of school and educational opportunity, at least to some minimal level. Inadequate libraries and other facilities, multigrade classes, limited subject choices, and less adequately prepared teachers were reported in many small schools in all of the provinces. The Quebec Commission made the point that this excessive fragmentation of districts and schools, rather than providing for more local autonomy, actually resulted in a greater subordination of the local administrative unit to

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the state. It was found that in the small districts not only were the school trustees inadequately educated and prepared for their roles, but that they were unable for financial and other reasons to hire competent administrators either to manage the school operations or to give professional leadership to the staff. This left a situation which made the state most reluctant to delegate major policy decisions to the local level.

In the evaluation of administration at the local level, the word duplication appeared almost as often as the word fragmentation. It was evident at the state level where the Department was organized on a denominational basis. It occurred at the local level in terms of services and facilities. But along with the danger of duplication was also the danger of neglect. This occurred where none of the systems had either the financial resources, the personnel, or the interest to perform an auxiliary service for the larger community. The Quebec Commission made particular reference to the education of exceptional children, an area of responsibility which had been left largely to the private sector.

Inequality and inefficiency were two other terms often applied to local administrations where there had been excessive fragmentation. The inequalities related, on the one hand, to inequities in the tax base and financial resources and, on the other, to inequities in educational opportunity in terms of both curriculum and instruction. The term inefficiency was applied most often to the business aspects of school district operation. Budgetting, purchasing, and auditing procedures came under particular fire in one of the reports. Transportation services and school building programs and maintenance were other areas where startling inefficiencies were reported.

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The Royal Commission Reports which dealt with this topic were all unanimous in recommending the organization of larger units of local administration, even within denominational systems. The Quebec Commission took the position that it was not necessary to have denominationalism in the administrative structure in order to make provision for denominational differences in schools and classrooms. It went so far as to recommend the replacement of the traditional denominational authorities at the local level with nondenominational regional bodies.

Evaluation of the Educational Output and Programs

Early in this paper comparative data were provided to show the educational and economic inputs and outputs of the five denominational systems considered. It was shown that the provinces with the highest educational output in terms of school retention rates were also those systems which had the lowest degree of denominationalism in their school systems, and that the systems with the lowest output had the highest degree of fragmentation for denominational reasons. The type of system, of course, was not the only factor involved. But cultural factors, with which denominationalism has some relationship, resulted in there being more children to educate, lower levels of education and income in the labor force, and lower expenditure levels on education, in those provinces with higher degrees of denominationalism in their school systems than in those with lower.

The small high school studies referred to in this paper clearly indicated the lower educational output of the schools in that category than in larger centralized secondary institutions. This output was measurable in terms of both retention rates and examination results. The Royal Commission investigations supported the findings of these

independent studies. It therefore emerged, that the fragmentation of school population and resources was the most serious outcome of denominational forms of public education. This fragmentation damaged not only the educational outcomes of the small denominational schools, but also those of the public system from which it had separated. Only in large cities where the population could sustain them, did dual or multiple systems result in the provision of effective education. Even here there would be some extra costs resulting from duplication of facilities and services.

The Role of the Denominations in Education

Depending on the historical traditions and political climate of the province whose systems they were investigating, the five Royal Commissions reported in this study took varying positions with respect to the role of denominations in education. As already indicated, they all emphasized in one way or another the fundamental responsibility of the state to provide the public with an effective public education service. Even those that were most sensitive in recognizing the pluralistic nature of our society and what they considered to be the legitimate right of minority groups to dissent from the general provisions for education and receive some special concessions, they nevertheless all agreed that these were secondary considerations to the primal responsibility. The Manitoba Commission, for example, while under pressure to change a unitary system into one more accommodating to minority views, nevertheless recognized that any concessions should not jeopardize the quality of the public educational system.

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The Newfoundland Royal Commission recommended that the denominational form of structure at the Department of Education level, which isolated the Deputy Minister from the operational systems and resulted in the threat of veto in the Council of Education, should be replaced by a nondenominational structure organized on functional lines. The Commission felt that the denominations should be less concerned with the daily administration of the educational systems and more with the development of effective religious education programs.

In Quebec the Commission also suggested the removal of the denominationally structured Council of Education at the state level and its replacement by a unitary nondenominational body. It has been shown that even at the local level the Quebec Commission recommended integrated regional authorities which would have responsibility for education in all types of publically supported schools. The Commission conceded the need for schools of a denominational character but rejected administrative structures of this character. It particularly emphasized what it called the 'neutrality' of the state in religious matters.

Conclusion

The church-state controversy in public education has continued, more or less actively, in Canada for more than a century. It is still a live issue which springs to light whenever there is an opportunity to reopen the subject. The values of society, the rights of minority groups, and the conscience of the individual are all involved in the issues. If progress has been made it has been in the direction of a greater tolerance and understanding of other points of view and a willingness to cooperate for the general good.

CHAPTER IV

PLURALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is comprised of four papers, each commissioned to provide an analysis of educational pluralism in the United States from a special viewpoint. Part A, by Theo Steeman, considers historical changes in the way religious pluralism has been managed. Part B, by David Cohen, examines the often advanced contention that nonpublic schools threaten the consensual basis of national unity. In Part C, Irving Levine reviews major findings on ethnicity that may suggest the need for a pluralistic educational response. In Part D, James K. Cohen reassesses the differential impact that public and nonpublic, conventional and nonconventional schools may have on certain student values.

CHAPTER IV

PLURALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Section A: New Patterns of Pluralism
and Nonpublic Education¹

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NEW PATTERNS OF PLURALISM AND NON-PUBLIC EDUCATION

Introduction

The purpose of this position paper is limited. The author is very much aware that the question of public financial aid non-public, more specifically: religious schools is, under the present doctrine of the United States Supreme Court, primarily a matter of Constitutional law. As such it has to be dealt with in its own terms. Constitutional law, however, and official interpretations of the First Amendment are not unrelated to socio-historical realities. They are formulated and established in order to deal with socio-historical situations and, even though one has to recognize a relative independence of the development of law, it remains impossible to explain that development without taking into account the socio-historical situation in which it took place. And this is the problematic the present position paper wants to deal with: the socio-historical circumstances and developments which gave rise to the sharp distinction between public and parochial school education, issuing into the application of the doctrine of separation of Church and State to the schools, and, later, in a corresponding interpretation of the First Amendment. Whether or not this historical-sociological understanding of the relation between public and non-public education is a sufficient reason for change in the policy vis-a-vis the non-public schools, is a question beyond the scope of this paper.

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There is indeed reason enough to consider the rise of the parochial school system, its relation to the public school system, the prevailing attitude toward the parochial schools, the application of the religious clauses of the First Amendment to the schools, and other issues involved in this complex problem of religion and education, as problematical in the sense that they are in need of explanation. It is not at all clear, for instance, that those who formulated, or voted on, or ratified, the First Amendment had in mind what the Supreme Court now says the meaning of the religious clauses of the Amendment to be in relation to education. They hardly could have. For one thing, at the time of the ratification of the Bill of Rights there was no such thing as a public school system, nor, for that matter, a parochial school system in the present sense. This is not to say, of course, that for this reason the Supreme Court is wrong in applying the First Amendment to the schools. One would rather suggest that to the extent that the Court uses the First Amendment to deal with issues similar to those which the framers and ratifiers of the Amendment tried to deal with while making it part of the law of the land, the Court is doing exactly what it is supposed to do. The critical task, therefore, is to discern the socio-historical development of the schools as they relate to the issues of religious liberty and establishment of religion for which the First Amendment serves as a problem solving device.

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It is not my intention to discuss here the precise meaning of the First Amendment. Not only is this issue still under debate by the specialists who disagree on the authorities on which to call for the interpretation of its original intention, but it is only recently that the First Amendment was formally applied to the question of religion and the schools. Not until 1947 did the Supreme Court formally appeal to the Amendment in deciding a case involving State-aid to parochial school children.² In fact, only in 1940 did the Supreme Court decide that, by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment, the First Amendment was formally binding not only on Congress but on the individual States.³ Thus for most of the period we are dealing with the First Amendment has only limited importance, at least as a formally applied constitutional principle. Rather than fastening our attention on the First Amendment, therefore, we will have to study the development of the educational systems in their relation to such issues as religious liberty and religious establishment.

This is not to say that the First Amendment is irrelevant to our discussion. Quite clearly the Amendment sets the tone for many developments during the Nineteenth Century and beyond, but it does so less as a legal or constitutional arrangement than as the formulation of an orientation with regard to Church - State relationships which was to work itself out in the growth of the American Republic. Though originally only limiting the powers of

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Congress, the Amendment nevertheless reflects the general will of the nation, which in various ways came to expression in the constitutions of the individual states, namely that the nation and the states would guarantee religious liberty to everyone and not establish any particular religion. But this is, at the same time, about as far as one can go in formulating this orientational principle at work in the history of Church - State relationships in the early national period. The concrete implications of this orientation were to be spelled out as in the course of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries courts and legislatures were faced with concrete problems concerning Church-State relations and, more specifically with changes in the religious problem of American society itself.

The Religious Problem of American Society

Though it may seem somewhat daring to single out a particular problem as the religious problem of American Society, I do not hesitate to make the assertion that we can do so, and that this problem is the religious diversity present in the American people. There are, of course, many religious problems in American society, but Religious Pluralism constitutes the religious problem of American Society. Almost from the very beginning, in the early colonial period, we find that religious differences among the people create problems for the society, and, notwithstanding a

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successful institutionalization of religious toleration and liberty, the present involvement of the Supreme Court in clarifying and deciding issues of Church and State indicates that in some sense the problem is still with us.

For a fair understanding of the reason why religious diversity or pluralism should constitute a societal problem one has to recall that the prevailing tradition prior to, and at the time of, the first settlements in this country was the political theory of the established Church. It was held, and not without reason,⁴ that religious diversity or a multiplicity of churches in one nation posed a serious threat to national integration and coherence, and that it was the government's task to support and foster religion as the guarantee for obedience to the laws and for the maintenance of morality in the nation. On the other hand, the result of the Protestant Reformation was not only that the unity of Christendom was broken, but that different religious orientations emerged which, besides organizing themselves in different and separate religious communities, also claimed to have something to say about the social order, and, in many cases, expected the political authorities to support and act on their particular religious conceptions of the good and Christian society.

Such a demand for Church establishment would, of course, not be a problem as long as one had to do with a religiously homogeneous

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society. If one Church does, in fact, articulate the faith of the people there is little reason to expect serious social conflict over religious issues or over state support for religious institutions. It is, therefore, not all that strange that at the very same time that we find the breakdown of the unity of Christendom, we also see a rather strong emphasis on the need for religious homogeneity - leading to the theory and practice of church-establishment, almost classically formulated in the Augsburg adagium: cuius regio, illius et religio. (1555). Church establishment was seen as a political means for securing social cohesion and for preventing religious conflict. And it was an arrangement acceptable to the churches because they conceived of the political authorities as responsible for upholding the right and Christian social order.

The situation becomes problematical as soon as in the same society, different religious communities arise and the homogeneity is broken. Not only does this mean that the moral consensus on which national life is based is threatened, but to the degree that these different religious groups make demands on the social order one has to expect serious social conflict to arise over religious issues. How deep such conflicts can cut into society is clear from the history of religious wars and revolutions. One has only to recall Britain's turbulent 17th century to realize that

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religious diversity can indeed lead to profound social disorganization precisely when the dissenting communities insist on their right to give shape to the social order and reject the religious arrangement of the standing order and the established church. It was exactly because the Puritans claimed their religious convictions to have direct political relevance and to force them to oppose the Anglican Church as established by the Crown, that they led England into revolution and civil war.

Sociologically speaking, we see here two basic forces at work. On the one hand there is society's need for a value consensus, for some generally accepted conception that life as lived in the society is indeed the good life, a consensus which serves as legitimation of the normative patterns of society and its authority structures. On the other hand we have the working out of deep and personal religious commitments which take a critical posture vis-a-vis society and its social order and are likely to question its validity. In a religiously homogeneous society these two basic forces need not enter into conflict with each other. Presumably the religious consensus would set or change the pattern of life for the whole population. But when different religious claims are made by a variety of religious groups the integration of society is in jeopardy and the situation is, potentially at least, fraught with social conflict. The practice of church establishment can be seen as an attempt to keep this sort of conflict under control by trying

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to eliminate religious diversity. Generally speaking, however, one has to say that, once the forces working toward religious diversity are strong enough, the established church will hardly be able to contain them. This, then, means that national unity and national value consensus will have to be secured by other means, and in such a way as to accommodate religious diversity.

Now, this is exactly the religious problem of America. The nation is, and has been from the very beginning, thoroughly pluralistic, with a large variety of religious orientations being present in its population. The societal problem posed by this situation for the growth of the nation was how it could become a well integrated national community based on a commonly accepted value consensus, notwithstanding a large variety of religious communities, and without resorting to some form of Church establishment or curtailment of religious freedom. In Jefferson's words there was "the great and interesting question whether freedom of religion is compatible with order in government and obedience to the laws".⁵

The problem presented itself to American society in no unclear terms. If, on the one hand, one would like to emphasize that those who left Britain and came to these shores did so in order to find freedom from religious persecution - and this holds good for a good portion of the early settlers - he should not, on the other hand, forget that they came to build up a new society according to

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their own religious convictions. They came to do here what they could not do in Britain: build the righteous Commonwealth, the godly society. This motive was certainly strongly present in the New England settlements, but elsewhere too the religious element, whether or not, as in New England, in opposition to the Church of England, was heavily at work in the process of building up the new communities. More than that: they carried with them the conviction that Church and State should unite in their attempt to construct the good society. It may have taken different forms, but notably in New England and in the Southern colonies the practice of church establishment was maintained. Only Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware did not have religious establishments and enjoyed religious liberty.⁶ Maryland, where, in view of the religious diversity among the early settlers, the Catholic proprietor had proclaimed religious toleration in 1649, accepted the establishment of the Church of England in 1702.⁷

The situation would not have created any problems if the individual colonies had been religiously homogeneous. But dissent from the establishment was present in New England almost from the very beginning: in 1634 Roger Williams was found guilty of heresy, and in 1637 Anne Hutchinson was banished because of her dissenting religious views. In 1644 the General Court of Massachusetts found it necessary to pass a law against the Anabaptists, thereby attesting not only its intention to keep religious unity and homogeneity, but also the factual lack of such homogeneity.⁸ Elsewhere the story

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is basically the same even though the severity of persecution did not go as far as in New England. In fact there was a growing religious diversity in the individual colonies, notwithstanding the practice of church establishment. In Virginia, by the middle of the eighteenth century, less than half of the population belonged to the Church of England; Baptists and Presbyterians claimed the better part of the population.⁹

The situation led to endless religious conflict. The preferred position of the established church, be it Congregational or Church of England, meant discrimination against other religious groups. Even though the practice of preventing dissenters from settling in the colonies did not last long and such violent persecution as the hanging of four Quakers in Boston Common was rather the exception, full recognition of the equal civil rights of dissenters had a long history. The details are not in order here. There was a large variety in the ways in which the individual colonies dealt with the problem. But it should be pointed out that at least up till the middle of the eighteenth century, in most of the colonies, not belonging to the established church was indeed a civil disadvantage. And the conflict situation had to do with just that: the attempt on the part of the religious minorities and dissenters to gain equal rights as citizens.

To the twentieth century students of American religious history the solution to these problems appears only too self-

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evident. Religious liberty, disestablishment of the church, separation of Church and State, are obviously the only solution to the problem. But the fact itself that it took a long time for the individual colonies to arrive at this solution - and Massachusetts came to full disestablishment only in 1833 - should put us on guard. Apparently things did not look all that simple to the people involved in the situation. It might be helpful, therefore, to try and understand the problem from their viewpoint and to gain some insight into the social processes that led to disestablishment, religious liberty, and separation of Church and State.

As indicated earlier, the societal problem can be characterized as one of societal identity. Any society needs for its cohesions, and in order to engage the loyalty of its members, a basic value consensus, a generally accepted consensus that life as lived in the society, and the orientation life is given, is indeed good. The specific way of life as institutionalized in the normative patterns by which life is regulated and lived must be acceptable to the people in moral-ethical terms. Now, this moral basis of the common life, which sets the tone of social life and gives it its identity is, in analytical terms, closely connected, if not identical, with the religious understanding of life. Historically speaking, one must recognize that for the 17th and 18th centuries it was indeed the explicitly religious outlook that was seen to

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govern, and to guarantee, social order and obedience to the laws. A sharp distinction between societal and religious concerns was hardly ever made. Understandably, therefore, religious dissent could be seen as threatening the social order and religious liberty as counter to the best interests of the social order.

This position, which was held by most religious groups, was not only a matter of political thought, but was reinforced by a theological conviction. The differences between the religious communities were not taken lightly. What was at stake was indeed the right understanding of the Gospel and of the nature of the Christian Church. The Puritans left England because they could not accept the church order of the Church of England, and because they saw no possibility to reform that church. Certainly in the early years these convictions were very strong and deep, but even in the decades before the Revolutionary war the conflict situation was, though lessened, hardly over. Nor was the conflict situation restricted to purely religious matters but the religious differences created social conflict situations precisely because religious matters were thought to be socially relevant.

It is clear, then, that major developments were necessary to make possible a peaceful co-existence of the different religious communities within a unified commonwealth, first on the level of the individual colonies and later on the national level. We can

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describe these developments by making a distinction between two types of religious pluralism: intra-community pluralism and inter-community pluralism.

Intra-Community and Inter-Community Pluralism

As the problem was stated above the question really is which community is going to be the primary community of identity for the members of a society: will their primary identification be with the civil community: the state or the nation, or with the religious community: the church? Along these lines we can set up the distinction between intra- and inter-community pluralism. Intra-community pluralism is a pluralism which is expressive of a variety of religious orientations within a civil community without breaking or upsetting the national value consensus. It means that the national value consensus takes primacy and that the religious differences do not hamper national integration. This presupposes, of course, that there is no substantial disagreement between the moral content of the national culture on the one hand, and the basic religious orientation of the different religious groups on the other. The national life should be acceptable in religious terms to all groups. But the concept goes a bit further than this presupposition: it makes the national society rather than the churches the community of identity. The churches positively relate to the nation as the primary identity structure.

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Inter-community pluralism, on the other hand, is a pluralistic arrangement in which the primary loyalty of the individual citizen is to the religious community, and his participation in the national life conditioned by his explicit religious commitments to his religious community. In this situation the religious community, rather than the civil community, functions as the primary social identity structure and governs the member's life. The national life then remains problematical and subject to a critical approach on the part of the religious communities which maintain their exclusiveness and their right to set standards for social life. The life of the civil community, consequently, becomes dependent on some kind of understanding between the different religious communities which claim to have a say not only over their own members, but about the right social order.

The distinction between these two types of religious pluralism is introduced here because it is possible to describe the dynamics of American religious history in these terms. We can discern in the history of religious pluralism in this country a movement from inter-community pluralism to intra-community pluralism. Such a movement first led from a divided Protestantism to the rather vague entity of American Protestantism which made the nation into a Protestant Christian nation. In a second similar development, the trichotomy of Protestant, Catholic, and Jew, was overcome in the common acceptance of another vague entity which we can call the American

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Way of Life. The first stage of this process can be dated roughly as beginning with the Great Awakening in the early 18th century and being completed by the mid-nineteenth century. The second stage can be said to begin after World War II and is still in process.

The American Solution: Religious Liberty and Denominationalism

The concept of inter-community pluralism describes the situation in which religious diversity is indeed the societal problem which we have identified earlier as the religious problem of American society and is, therefore, applicable as characterizing the earlier period of American religious history. Church establishment, intolerance vis a vis dissenters, religious conflict situations and religious strife are the main characteristics. And we have already pointed out that the basic root of this state of affairs lies in the fact that the primary community of identity is not the civil community but the religious community. What, then, are the changes that took place to relieve the situation, and how can we understand the process that led to an integrated American nation?

It is clear, of course, that what actually constituted the American solution was disestablishment of the church, freedom of religion, and separation of Church and State. But stating this does not say very much about the social and structural changes in American religion which made this solution possible.

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A social conflict situation does not arise except when there are disagreements in the community which really matter and have consequences for the cohesion of the group and its organization. For religion to cease to be a source of social conflict, therefore, the differences between the religious groups must cease to be a socially important matter. That is: what separates the religious communities and what could be the cause of inter-religious conflict, has to become socially irrelevant. Only under such conditions, it would seem, is religious liberty a realistic possibility.

One must not underestimate the difficulty with which the notion of religious liberty was made acceptable to the religious communities. There was not only the theological tradition of the established church but the inner conviction of the primacy of religious values in ordering social life as well. Even some of the religious communities which were clearly dissenting and, therefore, suffered most under the yoke of the established churches, had difficulty in accepting religious liberty as a valid concept. They would, of course, demand the freedom to follow their own consciences in matters religious, but an unqualified acceptance of religious freedom as a principle was a different matter. John Cotton's remark that "It is better that the Commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth of God's house, which is the church, than to accommodate the church to the civil state"⁶ reflected not only the

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feeling of New England Congregationalism, but a rather widespread feeling, notably among the Presbyterians. The difficulty was, of course, which church?

This is not to say that there were no groups who advocated religious liberty. Roger Williams, and after him the Baptists, made it into a basic Christian principle that no authority could exercise any power over a person's relationship with God. Similarly the Quakers advocated religious liberty and toleration on principle. Generally speaking it was the representatives of the Left Wing of the Reformation who pushed for religious freedom and for separation of Church and State. For more pragmatic reasons, other religious communities, like the Presbyterians in Virginia, did the same. And by the time of the Revolutionary War the case for separation of Church and State, as well as for complete religious liberty, was made by statesmen like Jefferson and Madison, who found their inspiration in Enlightenment philosophy.

But the presence of these groups does not explain the general acceptance of religious liberty by American society as a whole. Clearly some change in the religious perspective of the Right Wing churches, must have taken place if one is to understand the general and unquestioned acceptance of religious liberty as a principle of American democracy, both on the State and on the Federal level. And here it is not enough to point to the actual necessity to come to some kind of solution in view of the destructiveness of continuous

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religious conflict. It may be true that economic and political interests played a role in urging the issue, but the religious issue needed to be dealt with in its own terms. Nor can we say that the matter had already been decided in the basic doctrines of the Reformation. It may be true that the Left Wing represented the basic tendencies of the Reformation better than did the Right Wing; however the fact remains that the main stream of the Reformation, going back to Luther and Calvin themselves, did not draw the consequence of religious liberty from the premises on which the Reformation was predicated.

Now, it is indeed possible to detect a peculiar development in the Right Wing churches that explains the general acceptance of religious liberty. This development has to do with the Great Awakening of the first half of the 18th and the Revivalism of the 19th century;¹¹ a development that gave rise to the peculiarly American religious institution of the Denomination. The Great Awakening, starting in the 1720's in New Jersey and coming to New England with the preaching of Johathan Edwards at Northampton, Massachusetts in the 1730's, was a movement of rather emotional and pietistic preaching which endeavored to implant religion directly in the hearts and minds of the people. Its real impact was tremendous: individual persons went through experiences of conversion and religion was adhered to and practiced enthusiastically. But what

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interests us here is its sociological importance: what actually happened was a shift in the locus of religion from ecclesiastical structures, the ministers and the divines, to the common man. There is reason to believe that by the end of the 17th century the religious institutions, both in New England and in the South, had become not only rather aristocratic and respectable, but highly formal and dry as well, far removed from the heart of the common man. The Great Awakening, and after it, 19th century Revivalism, addressed itself to the common man, in his own language, in the emotional dimension of life, and relocated religion by making it popular.

More than that: this type of preaching and these efforts at getting to the heart of the people were not restricted to any one church. We find it equally among the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Episcopalians, the Baptists. One of the leading figures in the movement, George Whitefield, was an Anglican clergyman who took delight in preaching in whatever church he could. What we find here, then, is the preaching of a form of Christianity which really cuts through the division between the churches and which leads to a kind of general Protestant Christian orientation that begins to shape the American people directly, often in opposition to the established ecclesiastical structures. Thus we see emerge the beginnings of a religious consensus among the people which in some sense is at odds with the differences between the religious institutions.

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Thirdly, the Great Awakening was individualistic in its emphasis: it was the individual's experience and conversion that counted. Thus this kind of preaching fostered religious individualism and, consequently a voluntaristic conception of religious activity. This makes, of course, for a solid popular base of protest against church establishment. People now seek to join such a religious community as corresponds best to their personal religious needs. It is, in view of these effects, no wonder that the more traditional church leaders looked with suspicion and worse upon the Great Awakening. What in fact was happening was the breakdown of the structure of American religion as it had developed in the first century of its history.

The general process described took of course, a long time to come to full completion. It was also a process beset with conflicts. The established structures naturally developed defensive attitudes and even new divisions of churches occurred. In a sense the revivalistic movement contributed to an even larger variety in American Protestantism. But the point is that what began in the Great Awakening, and was taken up again in the Great Revival of the 1820's, was indeed a process by which American Protestantism found a basic unity which was stronger than the differences between the religious communities, a religious orientation which was typical American and common to all the Protestant churches. It was, therefore, in the position to become a kind of - though not officially - established religion of America.

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In this context it may be helpful to make a few remarks about the typically American form of religious organization: the Denomination. If one follows Troeltsch's analysis of the typology of religious groups¹² it is clear that Troeltsch's main types: church and sect, are both exclusive, based on the conviction that this particular religious community, be it a church or a sect, is indeed the true community of believers. Both types maintain an attitude of intolerance and the claim to possessing God's own and absolute truth. The denomination as a specific type of religious organization differs from both church and sect insofar as it conceives of itself as a valid, but not exclusive, expression of a larger social reality: the Christian Church. It is one of the main theses of this paper that this is exactly the outcome of the process outlined above: under the impact of revivalism the American churches and sects became denominations. They began to see themselves as representatives of a larger reality: American Protestantism, which in its turn, became the real solidarity structure with which people identified. Denominationalism does indeed make the differences between the churches secondary to the recognized basic identity of the faith represented, in slightly different ways, by all: American Protestantism.

It can now be seen why we can characterize this process as leading from inter-community to intra-community pluralism. As defined earlier the latter concept describes a situation in which

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the differences between groups do not question or affect the larger solidarity structure. These differences are in fact taken out of the area of socially relevant differences. In that way they cease to be sources or causes of social conflict. Religious liberty becomes acceptable to the religious communities: what separates them is not all that important and one can recognize other communities as different but basically valid representatives of the same common religion. Intra-community tolerance then replaces ecclesiastical or sectarian exclusiveness, and the American religious scene is characterized by the common acceptance of the principle of religious liberty by all the religious communities.

Political Consequences: Separation of Church and State

It is in this light that we have to understand historically the meaning of disestablishment of the Church and of separation of church and state. These arrangements have to do, first of all, with the radical equality of all religious communities before the law and with the freedom of the churches to go about their work without any government interference. The government cannot prefer one religion over another, and religious differences do not count in any government business. Therefore no religious test can be required for any government office. In the area of religion one has optimal freedom. Whatever one's religious affiliation or lack of it, it is not relevant in the conduct of public affairs. This, at any rate, seems to be the primary thrust of the movement toward

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religious liberty as it is laid down in the various State constitutions and in the Federal constitution (Both Art. VI and the First Amendment).

It is not at all clear that the movement went much further than that. Quite clearly the intention of those involved in the movement was not hostile to religion. The prime intention, rather, was to set religion free from government interference and to prevent religious conflict from becoming a social conflict. On this point there is hardly any question. Things become problematical, however, when the question is raised whether in the minds of those who favor separation of church and state, e.g. those who framed and ratified the First Amendment,¹³ the move toward radical religious liberty also meant that the state could not in one way or another support religion. The state could not, to be sure, favor one religion over another, but could it support religion in general? The question is a realistic one now that we know that there was indeed such a religion: the underlying religious consensus which united American Protestantism. "Religion in general" was not an empty term; it had, if not a sharply defined content, at any rate a reality of its own.

Space does not allow me to go into a detailed discussion of this question. The evidence seems to support the view that, at the time of the ratification of the First Amendment, the prevailing

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attitude favored a rather positive attitude of the state vis a vis religion. The strictures on establishment had to do with specific religious communities, not with religion in general. It is, to give only one example, worthy of note that the same Congress which framed, voted and passed the First Amendment in 1789, also re-enacted the Northwest Ordinance in 1787 which not only states that "religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged,"¹⁴ but also provides land grants "for the purposes of religion"¹⁵ Antieau¹⁶ and his co-researchers maintain that the general practice at the time was to give financial aid to religious institutions; and lists other kinds of aid that religion received from both State and Federal governments. It is well known, of course, that the practice in Virginia was stricter, and that Madison as President followed a policy of no financial support at all to religion, but this does not seem to be the general picture.

On the other hand, it is not unlikely that Madison saw more clearly than others that the American situation did not allow for help to religion without helping individual religious institutions. Religion in general was not institutionalized separately. Any form of financial aid to religion had, therefore, to take the form of what is called "multiple establishment" - equal treatment of all

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religious groups in the distribution of a public fund. Madison's Remonstrance of 1785 was written to show the dangers of such an arrangement which would still give the government the potential power to establish religion. He was probably drawing the logical conclusion: that non-preferential treatment of religious groups had to mean no financial support at all. It may be of some interest here to note that as early as 1810 Maryland came to the same conclusion and forbade any spending of public funds for religious purposes. Apparently the availability of such funds was occasion for religious strife between the churches.¹⁷

Educational Consequences: The Emergence of the Public School

Whether or not this suggestion that the logic of the situation had to lead to a policy of no financial support at all is correct, the fact remains that for many living at the time the social importance of religion seemed to justify general and non-discriminatory aid with public funds. And this is notably true for church-run educational institutions. But one has to keep in mind that there was as yet, except in New England, no state-supported school system, that traditionally education was done by the churches; and that the state-supported schools of New England were teaching religion. It is not until 1820 that we see a definite movement that would make education a state responsibility, and it will take until the mid-century before we can say that the free public school

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which makes state-supported education available to all children is a firmly established institution.¹⁸ Thus, the early practice of state help to church-related schools is to be placed in its historical context: the pre-public school period. And it should be noted that the same process that leads to the establishment of the public school system also leads to the conviction that these schools should be non-sectarian and that tax support for private religious education is undesirable.

In the present context we are mostly interested in the religious aspects of the school question. It is clear, however, that the emergence of the public school is a phenomenon of much wider social importance. One can, of course, not deny the religious origin of the high premium placed on education. Especially in New England, with its strong Puritan background, it was for religious reasons and purposes that education was emphasized from the very beginning of the colonies, and the fact that New England had a state-supported school system was due to the fact of church-establishment. The state enforced what was a religious requirement and most of the teaching was done by ministers. In that light it is not so strange that elsewhere too ~~it was the churches that~~ were most interested in education, and given an arrangement of non-establishment, as in the middle colonies, were more or less on their own in this enterprise; state help coming in occasionally to foster

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what seemed to be a valuable contribution to society. The main difference at this point is that in the Middle Colonies the state, when helping education, was assisting private initiative, whereas in New England the state enforced education as it was offered by the church. In all this, however, it should be noted that what the churches were offering was not merely religious instruction but general education. The educational enterprise as a whole was in the hands of the churches.

The moving force behind the emergence of the public school, then, is the realization that education was necessary for the welfare, not just of the church, but of the civil society, and that, therefore, society had to take responsibility for education. Education was to provide society with an educated citizenry who could take part in the democratic process responsibly and intelligently. In the democratic society, therefore, education had to be available to all children and it was the society's responsibility to see to it that this was indeed the case. It is at this point that we see the change-over take place: that education now was more and more understood as a direct responsibility of the state rather than of the church. The civil interests in education as a condition for the welfare of society takes over.

We can see in this process, and in the struggle that went with it between those advocating the rights and the duties of the state and those defending the rights and the duties of the church, as an

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example, or as a concrete phase, in the transition from inter- to intra-community pluralism. When defining these terms we said that the basic issue at stake was to decide which would be the primary community of identity: the civil society or the religious community. The debates over the desirability of state-run public schools as over against church-run parochial schools had indeed to do with the question which of these communities had the primary right to the child. The churches maintained that religion and virtue are the very core of good education and that, therefore, the church had to be the educating institution. The promoters of public education would not deny this emphasis on virtue and religion but maintained that a unified, non-sectarian education was best for the civil community and for the child.

That, in this way, the whole pluralistic issue had to be fought all over again is not so strange. After disestablishment of the church in most of the colonies, and with a rather broad toleration even where the church was not disestablished, the pluralistic problem did not present itself any longer on the level of the institutional churches. It was clear that everybody should have freedom of conscience and religion. But religious liberty is a singularly adult concept. It presupposes that the individual is indeed able to make up his own mind about religious matters. When it comes to children, however, the question does look a bit different. Was not the child to be brought up and educated in his faith? Was not

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religion the core of a sound education? Was it not, therefore, the task of the parents and their religious community to provide education? Could the state, supposed to be religiously neutral, fulfill adequately the task of education?

It should indeed be recognized that, even though this use of the term may sound a bit strained, the only real occasion for establishment of religion is the educational process. Freedom of religion and disestablishment of the church became necessary because in fact it is impossible to impose religious beliefs on people who think differently. In that sense establishment of religion is simply an impossibility. But the educational process is different: there it is possible to instill religious beliefs and practices and to give the child a religious training. Nowadays we may be a bit more skeptical about the effectiveness of formal religious education. But on the one hand, the high moral value placed on education, as a means of promoting virtue and of combating vice, which we find among the early promoters of education for all - and they certainly were enthusiastic believers in education! - indicates that they did indeed see education as a means to form the child, both morally and religiously. On the other hand, even now one would not want to dismiss the notion of religious education all together as a means to promote religion. The question is more about how rather than about whether it should be done.

At any rate, it seems that this particular characteristic of education explains why the pluralistic issue came to settle upon

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the schools. Other problems in the field of church-state relations, such as the chaplaincies in the armed forces and in prisons, prayers in Congress, etc. differ from the educational issue precisely because in these cases one has to do with adults whose religious freedom is not in jeopardy but rather protected by these provisions. In the schools we are confronted with an issue regarding the free exercise of religion and the establishment of religion in a rather wide sense.

It is not easy to assess the strength of the Protestant opposition to the establishment of the public schools. On the whole, it would seem, the churches did not fight very hard for the maintenance of their own schools. What Curran, from a rather typically Catholic viewpoint, has called "the surrender", by which "American Protestantism has relinquished the age-old claim of the Christian Church to control the formal elementary education of its children",¹⁹ does not seem to have been a very painful process. There were, to be sure, voices of protest, and the Old School Presbyterian Church, under the instigation of Princeton's Charles Hodge, even developed a parochial school system as an alternative. But, apart from the Missouri Lutherans and the Seventh Day Adventists, no Protestant denomination was able to maintain a separate school system. The Presbyterian attempt in that direction was short lived; its rise began in 1846 and its decline in 1854.²⁰ For a real system of parochial schools of

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national importance one has to go outside the orbit of Protestantism: the Catholic schools. But since the Catholic schools present special problems we will have to postpone the discussion to a later part of this paper.

For an explanation of why the Protestant churches "surrendered" so easily to the take-over by the state of the educational task, we can refer back to what was said earlier about the development that took place within American Protestantism. The rise of denominationalism was in fact accompanied by the growth of a broad religious consensus which made the differences between the churches less significant. It should be noted at this point that the public schools, though non-sectarian in order to be acceptable to all, incorporated nevertheless this broad religious consensus in their curriculum. They could present themselves, or at least were acceptable to the churches, as being basically Protestant Christian in a broad sense. Thus there was little reason left for the denominations to claim their right to educate their children: the public school somehow did what was most important in the eyes of the Protestant churches. This, at least, seems to be the outcome of the process by which the schools became the most typical of American institutions. And American Protestantism began to develop a distinct dislike for parochial education as somehow divisive.

We should perhaps emphasize that the public schools were indeed Protestant, though not in the sense of any particular denomination. The fact is important not only because it explains

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partially the Catholic attitude toward public education and the Catholic insistence on building up a separate school system, but because it is roughly indicative of the majority feeling of American society in the nineteenth century. We will have to come back to this point later. What should be clear at this point is that it is not simply a matter of interpretation when we call the public schools Protestant but a matter of self-conception on the part of the public schools. Horace Mann, Secretary of the State Board of Education in Massachusetts from 1837 till 1848, who is generally considered to be the mastermind behind the public school system, quite clearly conceived of the public school system as non-sectarian but Christian. Not only did he advocate religious education as part of the total educational task of the public school, but glorified the Massachusetts system as illustrating "the one indivisible, all-glorious system of Christianity". The open Bible, read without comment and thus being "allowed to speak for itself",²¹ made the schools basically Christian.

It matters little whether one has some misgivings about Mann's conception of Christianity which was, apparently, Unitarian. The point is that he made a real effort to make clear that in his conception of the public school system there was place for religious education and that he wanted the schools to be Christian in a sense that would be acceptable to all denominations without offending any

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one's faith. The result is, of course, the teaching of a rather vague type of Christian morality to which all denominations could subscribe. At the same time Mann was aware that this consensus was distinctly Protestant. In a letter of April 28, 1848, in which he explains an arrangement of financial aid to a Catholic school in Lowell, Massachusetts, he refers to the public schools as "Protestant" schools. He states there that Catholic teachers would have to use the Protestant Bible when they are employed by a Protestant school, clearly meaning the public school.²²

In a similar vein we can argue that the public schools of New York City in the 1830's and 1840's were distinctly Protestant. The Public School Society, founded in 1805 with the explicit purpose "to inculcate the sublime truths of religion and morality contained in the Holy Scriptures",²³ had attained a virtual monopoly over the public schools of the city by 1840. Billington, the historian of mid-nineteenth century anti-Catholicism, comes to the conclusion that, apart from the reading of the King James Version of the Bible, the schools were using textbooks which were "blatantly Protestant in sympathy and many were openly disrespectful of Catholicism."²⁴ We will have to come back to the events in New York. The point to be made at present is that apparently in the 1840's the public school, though non-sectarian, was not irreligious, that religious education was part of the program, and that the religious education provided was Protestant.

Thus, generally speaking, Protestantism colored the public school system throughout the nineteenth century. And that was to be expected. The schools were intended to give a common education to the young citizens of the nation and to inculcate the basic values on which the nation was built. There is no denying that these basic values were Protestant. It would be hard to imagine a public school system that would, without further challenge, relinquish in its teaching what is in fact common culture. Non-sectarian hardly ever meant: fully secular or divorced from religion. As late as 1890 Justice Lyon, of the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin, could say that "to teach the existence of a Supreme Being...is not sectarian, because all religious sects so believe and teach".²⁵ In fact the public schools incorporated the basic consensus of American society which included Protestant Christian identity. In 1892 Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court saw occasion to quote from a decision written in 1811 by Justice Kent of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, where the latter stated: "we are a Christian people, and the morality of the country is deeply engrafted upon Christianity." In the same decision he applied to the nation as a whole what was said for Pennsylvania by her Supreme Court in 1824: "Christianity, general Christianity, is, and always has been, a part of the common law of Pennsylvania."²⁶ A public school system that wants to articulate for its students what it means to be an American citizen and to educate them to good citizenship hardly could be anything but "generally Christian".

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In this way we can understand the public school system, and its value orientation, as an example of the process by which out of the diversity of many religious communities grew a national value consensus, a consensus that could tolerate, in fact support, religious differences because they no longer upset the basic solidarity of the nation. In fact, the public school, where the nation takes care of the training of its young, becomes the one national institution which is explicitly geared to building up a strong unified solidarity structure. Against this background we will have to place the Catholics' insistence on maintaining their own school system.

Catholicism and America: Which Comes First?

Although there was a small minority of Catholics among the early settlers, and although the Carroll family rose to a status of high respectability at the time of the War of Independence and of the founding of the nation, it is more realistic to treat this earliest phase of North American Catholic history as a kind of pre-history. The origins of what shaped the history of Catholicism in America we find in the immigrants of the early 19th century. Whereas in 1790 there were only 35,000 Catholics in this country, less than 1 percent of the population, by 1840 we count 1,300,000 Catholics.²⁷ Between 1790 and 1850 more than a million Catholics came to this country and it is this group rather than the older families which created the Catholic Church in America with its particular problems and institutions as we know it.

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The problem can best be formulated in the terms we used earlier: intra- and inter-community pluralism. It would seem that the older Catholic community, mostly of British origin, was well on the way to developing an American type of Catholicism that would fit the American scene. It is hard to say to what extent this Catholicism would have joined the denominational pattern then developing in American Protestantism. It simply never happened. But there were apparently some features in the Church over which John Carroll presided that made it acceptable to the American mentality. Further, under the aegis of religious liberty the Catholics seemed to feel well at home in this country and content with its institutions. They had established themselves as a respectable minority, with ample possibilities to acquire for themselves a place in the nation's life, socially, culturally, and politically.²⁸

It was, however, not to remain that way, and what, presumably could have happened did not. After the death of America's first Catholic bishop, John Carroll of Baltimore, in 1815, the Catholic Church in America became involved in an internal struggle over its own identity and notably over its relation to the nation. The outcome of it was that the Church defined itself rather strongly as different from, even though in, America, and thus entered into a relationship with the nation along the pattern of an inter-community pluralism. This attitude would find its reflection in the parochial school system.

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The details of the story are not in order here. Generally speaking one would have to say that Catholicism had difficulty in really and fully adapting to American society, both its culture and its institutions. If the community of John Carroll did not have this problem, this can be explained in terms of the smallness of the community, its having participated in the struggle for independence, and the general goodwill toward all religious groups that pervaded American society between the revolution and 1820. But after the turn of the century we find the leadership of the Catholic Church in America changed to a largely French group of bishops, a circumstance which only aggravated the problems created by the establishment of an American Catholic Hierarchy. In pre-revolutionary days the church had developed some rather idiosyncratic ways of church-government: laymen acted as trustees of their parishes. The introduction of regular episcopal structures led to a situation in which the bishops had to assert their canonical authority, thereby going against the grain of what had developed in the American situation and what looked rather American: a more democratic form of church government. The fact that in 1817 all bishops, except one, were French²⁹ could only sharpen the problem. Naturally they governed the church after a French model.

If this circumstance created tension between the hierarchy and the old stock Catholics, the situation became even more difficult with the arrival of large groups of Irish immigrants. Where the older community was aristocratic, well-cultured, and well-

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established, the new immigration brought to these shores, and to the responsibility of the bishops, a largely uncultured, uneducated mass of Irish farmers. The change itself in the composition of the Catholic population, in which the new-comers soon outnumbered the old stock, was enough to make Catholicism look completely different: more like a foreign religion of the uncultured and uneducated. Apparently the highly cultured French hierarchy resented this change and were not all that happy with the numbers of immigrants even though they added to the numerical strength of the Church. In fact, what took place was a rather profound break with the older tradition initiated by John Carroll. Whereas his orientation had been to Americanize the church so as to make it as American as it possibly could be without losing its Catholic identity, now Catholicism in America becomes a more or less foreign body, composed mostly of recent immigrants and governed by a hierarchy which had difficulty to relate to the needs of the faithful. The internal difficulties would not come to rest until the French hierarchy was replaced by a predominantly Irish one - this was achieved by 1830 - but by that time the link with the church of Carroll's time was completely lost. The bishops thoroughly resented the efforts of the bishop of England, of Charleston, South Carolina, who, though himself an Irish immigrant, worked toward an Americanization of the church very much in the spirit of John Carroll.

Thus we find that from 1820 onwards the Catholic Church in America is more or less a foreign body which had not shared in the colonial and revolutionary experience. The nation they found themselves in, in the meantime, was becoming more and more the Protestant Christian nation we discussed earlier. This is the period of the Great Revival and of what Winthrop Hudson has called "the powerful counter offensive to win the new nation to Christian obedience".³⁰ After the ravages of the revolution the Protestant churches, now on their own under the doctrine of religious liberty, realized their responsibility for the nation and put every effort into bringing it, and notably the new states of the frontier, under the law of Christ. Combatting on the one hand, the spirit of infidelity connected with the spread of French Enlightenment ideas and, on the other hand, the barbarity and irreligion of the frontier, the churches set out to convert the nation and to organize it religiously along the lines of the denominational pattern: voluntary churches which would emphasize the common core of Christianity.

This counter offensive, to be sure, was directed primarily against infidelity and irreligion and was the fruit of a positive Christian impulse which made the churches take responsibility for the moral and religious welfare of the nation. It also had to be Protestant since the available religious resources were Protestant. It must be recognized, however, that it was at the same time anti-Catholic³¹ and that it fostered the anti-Catholic sentiment which

was abroad in the nation between 1820 and 1860. Thus the religious climate in which the Catholic Church found itself in the 1820's and later, that is, in the period of its rapid numerical growth, was, to say the least, unfriendly. The Catholics, in composition and historical experience strangers to the post-revolutionary developments, were, on top of it all, unwelcome.

We can forego in the present context a discussion of the roots of anti-Catholicism in America. It has a long history going back to colonial times and it has come to the fore every now and then ever since. The relatively quiet period following the revolutionary war was the consequence of the general goodwill toward all faiths which marked the early national period when the new nation had to get its house in order. But in the 1820's the struggle was over the religious identity of the nation and in that climate the deep-seated animosity between Protestantism and Catholicism could not remain hidden. Whereas Protestantism had solved the pluralistic problem by accepting religious liberty and denominationalism, Catholicism was not ready to join that pattern - and the Protestants did not expect them to. Thus we are faced again with an inter-community pluralism. The question became whether a Catholic could be an American.

Given the position of the time, it is probably correct to say that this conflict situation was inevitable. Even if one counts with a considerable amount of prejudice - though prejudice is, of course, equally inevitable - realistically speaking we have to

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acknowledge that the gap which separated the developing American culture and Catholicism was enormous. Thus, if we can be astonished by the credulity of people who were willing to believe that the Pope was ready to take over the Mississippi Valley, we should take more seriously the fact that the Catholic structure of church-government, well known to the larger public since the widely publicized trustee controversy, was un-American and differed profoundly from the more democratic structures common in American Protestantism. The Catholic obedience to the Pope, moreover, was interpreted as subjection to a foreign power. Furthermore, the insistence that the Catholic Church alone was the true church of Christ precluded any real participation in a joint Christian enterprise for a long time to come, and gave some realistic grounding to the suspicion of the Protestants that Catholicism really wanted to take over the nation, a suspicion certainly not dispelled by some rather clear statements on the part of the Catholics to the effect. Archbishop Hughes of New York stated in a famous sermon of 1850 that it was indeed the Catholic mission to "convert the whole world - including the inhabitants of the United States - the people of the cities, and the people of the country, the officers of the navy and the marines, commanders of the army, the Legislatures, the Senate, the Cabinet, the President, and all,"³²

As a consequence Catholicism could not wholeheartedly accept the principle of religious liberty and the separation of Church and State as laid down in the Constitution and as governing the relationships between the Protestant churches. In fact, this

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doctrine was explicitly condemned later in the century by Pius IX in his Syllabus Errorum of 1864, and by implication a new barrier was thrown up between American Catholics and the prevailing religious arrangement of American society. As late as 1887, when Cardinal Gibbons in a sermon in the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome, extolled the freedom the Catholic Church enjoyed in America, this was not acceptable to the Roman authorities. Writing to the American hierarchy in 1895 Leo XIII accepted the American arrangement as somehow practical and apparently bearing fruit, but nevertheless claimed that separation of Church and State left much to be desired. The church would be better off, he said, "if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority."³³

What all this amounts to is that, even apart from considerations having to do with the social and cultural status of the Catholics, there was a profound ideological gap between the Protestant America and American Catholicism. There is no reason to doubt that the Catholics in some sense identified with America, that they wanted to be here and to be good citizens. Many declarations of loyalty to the nation are there to bear testimony to this fact. Yet, one can hardly escape the evidence that the 19th century American Catholic was a divided man whose loyalty to America and whose participation in American life was conditioned by his primary loyalty to his church. He could not wholeheartedly

Join the national culture, Protestant as it was, and he had his special demands on society even at points which ran counter to the main tendencies and development in the society.

This kind of love-hate relationship which the position calls for explains the Catholic insistence on parochial school education. It is in the field of education that the ambiguity of the Catholic vis a vis the nation comes most dramatically to the fore. Historically the New York controversy of the 1840's gives us an excellent case to analyze the forces at work as well as a moment of decision in American Catholic history.

The Catholic Parochial School Is The Answer:
The New York Controversy

The situation in the city of New York in the early 1830's shows how little settled the question of religion in the schools really was. As mentioned earlier, the Public School Society, a private organization founded in 1805 for the purpose of teaching the children of the poor and definitely Protestant in orientation, had gained a virtual monopoly over the city's share in the common school fund of the State and over the educational facilities of New York City. But in 1831 the Common Council, which administered the fund for the State, had given some financial aid to the Protestant Orphan Society and shortly after that also, upon position, gave some money to the Roman Catholic Benevolent Society, a move rather deeply resented by the Public School Society.³⁴ Apparently financial aid to private religious schools was still a possibility, but, as the subsequent history will show, a waning possibility.

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Because of the distinctly Protestant character of the public schools only about 300 Catholic children were attending them in 1840. Eight parochial schools served about 5,000 students. About 12,000 Catholic children went without education.³⁵ Governor Seward of the State of New York, quite convinced that the Catholic children needed an education in order to become good citizens, proposed in the State Legislature the establishment of special schools for Catholic children. The Catholics responded by petitioning the Common Council for a share in the available State funds. The Public School Society protested, fearing that if one religious group would be supported in this way, the unity of the whole school system would be jeopardized. They were probably right. Immediately after the Catholic petition the Methodists made it clear that if the Catholics received financial support, they too wanted their share to resuscitate their school and build others.³⁶ This situation of heightened tension was what Archbishop John Hughes found in July, 1840 upon his return to New York from Europe.

Again, the details are not in order here. What is most important is the attitude which the Archbishop adopted. Accusing the public schools of being in fact sectarian-Protestant, he asked for money to provide Catholic education for Catholic children. Not surprisingly, he did not get what he asked for. By now Protestant public opinion had been aroused and was against him. An attempt

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at reorganization of the city's school system by bringing it under the State system and replacing the private Public School Society by a regularly elected school board - an arrangement which could have led to greater influence of the individual school wards on the educational program of each school, and thus to a less Protestant education in Catholic wards - though passed by the legislature, proved to be abortive. The trustees of the Public School Society were elected to the School Board, and no change in general policy occurred. The new system did give some alleviation to the Catholics: it required that all education be non-sectarian. And though the Board refused to recognize that the King James Version of the Bible was sectarian, through the influence of the elective officers of the predominantly Catholic school wards, the Catholics were successful in banning the Bible from the schools in these wards. By 1844 the practice of Bible reading had been discontinued in 31 of the city's schools.³⁷

This gives us some idea of what John Hughes was trying to do. On the one hand, he was trying to make the public schools less Protestant, by seeking to ban the Bible and also by purging the textbooks. On the other hand, however, notwithstanding the fact that he did not receive public support or aid, he adopted a program for expanding the Catholic parochial school system. It is in this dual policy that we find the ambivalence of the Catholics' dealing

with their minority position. It should be noted here that before Hughes became Archbishop of New York, the Public School Society, aware of the problems its schools created for Catholic children, tried to secure the help of Catholics to expurgate the textbooks.³⁸ On the part of the Society there was some willingness to accommodate the Catholic demands. But by the time the schools had met these demands they became unacceptable to the Archbishop exactly because they had become religionless. Therefore a renewed insistence on the need for Catholic parochial schools followed.³⁹

Basically, when all is said and done, one has to say that what John Hughes wanted was a State-supported Catholic school system. Nothing less would do. When he realized that he was not going to receive public financial aid, he set out to immunize the public schools and at the same time to build up the parochial schools. Not amazingly, the Protestant reaction was one of indignation. They themselves had given up their parochial schools to foster unity in the public school system. They had accepted a common Christianity to be taught in the schools. They had shown willingness to accommodate the Catholics too by eliminating the typically Protestant content of the curriculum. Or at least this had been done by the school authorities even though the Protestants maintained that Bible reading without comment was non-sectarian and could not offend the Catholics. But the Catholics could not be satisfied. They could,

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of course, not accept the Protestant school, but after they had done the work of taking Protestantism out of the schools they would not accept the result of their own action, because they called it godless. Their answer was their own parochial school and a constant request for state support, something which the Protestants could not see as reasonable or legitimate.

It is hard to understand this attitude on the part of the Archbishop of New York - and of other members of the hierarchy and, generally of both clergy and laity - except as a fundamental refusal to join in either the general development of the public school system, or in the emerging consensus on which education would be based. In fact, they were separating themselves from the national life or, at any rate, chose to be Catholics in the first place and only then Americans. The Catholic identity had to remain primary. Looked at in this way, we can say that the insistence on the need for Catholic parochial schools was the consequence of the primacy placed upon the Catholic identity - the parochial school was to educate the Catholic and to set the conditions under which a Catholic could be an American. That, at the same time, the Catholics tried to de-Protestantize the public schools can be seen as an attempt to neutralize the American environment, to make America safe for Catholics.

The Catholic parochial school system, then, is an institutional expression of the basic uneasiness which the American Catholic felt

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in facing American realities. Constantly aware of the fact that his environment was basically Protestant, the Catholic took a position of self-assertion and defensiveness. The New York controversy is only one instance in which this uneasiness is worked out in a conflict situation. The incident does not stand by itself but reflects the general feeling of the Catholic community at that time. One can, of course, question whether Hughes' actions were most commensurate to the situation, whether it would not have been more prudent to accept the public school system and join the national movement. But it is hard to judge fairly. Whatever one wants to think of Hughes' personal behavior,⁴⁰ it is difficult to isolate him from the total situation of a minority group trying to keep its identity in a strange and at times hostile environment. The simple fact seems to be that the Catholics did not quite fit into the majority pattern of American society. And this was felt by the Protestants as well as by the Catholics.

But whether history could have taken a different course or not the episode in New York is indicative of two decisive developments which took place in the 1840's. On the one hand the relinquishment by the Protestants of the parochial school idea and their support for the public school system, and on the other hand, the Catholic choice for a parochial school system combined with a deep suspicion of the public schools. As a consequence the Protestant-Catholic

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division was now institutionalized in the school systems. And the Catholics had defined their position toward American society as one of reserved participation in a national life that would not give them what they thought was their right: the request for financial aid to the parochial schools is only a concretization of a more general demand for recognition. Behind it all lies a deeply traditional Catholic view of Church-State relationships which did not correspond with the typical American development since the Revolutionary war.

It is in this context also that we have to understand the unwillingness on the part of the nation and the states to support the parochial schools financially. With the Protestants accepting the public school system the State took over the responsibility for education. The earlier practice of supporting private educational initiative fell away. Clearly, the Catholic demand, however justified it may have looked to the Catholics, went counter to the major trend of the development of the nation's educational system. In the American mind all churches are equal before the law, none should receive preferential treatment. The Catholics should not receive what no one else was receiving. If they wanted separate schools, that was their problem. The nation should not have to pay for Catholic separatism.

By 1875 this feeling had gained enough strength for President Grant to propose a constitutional amendment specifically prohibiting

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any public funds for sectarian education. Though the amendment formally introduced by James G. Blaine in 1876, was never adopted, Mr. Grant's action is cited by Mr. Justice Frankfurter in his concurring opinion in *McCullum* (1948) as indicating the growing realization on the part of the nation of the implications of the Constitutional system with regard to separation of Church and State. Though President Grant called for a new constitutional Amendment, Mr. Justice Frankfurter says that what the President was asking for was already there in the First and Fourteenth Amendments. What is more interesting, though, is that, apparently Mr. Frankfurter's reading of the First Amendment is influenced by Mr. Grant's position of 1875.⁴²

We have characterized the Catholic attitude as one of reserved participation in the nation's life, accompanied by a feeling of uneasiness vis a vis American society. Generally we must say that the Catholic population opted for a ghetto-like existence. Yet it cannot be denied that the Catholics also showed a loyalty to the nation, a desire to be American. As I said before there runs through American Catholicism this awareness of a divided loyalty, the problem being how to be both an American and a Catholic. The solution of the 1840's was that the Catholic identity came first, and that a good Catholic would also make a good American. Thus we have an American Catholic rather than a Catholic American. But this meant

that the tension between the two identities was not relieved. The subsequent history shows that it was not to remain that way, and that the American Catholic could become a Catholic American.

Catholicism and Americanism:
The Question Reopened

A first step in this direction was taken, toward the end of the 19th century, by a group of church leaders who felt that a more positive relationship between Catholicism and the American nation was possible and desirable, and that the two identities of Catholic and American did not need to be at odds. Thoroughly aware that the nation was basically Protestant, they set out to bring Catholicism closer to America, mostly by recognizing the positive value of American institutions and by fighting Anti-Catholic prejudice, and, to a lesser extent, by trying to initiate change in the Catholic Church. Though on the whole the movement was not successful and ended with a condemnation, whether deserved or not, by the Roman authorities, some elements of its history are relevant to this paper, if only to highlight the Catholic attitude toward America by the end of the century.

One of the leaders of the movement, and easily its most prominent representative, was Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, Minnesota. Never tired of praising the nation, its constitution and institutions, he appeared in June, 1890, before the National Educational Association and read a paper entitled: State Schools and Parochial Schools.⁴³ In it he made some remarkable concessions

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which the general Catholic public would have some difficulty digesting. He acknowledged the right of the state to establish and conduct schools, hailed the free school system of America, and accepted the principle of compulsory education. He deplored, of course, that the state schools tend to be irreligious and would rather see that the public schools, being the schools of the majority, were explicitly Protestant, but, in all fairness, in that case the state should be willing to pay for the secular education given in the Catholic parochial schools.

What is remarkable about this address is perhaps not so much what John Ireland had to say as that he had to say it. In the Catholic community of the time such a positive approach to the public school was unheard of. The public school was considered to be godless, religionless and about one of the most evil institutions of America: a real danger for Catholics. The right of the State to be involved in the educational enterprise was not generally acknowledged, even often denied, and compulsory education shared the same lot. Cooperation between parochial and state schools was deemed undesirable by the majority of the Catholics. Ireland's own experiment with such a plan of cooperation at Stillwater and Faribault was not only short-lived, but it aroused suspicion even about his own good intentions. Ireland's address, moreover, was the beginning of a controversy which tore the Catholic community apart for three years and was finally decided by a decision of the Pope himself.⁴⁴

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What makes this controversy important for our present discussion is that it shows, on the one hand, the awareness on the part of at least some of the Catholic leaders that a more positive posture was necessary and possible and, on the other hand, how deeply the Catholic community was at this point estranged from American society. Archbishop Hughes' actions and positions certainly had been successful in shaping the American Catholic mind. In fact, the majority of the Catholic population was firmly entrenched in a ghetto-like mentality. The parochial schools functioned in the Catholic community very much like the public school in the nation: they had become the object of an emotional investment, an institution symbolic of the Catholic identity in America. The opposition to the public school likewise served to reinforce this separate Catholic identity.

On the whole, then, the Catholics of 1900 were not willing to move toward a more liberal posture vis a vis American society. The movement was carried mostly by a small group of Irish prelates who by now had been sufficiently Americanized to sense the need for a more relaxed attitude. The main difficulty was not only the presence of a newer wave of Catholic immigrants: the Germans for whom the Americanization process was even more difficult than for the Irish, but the persistence of a more conservative attitude in

the majority of the Irish prelates. Then with the condemnation of Americanism by Leo XIII in 1899,⁴⁵ followed by the even more repressive actions of the Roman authorities against Modernism, these attempts at Americanization of Catholicism pretty well came to an end. The episode, however, proves that the problem existed, but it could be solved only in a more subtle manner.

The efforts of John Ireland⁴⁸ and his fellow Americanists were inspired by their desire to be both Catholic and American. On both points, no doubt, their loyalty and commitment were deep and sincere. But there is an element of artificiality in their efforts to bridge the gap. As long as America was still basically Protestant and Catholicism had to relate to this Protestant nation and Ireland and Gibbons had no doubt on this point - the Americanizers could only try to establish better relations between two alien bodies. The pattern remained one of inter-community pluralism. In fact, one cannot escape the evidence that much of the Americanists' effort was directed toward making Catholicism look good to America, rather than Americanizing it. No substantial, only political change was envisaged.

Real change in this relationship was to come, nevertheless, but it did not come from any concerted effort in this direction on the part of the Catholic hierarchy. Rather it was the result of a

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slow process of acculturation and Americanization of the Catholic community as a whole and as part of a larger process of change of the religious arrangement of American society. Only after the fact did this process find some form of theological and ecclesiastical recognition, culminating, perhaps, in the Declaration of Religious Freedom of the Second Vatican Council.

The American Catholic Becomes
The Catholic American

Rather than looking for significant leaders who worked at the problem systematically, we should, to understand this process of change, turn our attention to the dynamics of American Society in its tremendous integrative capacity. Earlier in this paper we saw how the divisions between the Protestant denominations were gradually overcome through the establishment of a common core Protestantism which could be equally shared by the different denominations, though expressed by them in slightly different ways. This process, we noted, was instrumental in forming a basic national identity of America as a Protestant Christian nation. On the religious level this process was facilitated by a common acceptance of revivalism by the different churches, making for a large similarity between the styles of Christian life proposed by them. Now, a similar process seems to be on the way which unites Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, in the acceptance of a common understanding of the religious dimensions of American life. This, then, leads to a situation in

which the differences between these groups are becoming irrelevant as far as the life of the nation is concerned. We owe it, of course, to Will Herberg⁴⁷ that we have become aware of this process, and the similarity between this process and the one by which American Protestantism built its unity was first observed by Sidney Mead.⁴⁸

To explain the process it should first of all be recognized that the story of American Catholics is, by and large, an American success story. The Catholic community, notwithstanding some serious drawbacks in the 19th century, fared quite well. If, with the successive waves of immigrants, the Catholics started out as poor, uneducated, uncultured, they nevertheless managed, largely by means of their school system, to gain their place in American society, in politics, in business, in education. Thus, whatever the religious difference, they became gradually accepted as citizens of the country. More than that: as a minority group trying to make it in this country, they somehow had to live up to the value expectations of the majority and, consciously or not, accepted the American way of life. By living in America and by participating in the national life, the American Catholic became more and more an American and adopted the values embedded in the culture and the life of the nation.

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It is on this level, I believe, that we have to find the basic change. The American Catholic began to feel at home and quite comfortable in American society. He became middle class and suburban. He entered the professions. He took part on the democratic process, helped, no doubt by an increasing secularizing with the nation and discovered that, in fact, he was an American who could work with his Protestant and Jewish neighbors without too much trouble. He was, at any rate, not willing to have his religion stand in the way of good social relationships. Good citizenship became a matter of prime importance.

At the same time, a rather subtle change took place in American religion. Religion remained important in American life, but the nation ceased to be Protestant. Rather, any kind of religion would do as long as there was some kind of religion. What Herberg has called a "belief in religion" replaced the Protestant religion as the core of American culture. The national religious consensus was perhaps best captured by President Eisenhower in 1952 when he said, "Our government makes no sense unless it is found in a deeply felt religious faith - and I don't care what it is".⁴⁹ Basically what this means is that the religious basis and value consensus of American society was broadened to include non-Protestant and that the principles of religious liberty and inter-religious

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toleration, which governed the relationship between the Protestant ecclesiastical bodies, began to regulate the relations between Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. In a sense America became religiously more homogeneous by broadening its religious basis, while at the same time incorporating a larger religious variety in its intra-community pluralism.

This type of development does, of course, not take away the tension between official Catholic positions and doctrine and the American way. But it does shift the locus of the problem. From a tension between the Catholic community and the Protestant nation it becomes a tension between the actually Americanized style of life and thinking of the Catholic and the official positions of his church. It is now an intra-church problem which has to be worked out by the Catholic community. The Catholic American has to come to terms with the tradition of his church. The theological and intellectual rationale for his new identity, that is, follows the discovery of that identity. To give only one example: Father John Courtney Murray substantially reinterpreted the Catholic doctrine on the relation between Church and State, relativizing Leo XIII's pronouncements, in order to show that American arrangements were acceptable in Catholic terms.⁵⁰ And we can say that, on a much higher level, the Second Vatican Council dealt with the same type of problem: that of the modern Catholic who became aware of being modern and then had to come to terms with his religious

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tradition. This can be only mentioned here, but it should be pointed out that the Declaration on Religious Freedom finally made it possible for the Catholic American to support fully the separation of Church and State and to accept the American religious arrangement. And this is only one way in which the Second Vatican Council sanctioned the new self-understanding of the Catholic American.

It is hard to give exact dates for the process we have tried to describe. It would seem convenient to say that the process began after World War II. The new national awareness of the post-war period, the new position in world politics, the new health, and the so-called religious revival of the 1950's seem to be contributing factors. But a systematic history is yet to be written. Certainly, however, the election of John F. Kennedy to the Presidency was a landmark. Whereas in 1928 Al Smith was unsuccessful in his attempts to convince his challengers that Catholicism and Americanism were not irreconcilable, John F. Kennedy succeeded. And in Kennedy we have indeed a prototype of the Catholic American for whom the American identity came first. Which is not to say that he ceased to be a Catholic, but that he was a Catholic who did not find it counter to his faith to take full responsibility for the nation and its institutions. On the one hand the nation recognized this by electing him, on the other hand it is Fr. Greeley's opinion that John F. Kennedy should be proclaimed Doctor of the Church.⁵¹

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What this recent development amounts to, then, is that in fact the Catholics in America have joined the national consensus and do not feel any more that they are strangers in the land. They remain Catholics and this qualifies their being Americans but as far as participation in the life of the nation goes this does not make any difference. From inter-community pluralism we have passed to intra-community pluralism. Being a Catholic is fully compatible with firm loyalty to the nation and its way of life. Basically this means that there is much less pluralism, or that the religious differences have, to a large extent, lost social relevance. Catholicism is now one of the culturally established religions of America, one particular way one can be an American. One can indeed say that the Catholic Church quite often behaves as just another denomination, adding to the variety present in American religion in very much the same way as the various Protestant churches and Judaism.

The Catholic Parochial School: A New Image?

The Catholic Parochial school is, of course, deeply affected by this development. Not only is it less clear to the Catholic American that a Catholic education is a must for his children - one factor which explains diminishing financial support for the parochial schools by Catholics - but it changes the type of education offered in the parochial schools. Whereas the parochial schools were founded for the explicit purpose of educating Catholic children to

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be good Catholics and in clear opposition to the Protestant or godless public schools, the changed relationship between Catholicism and America now opens the parochial schools to a much more open perspective on American society and makes education for good citizenship in the nation - with a Catholic component, to be sure, its basic objective. And this is in fact the product of present-day Catholic education: the Catholic American educated to take a responsible role in the life of the nation.

In education, as in other areas of life, The American Catholic somehow had to adopt the standards of the majority as a measure of his own accomplishment. His success is based on meeting these standards. Thus, however much he may have insisted on maintaining his own separate parochial school system, he had to accept, in secular materials the standards that ruled public education. Thus, in fact, the parochial schools were offering an education similar to that given in the public schools. What made them Catholic was the religious instruction given and the total Catholic atmosphere in which the instruction, secular and religious, was given. But the end-product was similar to that of the public school: the secular elements of education could not be different, and these secular elements counted most for his success in society.

The interesting thing, however, is that the American Catholic was not willing to make the institutional separation between secular and religious instruction, and thought that the combination of

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the two was necessary to provide a total education. For this reason he could not accept a secular public school supplemented by religious instruction in a separate setting. He insisted on his parochial schools. In the last analysis, therefore, the *raison d'etre* of the parochial school as a separate institution is religious, and if one wants to reassess the meaning of the parochial school it has to be in the religious dimension. It will not do to emphasize the fact that a sufficient secular education is being offered in the parochial schools. The fact remains that they are religious institutions.

But then we have to say that they are not any more the same kind of religious institution they were in the 19th century or before the American Catholic became the Catholic American. In line with the general development of Catholicism in America the parochial schools are now, and are becoming more and more a part of the general educational establishment of the nation. They are not any longer the counter-institution of the public school but an alternative school system. They equally serve the nation in the education of its young to good citizenship. Whereas in the 19th century the Catholic school system could be said to be geared primarily to keeping the children Catholic and separate from American society, now their function is to provide American society with educated Catholic citizens, or Catholic children with an American education.

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In a sense the situation is comparable to the one in which the Protestant parochial schools found themselves in the early 19th century, when they functioned and were recognized as serving a purpose for the larger society in providing education. Before the public school system took over the States were often quite willing to support these schools financially. But, as we have seen, with the strong emphasis on national unity, partly in defense against the Catholic threat, the Protestant parochial schools disappeared. The public school became the nation's educational establishment. Whether the Catholic parochial school will go the same path is, of course, a question to be answered by the future. We should note at this point that the Protestant parochial schools suffered from lack of support on the part of the laity - a phenomenon we find now with Catholic laity.

On the other hand, however, the situation is not quite the same as in the early and mid-nineteenth century. Then the national educational establishment, the public school was in fact Protestant. It was challenged by a counter-system: the Catholic parochial school. Now we have a general educational system, most of it public, and part of it parochial: Catholic, Jewish, Lutheran, etc. It cannot be said any more that the parochial schools are divisive. The question is whether, on the one hand, America can now allow its internal non-divisive diversity to stand and honor it, or on the other hand whether the diversity embodied in the parochial schools is important enough to demand separate institutionalization.

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Conclusion

At the outset of this paper we said that the question of financial aid to parochial schools is primarily a matter of constitutional law, and that what we would try to do in this paper is to explain the socio-historical situation to which the Courts, in interpreting the First Amendment, have responded and have to respond. It is clear now that the situation of the parochial schools in American society has changed profoundly as a consequence of deep changes in the religious culture of America. Whether these changes are decisive enough to demand a different reading of the meaning and implications of the First Amendment than the one now adhered to by the Supreme Court of the United States, is a question beyond the scope of this paper, but we think that the paper does indeed ask that question.

NOTES

1. The materials and interpretations given in this position paper are drawn from the author's research in preparation of a doctoral dissertation for Harvard University: Religious Pluralism and National Integration. A full documentation can be found in that dissertation once it is finished. In the following notes we will limit ourselves to the sources of information that are directly relevant to this paper.
2. In *Everson v. Board of Education* 330 US 1 (1947).
3. In *Cantwell v. Connecticut* 310 US 296 (1940).
4. Cfr. J. W. Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, London, Methuen & Co., 2nd edition, 1941, pp. 73 ff.
5. Quoted by Sidney Mead, *The Lively Experiment*, New York, Harper and Row, 1963, p. 59.

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22. Letter published by Mann's wife in her Life of Horace Mann, Boston, 1865.
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37. Billington, op. cit., p. 155.
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39. Dunn, op. cit., p. 254.
40. Both O'Grien, op. cit., and Greeley, op. cit., pp. 101 ff. are very critical of Archbishop Hughes.
41. Curran, op. cit., seems to think that the Protestants could have stuck to their own parochial schools. O'Brien seems to think that were it not for Hughes, the Catholics might have accepted the public schools.
42. See Illinois ex. rel. McCollum v. Board of Education 333 US 203 (1948).
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CHAPTER IV

PLURALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Section B: Uncommon Schools and the Common Culture

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UNCOMMON SCHOOLS AND THE COMMON CULTURE*

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*This paper was commissioned as part of a study undertaken for the President's Commission on School Finance. It is not for quotation, publication, or other use without my permission.

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The search for schooling alternatives has quickened in the last few years, as evidence has mounted that public education is ineffective for poor children and boring for affluent ones. The results are visible everywhere -- in "free" schools, in the struggle for community control, in experiments with tuition vouchers and performance contracts, and in renewed pressure for parochial school aid. No one knows what the upshot of all this activity will be, but it has added several new elements to the discussion of reform in public education.

The most intriguing of these is the uncommon notion that the only solution to school problems lies in public support for competing alternatives to the established school system. The response to this idea has been a torrent of arguments about segregation, church-state relations, and school finance. The debate on these points has marched through more columns of print than one would like to count, but for the most part it has been a bit wooden. This is not because the issues are trivial, but because the positions on all sides are so predictable. No one ever thought the NEA would endorse tuition vouchers, or that the AFT would support community control, and it's a bit difficult to maintain a lively interest under these conditions.

There is one important exception however -- namely, the assertion that public support for competing school alternatives will subvert the only existing instrument for inculcating a common moral

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and political culture. Allow public support for non-public schools and the common core of democratic experiences and values provided in the public schools will dissolve. Cultural and ideological particularism would flourish (and what is worse!!) under state sponsorship.

This line of reasoning is not without weight, if for no other reason than that almost everyone seems to believe in, or at least subscribe to it. In my view, however, it is a mistake. I do not doubt that the public schools perform socialization functions, but I do not believe that they have done it so well as to render the existing arrangements sacrosanct, nor do I think that educational alternatives would much weaken the common political and moral culture. Indeed, my view can be summarized in three contrary propositions:

--The public schools exert rather a weak influence on the development of childrens' moral and political beliefs, and in substance they differ little from most of the available schooling alternatives. Public support for such alternatives would not touch off an outburst of particularism.

--The public schools' stance toward cultural and political socialization is intrinsically undesirable, a hangover from attitudes and arrangements which solidified in response to the great waves of European immigration.

--There is too little diversity in our approaches to moral, political, and cultural socialization, a problem which arises both from the character of public education and the nature of communication technology. Schooling alternatives might promote some needed diversity here.

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In the remainder of this essay I will discuss these points.

THE MELTING POT TRADITION

Sooner or later, every argument about alternative political futures becomes an argument about alternative pasts, and in this the schools are no exception. Those who oppose schooling alternatives because they might weaken the schools' socialization efforts habitually point to the schools' past performance. Public education, they maintain, proved its worth as the transmitter of political and cultural values by inducting millions of immigrant children into American society. If the schools could make one nation from many then, why should they not continue?

One could approach this question as either a matter of fact or principle, but the factual issue is of little interest here. Even if evidence on whether schools did produce the desired effect on immigrant children could be dredged up, the question is whether that sort of effect is still desired, not whether it once occurred. We confront the melting pot tradition in public education as historical actors, not spectators, and so the issue is whether we accept the tradition as a basis for action.

To answer this question we need a more concrete sense of the tradition in question. It is perhaps best summarized as an approach

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to citizenship education in which the attitude toward cultural and ethnic differences typically varies from ignorance to bland acceptance of stereotypes. The first suggests that real differences do not exist, while the second suggests that they are illegitimate. The public schools' actual policy and practice toward immigrant children also varied along this continuum.

The tone of public school policy and practice, at least during the great immigrations, was nicely captured by Elwood Cubberly, the first dean of American public school administrators. Writing in one of his early works Cubberly maintained that immigrants were a cancer on the body politic, and that the best solution would be repatriation. Barring that, he argued that the schools would have to replace their existing language and cultures with more suitable, home-grown stuff.

Big city schools organized themselves to deal with immigrant children in ways which did not depart significantly from the spirit of Cubberly's remark. The schools' task was conceived as the replacement of one language and value system with another. Whatever school officials may have thought, they behaved as though immigrant language and culture was, to put it charitably, useless. Indeed, much school policy and practice was founded on the supposition that most immigrant children were barely civilized. Socially and intellectually they were presumed to be capable of sustaining only the briefest excursion into education. As

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a result, special primary schools and curricula were often designed, with the purpose of communicating the minimum necessary knowledge of English and desired values.

Although the brutally assimilationist cast of school policy tended to moderate as the century wore on, there is no evidence that the assumptions on which it rested have changed. The European immigrations have been replaced by internal migration, but the treatment of black and Spanish-speaking students has not been such as to suggest much greater openness to cultural differences.

A similar conclusion emerges from a review of the school materials which deal with ethnic and cultural differences. Negro and Spanish-speaking Americans have simply been absent from most school history and social studies, and when present, their role in the American past has typically been dealt with in stereotyped and misleading ways. And text materials dealing with ethnic and nationality differences have been found in study after study to suffer from similarly slipshod or mistaken treatment. The materials evidence ignorance of intergroup differences, an unwillingness to recognize their depth or legitimacy, and an aversion to conflict, controversy, or criticism.

Nor does the explanation seem to be oversight, naivete, or a fit of national absent-mindedness. Quite the contrary, everything points to the assimilationist bias which became explicit in school policy

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around the turn of the century. The rationale for the schools' treatment of the immigrants was that their language, culture, and history were unworthy; that same notion explains the continued use of educational materials which pass over and understate cultural and ethnic differences in the national experience, and deny their legitimacy. And this is all the more striking when we recall that earlier in the nineteenth century -- before the great immigrations -- many state and local school systems adopted entirely different approaches to cultural differences. Perhaps the clearest example is the fact that several states adopted statutes specifically sanctioning instruction exclusively in foreign languages -- German, in most cases.

This is not a tradition, then, which seems to have much to recommend it as a matter of contemporary policy. One might argue that it was intelligible in the context of the shock produced by the sudden influx of millions of strangers, but even that hardly provides a rationale extending to the present. After all, we now confront mostly the strangers' grandchildren, nicely assimilated, and having only the most distant acquaintance with their heritage.

THE EFFECTS OF SCHOOLING

But while it is helpful to get some perspective on the inherited tradition, it is not the entire argument. More important is the notion that publically supported schooling alternatives would impede the transmission

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of common values. If this argument is correct, it isn't conclusive to point out that many of the values transmitted have in the past been objectionable. That may be a basis for changing the values, but it hardly seems an adequate rationale for dismantling the transmission system.

Two sorts of evidence are appropriate on this point. One concerns the actual effects public schools do have on manners and morals. One specific case we can discuss here is how, and how much the schools affect learning about politics. Another concerns the impact of schooling alternatives -- do non-public school children differ from those in public schools, as respects learning about politics and culture?

Unfortunately, evidence on the first point is scarce -- it must be fitted together from a variety of sources. First, there is existing research on childrens' political socialization. Although there is a good deal of recent work in this field, it seems to be concerned with the development of childrens' political attitudes, rather than with the schools' influence on them. Nowhere, for example, has any direct evidence been presented on how much the political attitudes of children vary from school to school. If the configuration of political attitudes in each school turned out to be pretty typical of the political attitudes found in the entire (school) population, there would not be much basis for thinking that schools differ much in their impact on childrens' political attitudes. But no studies illuminate this point.

Let us suppose schools did differ somewhat in this regard. We would then want to know whether the differences were a result of schooling, or other environmental influences -- such as the family, ethnic group membership, and so on. Again, however, there is no evidence directly on this point. The relative importance of school and non-school environment in the development of political attitudes is unknown.

There is, however, some indirect evidence. For one thing, much of the political socialization research seems to show relatively little change in childrens' attitudes over time. If political attitudes undergo little change during the school years, of course, it would be hard to argue that the schools could have much impact on them. The only exception to this seems to be during the primary grades, which may be a period in which childrens' political ideas do undergo change. But this is an age at which children receive little or no explicit citizenship instruction, and it also happens to be an age at which family influences are still extremely strong. None of this suggests that there are large school effects on political attitudes.

This is supported by the absence of convincing evidence that the schools' have much effect in other realms. Childrens' academic performance and aspirations (which, after all, is what the schools are about), both seem not to be differentially influenced by schools. Aspirations, for example, vary only a little among schools, and they seem to be quite insensitive to variations in school resources and policies. In fact, they

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seem to be affected only by students' family background, academic ability, and academic standing. Roughly the same situation seems to hold for achievement. Most differences in student achievement lie within, not among schools, and no combination of school resources and practices seems to have any noticeable impact on achievement test scores.

These findings have been confirmed in a variety of studies, undertaken at different times under different conditions. They show that schools have little differential effect, even in precisely the areas of their primary concern. It is hard to believe, therefore, that they would have more pronounced influence on such secondary objectives as citizenship. In fact, none of the research I have summarized suggests that schools vary much in their impact on childrens' political learning. Indeed, what direct evidence there is suggests that these attitudes are pretty invariant over the duration of public schooling.

More direct evidence on how schools affect such attitudes is provided by a study of the effect which non-public schools have on childrens' development. In an exhaustive series of comparisons Greely and Rossi (The Education of Catholic Americans), review the differences between Catholic adults educated in parochial schools and those educated in public schools. Much to everyone's surprise, there were only small differences. Catholics who attended parochial schools did not wind up lower on the occupational ladder, nor did they turn out to have much different attitudes or social orientations. Even after differences in family background and

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inherited status were taken into account, parochial and public school graduates differed only a little on most indicators.

The most important point for our purposes, of course, is that the differences are small. This may arise from the fact that neither school system has much impact on the development of attitudes, or from the fact that both have a strong but similar impact. In either case, however, it shatters the idea that schooling alternatives produce serious divergence in the public values schools transmit.

Indeed, there is even a more delicious final twist: almost all the attitude differences between public and parochial graduates favor the parochial graduates. That is, parochial graduates are likely to be more committed to the very democratic values public schools are supposed to teach than public school graduates. Greely and Rossi, for example, found that parochial school graduates were less racially intolerant, and more tolerant of other religious groups, than otherwise similarly situated Catholics who had attended public schools. It is hard to think of any more persuasive evidence that schooling alternatives will not produce divisiveness, or impede the transmission of a common political culture.

TOO LITTLE DIVERSITY

In fact, the most economical way to read the evidence is that the entire school system, public and private, affords too little variety. The problem with American education is not the imminent danger of flying

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apart, but its increasing sameness.

The reasons for this situation are not obscure. The main alternatives, as things now stand, are offered for religious reasons, rather than to express explicit cultural, political, or ethnic differences. As a result, diversity is expressed mostly along lines which are officially, at least, irrelevant to the purposes of public education. In addition, the schools provide a common fare, devoid of much variety, conflict, or other reason for provocation. The main reason is that the schools' clientele, while diverse, attends under forced draft. Consequently, the variety of taste on matters cultural and political existing among the schools' clientele can only be dealt with by so homogenizing the offerings as to make them offensive to almost no one. This, however, has the effect of making schools a good deal more incorrect, boring, and alike than need be.

The only way to remedy that is to permit choice in the assignment of children to schools. This would relieve each school of the pressure to satisfy everyone, which would presumably result in more open expression of differences in schools' purposes and methods. This is the notion behind tuition vouchers, and other proposals to make school attendance a matter of family choice.

None of the evidence I have presented suggests that such changes would seriously impede the transmission of common values from one generation to the next. In part this is because of the spontaneous sameness of public and non-public schools, a phenomenon which owes a good deal

to the schools' past work and the pervasiveness of the melting pot ideology. There also is the fact of the relative weakness of schools' influence on childrens' development, as compared with family background and social inheritance. If family influences predominate in political socialization, any changes in schooling are likely to be of modest consequence. And finally, it stems from the fact that the modern media of communication provide a new but powerful transmitter of common values. Unhappily, in the process the values are even more homogenized and debased in the media -- especially television and radio -- than in the schools, but there seems to be little danger of any departure from orthodoxy.

If schooling alternatives were created, then, they would probably not result in a dangerous degree of diversity in political and social learning. It is more likely that they would result in less change than one might imagine, or think desirable. Not only has the culture become more homogeneous during the last half century, but most of us have been well taught that elementary and secondary education is no place to express conflict, diversity, or difference concerning fundamental social and cultural values. Change would come with painful slowness.

CONCLUSION

Another way of reading all this is that schooling alternatives will probably not find public support in the near future. Whatever the public schools do or do not accomplish in the way of transmitting common values,

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they are an important institutional symbol of the commonness of the society and its political culture. That symbolism is implicitly attacked by proposals to publically support schooling alternatives, and it is not surprising that the debate stirs deep feeling. Indeed, it would be more surprising if they were not fiercely defended.

More than likely, then, the debate about public support for schooling alternatives is not one in which evidence on their likely effect will have much weight. At issue is the sacredness of the symbols of the American community. At a time when the society is unusually divided, it seems unlikely that the symbols will be abandoned.

CHAPTER IV

PLURALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Section C: Ethnicity and American Education

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Acknowledgement

This paper is an edited compendium of the recent writings of Rudolph J. Vecoli, Seymour P. Lachman, David K. Cohen, Melvin Scult, Harold J. Abramson, Peter Binzen, Judith M. Herman and myself. It deals almost exclusively with the ethnic factor in public education and leaves the interesting and largely unmined area of ethnicity and non-public education for another day.

Irving Leos helped with the editing job and the manuscript was typed by Mary Lou Groom.

Irving M. Levine

ETHNICITY AND AMERICAN EDUCATION

The Downgrading of Ethnicity

Among those playing leading roles in the drama of our evolving society, there is a general tendency to underestimate the importance of ethnicity as a factor in group life, the usefulness of knowledge about ethnic groupings in America as an aid in coping with social problems, and perhaps more vital, as a resource available for the strengthening and enrichment of our national existence, including the educational experience.

This downgrading of ethnicity prompted the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence to describe Americans as the victims of "historical amnesia that masks much of their turbulent past."

"The myth of the melting pot has obscured the great degree to which Americans have historically identified with their national citizenship through their myriad subnational affiliations. This has meant inevitable conflict, competition, friction, and conflict."

Scholarly labors during the past quarter-century demonstrate more concern for the processes of absorption and assimilation in our society rather than for the diversity of its components. Among the ethnically aware scholars, several offer hypotheses explaining the relative absence of an ethnic dimension from American history, sociology and intellectual life in general:

Vecoli¹ faults American historiography, for not adequately emphasizing the role of ethnic group styles and interests as important contributors (if not determinants) of American institutions. An assimilationist bias, he suggests, has led historians to look for,

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and find, evidence of homogeneity rather than diversity. Concurring, the editors of a recent book aim at counterbalancing the "demands (for) conformity" which have been made of ethnic groups:

Because of a predominantly English heritage in the colonial period, the United States, a country of many peoples, often has evaluated its varied citizenry by a single standard: white, Anglo-Saxon, middle-class Protestantism. Although popular rhetoric glorified the country as a melting pot of different peoples, in actuality this meant melting diversity into conformity with Anglo-Saxon characteristics.

... "Ethnicity" (Fishman says) is not a phenomenon with which most American intellectuals are really familiar..., it is not one in which they are really interested (for isn't ethnicity "something old fashioned and unenlightened") and it is not one toward which they are sympathetic (since they themselves are "liberated from that kind of thing").²

Vecoli's analysis of the sociology of the academic community leads him to conclude that students from ethnic backgrounds are consistently exposed to the assimilationist norms of that community. "As emancipated intellectuals," he says with tongue in Italian cheek, "they reject the narrow parochialism and tribal loyalties of their youth. ... How many graduate students have shied away from research topics for fear they would be suspected of ethnic chauvinism?"³

Yet the shoe of the chauvinist may well be on the wrong foot. Consider the definition of the word, ethnic, in a popular dictionary:

"Neither Jewish nor Christian; pagan."
(Webster's Collegiate Dictionary)

How then define the concept?

The precise nature of ethnicity in America is extremely difficult to pinpoint. Indeed, it is even difficult to define. Rev. Andrew Greeley, who has done a popular work in this field, uses Weber's definition: "an ethnic group is a human collectivity based

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on an assumption of common origin, real or imaginary."⁴ But whose assumption is meant -- the ethnic's, the larger society's, history's?

As Fishman says:

The question immediately arises as to when a group is a group, i.e., how much "groupness" (and by whose standards?) is required? Does an ethnic group become and remain a group when (and as long as) its own members consider it to be a separate group or when (and as long as) outsiders consider it to be such a group? Do individuals belong to an ethnic group when they themselves acknowledge such membership or when others attribute such membership to them?⁵

Some definitions are so broad as to include nearly everyone as some sort of "ethnic," such as Abramson's notion of ethnicity as "a kind of distinctiveness defined by race, religion, national origin, and even geographical isolation."⁶ Gordon categorizes intellectuals as an ethnic group, since they share common values, have communications mechanisms internal to themselves, and often even marry within their own group.⁷ Some theorists insist on consciousness as a prerequisite to ethnicity ("consciousness of kind"), and some assert that behavioral distinctions exist between groups even where no consciousness is present, as a result of generations of socialization patterns -- in which case one has no choice.

At times the important element may be group power and group interest, where the group whose interest is being asserted generally are descended from a common origin, whether the interest is expressed in terms of that origin or not. At other times, we will focus on group identity (the conscious dimension). In still other instances, we will be talking about life styles, or cultural variables, or behavioral differences, as between groups whose parents are Italian and groups whose parents are Polish. Finally, we will sometimes relate to the ethnic factor as a causal one, but most often will be

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chiefly interested in how understanding "ethnicity" can help solve educational problems.

In a nation founded by immigrants and nurtured to world leadership in no small measure through the contributions of massive influxes of immigrants, ethnicity has been and continues to be a pervasive even though often an unconscious factor throughout all facets of our existence. And the omission of ethnicity has been pervasive, too, in our nation's educational programming as in so many other areas. As we are discovering, it is a costly omission.

A great deal more knowledge is needed to help us understand the precise nature of this factor. Did certain groups make it easier for a young person to succeed in schools, for example, because of cultural factors or the group's place in the cultural structure?

This kind of knowledge is important not only for an understanding of the past, but also for an indication of present educational policies. In which ethnic groups might which kinds of educational gains occur with what initial outside stimulation? What kinds of ethnic approaches can be utilized -- or developed -- to aid a group's overall educational advancement? Which past success models, whether in the school or outside of it, can work today?

One of the reasons it is difficult to pinpoint answers to questions such as these, and perhaps why the ethnic factor has been a "neglected" one, is that ethnic solidarity, interests, or even consciousness have often been expressed in non-ethnic terms or through other institutional forms, and there are few adequate guidelines for culling the ethnic factor out of a situation.

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For example, Riesman and Jencks recount the history of the formation of church-related institutions of higher learning as having to do with conflicts between ethnic sub-groups within religious communities as well as differences between large religious groups.⁸ They do not use David Danzig's term for it, but these authors are identifying the "religio-ethnic" nature of what is often perceived as narrowly a religious issue.⁹

Danzig described how strong the ethnic part of "religio-ethnic" could be in relating the results and interpretations of voting studies during the Roosevelt years. At one point between the 1936 and 1940 elections when Protestant support for Roosevelt sharply increased, it was thought by some to be the case that persons of Anglo-Saxon background (fairly far back!) were responding to FDR's lend-lease policy of help to England! (It was Roosevelt who, addressing a DAR convention after they had barred Marian Anderson from concertizing at their (Constitution?) hall, greeted them with, "Fellow immigrants....")

There have been many other instances where a conflict or an expression of group interest has not been couched in ethnic group terms but has been ethnically related. The aim is not to impose an ethnic label on a situation in which ethnic identity or interest is not an issue, but to help understand the role (if any) played by these factors in situations where the participants are by any stretch of the imagination "ethnic."

Many of today's group conflict situations, in our opinion, contain a highly important ethnic dimension which often goes unrecognized. The "white community" is not a community at all, but is a variety of sub-communities, one line of division for which

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remains the line of national origin. Whether one's parents are Italian, Jewish, Irish, Polish, or whatever still does have a relationship to various perceptions and behaviors.

More knowledge about even the third generation -- the children of that "foreign stock" who are not identifiable through use of the census -- is crucial. The common assumption is that, except among Jews, most young people move to ethnically heterogeneous suburbs and ethnic background loses its relevance, but some studies and increasingly sharp observations indicate that there are other ethnic enclaves even within suburban communities¹⁰ and that ethnic interests and identity may be expressed in very different ways.

In the blue-collar Kensington section of Philadelphia, for example, people's stated identification is with the neighborhood ("I'm a lifelong Kensingtonian") but the Irish Kensingtonians do not drink in the same bars as the Polish Kensingtonians. As will be shown further, there are ample grounds for accepting the judgment of Glazer and Moynihan: "The point about the melting pot is it did not happen." Why have our history books failed to tell us this - indeed, have broadcast an opposite version? Rudolph Vecoli pulls few punches:

"Sad to say, historians have neglected the dimension of ethnicity in the American past. We have been made dramatically aware of our deficiency in this respect by the sudden and widespread demand for minority history courses. The most pressing demand, of course, is for Afro-American history. History departments which would have scoffed at the notion a few years ago are now recruiting black Afro-American historians. Unfortunately, much of the contemporary

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concern with minority group history is politically inspired, rather than deriving from an honest conviction of its inherent value as a field of study....

"Why has not the history of the United States been written in terms of the enormous diversity of race, culture, and religion which has characterized its people from the seventeenth century until today?

"By and large, the portrayal of this diversity has been an ideal to which we have paid lipservice rather than a task to which we have addressed ourselves. That the history of a society the distinctive attribute of which has been its racial; cultural, linguistic, and religious pluralism should have been written for the most part from an Anglo-American monistic perspective is indeed a paradox.

"I believe that there are two basic reasons why American historians have neglected the dimensions of ethnicity. One has to do with the prevailing ideology of the academic profession; the other, with its sociology. They are obviously interrelated.

"The belief in a "new race of men" created in the crucible of democracy became essential to the conception of an American nationality. How else were Americans to emerge from the confusion of tongues, faiths, and races? But as Crèvecoeur pointed out, the immigrant must be stripped of "all his ancient prejudices and manners" in order to become a "new man." Rapid and total assimilation thus came to be regarded as natural, inevitable, and desirable.

"It was not until 1939, however, that social scientific concepts were explicitly brought to bear on the historical study of ethnic groups. At the AHA meeting that year Caroline F. Ware presented a paper on "Cultural Groups in the United States."¹¹ Ware noted the

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neglect by American historians of the ethnic groups which deviated from the dominant literate culture. Observing that the interaction of the immigrants with the modern city was creating a new industrial culture, Ware concluded:

"In the still unexplored history of the non-dominant culture groups of the industrial cities lies the story of an emerging industrial culture that represents the dynamic cultural frontier of modern America.¹²

"Unfortunately Ware's manifesto was hearkened to by too few. Three decades later the industrial culture of modern America remains largely unexplored history.

"The estrangement of many intellectuals from their ethnic roots may have something to do with their alienation from popular culture, while the widespread anti-intellectualism among ethnic Americans may reflect their resentment of the aloof professors whom they regard as traitors and Uncle Toms. Many ethnic groups sponsor historical societies which attempt to record in a more-or-less scholarly fashion the role and contribution of their particular element to American history. These efforts have not been generally viewed in a kindly fashion by professional historians. But it has been the "standoffish" attitude of historians of ethnic origin which has been most resented. Such academic snobbery, if such it is, is regrettable. For the cultivation of ethnic history might serve as one of the much-needed bridges between the university ghetto and the ethnic ghetto.¹³

Turning from the ivied halls to the public schools, the melting pot again appears to be considerably less effective than it was cracked up to be. Dr. Seymour P. Lachman of the New York City Board of Education recently offered this review:

The Public School's Failure

"Ambitious and hyperbolic language was used to describe the mission of the public schools by a generation of educational reformers in the 1830's. Their dream has never become reality although many Americans have misconstrued reality by citing the dream and incorporating it onto the mythos of their historic being and the civic religion of their nation. The greatest of these educational leaders was Horace Mann, appointed in 1837 as the first secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. In his 12th Annual Report he wrote that education, "beyond all other devices of human origin is the great equalizer of the conditions of men, the balance wheel of the social machinery." A new vision was thus born - a vision of a public school that would, unlike the 19th century Prussian Volksschule, be common to all people receiving children of all creeds, social classes and ethnic backgrounds-- a public school that would serve as a means of upward mobility for the lower socio-economic classes. It was a noble dream that was worthy of the spiritual descendents of Thomas Jefferson. Unfortunately, it turned out to be a pipe dream.

"It was Mann's dream which fired the imagination of many of America's immigrants of the late 19th and early 20th centuries including numerous social idealists within the Jewish community. It was Mann's dream which today fires the imagination of many black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano leaders. But it has never been more than a frustrating and non-deliverable dream for many Americans. Let us again look at the record of the recent past and present.

"A study commissioned by New York's Board of Estimate in 1911 and undertaken by Prof. Paul Hanus of Harvard University revealed that while some New York City schools were doing very well scholastically, other schools containing the largest number of immigrants, were not dealing adequately with the rapidly multiplying needs that confronted them. This was confirmed by numerous public and private records that revealed unemployed immigrant families caught in the almost impossible bind of poverty amidst the erratic and destructive behavior of an unregulated business cycle. New York's Superintendent of Schools, William Maxwell, called out for public concern and aid to resolve the unique and exceptional educational problems of immigrant children. Society, in general, did not listen and did not respond. According to the Hanus survey and reports of school superintendents for 1904 to 1922, between 32% and 36% of public school pupils were "over-age" and making "slow progress" in any given year. Excessive retardation was claimed to be correlated to lower socio-economic life patterns. In his 1922 Annual Report, New York City School Superintendent William Ettinger cited progressive failure by students in high school grades and a great deal of truancy. Indeed, fewer than 10% of the school population graduated from high school in 1915.

"But here we find one of the important major differences between "then" and "now". Many of these "drop-outs" of pre-Great Depression days, as well as long term truants were frequently encouraged to leave

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school by the available employment to be found in manufacturing and industry. Indeed, some historians are of the opinion that this was just what the industrial order required. Jobs not only could be found, (with, of course, different standards than that of today) but they were readily available and frequently served as an inducement and reason for permanent truancy. For those remaining lower socio-economic immigrant children in school, scholastic success would oftentimes come only after the establishment of ethnic stability - built around perhaps ethnic businesses, commercial or labor organizations and the creation of an ethnic middle class. Ethnic cohesiveness and solidarity stimulated internal self-help organizations that in turn served some as catalytic agents necessary for their scaling the walls to the middle class of the outside general society.

"Before the Great Depression manpower was the crucial factor and the factory and the union were frequently more powerful assimilating agents and change factors than was public education. The ethnic immigrants did advance in every way -- through business and commerce, labor and trade unions, politics and government but not usually through the mobility that was supposed to be provided by the public schools.

" Thirty years ago Marie Syrkin wrote in Your School, Your Children that the high schools of the cities were unable to properly educate masses of Americans; that the methods and the system used then (and still extensively used today) was a debasement rather than a fulfillment

of democracy and sprang from "a distrust rather than a faith in the common man." Yet, in 1941 over 38% of our nation's population had a high school experience as against 75% today. We had difficulty in educating 1/3 of the masses then and we are having greater difficulty in educating 3/4 of the masses today.

"Perhaps it is too much to ask that an educational system serve as a socio-economic means of upward mobility or as a laboratory for democracy without concomitant changes in employment, housing, health, family relationships and in social class values. Yet, this is precisely what educators claimed they could do and this is what the nation expected them to do and this is what they have not done. Education has just not been able to accomplish what John Dewey called modifying "the social order." Instead, education has reflected the social order and has not brought about any significant changes.

"Public education became then the "rubber stamp" of economic improvement rather than the "operation boot strap" necessary for advancement. The White Anglo-Saxon Protestant ethos had brought about a self-fulfilling prophecy for those who should have known better. They came to accept the myths of their past as provided by others, rather than the reality of their past as experienced by themselves and their forebearers.

"But urban public education never really provided upward mobility for the majority of poor white ethnic immigrants and sons of immigrants

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the Irish, Italians, Hungarians, Polish and other slavic groups. Smaller, yet more cohesive and stronger ethnic groups, such as the Chinese, Japanese and East European Jews, initially could, as groups and thus also as individuals, more adequately contend with the Protestant ethos, which dominated and surprisingly still dominates the public schools. It was frequently left to the parochial schools to extend to the Irish Catholic population, for example, a sense of self-identity and to help that population develop a positive relationship with its new homeland, involving its own religion and culture. Greeley and Rossi, in their important study, The Education of Catholic Americans observed that Catholic school Catholics "are actually more tolerant with regard to civil liberties and are no more anti-negro, anti-semitic, or anti-Protestant" than Catholics who went to public schools. The study also revealed signs that the younger and better educated Catholic school Catholics had greater social consciousness and greater tolerance for different groups than Catholics of the same age and educational level who had attended public school.

"The damage to pluralism in American life has been even greater. Several years ago Margaret Mead wrote, The School In American Culture. In this book, Miss Mead describes the effect of the public school upon the typical immigrant school child. "They must be taught," she writes, "not the constancies of their parents' immediate past, . . . but they must be taught to reject, and usually to despise their parents values. They must learn those things which, to the extent that they make them

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Americans, will alienate them forever from their parents, making them ancestorless, children of the future, cut off from the past." Thus if the schools aided in the assimilation or the Americanization of the immigrants it was at the expense of their previous value structure and their authentic identities."¹⁴

Further light on how the foreign-born and their children fared in our schools is shed by David K. Cohen, Co-Director of the Harvard Center for Educational Policy Studies, who recently analyzed studies of retardation and retention rates in relation to such factors as nationality, I.Q., and social class, studies made for the most part during the first three decades of the twentieth century. His article on "Immigrants and the Schools" points up the importance of ethnic differences.

"In summary, then, although the evidence I have presented is fragmentary and often non-comparable, it suggests that in the first generation, at least, children from many immigrant groups did not have an easy time in school. Pupils from these groups were more likely to make low scores on IQ tests, and they seem to have been a good deal less likely to remain in high school. It also appears that children of first-generation immigrants from these groups had as difficult a time in the 1920's or 1930's as their predecessors experienced during the first decade of the century.

"It must be equally clear, however, that being the son or daughter of an immigrant did not in itself result in below-average

educational attainment. Children whose parents emigrated from England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, and Scandinavia seem to have generally performed about as well in school as native whites; certainly their average performance never dropped much below that level. The children of Jewish immigrants typically achieved at or above the average for native whites. It was central and southern European non-Jewish immigrants--and, to a lesser extent, the Irish--who experienced really serious difficulty in school. On any index of educational attainment (whether it was retardation, achievement scores, IQ, or retention), children from these nationalities were a good deal worse off than native urban whites.

"Perhaps the most interesting question this raises involves the origin of these ethnic differences: did they arise primarily from group differences in inherited social and economic attributes or were they chiefly the consequence of differences in culture and motivation? At first glance, the second seems a likely alternative; after all, the main over-achievers--the Jews--typically placed a great value on education. But there is more to it than that, for there is evidence which suggests that the rank order of intelligence among immigrant groups would correspond roughly to their rank order on an index of urbanization. This is clearest if one compares the Italians (most of whom emigrated from southern Italy) and the Poles with immigrants from Germany, or with the Jews. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that there were very great differences

among the Jews according to nation of origin. The U.S. Immigration Commission (1911, Vol. I, p. 31) found that 37% of German Jewish children experienced school retardation, as against 41% for the Russian Jews, 52% of the Rumanian Jews, and 67% of the Polish Jews. These proportions closely resemble those for non-Jews of those nationalities. In addition, there is some evidence that among the immigrant groups, those whose children achieved well stood somewhat higher on the occupational scale.

"Another important issue concerns the schools' response to the immigrants. The arrival of large numbers of immigrant pupils coincided with the emergence of IQ and achievement testing, vocational guidance, and the movement to diversify instruction and curriculum in city schools. There is more than a little evidence that these practices were employed--if not conceived--as a way of providing the limited education schoolmen often thought suitable for children from the lower reaches of the social order. The tension this suggests also extended to the schools' culture: there is no evidence of any effort to employ the immigrants' language and culture as educational vehicles. I have been unable to find any hint that cultural diversity was entertained as a serious possibility; it appears that the WASP culture reigned supreme in urban public schools. In this connection, it is important to note that there appears to have been a substantial movement to create educational alternatives among some immigrant groups. For the Irish and Italians,

of course, the Catholic parochial schools served this function, as did part-time religious schools for the Jews. There also were efforts--among the Bohemians, for example--to establish part-time "language schools" as a way of maintaining and transmitting the culture."

Cohen is far less damning than Lachman of the ultimate utility of schooling as a social mobility force. He concludes his review of "Immigrants and the Schools" by saying:

"Finally, there is the question of schooling and social mobility. I have shown that there was a good deal of variability in immigrant children's educational attainment: some groups did as well or better than the average for native urban whites, and others much worse. But to show that the children of many immigrant groups had difficulty in school is not to show that education turned out to be a less effective way for them to climb the social and economic ladder. Almost all the results I have presented are based on evidence about the children of first generation immigrants, and it centers in the first two or three decades of the century. What data I have found on exposure to the urban American culture and society suggests that it coincided with drastically reduced educational differences between immigrants and native whites. Furthermore, the Duncans (1968) have presented evidence that education may have been no less important for the children of immigrants than for native whites, in accounting for differences in occupational attainment."¹⁵

Dr. Lachman in his paper also compares the immigrant experience to the black experience both in the past and today. He says:

"Today the racial integration of American society presents an even more serious problem than integrating and assimilating large numbers of immigrants with different languages and customs, values and traditions. This was indicated even as far back as 1915. At the time when the Hanus study had revealed retardation, drop-outs and truancy in the general population, Frances Blascoer had undertaken another study that was limited only to Negro school children. In both reports school retardation was discovered to be progressive with the child performing less adequately at the end than at the start of his formal school career. Yet, even then there was an important difference between the two studies. Acknowledging the prejudice that made the black students' lives difficult--both in and out of the classroom, Miss Blascoer stated that the Negro's educational problems demanded different treatment. Society which oftentimes in the past was guilty of denying the necessary education to immigrant groups denied to the black man even the pragmatic justification for this denial. For the Negro at the turn of the century, as for the black man today, the category of race not only added a dimension greater than just ethnic difference to the rigors of lower class life, but also frequently placed him outside of the now unaccepted but then glorified melting pot concept of American life.

"Today our cities do not even contain the weak saving grace, if there can be such a thing, of mass poverty and subsistence, cutting widely across race and ethnic boundaries. The pockets of poverty in our nation's cities today overwhelmingly consist of our black and Spanish-speaking fellow citizens. These are the children who today attend what is known as the urban centers' inner city schools.

"All our major school systems must engage in systematic redefinition of our goals and means to these goals. Similarly, departments and schools of education where teachers are educated must reexamine their role. This is truly a national problem and there must be a reordering of national priorities to give education the attention, research and funding that it so desperately needs. But there must also be an encouragement of authentic group identification if the diversity of our American democratic society is to be continued. This involves a basic reinterpretation of the value and importance of public education in enhancing rather than extinguishing a multi-cultural democratic experience. The phenomenon of cultural pluralism will have to be more readily understood and incorporated within the curriculum. And this is not just a problem of dealing adequately with Black Americans and Spanish Americans. The Rev. Paul Ascioffa, an Italian-American editor and ethnic "activist" in Chicago has said:

Ethnics are trying to find out who they are. The history books they studied in school didn't tell them. Their parents didn't tell them. They are rootless people. They gave the 'melting pot' a chance. They tried to become 'Americanized' . . . but they could never find out what becoming an American meant in terms of full acceptance . . . Cultural pluralism is the most logical solution we can hope for. But we have to redefine our values and ask: What does it mean to be an American?¹⁶

The Ethnic Studies Component

Dr. Melvin Scult of Vassar College in a report¹⁷ prepared for the National Project on Ethnic America reviews recent happenings in the field of ethnic studies. The following are some extended excerpts from that report:

"The United States government has recently given recognition to the right of some of our subcultures to perpetuate themselves by establishing a network of bilingual educational centers around the country. The act passed by Congress in 1967 (Title VII Amendment to 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act) led to the establishment of 76 programs involving 27,000 pupils in some form of bilingual bicultural education. Most of the programs were in Spanish but there were also some in French, Chinese, Japanese and Indian dialects."

Another sign of new governmental interest is highlighted by the moves of Congressman Roman Pucinski of Chicago and Senator Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania who have both recently introduced "Ethnic Heritage Studies Center Acts" into the House and the Senate. The enthusiastic response which greeted the introduction of these bills is evidence of the rising public tide of interest in ethnic studies.

Dr. Scult in his paper has completed a cursory review of materials, programs and organizational patterns related to ethnic studies. He finds the following:

"With all that has been written about discovery-learning, the open classroom, etc., it is well known that the majority of children in elementary schools still use one textbook per subject and that the whole textbook market insofar as Social Studies is concerned is dominated by a few companies, each of which has a series that goes through the Junior high grades. All the major publishers have followed the same pattern of starting with the local community and going progressively to the study of larger and larger units. A number of studies have been made which survey the content of these texts insofar as minorities are concerned. The most interesting is an unpublished theses by Loretta Golden, entitled "The Treatment of Minority Groups in Primary Social Studies Text Books" who received her doctorate from Stanford University in 1964.

"In chapter after chapter of the study, we find that the special character and quality of minority group life is neglected. Regarding Mexican-Americans for example, the author finds that "information is omitted for all Mexicans (mentioned), on the specific food they eat, their dances, music, folk tales, games, celebration of holidays and religion" (Golden, p. 86). The same is the case

for immigrants when they are mentioned in the text books, ". . . wear American clothes, and never speak or sing in their native language" (Golden, p. 119).

"In all the books surveyed, the Jewish people were not mentioned once. In one text there was a picture of a synagogue but other than this the Jews are completely left out of the frequently used texts and the others as well (Golden, p. 143).

"At the end of her study Golden lists some rather disturbing characteristics which these texts exhibit:

"Minority group persons seldom have social relations as equals with dominant group persons."

"Most minority group adults who are pictured or described as using recreational facilities with dominant group persons are in a service or entertainment capacity."

"Most minority adults are in occupations associated with their culture. (They work in an Indian shop, Chinese shop, etc.)"

"Most Italian Americans hold positions in which they work with food or food products."

"Minority group persons are seldom described as speaking a foreign language." (Golden, pp. 198-200).

"A spot check of the latest editions of many of these works have turned up more minority characters, especially Blacks, but the policy is still what we have described as the "Americanization Policy" rather than the "inclusion of differences."

"The study of minority groups is not only the study of their cultural traditions but also of their struggles to maintain themselves in the face of pressure from the dominant culture and from other minority groups.

"When we look to the material used in the elementary grades we find an appalling lack of concern with the problems of the lower classes. The philosophical model of text book writers seems to be, that if we describe life the way it ought to be or if we neglect the problems that beset us we will help build healthier children who have a more positive attitude toward their environment. I would suggest that while it is important to give children a sense of confidence and not to surround them with unrealistic fears or to tell them about situations they cannot handle either emotionally or intellectually, there is much more that we can do toward giving a more realistic picture of life to children in the elementary grades.

"In my own examination of relevant material I find a hesitation to present real and important differences between groups. In a second grade text Hanukah and Christmas are presented in exactly the same language. The piece on Hanukah does not mention the Jews: "Hanukah is a special time. Hanukah is a happy time. It is a time to be thankful. Many people have Hanukah. People all over the world have Hanukah." (Your School and Neighborhood, Ginn & Co. 1966, p. 90). In the same book, when dealing with Puerto Rico a student asks, "what are people in Puerto Rico like?" "They are like you and

John," said Miss Little, "they are like the people here." (Ibid, p. 51). How can we expect our children to have any real respect for people who are different from themselves, when they are presented with material such as that which we have been describing.

"There are many programs which deal with prejudice but none which have been as carefully worked out or as extensively tested as the Intergroup Relations Curriculum created by the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs at Tufts University under the direction of John S. Gibson. Although the program has many goals one of its primary aims is to aid students "to value a person on the basis of that person's individual qualities as well as the positive attributes of the groups to which he belongs or with which he is identified." (John S. Gibson, The Intergroup Relations Curriculum, Lincoln Filene Center, Medford, Mass., 1969, p.2). One of the key concepts used in working toward this goal is the idea of the governing process. Starting with the family and the town, students are helped to understand the way the governing process can be used to resolve conflicts and to foster the general welfare of the group involved. In the early stages of the program the stereotyping of groups is attacked directly with many imaginative and carefully thought out techniques. In one lesson, for example, a child is presented with pictures where children are visibly different and he is told a story about the pictures which he has to complete himself at key points. This kind of technique can give a teacher reliable information on the stereotypes of the student.

"The Lincoln Filene Center has worked on refining this curriculum for many years. They have tested it extensively in the communities around Boston and have worked out an in-service program for teachers which can be conducted with or without direct aid from the staff of the Center. They have, for example, succeeded in initiating their program in many communities in the Providence, Rhode Island area after an extensive in-service course given to the teachers involved.

"In 1969 the American Jewish Committee in Boston and the Massachusetts Department of Public Instruction jointly sponsored the results of a state-wide survey of programs in the field of ethnic studies. The results indicate some of the more creative ways in which ethnic studies can be integrated into the curriculum. For example, a number of elementary schools in Newton, Massachusetts, begin at the second grade level with a study of shelter in Borneo, the Sahara, Southern France and among the Navajo as a reflection of different environments and different cultures. When they get to the fourth grade the students devote a significant portion of the year to the study of Puerto Rican Harlem and French Louisiana as instances of ethnic communities. At the Ipswich Junior High School an eighth grade class has a year social studies course entitled "What is happening to me now." The goal of the course is to try to help the students crystalize their own feelings and thoughts about themselves and a wide variety of subjects. During the second quarter

they devote themselves to the local patterns of prejudice in their own community -- the unit is called, "Why do you Hate me?"

"There are many instances listed in this Massachusetts report which indicate courses in Black History, in history of Immigration or in the study of different minority groups (what we have termed ethnic group history). One of the more unusual approaches is illustrated by a course at the Meadowbrook Junior High School in Newton. The course was entitled "The Uprooted" and included among other books reading from the following: "The Fifth Chinese Daughter", "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn", "Children of Sanchez", "My Name is Aram", "My Antonia", and others.

"The most creative programs seem in many instances to emanate from the idea that ethnic and minority groups share certain experiences which can be illustrated by examples from almost any group.

"The structure in which children learn is as important a factor to the outcome of their studies as the content of their courses. Our recommendations as to the type of programs that the Institute might foster, will center on structure."

Dr. Scult has some preferred examples of programs he thinks are working. He recommends a differential strategy depending on the ethnic make-up of a given school or school system. "When the school contains primarily one ethnic group it is possible to pair schools which have different ethnic populations and hold social studies

classes together. The content of the courses would be minority problems and the ethnic traditions of the children involved. There are a number of examples of this type of program which are very instructive. In 1969-70 a public elementary school in Philadelphia, the Vare School, and a neighboring Catholic school, the Sacred Heart School, arranged to have their fifth grade social studies classes meet together part of the time and separately part of the time. At a year end evaluative meeting, the principal of the Vare School explained that ". . . there had been a great deal of tension between the two schools. School safeties clashed; students shouted profanities at each other, etc., etc." As a result of the pairing program all of this changed, according to the principal."

"The goals of the program were briefly outlined at this same evaluative meeting:

1. "An intelligent appreciation of cultural differences and a realization of the influences of the traditions which formed this country.
2. The realization that different does not mean inferior.
3. An appreciation of the contributions of the various cultures and people which make up the United States of America and in the future.
4. An intelligent attitude, both on the part of the children and parents in dealing with all cases of difference."

A Puerto Rican educator indicated the kind of effect that a pairing program can have: "At the beginning, all the girls from Hallahan sat on one side and all the girls from William Penn sat on the other side. It was very segregated. We never really got along very well until we had a Day of Dialogue, and we found out that we could become close friends and everything."

"The pairing idea is especially appropriate where defacto segregation has led to schools with distinct racial or ethnic characters. There are other kinds of situations where a school is multi-ethnic in character and is in the process of changing.

"Another concept is "the multi-ethnic school" concept. Under such a program (this is intended only for elementary schools) all students would go to morning classes in reading and mathematics on a regular basis. In the afternoon, however, the school would split up into ethnic groups and each group would study its own literature traditions, language and history. Such a program takes into account the divisions already existing in the school and seeks to foster understanding among the groups while at the same time giving recognition to their separate existence. Such a system is truly pluralistic and therefore, most genuinely American.

"Such a school is already in operation in San Francisco and is called "The Multi-Culture Institute." Frances Sussna, the Director,

in her testimony on the Ethnic Heritage Centers Act, indicated that there are some 130 children from age three to age eight involved in the program. In the morning the classes are integrated, in the afternoon the children are placed in one of four groups: Afro-American, Chinese-American, Latin-American and Jewish. There is also a fifth group made up of children from backgrounds not falling under the other four categories. Miss Sussna, the Director, explained that there were combined periods in which each group teaches the others about its own group. She also stated that the staff attempts "to show the relevance of the message of each group to all groups." Children learn that ethnic groups need not be measured in terms of "better or worse, but that every ethnic group is unique, special and important just as every individual is unique, special and important."

"One might think that such a school would increase the sense of divisiveness among the groups and make the children more intensely ethnocentric. The goals which the director has set down and which permeate the school have, however, worked in precisely the other direction. A selection of these goals is given below.

1. The concepts of collective guilt and collective punishment have wrought much harm throughout history and still pose dangers.
2. Every individual should be judged on his individual merits rather than be pre-judged as a member of natural groups.
3. It is important to be able to judge which are situations in which a person's ethnic background is legitimately a fact to be

considered, e.g., hiring waiters for restaurants with French or Japanese decor.

4. Within the history of every group we can find some examples which conform to our present standards of ethics and some which do not.

5. There are many ways to contribute to society, although different communities at different times have rewarded certain roles over others.

6. It is possible to be a valuable member of the general society while being^a/knowledgeable and active member of one's own group.

7. A group's freedom to act for its own benefit, like an individual's freedom, ends at the point where somebody else's begins."

In discussing the high school level, Dr. Scult finds the following:

"Although the structure and curriculum of the high school years differ in many fundamental ways from the elementary grades they share certain features in the matter of ethnic studies. Thus programs in Black literature, Black history and the contemporary experience of Black men in America have been proliferating at a rapid rate all over the country. States and cities through their offices of education have supplied material which purports to deal

with all significant minority groups but actually deals only or mostly with Blacks. Textual material, while more realistic than at the elementary level still is lacking in the fundamental issues which divide us and which make up the major news stories every day.

"There are virtually no materials that deal systematically and in depth with minority problems. Assimilation, acculturation, the political functioning of minorities, discrimination, prejudice, the origin and development of ethnic cultural traditions, the relationship between language and minority group strength and the problem of marginality are all areas which could be profitably and systematically explored at the high school level.

"A series of booklets collectively entitled "Justice in Urban America" was recently published by Houghton Mifflin & Co. Each booklet consisting of approximately 100 pages deals with a different aspect of justice and law in the cities. Their titles are: "Law and the City", "Youth and the Law", "Landlord and Tenant", "Law and the Consumer", "Poverty and Welfare", "Crimes and Justice". Used together they constitute a full years course in just those problems that press so hard on the lives of the lower (ethnic) classes in the cities. The tone is much more even-handed than any civic texts that are now in circulation. The series is jointly sponsored by the Chicago Bar Association and the Board of Education of the City of Chicago.

"Another series which is much more well known than the one on justice was produced under the aegis of the Social Studies Department at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Professor Donald Oliver, the Director of this project, has attempted to introduce the idea of value conflict in to the study of American History. In his book "Teaching Public Issues in the High School" he explains the theory behind his approach to the social studies. He rightly focuses on the importance of teaching students to make intelligent decisions about the important issues of the day. Each booklet in the series focuses on a value conflict, e.g., equality versus individual freedom, which is exemplified by a particular event or series of events in American life. Documents and secondary sources point up the key aspects of the controversy and excellent questions help the student to understand all of the different factors necessary to take a stand on the issue involved. One booklet is germane to our subject and it is entitled "The Immigrants' Experience - Cultural Variety and the Melting Pot."

"To the administrator in the field, the key problem at this point seems to be how to introduce ethnic studies in to the curriculum. Our most interesting finding in this regard is that the same school system may work in many directions at once. In Philadelphia, for example, there were 24 schools offering courses in Black history in 1968; approximately 1350 students were involved. Philadelphia is also in the process of setting up courses in Puerto Rican studies and in Jewish studies. At the same time the Depart-

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ment of Social Studies of the Central Administration is working on setting up a program in what we have called ethnic studies in grades 5 through 12. In 1970-71 there will be approximately 1000 students involved in this new program. Because of this example and others like it, we do not feel it makes sense to recommend that school systems deal with separate ethnic groups on the one hand or with the common problems of all groups on the other. Both can be done at the same time and the particular ethnic makeup of the school system and the pressures on the local administration will be the deciding factors.

"Some school systems have chosen the medium of the voluntary after school club to focus on the problems of minorities rather than the formal classroom. Los Angeles has been the most successful in this type of approach. They have a well organized large network of clubs which are called Human Relations Workshops. The school department in Los Angeles has published materials to aid teachers who set up the workshops and has appointed a professional person called "The Ethnic Recognition Specialist" who aids in securing guest speakers, films, etc., for the local groups. A Human Relations Guide issued by the school department suggests that the workshops might consider for discussion such topics as, "The Contribution of Minority Groups to American Society," "Intercultural, Interfaith and Interracial Dating," and "Minority Group Responsibilities". In 1968 there were some sixty schools in Los Angeles that had these

workshops. Chicago and Detroit also have gone in heavily for this type of program.

"A.T.V. series run by KQED in San Francisco was an outstanding example of what educational T.V. can do in the area of ethnic studies. The program was called "That's A Good Question" and in addition to general considerations of prejudice, a separate session was devoted to each of many ethnic groups. The station published a pamphlet which was to serve as a guide for pre-program preparation and for post-viewing activities."

On the university level, Dr. Scult finds:

"At this point in time, it is impossible to consider ethnic studies in a university setting without first discussing the problems of black studies. In the past few years, more and more colleges that previously only had a token number of black students have been trying to increase their black population. With the new influx that has resulted, has come a host of problems not confronted by institutions of higher learning before. The desire of Blacks for separate housing, separate cultural centers, autonomous departments of black studies and black advisors of all kinds has been a constant pressure on the university. The colleges seem to be caught in the middle with militant young blacks demanding separatism on the one hand, and older more moderate black leaders opposing separatism as racist and destructive, no matter what group demands it."

Dr. Scult agrees with those who advocate the study of the Black experience as a serious enterprise. He says, "More students every day are coming to realize the considerable extent to which our history, political science and sociology have, until recently, neglected the Blacks in America. All courses in this area ought to meet the same standards of rigor and objectivity that the university demands in every other area. If this were the case the legitimate demands of blacks to study the black experience and to employ the intellectual resources of the university in seeking solutions to the problems of the black community would be satisfied.

"In the wake of this spread of black studies, have come demands by other ethnic groups to be included in the curriculum. The question thus arises if the blacks have a legitimate claim on the universities, why not Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, etc.

"Colleges and universities must also be concerned with the objective scholarly value of any proposed study which might be introduced into the curriculum. Students in quest of their own identity must be listened to, but their demands ought to be balanced by a more objective consideration of the virtues of the field in question as an object of scientific study.

"Before we leave the matter of ethnic studies within the regular curriculum, it should be noted that the study of ethnic groups has become especially widespread among our junior colleges. These institutions tend to serve the large masses of students from

the lower urban classes, most of whom are ethnic Americans. Because junior colleges are not geared toward preparing students for graduate school they can more easily concentrate on the immediate perceived needs of the students.

"Another area where we are likely to see expansion in ethnic studies is in Schools of Education. In the past few years the preparation of teachers has improved considerably and many Schools of Education have come to realize that they must acquaint prospective teachers with the urban scene if most of them are to be able to cope with their first assignments.

"In addition to course offerings within the regular curriculum, there have also appeared in recent years institutes which are devoted to scholarly research about one or more ethnic groups. Among the older centers is the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii which is devoted to research in the area of cross-cultural learning. Students from over thirty-three countries have come to the center to study on the graduate level. At the Claremont Colleges in California there is an Institute in Mexican-American studies, one in Black studies and one in urban studies. The director of the Mexican-American center admitted that "The centers will overlap, particularly when the call for multi-racial cooperation could serve the purposes of each center as they tackle those urban problems which have multi-racial aspects or implications." (quoted in "Intercultural Education", January 1970, p. 15). U.C.L.A. is in the

process of establishing a program which will take into account this lack of coordination. It is to be called the Institute for American Cultures and will include centers for the study of Afro-American culture, Mexican-American, Oriental-American and Indian history and culture (Kroepsch, p. 34).

"There are also a number of centers devoted to the study of immigration which clearly are relevant to our interest. Dr. Rudolph Vecoli, who has published much in this field, is Director of the Center for Immigration Studies at the University of Minnesota. There is also a Center for Migration Studies at Brooklyn College under the direction of Professor Clarence Senior."

Dr. Scult offers some organizational advice for the higher education level:

"The programs which we have been discussing will all serve to give many ethnic Americans a greater sense of their own identity and will increase the awareness of their cultural heritage. At the same time, however, such programs may lead minority group students to a greater sense of isolation from other minority groups and from the society at large. The question is whether it is possible to foster a greater sense of one's own group identity and at the same time to encourage groups to study common problems and seek for common political, economic and social goals. In short, can we have real cultural pluralism and at the same time work for the general welfare of all disadvantaged minority groups. This goal is not only possible but can easily be given expression on the

university level in an overall program in ethnic studies which would include all the types of programs mentioned above and more.

"The idea is that if there are a number of departments each of which is devoted to a particular ethnic group or if there are a number of institutes they can be brought together under the general rubric of ethnic studies. This administrative cohesion would encourage both students and teachers to explore common problems which all minorities have. The matter of common minority problems are usually dealt with in one course in the sociology department. It is logical that with the establishment of the study of even one ethnic group, this offering in minority studies would be expanded so that a student could major in ethnic studies with an emphasis on one group or another.

"There are many ways in which courses in minority studies might be expanded. Each college will want to work out its own direction. One example which may be instructive is a course taught at Case Western Reserve by the noted sociologist, R.A. Schermerhorn. It is called "Minority Role Behavior" and deals primarily with the problem of marginality. The two groups which are the main focus of the study are Jews and Negroes.

"Another neglected field is that of white ethnic America. The work of Andrew Greeley, Earl Raab, Gus Tyler, Irving M. Levine and others in the field of the white ethnic American, clearly indicates our ignorance about the very significant role that ethnic

consciousness plays among ethnic Americans whose roots are in Europe. The recent national and regional conferences on white ethnic America and the response of white ethnics to Congressman Pucincki's and Senator Schweiker's Bills indicates a widespread interest in this largely unexplored field which ought to be included in any general program in ethnic studies.

"This approach of bringing all ethnic groups under one umbrella would thus serve to depolarize and reduce the tension among minorities, at least those on our college campuses. It is also possible that the ethnic studies program in a college can encourage its students to seek modes of social change outside the academic framework which reflect the philosophy of the ethnic studies approach. Students might thus be encouraged to look for solutions to social and economic problems that are good for all minorities, not just for one particular group. It is important that each ethnic group on campus understand that coming together in one program does not mean that any group will lose anything it has gained in terms of recognition within the college. The program being suggested here is similar to many on college campuses which are of an inter-disciplinary nature and thus leaves its separate components intact. The value of the ethnic studies more-inclusive approach is that through conferences, lectures and other types of cooperative programs it will encourage those interested in one ethnic group or another to focus on the common problems which all minorities have."

Dr. Scult sees ethnic studies in a far more important context than those who approve for curricular or political reasons. He concludes by stressing that:

"Some critics of the contemporary scene maintain that Americans have too much faith in education as an agent of social change. Though this faith may be misplaced, this author must confess that he feels it very strongly. For there are many ways in which our curriculum area--ethnic studies--seems to be revolutionary in terms of its ultimate goal.

"The underlying assumption of ethnic studies is that America can be a genuinely pluralistic society in terms of language and culture. Our aim is not only to emphasize how any ethnic subculture has contributed to the American way of life but also to have people understand that there are and ought to be many ways of American life and that our school systems ought to be geared towards nurturing and fostering these subcultures wherever they exist.

"Ethnic studies is revolutionary because it seeks to impose on the school the obligation of helping to guard the rights of minorities. The classroom, therefore, is not only the place where the best in our society is transmitted but where the problems of minority groups are studied. The suffering of Blacks, of Mexican-Americans, of Indians and of lower class white ethnics, all ought to be a major component in the social studies curriculum. Minority studies may also lead the minority groups themselves to see that

they have much in common to work for; a sense of shared problems would certainly help to depolarize black and white ethnic Americans and thereby reduce some of the tensions that beset us. Such a critical focus in our schools would turn out more children who were really patriotic. Patriotism in a democracy, where no one group has a monopoly on truth or power, means that everyone is obligated to be critical and to search for better ways of solving social problems with the context of the legal barriers set up for the general welfare."

The Saliency of Ethnicity

While the saliency of ethnicity is hardly in dispute when one is alluding to the problems and identity of blacks, chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians, there is sharp dispute on the question of the ethnic component and identity needs of other American groups.

Class as a determinant still holds sway in most conventional and elevated thought and perhaps this analysis hugs much truth but the relative neglect of the historical and contemporary fact of the very close correlation in American life of both class and ethnicity has led to a lack of preciseness and a lack of appreciation of the relative importance of differential ethnicity.

It still gnaws at the gut of too many intellectuals and practitioners to accept a statement such as made by Marvin K. Opler in discussing the mental health of different ethnic groups.

Dr. Opler states that:

The problem may not be whether Italians or Irish become entangled in personal conflicts, or repress, but rather what and equally important, how they repress, how they convert energies or direct them, and what cognitive attitudes and outlooks motivate them. These regulatory and control functions, no matter how much they become internalized in individual personality, have, as outer limits the cultural backgrounds, themselves uniquely organized into "styles and regulative principles."

And what are the consequences to the facile white-black model of racial confrontation when a fine scholar such as Harold J. Abramson shows in his recent paper in "Ethnic Pluralism in the Central City"¹⁸ that:

"Let us consider a few important ideas, especially those which are particularly germane to life in the central city. Home ownership, for example, is often an important characteristic in describing an urban neighborhood, but we usually lack information on which groups are more likely to own their home, and which are more likely to rent them. We would probably expect that relatively few in the central cities of Connecticut do actually own their homes, or live in houses where they are paying on a mortgage instead of some fixed rental. This is true; only one-third of all central city residents own their homes. But the figures for the different ethnic groups show real diversity. As many as half of all Jews, and Eastern European, Italian, and Polish Catholics, own their homes, but all other groups are considerably more likely to rent theirs. And this diversity remains

even when we look at blue collar and white collar families. White collar job-holders are somewhat more likely to own than to rent, for all in the survey taken as a whole, but this is not always true for each ethnic group taken separately. German Catholics and Jews, for example, are more likely to own a home if they are blue collar, and there is no difference at all between white collar and blue collar Irish, or between Italians of different occupations. Regardless of their occupational status, the Irish are more likely to rent, and the Italians are more likely to own. Interests in home ownership, and the alternative prospects of owning or renting, are variable by ethnicity as well as class.

"The idea of home ownership in the central city is important also for the sense of the neighborhood. Despite all the research into the large metropolitan or middle-size American city, under the traditional name of urban sociology, we know little about comparative ethnic behavior in the central city. We lack information, for example, on the ethnic neighborhood. To be sure, there are studies and reports which look at particular neighborhoods, individually. But until we emphasize comparative life styles, we cannot begin to talk about ethnic pluralism.

"In this connection, it is valuable to have an idea of the ethnic relationships in urban neighborhoods. A question included in this survey which comes close to this idea refers to the number

of close friends in the neighborhood who are relatives or in-laws of the family being interviewed. This question then taps not only the location, i.e., the immediate neighborhood, but also the nature of friendship choice and kinship. For all people in the survey, only 27 per cent replied that most of their close friends are neighbors. But the difference by social class is impressive. Blue collar workers are more than twice as likely to have these stronger ties of kinship than are white collar workers. And this is true for most of the specific groups mentioned as well.

"Ethnic diversity on this question is also impressive. Of all the groups interviewed in Connecticut's central cities, the Italians, the Spanish-speaking, and the Poles, stand out as reflecting this kind of ethnic kinship pattern and neighborhood. The white collar Protestants and German Catholics stand out too, at the other end, as exceptions to this pattern.

"The implications of this are interesting. If one-third to one-half of a particular group in the central city claims that most of its friendship choices in the neighborhood are among relatives and kinfolk, then the idea of the urban neighborhood assumes a strength and a character which, perhaps, many have tended to ignore. The neighborhood can be an extended family, or so it can be defined if the three ideas of local vicinity, friendship choice, and family relations, are more than randomly united. If this pattern varies, and is more important for some ethnic groups

than for others, as it indeed is, it is crucial for urban planning and urban development. The problems of urban renewal seem all the more momentous because they so frequently tend to ignore this very kind of consideration."

Education in Whitetown

Peter Binzen, in his book Whitetown U.S.A. penetrates the educational system of the white ethnic neighborhood and discovers the Kensington district of Philadelphia. He finds that Kensington is "a community in crises. In many ways it looks, thinks, and acts like so many of the Negro ghettos festering in American cities. Its educational, political, social, and economic problems are almost as great as those found in the black slums. It, too, has failed to solve these problems, and failure has made it sullen, surly, and suspicious."

"Kensington is 99.7 percent white. About 100,000 Americans live there, the first-, second-, and third-generation descendants of Irish, Polish, Ukrainian, Italian, Hungarian, German, and even a few Scottish and English immigrants. (Most Whitetowners are "ethnics", but a few are WASPs, and some Whitetowns--such as Cleveland's Near West Side, populated by refugees from Appalachia--are almost solidly Anglo-Saxon.)

"Kensington's air is polluted, its streets and sidewalks are filthy, its juvenile crime rate is rising, its industry is languishing. No more than a handful of new houses have been built there in the last

third of a century. Its schools are among the oldest in the city, industry is moving out." And yet--most telling point of all--"nothing much is being done to get the old mill district back on its feet."

"Proud but neglected, powerless, and nearly voiceless, inhabitants of the Kensingtons of the country simmer in a state of "white rage," as Mr. Binzen terms it. Despite frequently chauvinistic manifestations of patriotism, Whitetowners are profoundly alienated from the mainstream of American life. Threatened, as they see it, at home and at work by the encroachments of blacks supported by white do-gooders and expedient politicians, they are both too proud and too frightened (of being forced to integrate) to ask for help. Besides, "nobody knows how to work (for social change) in the white community," comments a Kensington-born college student who would like to. Most Whitetowners are suspicious of social workers and college kids (especially bearded ones), of politicians, educators, preachers, intellectuals, and the press. Insulated and parochial--many Kensingtonians can barely make their way around downtown Philadelphia, a ten-minute subway ride away--they yet fail to develop any strong local or community organizations of their own, largely, Mr. Binzen believes, because they think that organization means change and change means integration.

"As far as can be told from the scant information available, the children of Whitetown do almost as badly on measurements of

academic aptitude and achievement as do the children of the black slums, sometimes slightly worse. In Philadelphia, some inner-city districts that are 90 percent or more black (North Philadelphia, for example) produce slightly higher test scores than does Kensington's district. Yet Kensington is excluded from such federal programs as Model Cities, and many of its schools fail to qualify for aid under the poverty provision of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA).

"The story is the same from Whitetown after Whitetown. An assistant dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Education says, "The poor whites in Boston are less well served than the poor blacks." In Cleveland, principals and teachers report that Appalachian white youngsters are falling behind black pupils in attendance, effort, and achievement. Because their parents' fierce pride restrains them from accepting welfare, the children's schools often fail to qualify for aid. In a largely Polish Detroit neighborhood, which ranks barely above the poverty level, the school doesn't get a dime of Title I money under ESEA. Its principal says of the people: "They don't expect help and they don't get any."

"The schools of Blacktown and Whitetown share a lot besides low test scores and unspeakably gloomy, overcrowded, smelly, too-cold or too-hot buildings. Teachers' attitudes, for one thing. In Kensington, Mr. Binzen found "white educators . . . writing off

white children" the way so many teachers write off black children: expecting little and, because of this, having their expectations richly (and inevitably) rewarded. Furthermore, he found extreme educational conservatism at a time when liberal reforms were being pushed by the city superintendent and school board. "In Blacktown and Whitetown classrooms alike I found tough, demanding, old-line battle-axes, sticklers for discipline, foes of all behavior that differed from the conventional." 18c

Ethnic Succession

The discussion of ethnicity and American Education would be diminished indeed if the "ethnic succession factor" in the management and administration of schools were avoided.

The recent turbulent and tension-filled strikes in New York City and Newark seemingly pitted blacks against Jews and blacks against Italians.

In a recent paper written by myself and my colleague Judith M. Herman, we discussed the ethnic succession in these terms: 19

"Intimately related to the group self-interest attached to certain occupations is an overlapping ethnic interest in relative power. When many New York schoolteachers are Jews, the Jewish community sees an attack on established teachers' power as an attack on the power of the Jewish community as a whole. Similarly, when the white political domination of Newark was challenged by Blacks, the issue became an Italian issue because of the high overlap

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between "established politicians" and "Italians." Even though "Jewishness" or "Italian-ness" were not specifically attacked except by a few, large segments of both communities felt threatened nonetheless, and not without "legitimate" reason. Where were Jewish teachers or Italian municipal workers to go, and what would be the resulting impact on the ethnic group's status, power, and influence? More important, many informed public officials and other "opinion molders" do not even define the conflicts which arise in terms of group status and power. The result in many cases has been escalating emotions, with the established group attacked as being only "anti" the emerging group and not "pro" their own community's well being.

"There is a scarcity of knowledge or theories dealing with this issue of ethnic succession -- the time when a rising group seeks to capture a field of influence from another group.

"We need to know much more about how the ethnic succession process has occurred in the past:

What were the instances of succession?

Were the rising groups fought by the established ones, was power ever voluntarily ceded, or was nothing actually given up if the established groups felt it was still a source of power?

What happened to the groups who were succeeded--did they carry their power with them into new areas, did they themselves attack still other established groups, did they actually decline in power?

Has the status hierarchy of groups been maintained even though each group's actual achievements increased?

Is there a line of movement which groups have historically followed?

"More important, how were the conflicts which grew out of succession resolved in other historical periods? Were there new institutional responses which prevented polarization from hardening into decisive combat? Can anything be learned which would make it easier for established groups to give up power in one area while not totally losing their influence? Can we find the "cushions" needed and deserved by individuals who are remnants of their group's power?

"For example, in New York's school system, how can we meet the "legitimate" needs of both Blacks and Jews -- Blacks to advance and Jews to not decline? Are there new channels which should be created so that a teacher with twenty years of experience can make that experience useful, even if it is no longer totally relevant in a classroom with a new pupil population? Failing that, can we develop programs to apply to individuals who are "socially displaced" as we have begun to do for those who are technologically displaced? If such benefits were available, would the ethnic group perceive an attack on its occupational area to be as threatening as they do when it seems that the only alternative is to defend themselves or to be cast aside altogether?"

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Conclusion

Perhaps in conclusion the single most important goal a complicated, dynamic and diverse society like ours must learn to achieve and educate its young to strive for is the fostering of a "new pluralism."

The structure of American education, its content, the recognition it gives to difference among children and personnel and its historical perspective on the reality of American ethnicity and group life will perhaps do in the future what it has failed miserably to do in the past. That is to help mold children into "pluralistic personalities" with both an appreciation of their own self worth and heritage and a curiosity, excitement and affection for their neighbors' similarities and differences.

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CHAPTER IV

PLURALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

**Section D: The Social-Psychological Effects of Different
Types of Schools.**

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THE SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF SCHOOLS

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INTRODUCTION

The fact that many different types of secondary schools have existed in the past and currently exist within American education raises the question whether different types of secondary schools have appreciably different effects on their students. This paper attempts to deal with that question, focusing on specific differences between schools and on certain values, attitudes, and aspirations which different schools might be expected to effect.

I have chosen to compare public and non-public secondary schools as well as informal and traditional schools.* The former categories are self-explanatory. The latter, however, are not so clear, but should be heuristically useful. By informal schools I mean schools which have deviated in some way from the traditional curriculum or underlying structure. "Traditional" then becomes a baseline concept which denotes schools that, according to common sense knowledge, conform to the general norm of schools as places with buildings, classrooms, grades, textbooks, tracks, and so forth.** In any comparisons of different types of schools made subsequently in this paper I will clearly denote the distinguishing factor which is being held accountable for some impact on values.

The values and attitudes which I will focus on are those which pertain most

*There are obviously other ways in which school differences could be delineated. I have chosen to make these particular comparisons because of their specific relevance to the Commission's inquiry.

**Public schools can be either traditional or informal and the same for non-public schools, but such interactions are not applied in this report.

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directly to social and economic mobility and educational advancement. These include achievement motives (usually called need-achievement), aspirations for higher education, and certain school-related attitudes such as diligence, subordinacy, and independence which have been shown to be highly valued by both teachers and employers who are evaluating student and employee performance. I have chosen to focus on these values and attitudes, from among many others which could have been chosen, because it seems to me that the most important role schools play in an open society is to affect a person's life chances and these values and attitudes are directly relevant to adult achievement.*

The conclusions which I reach in this paper are that values affect life chances, that schools in turn have an impact on values, but that the schools' impact is significantly moderated by the prior impact of early family learning. I also conclude that little evidence exists as to the degree to which schools can alter a set of values which someone has acquired prior to beginning school.

BACKGROUND

To inquire about the impact of different types of schools on students' values and life chances is to assume that in fact values do make a difference in life chances. Rather than leave that assumption unexamined I want to look at the relevant evidence.

*For example I could have looked at the differential impact of schooling on political attitudes and values. There is, in fact, a large body of research on "political socialization" which tells of the effects of schooling on political attitudes. However, most of the specific attitudes and values discussed in that research--for example, political affiliation, attitudes about government, civic tolerance, and so forth--are usually not particularly germane to whether or how well a student will succeed in life. Thus I have not included the evidence in this paper. (The same applies to all the hundreds of other studies on student attitudes toward everything from drugs to the space program.) However, two non-cognitive factors relevant to life chances which might profitably have been discussed in this paper but weren't because of my inadequate knowledge about them are self-esteem and sense of control over the environment.

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Recent research by members of the Center for Educational Policy research in Cambridge, Massachusetts, has revealed that about 45 to 60 per cent of the differences in occupation attainment among adults are explained by how far a student goes in school.¹ In other words the higher the grade level attained, the better one's chances of getting a high paying job.

This fact, however, does not explain what it is about grade level achievement which affects occupational attainment, so members of the Center worked on partialling out the various factors which might make a difference. What they found is that I.Q. and other cognitive skills make some difference, as does parental status, but that even with both those factors taken into account, half of the 45 to 60 per cent effect of educational attainment is still unexplained. The conclusion of the Center's staff is that noncognitive value and attitude factors must also play a role in grade level achieved. By extrapolation, then, this means that values and attitudes affect life chances.*

Further support for this proposition is provided by studies which show that noncognitive value factors are better predictors of grades than are aptitude and achievement tests. Since grades clearly affect educational attainment, which in turn affects life chances, then again, by extrapolation, values must affect occupational success.²

*A brief caveat should be entered at this point: although I have demonstrated that values affect school attainment and occupational achievement and thus have justified an examination of the impact of schooling on values, I do not thereby mean to imply that noncognitive factors operate psychologically in some specially distinct way from cognitive factors. Clearly interactions of significant sorts occur and the cognitive/noncognitive dichotomy drawn in this report is strictly an analytic distinction.

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Thus our original assumption is no longer an assumption. However, even though we know that noncognitive factors make a difference in educational attainment and thereby in life chances we still do not know whether schools have an impact on students' values or whether all schools do is to select for high educational attainment. Those students who originally entered with the "right" values and attitudes for educational and occupational success. Thus I turn now to examining the evidence about school selection versus school impact. At the same time I will interpret the relevant evidence concerning whether different types of schools (public-private; informal-traditional) either select different types of students or have varying forms of impact on all students.

SELECTION VERSUS IMPACT: PRE-SCHOOL FACTORS

As implied in the previous paragraph, there is a considerable body of evidence which indicates that before children ever get to school, they have learned important attitudes, values, and aspirations. More specifically, the evidence indicates that in this country a variety of class and ethnic subcultures exist, that each subcultural group has evolved its own unique way of adapting to its position within American society, and that one of those ways of adapting involves learning a particular set of values and attitudes. Sometimes these attitudes and values are useful for furthering school success, sometimes not. If the result is the latter, then clearly that will affect a child's ultimate life chances.

Support for this interpretation comes from a number of studies. Rosen, for example, correlates class and ethnicity with two achievement-related outcomes-- need-achievement (an internalized, unconscious motive) and educational and vocational aspirations--and finds that the constellation of specific relationships

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between class, ethnicity, and achievement values varies with each subculture.³ Thus, the lower class blacks whom Rosen studied show consistently high occupational aspirations, whereas Greeks and Italians manifest low aspirations. In short, each subculture is different.

However, Rosen fails to explain the origins of these differences (beyond saying that they relate to family socialization practices), whereas Gans, in a study of working class Italians, shows exactly how the dynamics of a subculture operate. With regard to achievement values Gans found that the parents in his sample place little emphasis on upward mobility and therefore gave their children little encouragement to do well in school.⁴ The reason for this, says Gans, is twofold: first, a background of traditional Italian peasant acceptance of an impoverished social position; and second, a relatively realistic appraisal of their current social position, a position that makes upward mobility very difficult for all sorts of cultural and economic reasons. Thus people in the Italian working class neighborhood which Gans investigated were oriented mainly towards achievement within their own culture--excelling, for example, as tellers of stories in the highly valued family and friendship groups. In short, these people had evolved their own particular subcultural adaptive strategies and even if they did not succeed in middle class terms they had their own standards of success.

Research on other American subcultures supports Gans' interpretation of the adaptive value of subcultural socialization practices. For example, Liebow⁵, Katz⁶, and Rainwater⁷, among others⁸, find that lower class black people, while very much desiring middle class types of success, fail in their aspirations

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exactly because of their subcultural position. Because they are at the low end of the American class hierarchy and due therefore to economic and cultural discrimination, black family life becomes a struggle for daily survival rather than being oriented toward future upward mobility. Children are trained in very concrete modes of reasoning useful for survival in "street life"; they learn few of the cognitive skills needed for achieving in middle class oriented schools; the immediate problems of economic existence make deferred gratification difficult if not impossible. Thus even though they do in fact have high occupational aspirations,⁹ lower class blacks come to school lacking, in general, the psychological means for success. In short, their failure is made likely by their original class and cultural position in American society. Their subcultural adaptive strategy is an adaptation only in the sense of guaranteeing daily survival, not in providing the means for upward mobility.

In sum, each study of a particular subculture finds a unique constellation of achievement-oriented values in that subculture. Some subcultures manifest high need-achievement, others low, some aspirations toward upward occupational mobility, others do not. Every class and ethnic subculture is different.

There are some people, however, who impute low aspirations and low need-achievement to all lower class subcultures (and vice-versa for upper classes). Douvan, for example, claims, on the basis of her research, that middle class children develop "(significantly) more autonomous and generalized success strivings" than working class children.¹⁰ Bronfenbrenner reviews ten survey-type studies of class differences in child rearing and concludes that "middle class mothers exacted significantly higher (aspirations for the child's academic

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progress) than lower class mothers."¹¹ And a popular stereotype is that lower class children "just don't want to succeed" which presumably accounts for their generally lower level of occupational success that is found among children of the middle and upper classes. These generalizations, however, and the studies upon which they are based are filled with serious flaws. For example, they fail to adequately distinguish the working class from the lower middle class or lower class when it is well established that many special subcultural traits are associated with each of these classes.¹² Also they use test measures, such as the McClelland need-achievement test, which are flawed by serious cultural biases. In short I am confident that most of, as well as the best of the evidence supports the interpretation that different class and ethnic-related subcultures develop their own values and attitudes and that these values are a form of subcultural adaptation to social position.

It follows for my interpretation of socialization within subcultures that children come to school with needs, attitudes, and values which either predispose them to success in middle class oriented schools or which make success much less likely. Nevertheless it remains to be determined whether, in spite of, or in addition to a child's prior socialization, schools have some impact on values and attitudes, or whether schools only select for success those children who come with the "right" attitudes for success. The remainder of this paper evaluates the evidence concerning the impact on mobility and achievement-related values of public and non-public, and informal and traditional. For purposes of analysis the structure of these different types of schools is broken down into three parts: "hidden" curriculum (such things as grading policy, tracking,

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teacher power, etc.); school climates (the expectations prevalent in a school environment as determined by students', teachers', and administrators' values and behavior); and formal classroom curricula (civic courses, etc.).

SELECTION VERSUS IMPACT: THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

The following line of reasoning supports the idea that schools might have some impact on the children who pass through their doors: schools have a different social structure than families; therefore children learn different norms, values, and attitudes than they learn in families; in short, schools must have an impact. Similarly, if schools in general can have some impact, then it follows that different types of schools (public, private, traditional, informal) probably have different types of impact.

Dreeban develops the first but not the second part of this analysis in his book, On What Is Learned in School.¹³ According to Dreeban, school learning is not in conflict with family learning; rather it is different and therefore in addition to family learning:

Continuing membership in the family promotes learning patterns of conduct appropriate to units of kinship and similar settings (while) schooling. . . contributes to learning patterns of conduct appropriate to that and related settings.¹⁴

The differences between school and family structures are mainly that families provide lasting and close, affective, individualized interaction between parents and children whereas schooling involves more ephermal, less affectively oriented contact between teachers and students within non-individualized settings. Thus, in schools, children are exposed to many different people who fill the same role (i.e., teachers) to classrooms and tracks where all students are treated

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categorically alike, and to a universalistic system of age grading. As a result of these structural conditions students learn certain norms and values which are functional for future occupational life. The specific norms and values learned in school include: first, a subordination of personal attachments or relationships of emotional solidarity--typical of family life and friendship--to the "demands of production" which are the demands of acting with independence (accepting personal responsibility for one's behavior, being self-reliant) and valuing achievement (performing a task as best one can, attempting an active mastery of a task); second, learning to apply universalistic norms to people and behavior--for example, accepting a universalistic definition of an authority role (teacher, boss) and of a subordinacy role (student, clerk); or, applying universalistic standards to performance (grades, licenses) as opposed to applying particularistic standards (mother-child favoritism, nepotism in job appointments). In short, schools teach students norms they do not learn in the home--namely, independence, achievement, and universalism--and these norms are particularly appropriate for adequate performance in adult occupational settings.¹⁵

Support for Dreeban's theory comes in the form of a very perceptive analysis in Life In Classrooms by Phillip Jackson of the University of Chicago.¹⁶ Portraying the crowds, constant evaluation, and superior power of teachers over students as a "hidden curriculum", Jackson agrees with Dreeban that students learn from the structural setting of schools and that this learning is of use in adult occupational life. Jackson notes, for example, that the ability of students to learn obedience to school expectations at the same time as they exercise "intellectual aggressiveness" (i.e., independence) is particularly useful for

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occupational success within hierarchically ordered bureaucratic organizations which demand both obedience to superiors and self-reliance in carrying out assigned tasks. Although some people would take exception to Dreeban's and Jackson's thesis that independence as well as obedience is learned in school--many recent studies present persuasive evidence that schools mainly train children to be obedient and docile at the expense of independence¹⁷--the important general point for my purposes is only to present for discussion the Jackson-Dreeban thesis and supporting evidence that school structure has an impact on values.

This thesis obviously has general validity; but its weakness, is its failure to account for the attenuating effects on school impact which values and attitudes learned prior to school must have. That, after all, is the significant implication of the evidence about class and ethnic subcultures presented in the previous section of this report. Clearly, then, what is needed at this point in this report is a consideration of evidence which directly pertains to the issue of impact of school structure on achievement-related values, attitudes, and needs learned in families.

Much evidence relevant in this regard comes from looking at attempts by schools to overcome, through special programs, the so-called "cultural deprivation" of lower class black and minority group children. These programs (such as Headstart) typically involve exposing children to pre-school cultural enrichment classes, special guidance counseling, and to teachers trained to have high expectations for student success--all of which are designed to overcome the "low" achievement-needs and values, as well as the inadequate cognitive abilities, of most lower

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class blacks. The United States Civil Rights Commission has published a large report evaluating these programs. The Commission's findings are that, with few exceptions, these compensatory education programs have achieved no significant improvement in children's attitudes toward school or occupational achievement, nor in achievement-need. Similarly the programs fail with regard to cognitive abilities such as reading achievement. The exceptional programs are usually small, very expensive (and therefore politically unfeasible on a national scale), and most improvements in achievement-related factors dissipate soon after children enter regular school programs.*¹⁸ In sum, these special school programs have little appreciable impact on achievement needs and values.

There are two basic reasons for the failure of these programs: first, cognitive disabilities often interfere with attempts to improve noncognitive value orientations. For example, Katz has pointed out that although lower class blacks often have high expressed aspirations, at the same time they lack the verbal-symbolic skills to actualize these aspirations.²⁰ As a result their school achievement remains incommensurate with their aspirations. Second, and perhaps of more fundamental importance, compensatory programs fail because they try to change cognitive skills and noncognitive values which have a structural origin in

*I should note however that a recent study by Rosenthal and Jacobsen on the effects of raising teacher expectations, though of small scale and as yet not well enough replicated for final judgment to be made, has shown some significant success in raising student achievement.¹⁹ Similarly, Silberman optimistically describes a number of experimental schools which work "successfully" with lower class and working class low achievers. However, both Silberman and Rosenthal and Jacobsen apply cognitive criteria to the evaluation of success; they present little evidence with regard to achievement attitudes and values. Nevertheless, their studies present an optimistic picture of the possibilities for schools to make a difference in both cognitive and noncognitive abilities.

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the cumulative impact of generations of class and cultural inequality. Because special school programs attack the symptom of class inequality rather than the original inequality itself, they are doomed to relative impotence.

The Civil Rights Commission's findings take on an even more pessimistic meaning when juxtaposed with evidence about class-related school selection processes. Specifically, this evidence indicates that even if lower and working class children have high aspirations, because of other skill deficiencies, if not just because of class discrimination, they usually end up in the lower tracks at the beginning of their high school career and that fact dooms them not to go to college. In other words, certain structural aspects of schooling such as tracks act to enhance rather than ameliorate the unhappy situation of a student who enters school without the abilities and attitudes that guarantee success.

Heyns documents this last proposition in her study of students in forty-eight cities across the country who were tracked in their first year of high school. Taking only those students of the same social class and the same aspirations who entered low or high tracks in tenth grade (due to different grades) it was found that the former group end up lowering their aspirations below tenth grade levels by the 12th grade while the latter group raise theirs.*²¹ In other words, if a child enters school, as do most lower and working class children, with inadequate cognitive abilities, no matter what their aspirations it is unlikely that school will be able to do much to overcome their deficiencies; in fact schooling may further decrease a student's relative life chances through

*The reason for this seems to be that the peer culture of lower tracks is strongly anti-achievement oriented and thereby exerts pressure on its members not to get ahead. More will be said about this in the next section of this report.

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tracking structures which slowly erode the high aspirations with which he started school. For middle and upper-middle class children the opposite process occurs. They enter school with relatively high achievement orientations and abilities and, if anything, structures such as tracks enhance their relative opportunities.

It should be pointed out that these are obviously judgments being made about groups, not individuals, and that many lower class and working class children do not conform to the general pattern and do achieve more highly than their own class peers or even than their upper class neighbors. This fact causes me to moderate the most extreme conclusions which would logically follow if only the evidence about the failure of compensatory education programs and the usually negative consequences of tracking were considered. The evidence that some lower and working class (including black) children do well in school indicates that some schools can have an impact (although even this proposition has flaws, for it is possible that the lower class students who do well were brought up in "deviant" families that encouraged and provided skills for school achievement). Thus I come back at least in part to Dreeban's analysis; for it would seem plausible that if some lower and working class students do as well as do most middle and upper class children it may be because the structure of schooling to which they are exposed encourages achievement and independence.

In the final analysis, the evidence with regard to the impact of schooling remains inadequate for coming to any ineluctable conclusions. However, I do think that enough evidence has been brought together to confidently support the interpretation that, on the one hand, schools are to a large extent limited in the impact they can have by the fact that many children come to school not having learned values and skills conducive to high achievement, although on the other hand, because

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of structural factors inherent in schooling which are conducive to achievement, they do make some impact on some students.

However, this interpretation leaves unresolved the question of whether-- within the limits defined above--public and non-public or traditional and informal schools have different forms of impact on values. Three studies are particularly relevant to that question.

First, there is a study by Greeley and Rossi comparing public schools and Catholic non-public schools. Greeley and Rossi show that Catholic children attending Catholic schools go further in school and attain higher occupational positions than Catholics going to public schools.²² This is a clear instance of differential impact of non-public as opposed to public schooling on student achievement. The reason for the special impact of Catholic schools on Catholic children, say Greeley and Rossi, is that attending school with peers of similar cultural values provides a special emotional support which in turn makes it easier for students to do well in school.²³ However, it turns out on closer examination of the data that this effect of Catholic schooling is primarily a "value added" and class related phenomenon: that is to say, for children of the middle and upper middle classes, Catholic schooling has much more of a positive impact on future educational and occupational achievement than it does for lower class and working class Catholics. The reason:* because early family socialization among lower class Catholics probably is non-achievement oriented and thereby attenuates the potential effectiveness of schooling while,

*The reason is mine, not Greeley and Rossi's. They ignore class differences in achievement in their analysis of the data relevant to this issue.

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for upper status Catholics, early socialization teaches abilities and values which are probably adaptive for school success. In short, schools have an impact--in this case non-public schools in particular--but as usual their impact is affected by class subcultures which socialize children prior to school entrance

A second source of information on the differential impact of schooling--this time concerning the informal-traditional dimension--comes from studies of those British and American schools that have adopted "informal" structures of schooling.²⁴ These informal schools, unlike traditional American and British schools, substitute techniques such as non-graded classrooms, elimination of tracking, combining work and play, child-centered curricula, and cooperation among children and between children and teacher for the usual structures of competition, non-individualized evaluation, age grading, tracking, and sharp teacher student status differentials. The object of these changes--following the logic of Dreeban's theory--is that school structures have an impact on learning and therefore a change in structure will produce a change in impact.

Evidence concerning the effects of structural changes on values and attitudes comes from three sources: first, from studies of the new British informal schools; second, from the Eight Year Study of American Progressive Schools of the 1930's and 1940's; and third, from studies of American schools which now follow the British informal model.

Silberman has evaluated schools which fall into this third group. Looking at the effects of these schools on the achievement orientations of lower class children, Silberman finds that children in these schools are making important advances toward seeing themselves as people of worth, capable of dealing with their

environment."²⁵ Presumably, if Silberman's evaluation is accurate, these children are insured more chance of future success by being in informal schools than would be the case if they were attending traditional schools. However, Silberman's evaluation may not be all that accurate, for we have already noted the failures of compensatory education programs and these informal schools which he describes are not all that much different from compensatory schools. Furthermore, Silberman draws his optimistic conclusions on the basis of both very small samples and very impressionistic evidence. He admits himself that no final conclusions should be drawn from his impressions until more rigorous evaluations are made. I must agree.

Regrettably, a rather rigorous evaluation of early American experiments in informal schools, does not make me much more sanguine about their positive effects on achievement values than I was after reading Silberman. In the late 1930's and early 1940's a team of psychological specialists evaluated many of the Progressive Schools of that era. Comparing college students who had graduated from the Progressive Schools with a matched group who had attended traditional schools, the evaluation team found that graduates of the Progressive Schools "seemed to possess a higher degree of intellectual curiosity and drive" and "more often demonstrated a high degree of resourcefulness in meeting new situations" than their traditional school counterparts. The implication: that Progressive School students are more destined for success, at least in those occupations which demand independence and initiative, than students who attended traditional schools. However, while this may be true, almost all of the "subjects" on whom this evaluation is based, came from middle or upper middle class backgrounds

In other words, the Eight Year Study does not provide adequate information concerning whether Progressive Schools had special impact on students who came to school without positive achievement orientations or whether those schools merely made success more likely for middle class students who entered already destined for success. Knowing that Progressive Schools drew on predominantly an upper middle class clientele, my guess is that their impact was much like the class related and attenuated "value-added" effect of Greeley and Rossi's Catholic schools.

So again we must look for more definitive evidence about school impact. Unhappily, the most rigorous and up-to-date evaluation of informal versus traditional schools is not very sanguine about their special impact. In fact, what Brian Jackson repeatedly documents for us is that "poor and working class children in British infant schools do no better than their ancestors now in English secondary schools: they infrequently attend the university, and the rigidity of the English class structure remains virtually unaffected, in school and out."²⁷ In short, in exactly the areas which it is most important for schools to have impact in an open society--namely, on social mobility--British informal schools fail.

There are two possible explanations for this failure of British informal schools to have an impact on achievement and mobility-related phenomena: first, there is the explanation which I gave earlier in this report in discussing the relative lack of success that most traditional schools have in raising achievement-related needs, values, and aspirations: informal schools are severely inhibited in their potential for impact by the fact that children come to schools having

already learned their most fundamental achievement orientations in the family in early childhood. Second, there is a possible explanation provided by Dreeban. Dreeban has expressed the opinion²⁸ that a cause for their lack of success may be that informal classrooms are not so radically different from traditional classrooms as they appear at first sight. Dreeban believes, for example, that subtle forms of invidious evaluation occur in informal classrooms just as in traditional classrooms, that teacher-student status differentials are still present and produce strong pressures for obedience, and that even if these things were not true, informal schooling usually only last up until sixth grade so students end up in the traditional tracked schools for most of their educational careers anyway.

In sum, informal schools fail either because they really are not so structurally different as they ostensibly appear, or, even if they are different, their structural impact cannot overcome early family socialization.*

SELECTION VERSUS IMPACT: SCHOOL CLIMATES

In the previous section I looked at the effects of structural factors, such as tracking and age-grading, on value factors, such as aspirations and achievement

*A somewhat different thesis concerning informal schools is that they are a class phenomenon: that they originally grew up both in the Progressive Era and more recently to serve a middle or upper middle class clientele, not to have special compensatory impact on the "low" achievement orientations of the poorer classes. According to this interpretation by Cohen and Lazerson,²⁹ the growth of middle and upper middle class-related leisure life styles has produced demands by those classes for more informality in schools. Evidence in support of this thesis is provided by demographic studies currently in progress which show that "free schools" and other informal-type schools draw predominantly on a middle class clientele.³⁰ Nevertheless whether informal schools are or are not predominantly middle class does not in any way modify the evidence I have presented in this section of this report which shows that experimental informal schools which do include lower and working class as well as middle class students has little impact on that former group.

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values. In this section I will examine the effects of one value factor--school climate--on another value factor--student attitudes and aspirations. School climate is usually defined as the normative milieu of student and/or teacher values, attitudes, and aspiration.

Most studies of school climates describe their impact on cognitive achievement (as measured in terms of grades or achievement tests).³¹ Regrettably, few studies have been done which examine the impact of school on student values, either the impact of schools in general or more specifically the impact of public and non-public and informal and traditional schools. There are three directly relevant studies, however, and a few other studies from which speculative conclusions can be drawn.

First, Coleman has studied school climates and their effects in ten mid-western high schools.³² Based on responses by students to various attitude questionnaires schools were characterized as either scholastically or non-scholastically oriented (the latter characterization meant that students assigned greater importance to sports than to getting good grades as a means to attaining high status with one's peers). On the basis of these responses one preliminary finding by Coleman is that student opinion in the last year of high school is significantly more homogenous than in the first year; so schooling definitely has some impact on students as they move through their four years of high school. However, in his subsequent evaluation of the effects of these school climates on achievement values in particular, Coleman finds that aspirations for college attendance are not related to type of school climate:

College-going apparently depends more upon the aspirations a student's family has for him to attend college (than upon school climate).³³

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In short school climates have an impact in the sense that they perpetuate themselves, but according to Coleman's data at least, their impact on aspirations is not significant.

In contrast to Coleman, a study done by Alan Wilson in California found significant effects of school climate on student aspirations for a college education. Wilson compared the effects of eight schools of varying social climate on the educational aspirations of children of working class and professional parents. School climate was measured in terms of "modal educational and occupational aspirations of their student bodies." It was assumed that the children of working class parents came to these schools with low aspirations (an assumption supported indirectly through comparison of working class students' values in the eight schools) while children of professionals have high aspirations. Wilson found that:

while ninety-three percent of the sons of professionals at the highest status schools wanted to go to college, fewer than two-thirds of the sons of professionals at the predominantly working class schools wished to do so; and whereas only a third of the sons of manual workers at the latter schools wished to go to college, more than a half of their peers who³⁴ attended predominantly middle class schools so wished.

In other words, school climates raised levels of educational aspirations for those students who started with low aspirations and lowered the aspirations of those who originally intended to go to college.

Why the conflict between Coleman's and Wilson's findings? Is it an irreconcilable conflict? My opinion is that the conflict is not that important, except for what it reveals about the difficulty of comparing certain types of

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research. Coleman's study measures the scholastic climates of schools quite indirectly. For Coleman a school is scholastically oriented if the students rank "getting good grades" higher than "being a good athlete" as a criterion for being a student leader or for "being looked up to". I do not believe that the peer status criterion is a particularly useful way to evaluate the educational aspirations of a student body. It measures quite indirectly what could more effectively be measured by a direct question about scholastic achievement values. Furthermore, as Coleman himself admits, his measure of scholastic orientation is not the same thing as a measure of aspirations for higher education;³⁵ for in one school where he did make this distinction, Coleman found that at the same time as they were not "scholastically" oriented, the students in a school characterized by high college aspirations did "aspire toward a college education." Thus, in effect, Coleman's peer status criterion for school climates is different from Wilson's student body social composition criterion. Admittedly even Wilson's study makes assumptions about what are class-related values, and his study of change is weak for being cross-sectional, not longitudinal, but overall his findings appear more persuasive than Coleman's: first, because Coleman, in that one school just described, shows that a college oriented climate encourages similar student orientation; and second, because evidence from studies of school climate effects on cognitive achievement indirectly support Wilson's conclusion regarding noncognitive achievement values.³⁶ In short, until further evidence is forthcoming, I would at least be willing to argue from Wilson that scholastically oriented school climates can have a positive

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effect on student aspirations for higher education.*

The most persuasive evidence about the impact of school climates comes from studies of the effects of tracking on student values. Earlier in this report I described the overall impact as that of increasing the cognitive and noncognitive inequalities that already exist between children of upper and lower social classes at the time of school entrance. Students of lower social class backgrounds are most frequently assigned to non-college-bound tracks (because they typically have poorer cognitive skills and lower need-achievement). Or, even if that class differentiation does not occur, if students of the same social class, same I.Q., grade performance, and aspirations are assigned to upper and lower tracks, after three or four years of high school those students in upper tracks end up with higher aspirations (and achievement) than students in lower tracks.³⁷ The reason for the increased inequality is traceable to the effects of what could be called track "climate" and teacher expectations.

David Hargreaves has carried out a detailed study of the peer and teacher influences on students in non-college-bound tracks. According to Hargreaves, students in the lower tracks evolve a set of norms and informal pressures which "work directly against the assumption. . . that boys will regard promotion (to a higher track) as a desirable goal."³⁸ Furthermore teachers both cause and exacerbate this situation because they hold relatively low expectations for the academic success of the occupants of the lower tracks. Teacher and peer culture

*Neither Wilson nor Coleman provide an adequate sample of data from which to draw any conclusions about the impact of public versus non-public or informal versus traditional schools.

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effects thus work in efficient combination with the result that:

non-college bound students. . .develop progressively more negative attitudes toward school, especially formal academic work, because they see grades--and indeed school itself--as having little future relevance or payoff.³⁹

Just the reverse of this whole process works for students in upper tracks, so that their relative advantage always increases.

In short, what I would call the climate of tracks clearly has impact on student values and aspirations, although that impact is not what would be most desirable according to the ideals of equal opportunity. In effect track climates mainly function to exacerbate situations of noncognitive inequality which result from class inequalities.

Thus we are left in this section with evidence about school climates and track climates which support the conclusion that if students are exposed to peer pressures for or against scholastic achievement they will generally conform to that pressure. That pressure may occur within the context of tracks or within the broader school context. It is also possible, as Wilson's evidence implies, that an entire school, because it is composed of students of predominantly lower or upper class backgrounds, will function as a track in and of itself. Thus there is tracking within and among schools. The only thing we do not know is what happens if a dominant school climate conflicts with the peer culture of a track within that school.

One final speculative note: it would seem to follow from my interpretation of the evidence that the elimination of tracking--as is currently being tried in some informal high schools--would be a good thing. However, no data are as

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yet available on the effects of non-tracked schools on values and aspirations and, given the far stronger impact of early class-related non-achievement-oriented socialization practices, I would be dubious of the ameliorative effects of this one change. Again, as I argued in the earlier discussion of compensatory education programs, what is needed is not attempts to change the schools in hopes that this will change people's values, but rather an attack on the original cause of cognitive and noncognitive inequalities--namely, social and economic or class inequality.

SELECTION VERSUS IMPACT: FORMAL SCHOOL CURRICULUM

Finally, a brief note on the impact of formal school curricula. I could find no studies which deal either directly or indirectly with the differential impact of public versus non-public schooling on values which affect life chances. Similarly applying the informal traditional categories produces little relevant information. Silberman discusses the many experiments in curriculum being tried at informal high school across the country.³⁹ These include conducting classes in business offices, law courts, hospitals, and the like, on subjects relevant to those places of work. However, no evidence is presented concerning achievement-related value and attitude outcomes of such courses per se or as compared to traditional in-class curricula. One might speculate that interest and motivation to achieve might be higher in the experimental classes because they have "relevance" but that is strictly speculation. In short there is no evidence relevant to the topics selected for discussion in this section.

CONCLUSION

Most of the evidence presented in this report has been used to support the following three propositions: first, I have argued that children learn basic achievement-oriented attitudes and values before they ever get to school; schools, both public and private, then function to a great extent to track students for various positions in the school and occupational achievement hierarchy according to the students' level of aspirations and ability and according to type of values and attitudes held. Second, I argued that schools sometimes help and sometimes hinder the educational and occupational aspirations of students. Achievement-oriented school climates, for example, often raise a student's aspirations for college attendance. Tracking, on the other hand, usually has negative effects especially on lower class students (even lower class students with high aspirations). Third, I offered the proposition that changes in school structures are unlikely to have powerful effects on student achievement as long as class inequalities persist. It is exactly class inequality, I argue, which causes the perpetuation of subcultures within which families often socialize their children not to strive for upward mobility and high educational achievement.

Finally and most important from the Commission's point of view is that in the course of this report it was demonstrated that the few differences between public and non-public or traditional and informal schools do not make much difference in achievement-related outcomes.

In spite of the evidence offered in this report and in contrast to the inter-

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pretation I put forward, some people still look to schools as a panacea for inequality of opportunity. For example, Silberman wants to turn slum schools into "free and joyous" institutions. That sounds very nice, but as long as schools recruit children from ghettos who do not have the psychological means for school success, then Silberman's program remains flawed by all the weaknesses of compensatory educational programs designed to combat "cultural deprivation". I have emphasized throughout this report that structural changes in schooling are usually ineffective in overcoming non-achievement oriented early family socialization. Also I stressed that children with non-middle-class orientations are not "culturally deprived;" rather, they have their own unique cultural orientations developed in response to their position in American society. That they hold values and attitudes which often are not adapted to upward mobility in and out of school is not their fault, but rather the fault of a society founded on large inequalities between classes (which in turn more often than not perpetuate those class inequalities through the structure of schooling). So looking to schools alone for ameliorative effects as Silberman and others do, seems to me less sensible than at least attacking at the same time the original socio-economic causes of inequality. Schools and society must change together.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Personal communication with members of the Center, which is located at 24 Garden Street, Cambridge, Mass., 02138.
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5. E. Liebow, Tally's Corner (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967).
6. I. Katz, "Academic Motivation and Equal Educational Opportunity," Harvard Educational Review, 38, no. 1, 1968, 57-75.
7. F.L. Rainwater, "Crucible of Identity," in Daedalus, 95, no. 1, part 2, 1966.
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9. See Katz, Rainwater, Rosen, op. cit.
10. E. Douvan, "Social Status and Success Strivings," in Proshansky and Seidenberg, Basic Studies in Social Psychology, (N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1966), 58-64.
11. U. Bronfenbrenner, "Socialization and Social Class Through Time and Space," in Ibid., 359.
12. Kahl, op. cit.
13. R. Dreeban, On What is Learned In School (Reading, Mass.: Addison, Wesley, Co., 1968).
14. Ibid., p. 21.
15. Ibid., 63-84.
16. P. Jackson, Life In Classrooms, (N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1968).
17. The most recent and comprehensive analyses of "Schooling for Docility" is given by C. Silberman, in his book, Crisis in the Classroom, (N.Y.: Random, 1970), and by H. Gintis, op. cit., 17-18.
18. United States Civil Rights Commission, Racial Isolation in the Schools, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967).

19. R. Rosenthal and L. Jacobsen, Pygmalion in the Classroom.
20. I. Katz, op. cit.
21. B. Heyns, "Curriculum Assignment and Stratification in Forty-Eight Public High Schools" (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1970, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation).
22. A. Greeley and P. Rossi, The Education of Catholic Americans, (Chicago: Aldine Publishers, 1966), 139-140.
23. Ibid., 156.
24. Silberman, op. cit., locates such schools in North Dakota, Arizona, Pennsylvania, among other places in the United States, 317-319.
25. Ibid., 210.
26. Cited in L. Cremin, The Transformation of the School, (N.Y.: Knopf, 1961), 255.
27. Cited by Colin Greer, "Much Ado About Joy" Social Policy, v. 1, no. 6, 1971, p.
28. Dreeban, in a personal communication to me.
29. D. Cohen and M. Lazerson, "Education and the Industrial Order", (Paper delivered at the American Educational Research Association meeting, March, 1970).
30. Personal communication from Mr. Alan Graubard, Cambridge, Mass., who is currently studying demographic trends in "free" schools.
31. See, for example, U.S. Civil Rights Commission Report, op. cit.; also, McDill, "Institutional Effects on the Academic Behavior of High School Students,": Sociology of Education, v. 40, no. 3, 1967.
32. J.S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society, (N.Y.: Free Press, 1961).
33. Ibid., 266.
34. Alan Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," American Sociological Review, v. 24, 1959, 836-45.
35. Coleman, op. cit., 269.
36. Wilson, op. cit.
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38. D. Hargreaves, Social Relations in the Secondary School, cited in W. Schafer, et. al., "Programmed for Social Class: Tracking in High School" Transaction, v. 7, no. 12, 1970, p. 46.
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40. Silberman, op. cit., 340-369.

CHAPTER V

MINORITY GROUPS AND NONPUBLIC EDUCATION

CHAPTER V

MINORITY GROUPS AND NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS

In the struggle to provide minority groups with the full advantages of a democratic society, are nonpublic schools a help or an impediment? The question concerns Black Americans, American Indians, Chicanos, White Appalachians, Puerto Ricans, and many other groups. To keep our analysis within manageable proportions, however, we intend to focus primarily upon the struggle of Black people for racial justice. It is likely that many conclusions reached in this particular will apply to other minorities as well.

The situation in the South is relatively clear, for there six legislatures have introduced voucher plans (subsequently outlawed by the courts) to finance private schools functioning to circumvent edicts of the Supreme Court.¹ According to observers, hundreds of shoestring schools have sprung up to maintain segregation, and many patrons seem little concerned if academic adequacy must be sacrificed in the process.²

This paper will focus, however, on the more complicated conditions of the North and West, particularly in states where large numbers of nonpublic schools existed long before the Brown decision of 1954.

It is often argued that, since they complicate efforts to achieve racial integration in public schools, to assist nonpublic schools financially would be to complicate the struggle for racial justice. Thomas Pettigrew declares, for example, that a primary cause of segregation in the schools is the exis-

tence of private schools--parochial schools in particular. . . . As parochial schools have grown in our central cities, they have tended more and more to draw out whites from the pool of school-age children, making the public school system more and more Negro, by definition. Only 6 to 7 percent of all Negro-Americans are Roman Catholic, and they are not spread evenly over the Negro population of the United States; they are concentrated in such cities as Chicago, St. Louis, and New Orleans. Take away those cities, then you'll have an even smaller percentage than the 6 to 7 percent. What this means is that de facto parochial systems will tend to be white and will tend to exacerbate the problem of segregation in the public schools that much more.³

When Pettigrew made this statement,⁴ significantly, he was challenged by David Seeley, who for many months had been in charge of enforcing civil rights in the U. S. Office of Education. No novice on problems of achieving integration, Seeley observed:

As for the parochial schools, if every child now attending one were forced tomorrow morning to go to his nearest public school, I believe that within two years we would have virtually the same degree of segregation we have today.⁵

It seems best to begin our own analysis of these issues by providing general information concerning racial and ethnic integration in nonpublic schools. Later, several discrete considerations will be examined in some detail.

4. Racial and Ethnic Integration in Nonpublic Schools Generally

1. Students in Catholic Schools Nationally

Table 1 provides an ethnic and religious breakdown of the total 1970-71 enrollment in Catholic elementary and secondary schools in the United States.⁶

TABLE 1
ENROLLMENT IN CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS
BY RACE AND RELIGION, 1970-71

Grade Level and Ethnic Group	Religion				Total	
	Catholic		Non-Catholic		Number	Percent
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
<u>Elementary</u>						
Amer. Indian	15,182	.5	693	.7	15,875	.5
Amer. Negro	98,156	3.4	52,401	52.0	150,557	5.1
Oriental Amer.	12,942	.5	20,856	2.8	15,798	.5
Spanish surnamed	153,441	5.4	935	.9	154,376	5.2
All Other	2,569,639	90.2	43,941	43.6	2,613,580	88.6
Total	2,849,360	100.0	100,826	100.0	2,950,186	100.0
<u>Secondary</u>						
Amer. Indian	1,644	.2	178	.6	1,842	.2
Amer. Negro	25,509	3.0	7,778	27.5	33,287	3.7
Oriental Amer.	2,971	.3	1,006	3.6	3,977	.4
Spanish surnamed	31,307	3.6	223	.8	31,530	3.5
All Other	801,297	92.9	19,150	67.6	820,447	92.1
Total	862,748	100.0	28,335	100.0	891,083	100.0

Source: N.C.E.A. Data Bank (National Center for Educational Statistics).
Based on 88 percent response rate.

American Negroes and Spanish Americans obviously are the largest minority groups attending Catholic schools (5.1 percent and 5.2 percent, respectively, of all students at the elementary level, and 3.7 percent and 3.5 percent

at the secondary level). In the far west,⁷ the NCEA report reveals elsewhere, Spanish Americans constitute 20 percent of the school population. Non-Catholics comprise 3.4 percent of the elementary enrollment and 3.2 percent of the secondary school enrollment. All of these percentages are almost identical to those reported a year earlier, in the 1969-70 NCEA Statistical Report.⁸

These data clearly reflect the historical roots of Catholic education. Catholic schools were built for the most part to protect the faith, and to a lesser extent, the culture of emigrant Europeans. Consequently the bulk of these schools were concentrated in the East, to service local Irish and Italian populations, and in the Midwest, for the benefit of large numbers of German, Polish and Slavic emigrants. Spanish Americans are less numerous in these areas of the country, compared to the West and Far West regions. Hence the large enrollment of Spanish Americans in the Far West was "swamped" in the national figures by the more numerous "white" enrollments from the older Catholic school centers.

There are comparatively few black Catholics from among whom to recruit black students for Catholic schools. Pettigrew estimates that fewer than 7 percent of Catholics are black.⁹ Feagan's estimate is considerably lower, 2 per cent.¹⁰ Furthermore, many Negroes motivated by a spirit of black nationalism do not want their children caught in white "middle class" schools-- Catholic or public. Jencks, in arguing for a separate nonpublic black school system, claims some striking parallels between the motives of Catholic immigrants

in creating Catholic schools and what black nationalists wish in their schools:

Just as today's black nationalist does not want his children infected by alien, white "middle-class" values, so many devout Catholic immigrants did not want their children to imbibe the alien values of white Protestant "first families." Just as today's black nationalist deplores the public schools' failure to develop pride and self-respect in black children, so, too, many Irish immigrants felt they needed their own schools to make their children feel that Catholicism and Irishness were respectable rather than shameful. And just as many black parents now want to get their children out of public schools because they feel these schools do not maintain proper discipline, so, too, many Catholics still say that their prime reason for sending their children to parochial schools is that the nuns maintain order and teach children "to behave."¹¹

However, the Catholic schools are attracting many non-Catholic blacks.

In 1970-71, 33 percent of all black students enrolled in Catholic schools were non-Catholic, 34.8 percent at the elementary level and 23.3 percent at the secondary level. This compares with less than 2 percent of the non-Catholics enrolled in Catholic schools who were classified in the "white" (all other) category. The relatively large percentage of non-Catholic black enrollment in Catholic schools most likely occurs because Catholic schools are found in many black areas that were formerly white ethnic enclaves. Many parents, black and white, perceive the quality of education given by public schools in inner-city areas to be poor. Hence parents are often willing to elect the alternative, the Catholic school, in hopes of obtaining better education, better discipline, and greater safety, regardless of their religious affiliation.¹²

The next set of tables in this section (based on the same NCEA data) reports on levels of integration in Catholic elementary and secondary schools, rather than mere proportions, for the system as a whole. A few comparable public school figures from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) will also be cited. In these tables, NCEA classified all schools into one of the following mutually exclusive categories:

1. All Black or All Minority Group (schools with 98 to 100 per cent black or minority group enrollment).
2. Mostly Black or Mostly Minority Group (schools with greater than 80 per cent but less than 98 per cent black or minority group enrollment).
3. Mixed (neither white nor minority groups constitute more than 80 per cent of the total enrollment).
4. Mostly white (includes those schools in which greater than 80 per cent but less than 98 per cent of the students are "white").
5. All white (includes those schools with 98 to 100 per cent "white" [all other] enrollment).

Table 2 gives the distribution of all students in Catholic schools by integration levels and region of the country.¹³ Table 3 presents the distribution of black students in Catholic schools according to the level of black integration.

Table 2 shows that with the exception of the West and Far West region, where 40 percent of all Catholic elementary school pupils are in mixed schools, better than 8 out of 10 Catholic school pupils are matriculated in all or mostly all "white" schools.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS
BY INTEGRATION LEVEL AND REGION OF THE COUNTRY

ELEMENTARY							
Region	BLACK		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
	ALL	MOSTLY		MOSTLY	ALL		
New England	.0	1.1	4.4	20.4	74.0	238,364	100.0
Mideast	.9	1.1	10.8	26.3	60.9	1,005,304	100.0
Great Lakes	1.9	1.1	6.4	23.4	67.2	860,524	100.0
Plains	.7	.3	3.2	21.1	74.6	233,772	100.0
Southeast	7.8	1.5	8.6	49.5	32.6	248,295	100.0
West and Far West	.6	.9	39.7	50.6	8.1	364,445	100.0
United States	1.7	1.1	11.8	29.5	56.0	2,950,704	100.0
SECONDARY							
Region	BLACK		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
	ALL	MOSTLY		MOSTLY	ALL		
New England	.0	.0	.8	24.1	75.1	74,332	100.0
Mideast	.0	.2	8.2	42.8	48.8	337,124	100.0
Great Lakes	.3	.4	7.8	41.4	50.0	250,022	100.0
Plains	.0	.0	2.5	39.9	57.7	61,368	100.0
Southeast	4.5	.0	11.9	60.7	22.9	74,118	100.0
West and Far West	.0	.0	37.3	50.4	12.3	94,119	100.0
United States	.5	.2	10.5	43.0	45.9	891,083	100.0

Source: NCEA

Based on an 88 per cent response rate

Table 3 shows that 51.3 percent of black pupils in Catholic elementary schools were in all or mostly all black schools; 33 percent were in mixed schools, while only 15.7 percent were categorized in the all or mostly all "white" categories. The most likely reason that the majority of blacks were located in all or mostly all black schools is that parish boundaries are frequently drawn to follow neighborhood lines. Consequently, many Catholic elementary schools built to serve white ethnic groups are now located in inner city black ghettos. Unless carefully read, the percentages in these tables may obscure the fact that the actual enrollment numbers in some regions are relatively small. At the secondary level a different picture emerges. Catholic secondary schools, for the most part diocesan or "private," draw their students from all over the metropolitan area, rather than almost exclusively from specific neighborhoods as is most often the case with parish elementary schools. Consequently, at the secondary level only 17.2 percent of black pupils are in all or mostly all black schools; 38.5 percent are in mixed schools and 44.4 percent are in all or mostly all white schools.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK STUDENTS IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS
BY INTEGRATION LEVEL (BLACK-WHITE) AND REGION OF THE COUNTRY

ELEMENTARY							
Region	BLACK		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
	ALL	MOSTLY		MOSTLY	ALL		
New England	.0	33.2	31.0	25.2	5.6	6,311	100.0
Midwest	19.4	20.6	42.9	14.8	2.3	48,123	100.0
Great Lakes	39.3	21.6	26.2	11.6	1.3	41,615	100.0
Plains	35.2	16.6	22.6	21.6	4.0	4,428	100.0
Southeast	60.0	10.8	13.2	15.4	.8	32,163	100.0
West and Far West	13.1	16.2	60.9	9.7	.2	17,918	100.0
United States	32.4	18.9	33.0	14.1	1.6	150,558	100.0
SECONDARY							
Region	BLACK		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
	ALL	MOSTLY		MOSTLY	ALL		
New England	1.9	.0	7.0	61.3	29.8	875	100.0
Midwest	.0	5.9	43.1	44.8	6.2	11,506	100.0
Great Lakes	7.7	8.9	43.0	35.6	4.8	10,396	100.0
Plains	.0	.0	31.5	61.7	6.8	854	100.0
Southeast	48.1	.0	18.9	31.5	1.6	6,880	100.0
West and Far West	.0	.0	63.0	35.4	1.6	2,776	100.0
United States	12.4	4.8	38.5	39.3	5.1	33,287	100.0

Source: NCEA

Based on 88 per cent response rate

Table 4 indicates the distribution of all minority group students (American Indian; American Negro; Oriental American; Spanish Surnamed) in Catholic schools, by minority group integration level. Percentages in the table show that nationally 40 percent of all minority group children in Catholic schools are found in schools in which 80 to 100 percent of the students are from minority groups. Some 45 per cent of minority-group children in public schools are similarly situated.¹⁴ Elementary schools are more segregated (45.2 percent

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MINORITY GROUP STUDENTS* IN CATHOLIC
SCHOOLS BY INTEGRATION LEVELS OF MINORITY GROUP STUDENTS
AND REGIONS OF THE COUNTRY

Grade Level and Region	ALL MINORITY		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
	ALL	MOSTLY		MOSTLY	ALL		
<u>Elementary</u>							
New England	13.7	24.1	27.8	28.3	6.1	11,527	100.0
Mideast	17.3	27.6	35.4	16.7	3.0	100,599	100.0
Great Lakes	36.0	12.1	29.9	18.7	3.3	69,361	100.0
Plains	29.1	13.7	21.3	28.8	7.1	9,767	100.0
Southeast	47.5	12.4	18.2	20.6	1.3	41,963	100.0
West & Far West	12.5	26.0	45.5	15.8	.2	103,402	100.0
United States	23.7	21.5	34.6	18.1	2.2	336,619	100.0
<u>Secondary</u>							
New England	10.0	.0	7.1	58.7	24.1	1,525	100.0
Mideast	.5	3.8	45.4	44.7	5.5	20,639	100.0
Great Lakes	6.7	6.6	44.0	37.3	5.3	15,876	100.0
Plains	14.7	.5	20.2	57.4	7.3	2,397	100.0
Southeast	32.3	8.8	24.4	33.2	1.4	10,296	100.0
West & Far West	1.5	14.8	61.0	22.0	.7	19,903	100.0
United States	7.5	8.1	44.8	35.7	4.0	70,636	100.0

Source: NCEA.

Based on 88 percent response rate

*Minority Group includes American Indians, American Negroes, Oriental Americans, Spanish Surnamed students.

in the 80 to 100 percent categories) than are secondary schools (15.6 percent).

These statistics again reveal the more metropolitan orientation of Catholic secondary schools, as compared with the neighborhood composition of typical parish elementary schools. Table 4 also reveals some interesting regional differences. At the elementary level, the Southeast, with its large Negro population, enrolls the highest percent (59.9) of minority group children in 80 to 100 percent minority group schools; the New England States and the West

and Far West have the lowest percentage (39) of minority children in segregated elementary schools. The total number of minority children in New England is the second lowest of any region of the country (only the Plains States have fewer) and probably accounts for the relatively low percentage enrolled in segregated schools. The West and Far West on the other hand, have the largest number of minority group children of any region in the country. (It should be remembered that 20 percent of Catholic school students in the West and Far West are Spanish Americans). Evidently Catholic parishes in this region of the country are comprised of both "white" and Spanish Americans. This parish composition, and/or the fact that in this region Catholic schools make a deliberate effort to integrate, may account for the relatively low percent of minority children enrolled in all or mostly all minority group schools.

At the secondary level, Table 4 shows that the Mideast Region has the lowest percentage (4.3) of minority students enrolled in segregated (80-100 percent) schools: the Southeast again has the highest percent (41.1) enrolled in all or mostly all minority schools.

A HEW survey conducted in the fall of 1970 found in public schools in the Southeast that the percent of Negro students in the all black category dropped from 68 percent in 1968 to 18.4 percent in 1970; the number in the 80 to 100 percent category fell from 78.8 percent to 41.7 percent.¹⁵ In contrast Catholic schools in the South enrolled 45.1 percent of their blacks in all or

mostly all categories in 1970-71. This is 3.4 percent higher than the comparable HEW figures (the 80 to 100 percent category). It is interesting to note that slightly better than 20 percent of all black students in Catholic schools are located in the Southeast; however, this same region of the country accounts for only 9 percent of the national Catholic school enrollment.

As far as these percentages are concerned, Catholic schools appear to be doing reasonably well in terms of integration levels. The voluntary nature of Catholic schools must be considered in this connection. That is, within a parish Catholic parents are free to send or not to send their children to the parochial school; further, they are free to donate or withhold money from the Sunday collection, much of which ultimately goes to the support of the parish school. Also, Catholic schools are free to accept or reject students on both academic and non-academic grounds, an option not available to public school officials. The Catholic school exists by nature of implicit continuing agreement among the principal parties--parents, clergy and religious. Attempts at integration in many parishes in racially marginal neighborhoods or in heavily white ethnic neighborhoods are often strongly resisted, for reasons discussed later.

2. Catholic Schools in Urban Areas

Many Catholic schools are located in urban areas, particularly in the New England, Mideast, and Great Lakes regions. Tables 5 and 6 compare the integration pattern of minority groups in urban Catholic schools (including

inner city schools) with those located in suburban or small town rural areas.

Unfortunately, Tables 5 and 6 are not broken down by race. Nonetheless, the data reflect the fact that minority groups generally are segregated in large urban ghettos. Only a small number escape to suburbs and small town rural areas. Eighty percent of minority group students in the 80 to 100 percent minority group Catholic elementary schools are located in urban areas. Similarly 80 percent of those in mixed schools are located in urban areas. Over 90 percent of all Catholic school enrollments outside the urban area were in the 80 to 100 percent "white" schools.¹⁶ Within the urban scene itself, there is a wide variation from city to city. Tables 7 and 8 show the percent of schools and enrollment of black and minority students in four large cities outside the south.¹⁷

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF ALL CHILDREN IN URBAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS BY
MINORITY GROUP INTEGRATION LEVELS AND REGION OF THE COUNTRY

Grade Level and Region	ALL MINORITY		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
	ALL	MOSTLY		MOSTLY	ALL		
<u>Elementary</u>							
New England	.4	.6	6.5	25.8	66.7	129,113	100.0
Midwest	2.8	5.8	14.3	30.3	46.8	521,161	100.0
Great Lakes	5.5	2.2	10.5	31.5	50.2	409,339	100.0
Plains	1.9	1.2	4.6	29.7	62.7	96,505	100.0
Southeast	12.2	3.4	12.5	51.9	20.0	118,762	100.0
West & Far West	4.5	11.9	23.0	45.5	5.1	212,426	100.0
United States	4.5	4.7	14.5	34.1	42.4	1,487,361	100.0
<u>Secondary</u>							
New England	.3	.0	.9	26.5	22.3	42,508	100.0
Midwest	.1	.5	13.9	54.6	30.9	136,443	100.0
Great Lakes	.7	.8	13.0	47.6	37.8	145,125	100.0
Plains	.0	.0	2.9	50.2	46.9	37,679	100.0
Southeast	4.0	2.1	13.3	58.5	21.2	51,747	100.0
West & Far West	.0	4.0	40.2	45.1	9.9	65,641	100.0
United States	.7	1.2	15.0	49.3	33.7	530,143	100.0

Source: NCEA

Based on 88 percent response rate

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF ALL CHILDREN IN SUBURBAN AND SMALL TOWN
RURAL CATHOLIC SCHOOLS BY MINORITY GROUP INTEGRATION LEVELS
AND REGION OF THE COUNTRY

Grade Level and Region	ALL MINORITY		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
	<u>ALL</u>	<u>MOSTLY</u>		<u>MOSTLY</u>	<u>ALL</u>		
<u>Elementary</u>							
New England	1.0	2.1	.1	14.1	82.7	109,246	100.0
Midwest	.6	.1	1.2	22.1	76.0	484,143	100.0
Great Lakes	.5	.1	.9	16.0	82.5	451,135	100.0
Plains	.7	.2	.9	15.2	83.0	137,267	100.0
Southeast	4.3	1.3	3.1	47.2	44.2	129,533	100.0
West & Far West	2.2	3.2	24.6	57.8	12.2	152,019	100.0
United States	1.1	.7	3.6	24.9	69.7	1,463,343	100.0
<u>Secondary</u>							
New England	.1	.0	.2	20.9	78.8	31,824	100.0
Midwest	.0	.0	.9	28.3	70.8	150,681	100.0
Great Lakes	.0	.0	.1	32.7	67.2	103,897	100.0
Plains	1.5	.0	.3	23.4	74.9	23,689	100.0
Southeast	3.6	.0	3.9	65.8	26.8	22,371	100.0
West & Far West	1.1	.6	17.7	62.7	17.9	28,478	100.0
United States	.4	.0	2.1	33.6	63.8	360,940	100.0

Source: NCEA

Based on an 88 percent response rate.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE LEVEL OF INTEGRATION OF BLACK STUDENTS IN CATHOLIC
SCHOOLS IN FOUR LARGE CITIES OUTSIDE THE SOUTH

Level of Integration	CITY A		CITY B		CITY C		CITY D	
	Sch.	Enroll- ment	Sch.	Enroll- ment	Sch.	Enroll- ment	Sch.	Enroll- ment
80-100% Black	1.5	.7	15.9	11.7	7.2	4.3	1.8	.9
Mixed	6.2	4.6	7.1	35.7	13.4	12.6	9.0	8.0
80-100% "White"	92.4	94.6	76.8	82.5	79.3	83.1	89.4	91.0

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE LEVEL OF INTEGRATION OF ALL MINORITY STUDENTS IN CATHOLIC
SCHOOLS IN FOUR LARGE CITIES OUTSIDE THE SOUTH

Level of Integration	CITY A		CITY B		CITY C		CITY D	
	Sch.	Enroll- ment	Sch.	Enroll- ment	Sch.	Enroll- ment	Sch.	Enroll- ment
80-100% Minority	13.4	11.7	19.5	14.2	9.3	4.8	10.7	9.1
Mixed	30.5	30.0	24.1	18.8	19.6	18.0	48.2	39.8
80-100% "White"	56.1	58.4	56.1	66.9	71.1	77.0	41.1	51.1

Table 7 indicates that Cities A and D have the smallest percentage of schools with 80 to 100 percent black enrollment. However Cities B and C have the smallest percentage of schools with 80 to 100 percent white enrollment. City C is particularly interesting since it has the largest percentage of mixed schools and enrollment. Table 8 shows that when all minority groups are considered, City C has the smallest percentage of schools and pupils in segregated schools. Thus there is variation in the level of integration between large cities. Most likely this reflects the migration of minority groups across parish boundaries more than any greater conscious effort on the part of Catholics in one city than on the part of Catholics in another city.

Tables 9 and 10 demonstrate that within a single city, New York, there are variations in the ethnic and racial mixture of students across different boroughs. For example, at the elementary level 12 percent of the students in the Catholic schools of Manhattan were black as opposed to less than one percent in Staten Island. Schools in Manhattan and the Bronx also had substantial numbers of Puerto Rican students, whereas Staten Island and Queens had very few. This phenomenon is probably repeated in other large American cities.

It should be noted that the data contained in Tables 9 and 10 are three years old and based on a response rate of only 52 percent. Nevertheless, the tables reflect racial and ethnic neighborhood segregation patterns. Table 10 indicates that Catholic schools in New York were still servicing many children of parents who classified themselves as "European."

TABIE 9

RACE OF FATHER OF PUPIL ENROLLED IN NEW YORK CITY PAROCHIAL SCHOOL - ACADEMIC YEAR 1967-68

	White		Netto		Other		Omit**		Total†	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
New York City	119,790	89	8,801	7	2,200	2	3,252	2	134,043	100
Bronx	22,463	90	1,415	5	379	1	593	2	24,043	100
Manhattan	13,832	79	2,159	12	820	4	603	3	17,504	100
Staten Island	7,607	97	72	--	25	-	88	1	7,792	100
Brooklyn	39,920	98	3,432	7	648	1	1,143	2	45,143	100
Queens	35,043	92	1,723	4	328	-	733	1	38,727	100
HIGH SCHOOLS										
New York City	56,525	93	1,997	3	646	1	1,661	3	60,829	100
Bronx	13,565	92	469	3	141	0	412	2	14,587	100
Manhattan	8,983	86	676	6	279	2	411	3	10,349	100
Staten Island	3,384	97	17	-	10	-	63	1	3,474	100
Brooklyn	17,009	93	555	3	146	-	468	2	18,128	100
Queens	13,584	95	280	1	70	-	307	2	14,241	100

*Percentage may not add to 100 because of rounding errors.

**Indicates failure to respond

†Total fathers participating in survey who have children in New York City Elementary or Secondary Schools
 Source: Louis Gary, Survey of New York Catholic School Families: New York, A Preliminary Report (Copyright 1967 by Louis Gary).

TABLE 10

DESCENT OF FATHERS OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN NEW YORK CITY PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS
ACADEMIC YEAR 1967-68

	ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS													
	N. American		European		Puerto Rican		S. American		Other		Omit**		Total+	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
New York City	63,405	47	42,313	32	11,980	9	5,911	4	5,471	4	4,933	4	134,043	100
Bronx	10,403	42	8,326	32	3,759	15	693	2	814	3	812	3	24,877	100
Brooklyn	5,714	32	3,633	20	4,033	23	2,076	11	1,138	6	880	5	17,504	100
Staten Island	4,935	63	2,422	31	57	--	63	--	148	1	167	2	7,792	100
Brooklyn	21,706	48	14,195	31	3,572	7	1,534	3	2,180	4	1,866	4	45,143	100
Queens	20,437	52	13,767	35	3,579	1	1,545	3	1,191	3	1,208	3	38,727	100
HIGH SCHOOLS														
New York City	29,446	49	24,215	40	2,082	3	1,227	2	1,638	3	2,081	3	60,829	100
Bronx	6,524	44	6,156	42	774	5	298	2	326	2	509	3	14,587	100
Manhattan	4,326	41	3,626	35	858	8	552	5	476	4	481	4	10,319	100
Staten Island	2,151	61	1,143	32	14	-	25	-	57	1	84	2	3,474	100
Brooklyn	8,887	48	7,537	41	242	1	250	1	557	3	605	3	18,178	100
Queens	7,538	52	5,773	40	94	-	212	1	222	1	402	2	14,241	100

V:18

*Percentage may not add to 100 because of rounding.

**Indicates failure to respond

+ Total fathers participating in survey who have children in New York City Elementary or Secondary Schools

3. Non-Catholic Enrollment Patterns in Catholic Schools

As noted previously, the non-Catholic enrollment in Catholic schools constitutes only 3.3 percent of the total enrollment. Nonetheless the distribution of these students by level of integration is of interest, since it is relevant to Catholic efforts to service black Americans. Tables 10 and 11 present the distribution of non-Catholic minority group and "white" students by integration level of minority group students and region of the country.

Tables 11 and 12 very clearly show that non-Catholic "white" elementary students with few exceptions are enrolled in predominantly "white" schools. On the other hand, close to 66 percent of the non-Catholic minority group elementary children are found in predominantly minority group schools. At the high school level, minority group non-Catholics are mostly found in mixed or predominantly white Catholic schools. Once again, differences between the parish-based elementary and metropolitan-based high school account for these trends. In many inner city areas, non-Catholic blacks are being educated by parish schools originally built to enroll white ethnic groups that have since migrated to other urban or suburban areas. As we saw in Table 1, 52 percent of all non-Catholics enrolled in elementary schools were black Americans. Their choice of a denominational school in lieu of the public schools is an indication of the poor regard in which they hold inner city public schools.

TABLE 11

DISTRIBUTION LEVELS OF NON-CATHOLIC MINORITY GROUP STUDENTS
IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS BY INTEGRATION LEVEL OF MINORITY GROUP
STUDENTS AND REGION OF THE COUNTRY

Grade Level and Region	ALL MINORITY		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
	ALL	MOSTLY		MOSTLY	ALL		
<u>Elementary</u>							
New England	2.6	50.0	23.5	20.7	3.1	4,274	100.0
Mideast	26.1	24.7	33.3	14.1	1.9	14,115	100.0
Great Lakes	53.1	15.3	22.0	8.7	.9	17,078	100.0
Plains	42.2	20.2	21.1	13.8	2.5	1,737	100.0
Southeast	59.0	17.6	10.6	12.2	.6	12,406	100.0
West and Far West	30.7	29.9	31.1	8.8	.2	7,276	100.0
United States	40.7	22.7	23.6	11.9	1.2	56,886	100.0
<u>Secondary</u>							
New England	4.2	.0	4.2	59.5	32.2	385	100.0
Mideast	.8	7.4	34.3	47.5	10.0	1,982	100.0
Great Lakes	10.7	15.5	33.5	36.8	3.4	2,907	100.0
Plains	22.1	.8	27.0	44.7	4.5	398	100.0
Southeast	50.6	.0	17.8	30.4	1.2	1,902	100.0
West and Far West	.0	6.1	69.1	23.8	1.0	1,611	100.0
United States	15.2	7.6	35.2	36.8	5.2	9,185	100.0

Source: NCEA

Based on 88 percent response rate

TABLE 12

DISTRIBUTION OF NON-CATHOLIC WHITE STUDENTS IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS
BY INTEGRATION LEVEL OF MINORITY GROUP STUDENTS AND
REGION OF THE COUNTRY

Grade Level and Region	ALL MINORITY		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
	<u>ALL</u>	<u>MOSTLY</u>		<u>MOSTLY</u>	<u>ALL</u>		
<u>Elementary</u>							
New England	.1	.2	3.8	28.5	67.5	3,767	100.0
Mideast	.1	1.6	13.2	40.0	45.1	7,877	100.0
Great Lakes	.1	.5	10.1	14.4	74.9	12,004	100.0
Plains	.1	.4	6.4	35.1	58.0	1,584	100.0
Southeast	.1	.7	8.4	68.8	22.1	11,757	100.0
West and Far West	.1	3.9	35.1	54.1	6.8	6,961	100.0
United States	.1	1.2	13.5	41.8	43.4	43,950	100.0
<u>Secondary</u>							
New England	.0	.0	.2	20.1	79.7	1,418	100.0
Mideast	.0	.4	5.2	53.2	41.2	3,521	100.0
Great Lakes	.0	.2	15.3	57.2	27.3	2,889	100.0
Plains	.1	.2	3.9	33.2	62.7	1,322	100.0
Southeast	.0	.1	6.1	79.3	14.5	5,563	100.0
West and Far West	.0	.5	30.1	60.9	8.5	4,437	100.0
United States	.0	.3	12.3	59.3	28.1	19,150	100.0

Source: NCEA
Based on an 88 percent response rate

4. Minority Group Employment in Catholic Schools

The number of black and other minority group teachers in Catholic schools during the 1970-71 academic year was quite small. Table 13 presents the racial/ethnic background of full-time teachers in Catholic schools by vocational status (whether or not they are members of religious orders).

TABLE 13

ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF FULL TIME TEACHERS IN CATHOLIC
ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS BY VOCATIONAL STATUS -
1970-71

Ethnic Group	Religious	Lay	Total	
<u>Elementary</u>				
American Indian	.6%	.6%	282	.6
American Negro	.5	2.5	1,507	1.6
Oriental American	.3	.7	452	.5
Spanish Surnamed	1.5	1.4	1,401	1.5
All Others	97.1	94.9	91,810	95.9
Total	100.0	100.0	95,743	100.0
<u>Secondary</u>				
American Indian	.1%	.2%	59	.1
American Negro	.4	1.5	417	1.0
Oriental American	.2	.5	139	.3
Spanish Surnamed	.8	2.5	720	1.6
All Others	98.5	95.3	42,483	97.0
Total	100.0	100.0	43,828	100.0

Source: NCEA

Based on 85.5 percent response rate

Comparing Table 13 with Table 1, it is clear that the percentage of black and minority group teachers to the total staff in Catholic schools is quite a bit smaller than the percentage of black and minority group students to the total student body. Further, it is clear that the lay staff has a larger percent of black teachers than does the religious staff. Given the social, ethnic, and educational (i.e., parochial school) backgrounds of a majority of the religious this is not surprising. In addition the recruitment policies and practices of religious congregations of women did not encourage until recent years applications from black candidates.

Table 14 presents the distribution of black teachers in Catholic schools by level of integration. While the numbers on which the percentages are based are small, the pattern is clear. The majority of black teachers are found in mixed or mostly "white" schools. There were no black teachers recorded in all "white" Catholic elementary schools, and only about 16 blacks are recorded in the all "white" Catholic secondary schools. Elford notes that:

The fact that no minority group teacher, including Negro teachers, served in all white elementary schools presents a distinct challenge to Catholic educators. The deployment of qualified teachers from ethnic minority groups into these all white schools, which are attended by the majority of Catholic school students, would seem to be a logistically manageable and potentially quite effective first step toward the purposes that integration seeks to achieve.¹⁸

It could also be argued, both within and outside the black community, that black teachers would be better deployed in all or mostly all black schools, to serve as adult models for the predominantly black student body.

In either case, the present number of available black teachers serving in Catholic schools is so small that the extent of the impact of any allocation might be hypothesized to be minimal.

TABLE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK FACULTY MEMBERS IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS BY INTEGRATION LEVEL

Region	BLACK		MIXED	WHITE		TOTAL	
	ALL	MOSTLY		MOSTLY	ALL		
<u>Elementary</u>							
New England	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	11	100.0%
Midwest	2.9	3.3	50.0	43.8	.0	274	100.0
Great Lakes	.0	.0	78.4	21.6	.0	440	100.0
Plains	.0	.0	31.7	68.3	.0	60	100.0
Southeast	19.6	6.6	59.1	14.7	.0	516	100.0
West and Far West	6.3	4.4	61.2	28.2	.0	206	100.0
United States	8.1	3.5	61.8	26.6	.0	1,507	100.0
<u>Secondary</u>							
New England	.0%	.0%	25.0%	125.0	.0%	8	100.0
Midwest	.0	.0	12.0	70.7	17.4	92	100.0
Great Lakes	.0	.0	4.8	89.3	6.0	84	100.0
Plains	.0	.0	.0	100.0	.0	14	100.0
Southeast	3.7	29.9	42.8	23.5	.0	187	100.0
West and Far West	.0	.0	21.9	78.1	.0	32	100.0
United States	1.7	13.4	24.0	55.9	5.0	417	100.0

Source: NCEA

Based on 85.5 percent response rate

5. Financing Minority Group Catholic Schools

In our initial report to the Commission entitled "The Social and Religious Sources of the Crisis in Catholic Schools" (Volume II in this series), we pointed out that sound intra- and inter-parish fiscal policies were in short supply. This was because the weekly collections are both an inadequate and unequal tax base and because transfer mechanisms that could improve parish equities have not been developed. One might well ask to what extent minority group children in Catholic schools are adversely affected by such laissez-faire fiscal policies. Table 15 describes Catholic schools according to integration level and certain fiscal, staffing and demographic characteristics.

Table 15 shows that the average tuition in all "white" elementary schools is \$35.77 lower than it is in the all minority group schools. Conversely the parish subsidy is \$56.96 higher in all "white" schools than it is in the all minority group schools. Additionally, the average lay teacher's salary is approximately \$500 higher in the all "white" elementary school than in the all minority group schools. These evidences of the fiscal superiority of the all "white" elementary school can be accounted for by several inter-related facts. First, the all "white" schools, on the average, will be found in more affluent parishes than will the all "minority group" schools. This can be verified from Table 15 itself. Fifty-three percent of the all minority group schools are located in the inner city as opposed to only 4.2 percent of

TABLE 15

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS RELATED TO INTEGRATION LEVELS (ALL ETHNIC MINORITY GROUPS VS. WHITE)

Grade Level and Ethnic Composition	Average per Pupil				Total School Expend.	I.H. Vol.	Avg. Pay Salary	Ratio Relic. Inv.	Location		Total Schools
	Tuition and Fee Income	Pay/Disc Subsidy	Pay/Disc Income	% in Urban City					% in S-T Rural		
<u>Elementary</u>											
All Minority	\$ 84.83	\$30.18	\$220.60	7.8	\$5298.60	1.04%	53.0%	21.1%	313		
Mostly Minority	23.17	02.16	220.03	8.2	5678.54	1.16	65.1	12.5	255		
Mixed	00.00	08.61	237.02	0.7	5657.30	1.05	37.8	15.6	825		
Mostly White	07.40	123.80	255.83	10.8	5856.04	.84	10.8	21.9	2,460		
All White	40.06	146.14	294.50	0.9	5005.95	.93	4.2	37.7	4,370		
<u>Secondary</u>											
All Minority	\$224.07	118.75	541.42	20.3	\$7747.13	1.27	14.3	21.4	70		
Mostly Minority	376.08	90.50	532.71	19.2	8026.70	1.07	17.0	11.3	53		
Mixed	201.24	56.14	512.20	15.8	9146.04	1.04	16.6	11.8	187		
Mostly White	289.00	70.06	555.00	10.0	8022.68	1.03	9.0	18.6	527		
All White	220.88	00.88	518.25	17.4	8101.58	1.16	8.6	22.0	841		

the all "white" schools. Second, as we previously noted, there are more non-Catholics among minority group children than among the "white" students. Since the parents of these children do not contribute to the parish collection, it is safe to assume that the higher tuition charges are primarily assessed to offset this loss of voluntary contribution. Third, these figures clearly demonstrate the absence of a workable transfer mechanism for inter-parish finances.

One form of subsidy to the less integrated Catholic schools is the presence of a higher ratio of religious teachers to lay teachers. Not only does this translate into dollar savings through contributed services, but there is evidence that the presence of religious teachers, perhaps because of their generally better training and experience (as compared with lay teachers), is related to higher student achievement.¹⁹

Table 15 shows that there is considerably more equity across integration levels at the secondary level. In fact, all minority schools have higher parish/diocesan subsidies and total school expenditures than have the all "white" schools. This again can be attributed to the non-parish orientation of the Catholic secondary school.

6. Religious Background of Students and Faculty in Other Nonpublic Schools

Tables 16 through 19 present the religious background of students and faculty in this sample of nonpublic schools.²⁰

Interpretation of these data is complicated by the rather sizable percentages in the "missing" category. The way the questionnaire was structured, this category could include those who felt that none of the three other categories listed was accurate enough (i.e., a Unitarian might not consider himself a Protestant), or it could include people with no religious preference (this is more particularly possible in the case of nondenominational schools).

Most denominational nonpublic schools exist to an important extent to socialize children within a particular world view and set of beliefs. Not unexpectedly, therefore, Tables 16 and 17 show that religiously affiliated nonpublic schools reflect their sectarian heritages. The vast majority of students in denominational schools are classified as belonging to the corresponding major denominational categories listed in the questionnaire. Within these denominational schools, the Episcopal schools have the highest percentage of students from other faiths. Interestingly, Glock and Stark²¹ found the Episcopal church to be less sectarian, and more liberal, than any of the other Christian denominations

listed in Tables 16 and 17. Perhaps because of this the Episcopal schools are seen by some non-Episcopal parents as less dogmatic and less apt to proselytize. Peter S. Prescott describes the daily Episcopal Chapel service at Choate as follows:

A Jesuit priest who had visited St. Paul's School announced uneasily that religion seemed acceptable in the classroom but not in the chapel. "I am suspicious" he wrote, "that some of the ineffectiveness of chapel service derives from lack of dogmatism. In other words, the attempt to offend no one by the preaching and praying of the sacred theology of the Protestant Episcopal Church ends up by offending everyone. What often results is an indifferent naturalism bordering on humanism." Little sound theology of any kind is preached at Choate.²²

The religious background of the faculties of sectarian nonpublic schools also reflects the religious heritage of these schools.

There are very few Jews or Catholics teaching in Protestant schools. However, there is a relatively large minority of Catholics and Protestants staffing Jewish schools.

As far as the nondenominational independent schools are concerned, close to six out of ten students are Protestant, while the remainder are more or less equally often Catholic, Jewish, and other (missing categories). Among the faculty, 66 percent are Protestant, 13 percent Catholic or Other, and only 7 percent Jewish.

7. Racial/Ethnic Background of Nonpublic School Students and Faculty

Tables 18 and 19 present the racial/ethnic background of nonpublic school students and faculty as reported by the headmasters and principals in the schools sampled.

TABLE 16

TYPE OF NONPUBLIC SCHOOL BY RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF STUDENTS (PERCENTAGES
OF TOTAL ENROLLMENTS) ACADEMIC YEAR 1968-69
(Percentages)

Religion	Type of School														
	Independent	Calvinist	Jewish	Lutheran	Episcopal	Catholic	Seventh Day Adventist	15 schools	17 Sch.	5 Sch.	27 Sch.	12 Sch.	97 Sch.	13 Sch.	
			Elementary												
Roman Catholic	11.7	0	0	4	19.2	84.4	.3								
Protestant	62.9	94.0	0	75.8	69.9	2.0	87.3								
Jewish	9.8	0	92.2	0	2.3	0	0								
Missing	15.6	5.9	7.7	23.8	8.6	13.5	12.4								
			Secondary												
Roman Catholic	13.9	0	0	.4	7.6	95.8	.2								
Protestant	51.1	58.6	0	96.9	79.4	2.1	95.7								
Jewish	17.2	0	83.7	0	4.8	0	0								
Missing	12.8	41.4	16.3	2.6	8.2	2.0	4.1								
			Elementary and Secondary												
Roman Catholic	13.8	0	0	.4	11.3	91.3	.2								
Protestant	56.6	75.7	0	84.7	76.4	2.1	94.7								
Jewish	16.7	0	84.9	0	4.0	0	0								
Missing	13.0	24.3	15.1	14.9	8.3	6.6	5.1								

Percentages do not add to 100 because of missing data and/or rounding errors.

TABLE 17
 TYPE OF NONPUBLIC SCHOOL (ELEMENTARY) BY RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF FACULTY
 (PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL FACULTY) ACADEMIC YEAR 1968-69.
 (Percentages)

Religion	Type of School							Catholic	Seventh Day Adventist
	Independent	Calvinist	Jewish	Lutheran	Episcopal	12 Sch.	13 Sch.		
	15 Schools	17 Sch.	5 Sch.	27 Sch.	12 Sch.	97 Sch.	13 Sch.		
Roman Catholic	17.6	0	1.8	0	6.1	92.9			
Protestant	69.8	97.0	19.3	76.2	75.0	5.1			
Jewish	5.4	0	64.9	0	.1	0			
Missing	7.2	3.	14.0	18.3	18.3	1.7			
	104 Sch.	5 Sch.	7 Sch.	9 Sch.	16 Sch.	91 Sch.	14 Sch.		
Roman Catholic	13.0	0	6.4	0	6.7	87.5	0		
Protestant	66.1	100.	10.8	90.5	81.7	8.8	94.4		
Jewish	7.4	0	80.3	0	1.4	.5	0		
Missing	13.5	0	2.4	9.5	10.3	3.2	5.6		
		Elementary and Secondary							
Roman Catholic	13.3	0	5.6	0	6.5	89.0	0		
Protestant	66.4	98.2	12.4	83.9	79.4	7.8	91.7		
Jewish	7.3	0	77.5	0	1.1	.5	0		
Missing	13.1	1.8	4.6	16.1	13.0	2.8	8.3		

TABLE 18

TYPE OF NONPUBLIC SCHOOL BY THE ETHNIC/RACIAL BACKGROUND OF STUDENTS
(PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL ENROLLMENT)
ACADEMIC YEAR 1968-69

	Type of School													
	Independent	Calvinist	Jewish	Lutheran	Episcopal	Catholic	Seventh Day Adventist	15 Schools	17 Sch.	5 Sch.	27 Sch.	12 Sch.	97 Sch.	13 Sch.
	Elementary													
Black American	3.5	.1	00	1.1	5.1	4.0	11.2							
Amer. Indian	0	0	0	.1	.1	0	.3							
Mexican American	.2	0	0	.4	.1	.8	1.7							
Puerto Rican Amer.	.1	0	0	.1	0	1.3	2.9							
Oriental Amer.	.7	.1	0	1.5	.3	1.6	0							
Foreign Citizenship	.7	.1	6.	.2	1.2	1.	.6							
Other	94.8	99.7	94	96.7	3.3	91.4	83.3							
	Secondary													
Black American	2.8	.1	0	2.2	2.5	2.8	6.3							
Amer. Indian	.1	.3	0	.1	2.3	.1	0							
Mexican American	.2	.1	0	.1	.1	1.7	4.4							
Puerto Rican Amer.	.3	0	0	0	0	1.0	0							
Oriental Amer.	.5	0	0	.1	1.4	.1	1.4							
Foreign Citizenship	2.7	.2	2.1	.1	.6	2.1	.1							
Other	93.5	99.4	97.9	7.2	94.5	94.0	87.7							
	Elementary and Secondary													
Black American	2.8	.1	0	1.6	3.4	3.2	6.9							
Amer. Indian	.1	.2	0	.1	1.6	0	.1							
Mexican American	.2	.1	0	.3	.1	1.4	4.1							
Puerto Rican Amer.	.3	0	0	.1	0	1.1	1.2							
Oriental Amer.	.5	0	0	.9	1.0	.7	1.2							
Foreign Citizenship	2.6	.2	2.7	.1	.8	1.6	.2							
Other	93.6	99.5	97.3	96.9	94.1	93.0	87.2							

TABLE 19

TYPE OF NONPUBLIC SCHOOL BY ETHNIC/RACIAL BACKGROUND OF FACULTY
(PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL FACULTY)*
ACADEMIC YEAR 1968-69

	Type of School										
	Independent	Calvinist	Jewish	Lutheran	Episcopal	Catholic	Seventh Day Adventist				
	15 Schools	17 Sch.	5 Sch.	27 Sch.	12 Sch.	97 Sch.	13 Sch.				
Black American	1.8	0	0	0	1.1	.7	0.				0.
American Indian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				0
Mexican American	0	0	0	0	.6	.3	0				0
Puerto Rican Amer.	0	0	0	0	.6	.3	0				0
Oriental American	0	0	0	1.2	0	.8	0				0
Foreign Citizenship	2.7	.8	3.5	.1	1.7	2.2	0				0
Other	45.5	99.2	96.5	98.2	96.1	97.7	100				
Elementary											
	104 Sch.	5 Sch.	7 Sch.	9 Sch.	16 Sch.	91 Sch.	14 Sch.				
Black American	.8	0.	2.0	0.	0.	.3	3.1				0
American Indian	.1	0.	0.	0.	.3	0	0				0
Mexican American	.2	0.	0.	0.	0.	.3	1.9				0
Puerto Rican Amer.	.3	0.	0.	0.	.3	.1	0				0
Oriental American	.5	0.	0.	0.	.8	0.	1.0				0
Foreign Citizenship	5.0	0.	4.0	0.	2.5	1.3	1.2				0
Other	93.1	100.	94.0	100.	96.1	98.0	93.2				
Secondary											
	119 Sch.	22 Sch.	12 Sch.	36 Sch.	28 Sch.	188 Sch.	27 Sch.				
Black American	.9	0.	1.6	0.	.4	.4	2.6				0
American Indian	.1	0.	0	0	.2	0.	0				0
Mexican American	.2	0.	0.	0.	.2	.3	1.6				0
Puerto Rican Amer.	.3	0.	0.	0.	.4	.2	0				0
Oriental American	.5	0.	.6	.6	.6	.3	.5				0
Foreign Citizenship	4.8	0.	.3	.3	2.2	1.6	1.0				0
Other	94.3	100	99.2	99.2	6.1	97.9	94.3				

*Percentages do not add to 100 because of missing data and/or rounding errors.

Tables 18 and 19 clearly show that the preponderance of students and faculty in nonpublic schools are classified in the "other" or "white" categories. The minority group accounting for the largest percentage of nonpublic school enrollments is Black Americans; the percentage of Blacks attending nonpublic schools is the largest at the elementary level. The Seventh Day Adventist schools report the largest minority group representation. Episcopal and Catholic schools rank next, followed by Independent schools. Calvinists, Jewish, and Lutheran schools report the smallest percentages of minority group students. About one in 50 pupils enrolled in Jewish, Catholic, and nonsectarian schools hold foreign citizenship.

Teachers in the nonpublic schools sampled are almost exclusively white. The largest faculty minority groups are those holding foreign citizenship. With the exception of Black Americans, minority group teachers employed in nonpublic schools fail to add up to one percent.

The reason for so small a representation of minority group students in nonpublic schools is clear. The nonsectarian schools draw their students preponderately from upper and upper-middle class homes. Minority group families are few and far between within these strata of society. The denominations with largest school systems (Catholic, Jewish, Calvinist, Lutheran, Episcopal and Seventh Day Adventist) have relatively few minority group members within their

constituency. Further, these schools have grown up around local churches or temples and thus reflect the segregation patterns that are inherent in many neighborhoods.

8. Attitudes Toward Enrollment and Enrollment Practices in Nonpublic Schools

Parents, governing board members, and school heads were asked to indicate their feelings about the following policies:

Enrollment of Protestant students
Enrollment of Jewish students
Enrollment of Roman Catholic students
Enrollment of Black students
Employment of Protestant teachers
Employment of Jewish teachers
Employment of Roman Catholic teachers
Employment of Black teachers

They were asked to respond in terms of these four categories:

Strongly opposed
Mildly opposed
Favor, within limits
Favor, with no particular limits

In addition each school head was asked to use the same scale to indicate how he felt parents and governing board members felt about these enrollment and employment practices.

Tables 20 and 21 present the views of school heads, parents and governing board members toward various enrollment practices. Also reflected in Tables 20 and 21 are the perceptions of headmasters concerning the views of parents and governing board members toward these same practices. The small sample size in many cells (particularly for school heads and governing board members)

TABLE 20

**ATTITUDES TOWARD ENROLLMENT OF VARIOUS RELIGIOUS
AND RACIAL GROUPS BY TYPE OF NONPUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL**

	Type of School											
	Independent N=15		Calvinist N=17		Lutheran N=27		Episcopal N=12		Catholic N=98		Seventh Day Adventist N=13	
	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.
Protestant Students	0	100	0	100	0	96	0	100	6	86	15	62
Jewish Students	0	100	34	47	15	78	17	83	6	81	8	69
Roman Catholic Students	0	100	35	47	11	82	8	92	0	92	23	54
Black Students	33	67	12	76	4	89	0	100	1	88	8	69
	Parent's Attitude											
	N=63		N=28		N=55		N=31		N=152		N=35	
Students from Poor families	10	90	4	96	6	87	19	74	5	86	6	80
Protestant Students	0	98	0	96	2	86	6	84	11	81	6	83
Jewish Students	0	95	39	54	31	54	19	71	12	78	9	80
Roman Catholic Students	2	97	50	46	31	54	13	74	1	91	9	80
Black Students	19	79	32	54	18	69	42	45	11	81	12	71
	Parent's Attitude Perceived by School Heads											
	N=15		N=17		N=27		N=12		N=98		N=13	
Protestant Students	0	87	0	100	0	100	0	83	13	70	8	69
Jewish Students	0	87	41	41	26	70	0	83	16	62	8	69
Roman Catholic Students	0	87	53	29	22	74	0	83	1	91	23	54
Black Students	40	47	24	65	26	66	8	75	24	60	0	77
	Governing Board Member's Attitudes											
	N=33		N=12		N=34		N=13		N=47		N=16	
Students from Poor Families	15	85	0	100	8	91	8	92	4	92	0	100
Protestant Students	0	100	0	100	9	88	0	100	6	89	0	94
Jewish Students	3	97	17	75	35	59	0	100	8	87	6	87
Roman Catholic Students	0	100	25	67	35	59	0	100	2	96	19	69
Black Students	9	88	0	100	8	85	23	77	13	85	6	94
	Governing Board Member's Attitudes As Perceived by School Head											
	N=15		N=17		N=27		N=12		N=98		N=13	
Protestant Students	0	73	0	94	0	96	0	92	11	53	15	61
Jewish Students	0	73	41	41	22	70	17	75	8	51	8	69
Roman Catholic Students	0	73	47	35	15	78	0	92	0	65	23	54
Black Students	27	47	18	65	11	78	25	67	6	53	0	77

Favor category includes Favor within limits or favor with no limits
Oppose category includes strongly oppose or mildly oppose

Percentages do not add to 100 due to missing data.

Students from poor families were omitted from the school head questionnaire.

TABLE 21

ATTITUDE TOWARD ENROLLMENT OF RELIGIOUS/RACIAL STUDENT
GROUPS BY TYPE OF NONPUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOL
(Percentages)

	Type of School									
	Independent N=104		Lutheran N=10		Episcopal N=16		Catholic N=92		Seventh Day Adventist N=13	
	School Head's Attitude									
	Opp.	Favor	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.
Protestant Students	0	96	0	100	0	100	9	85	0	92
Jewish Students	1	95	30	70	0	94	11	83	8	84
Roman Catholic Students	0	96	20	80	0	100	1	95	8	85
Black Students	8	86	0	100	0	94	1	97	23	69
	Parent's Attitude									
	N=301		N=33		N=50		N=199		N=21	
Students from poor families	11	82	0	97	12	82	4	88	5	95
Protestant students	0	95	3	94	0	94	8	85	10	85
Roman Catholic students	3	93	15	79	8	88	9	82	10	76
Black students	18	80	3	91	16	78	10	85	5	95
	Parent's Attitude as Perceived by School Head									
	N=104		N=10		N=16		N=92		N=13	
Protestant students	0	93	0	100	0	100	16	73	0	92
Jewish students	5	86	20	80	0	94	17	72	8	84
Roman Catholic students	2	89	30	70	0	100	1	90	15	77
Black students	26	62	10	90	12	81	23	70	46	46
	Governing Board Member's Attitude									
	N=129		N=21		N=25		N=52		N=14	
Students from poor families	12	85	0	100	0	92	0	100	0	100
Protestant students	0	99	0	95	0	92	7	90	0	100
Jewish students	1	97	28	67	0	92	7	90	0	86
Roman Catholic students	0	96	24	76	0	96	0	98	14	72
Black Students	16	82	5	95	8	84	2	96	0	100
	Governing Board Member's Attitude As Perceived by School Head									
	N=104		N=10		N=16		N=92		N=13	
Protestant students	0	91	0	100	0	100	13	64	0	92
Jewish students	2	88	40	60	0	94	16	61	15	77
Roman Catholic students	1	90	30	70	0	100	1	78	15	77
Black students	19	69	10	90	6	88	3	77	38	54

Favor category includes favor within limits or favor with no limits.

Oppose category includes strongly oppose or mildly oppose.

Percentages do not add to 100 because of missing data and/or rounding errors.

precludes safe generalizability of the reported attitudes. When the cell size falls below 50, the data are at best suggestive because of the large standard error. Because of small sample sizes, all data on Jewish schools were eliminated along with the secondary school data for Calvinist schools. An additional limitation in interpreting these data is the rather large amount of items to which many respondents did not reply.

Table 20 shows that 70 percent or better of nonsectarian, Episcopal and Catholic school heads, parents, and governing board members favor enrollment of children of other faiths in their elementary schools. The Lutheran school heads are more liberal than either Lutheran parents or governing board members toward the enrollment of Jewish and Catholic students. School heads and parents from the Calvinist and Seventh Day Adventist schools are the most parochial in their attitudes, with rather sizeable minorities opposed to enrolling Jewish and Catholic students.

The suggestion of enrolling Black students was opposed by one-third (remember this is only 5 individuals) of the nonsectarian school heads. However, 65 percent or better of all school heads favored the practice of enrolling Black students. Parental opposition was strongest to the suggestion of Black enrollment in the Calvinist (32 percent) and Episcopal elementary schools (42 percent). Three-fourths or better of the governing board members

regardless of affiliation, favor enrolling Blacks in their elementary schools. There are no data to indicate the extent to which these attitudes reflect the acceptance of "token" Black students or openness to proportionate representation.

Interestingly, the school heads perceived the parents and governing board members to be more conservative regarding enrollment suggestions than those groups appear in their self-reports.

Table 21 reproduces the patterns exhibited in Table 20. However, all publics at the secondary level appear to be slightly more favorable toward the suggested enrollment practices than do their elementary school counterparts.

While there is a manifestation of parochial attitudes in the data contained in Tables 20 and 21, all things considered, there is considerable acceptance on the part of all the publics sampled of the practice of enrolling both students of other faiths and black students. Unfortunately, no comparative data are available on similar attitudes of various public school constituencies or of the general public; such normative data would be useful in assessing the extent to which attitudes expressed by nonpublic school groups are reflective of the larger community.

Two additional questions in the Kraushaar study deal with attitudes toward current enrollment practices. These two questions, more specific than the previous set, submitted to

TABLE 22

ATTITUDE TOWARD PRESENT NONPUBLIC ENROLLMENT PATTERNS
OF MINORITY GROUPS BY TYPE OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
(Percentages)

	Governing Board				Faculty		
	Not Enough %	About Right %	Too Much %		Not Enough %	About Right %	Too Much %
Nonsecterian N=33	46	52	0	N=48	58	31	0
Calvinist N=12	58	25	0	N=17	35	41	0
Lutheran N=34	29	53	3	N=30	50	30	0
Episcopal N=13	8	85	0	N=16	19	75	0
Catholic N=47	23	57	2	N=134	56	34	2
Seventh Day Adventist N=16	6	69	25	N=13	23	23	8

Percentages do not add to 100 because of missing data and/or rounding errors
Not enough category combines not nearly enough and not enough.
Too much category combines too much and far too much.

TABLE 23

**ATTITUDE TOWARD PRESENT NONPUBLIC ENROLLMENT PATTERNS
OF MINORITY GROUPS BY TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL
(Percentages)**

	Governing Board			Faculty		
	Not Enough %	About Right %	Too Much %	Not Enough %	About Right %	Too Much %
Nonsectarian N=129	43	51	0	N=243 66	30	0
Calvinist	50	42	0	N=17 47	47	0
Lutheran N=21	71	29	0	N=22 54	36	4
Episcopal N=25	36	56	4	N=38 55	40	0
Catholic N=52	56	40	2	N=175 52	39	2
Seventh Day Adventist N=14	7	86	7	N=12 17	83	0

Percentages do not add to 100 because of missing data and/or rounding errors.
Not enough category combines not nearly enough and not enough.
Too much category combines too much and far too much.

faculty and governing board members contained the following items:

The number of students from racial or ethnic minorities who are enrolled -

1	2	3	4	5
Not Nearly Enough	Not Enough	About Right	Too Much	Far Too Much

The number of financially poor students to receive large scholarships were -

1	2	3	4	5
Not Nearly Enough	Not Enough	About Right	Too Much	Far Too Much

The second question was also asked the eleventh and twelfth grade students in the sample. Tables 22 and 23 show that a negligible percent felt the number of racial or ethnic minorities now enrolled were too much or far too much. At the elementary level, a majority of governing board members felt present numbers were about right; teachers were slightly more inclined to indicate that the numbers of minority students were not large enough. There was somewhat more support for increasing the enrollment of minority group students at the secondary level (Table 23) than at the elementary level.

Regarding scholarships, Tables 24 and 25 show that either a majority or sizable plurality of all groups felt that present practices in this regard were about right at the elementary level. A very small percentage felt too many poor students were

TABLE 24

ATTITUDE TOWARD POOR STUDENTS RECEIVING SCHOLARSHIPS
BY TYPE OF NONPUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
(Percentages)

	Governing Board			Faculty		
	Not Enough Z	About Right Z	Too Much Z	Not Enough Z	About Right Z	Too Much Z
Nonsectarian N=33	48	48	0	N=48 46	35	4
Calvinist N=12	33	50	0	N=17 12	71	0
Lutheran N=34	23	47	3	N=30 7	67	0
Episcopal N=13	15	69	8	N=16 6	69	0
Catholic N=47	19	55	2	N=134 31	41	7
Seventh Day Adventist N=16	19	56	19	N=13 0	38	15

Percentages do not add to 100 because of missing data and/or rounding errors
Not enough category combines not nearly enough and not enough.
Too much category combines too much and far too much.

TABLE 25

ATTITUDE TOWARD PRESENT POLICIES OF STUDENTS RECEIVING
SCHOLARSHIPS BY TYPE OF NONPUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOL
(Percentages)

	Governing Board						Faculty						Students Grades 11 - 12					
	Not Enough %		About Right %		Too Much %		Not Enough %		About Right %		Too Much %		Not Enough %		About Right %		Too Much %	
Nonsectarian N=129	49	41	4		58	37	1		50	39	3							
Calvinist N=12	33	50	0															
Lutheran N=21	48	43	5		41	54	4		36	56	5							
Episcopal N=25	28	48	24		53	42	3		56	20	15							
Catholic N=52	52	40	0		28	55	11		45	46	3							
Seventh Day Adventist N=14	21	50	14		25	67	0		29	57	0							

Percentages do not add to 100 because of missing data and/or rounding errors.
Not enough category combines not nearly enough and not enough.
Too much category combines too much and far too much.

receiving scholarships. Close to one out of two nonsectarian school respondents felt not enough was being done in this regard. The figures indicating "not enough" drop off in the denominational schools. At the secondary level, four out of ten or better of all groups felt that the present scholarship practices were about right. On the other hand, there was considerably more sentiment that present scholarship practices were not enough, than that too much was being allocated.

9. Attitudes Concerning Employment of Black Individuals.

Tables 26 and 27 present the attitudes of school heads, parents and governing board members toward the hiring of faculty of various religious backgrounds and toward the hiring of black faculty members. A majority of the nonsectarian, Episcopal and Catholic school respondents favor the employment practices listed. The majority of respondents from Calvinist, Lutheran, and Seventh Day Adventist schools opposed the hiring of Catholic or Jewish teachers. Their opposition to the hiring of faculty members of a different faith is much stronger than is their opposition to the hiring of black faculty members. Given the sectarian reasons for maintaining these schools, opposition to hiring faculty members of different faiths is perhaps understandable. What is surprising is the extent to which the Catholic and Episcopal respondents are willing to accept faculty of other faiths. As far as hiring black teachers is concerned, a majority of the respondents

TABLE 26

**ATTITUDE TOWARD EMPLOYMENT OF RELIGIOUS/RACIAL TEACHER GROUPS
BY TYPE OF NONPUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
(Percentages)**

	Type of School										Seventh Day Adventist	
	Nonsectarial		Calvinist		Lutheran		Episcopal		Catholic		Opp.	Fav.
	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.
School Head's Attitude												
	N=15		N=17		N=27		N=12		N=98		N=13	
Protestant teachers	7	93	0	94	7	93	0	100	17	74	8	62
Jewish teachers	7	93	76	0	93	4	42	50	17	64	46	23
Roman Catholic teachers	13	87	82	0	96	0	17	75	0	91	62	8
Black teachers	47	53	18	71	18	78	33	58	5	82	0	77
Parents Attitudes												
	N=63		N=28		N=55		N=31		N=152		N=35	
Protestant teachers	0	100	0	96	0	91	3	87	20	69	23	54
Jewish teachers	6	92	86	11	69	18	26	64	28	62	60	14
Roman Catholic teachers	2	98	82	11	71	16	26	64	1	91	74	0
Black teachers	19	78	54	43	38	53	45	52	19	74	26	57
Parents Attitudes as Perceived by School Head												
	N=15		N=17		N=27		N=12		N=98		N=13	
Protestant teachers	7	80	0	94	4	67	4	93	0	75	8	62
Jewish teachers	0	87	76	0	89	4	42	33	29	46	46	23
Roman Catholic teachers	7	80	82	0	93	0	0	75	1	90	62	8
Black teachers	47	23	24	65	48	48	42	33	41	39	41	39
Governing Board Members Attitudes												
	N=33		N=12		N=34		N=13		N=47		N=16	
Protestant teachers	0	100	0	100	9	88	0	100	21	74	6	88
Jewish teachers	3	97	83	0	62	32	31	69	21	72	81	19
Roman Catholic teachers	0	100	83	0	68	29	23	77	0	96	100	0
Black teachers	9	91	33	58	24	76	31	69	15	83	25	75
Governing Board Members Attitudes As Perceived by School Head												
	N=15		N=17		N=27		N=12		N=98		N=13	
Protestant teachers	7	67	0	94	4	93	0	92	12	49	8	62
Jewish teachers	0	73	76	0	89	4	42	41	16	41	46	23
Roman Catholic teachers	7	67	82	0	93	0	17	67	0	64	62	8
Black teachers	40	33	24	59	41	52	42	42	16	42	15	54

Percentages do not add to 100 because of missing data and/or rounding errors.
Favor category includes favor within limits or favor with no limits.
Oppose category includes strongly or mildly oppose.

TABLE 27

**ATTITUDE TOWARD EMPLOYMENT OF RELIGIOUS/RACIAL TEACHER GROUPS
BY TYPE OF NONPUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOL
(Percentages)**

	Type of School									
	Nonsectarian		Lutheran		Episcopal		Catholic		Seventh Day Adventist	
	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.	Opp.	Fav.
School Head's Attitude										
	N=104		N=10		N=16		N=92		N=13	
Protestant teachers	0	97	0	100	0	100	6	90	0	92
Jewish teachers	1	95	80	10	0	100	8	87	77	15
Roman Catholic teachers	1	95	80	10	0	100	0	97	85	8
Black teachers	16	78	0	100	6	94	3	93	46	38
Parent's Attitude										
	N=301		N=33		N=50		N=199		N=21	
Protestant teachers	0	96	3	91	0	96	14	80	14	80
Jewish teachers	3	93	54	49	8	86	15	79	76	19
Roman Catholic teachers	2	93	58	36	8	86	0	94	91	5
Black teachers	20	77	15	82	18	78	12	85	33	67
Parent's Attitude As Perceived by School Head										
	N=104		N=10		N=16		N=92		N=13	
Protestant teachers	0	91	0	100	0	100	19	72	0	92
Jewish teachers	6	82	80	10	0	100	26	70	77	15
Roman Catholic teachers	3	88	80	10	0	100	0	91	85	8
Black teachers	34	52	20	80	19	75	25	65	54	31
Governing Board Member's Attitude										
	N=129		N=21		N=25		N=52		N=14	
Protestant teachers	0	87	19	81	0	96	9	87	0	100
Jewish teachers	5	92	86	5	4	88	11	87	86	0
Roman Catholic teachers	6	91	86	5	8	88	0	98	79	0
Black teachers	30	67	19	81	16	80	5	92	7	79
Governing Board Members Attitude As Perceived by School Head										
	N=104		N=10		N=16		N=92		N=13	
Protestant teachers	0	90	0	100	0	100	13	65	0	92
Jewish teachers	5	83	80	10	6	94	12	65	77	15
Roman Catholic teachers	2	86	80	10	0	100	0	79	8	8
Black teachers	30	56	20	80	31	69	10	68	54	31

Percentages do not add to 100 because of missing data and/or rounding errors.
Oppose category includes strongly and mildly oppose.
Favor category includes favor within limits or favor with no limits.
Students from poor families were omitted from the school head questionnaire.

avored the practice. Further, the opposition to the practice is not as marked as it was to the suggestion of hiring faculty members of different faiths.

10. Public-Nonpublic Comparisons in One State

As the final data in this section, we present in Table 28 all the data that the National Association of Independent Schools was able to assemble for the State of Massachusetts in 1969-70 concerning proportions of black students in its member schools as compared with proportions of black students in public schools in the same areas. These schools are generally, though not universally, nonsectarian schools with relatively high tuition levels. According to the table, the majority of responding nonpublic schools in this group surpass the public schools in the same areas with respect to the proportions of black students enrolled.

Thus far we have seen that the patrons, personnel, and students of the nonpublic schools, like the nation's citizens generally, exhibit various attitudes toward minorities. Some prefer their schools to be segregated, or largely so, along racial, ethnic, or religious lines. Some of these preferences reflect the extent to which schools are dedicated to maintaining certain ethnic or religious distinctives, a task that would be difficult in a fully integrated setting.

TABLE 28

PERCENTAGE OF NONWHITE STUDENTS IN MASSACHUSETTS PUBLIC
SCHOOLS AND IN MEMBER SCHOOLS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS, 1969-70

Area and Town	Name of NAIS Member School	Percentage of Nonwhite Students	
		NAIS School	Public School
Target Area-Boston			
Suburbs - 20 mile Radius			
Beverly	Shore Country Day School	0.27	0.55
Lynn			5.2
Peabody			0.62
Reading			0.26
Lexington			2.7
Arlington	St. Anne's	21.0	1.5
Concord (Concord-Carlisle Regional H.S. not included)			2.7
Belmont	Belmont Day	2.0	1.8
	Belmont Hill	1.1	
Cambridge	B & N	3.8	16.0
	Cambridge Friends	8.7	
	Manter Hall	n.a.	
	Shady Hill	6.9	
Weston	Cambridge School of Weston	4.0	2.18
	Meadowbrook School	0.7	
	Rivers Country Day School	2.4	
Newton	Country Day School of the Sacred Heart	2.8	3.4
Wellesley	Dana Hall	1.4	1.8
	Tenacre Country Day School	0.0	
Needham			1.2
Dedham	Dedham Country Day School	3.1	
	N & G	4.1	0.14
Framingham			3.1
Canton			1.3
Milton	Milton Academy	3.5	0.71
Brockline			8.22
Quincy			0.04
Braintree	Thayer Academy	1.6	0.68
Weymouth			0.57
Attover (30 mile radius)	Abbot Academy	2.1	
	Phillips Academy	6.2	
	Pike School	0.88	
			0.79

TABLE 28 - Cont'd.

Area and Town	Name of NAIS Member School	Percentage of Nonwhite Students	
		NAIS School	Public School
Target Area - Worcester Suburbs - 10 mi. radius			
Worcester			3.7
Shrewsbury			0.86
Westboro			0.43
Auburn			0.12
Target Area-Springfield Suburbs - 10 mi. radius			
Springfield			22.
Chicopee			3.3
Longmeadow			1.5
E. Longmeadow			1.0
Westfield			0.26
Holyoke			6.7
Target Area - Amherst Suburbs - 10 mi. radius			
Amherst			26.2
Northampton	Northampton School for Girls	3.9	0.29
	Smith College Day School	0.8	
Target Area - Pittsfield Suburbs - 10 Mi. Radius			
Pittsfield			2.9
Lenox	Berkshire Country Day School	0.7	1.7
	Cranwell School	2.9	
	Foxhollow School	n.a.	
	Lenox School	4.6	
Target Area-New Bedford Suburbs - 10 mi. radius			
New Bedford			12.0
Westport			0.09
Acushnet			0.70
Target area - Leominster Suburbs - 10 mile radius			
Leominster			2.4

Source: Boston Office of National Association of Independent Schools

Since our data are not comparative, we do not know whether these groups are less favorable or more favorable toward various types of integration than the nation as a whole. Figures quoted thus far with respect to integration actually effectuated in nonpublic schools suggest to us that there is at least as much commitment to racial justice as one would find in a public school sample, though the effects of the commitment may be somewhat dampened by the low proportions of minorities present in most groups that maintain many nonpublic schools.

Having surveyed these general conditions, we must analyze in more detail the functions nonpublic schools may perform in facilitating or impeding the struggle for racial justice. But factors that contribute to progress in some situations may limit it in others. It seems necessary to assume, for instance, that the dynamics of communities threatened by runaway racial change will be unlike the dynamics of racially stable communities. In some change-threatened communities, the dominant reaction of citizens is positive - one of attempting to develop a new, racially integrated stability (let us label these as CP, or "change-threatened, positively reacting" communities). In other change-threatened communities, the dominant reaction of citizens is negative--one of fear and hostility, resistance to racial mixing (we designate these as CN, or "Change-threatened, negatively reacting" communities).

As for communities that are relatively stable racially, some are so located that considerable racial integration can be achieved through such devices as changing attendance area boundaries and bussing children to and from other communities (call these SF, or "stable, feasible" communities), while other stable communities find the likelihood of racial integration in the schools geographically not feasible, at least for the vast majority of students (call these SN, or "stable, not feasible" communities). In the discussion that follows, the four community types (CP, CN, SF, and SN) will be examined separately.

Our purpose in analyzing the four situations is not to provide any representative national picture of what is happening. To do so was far beyond the constraints of the present study. The intent is to determine whether, in the light of existing data, statements condemning nonpublic schools as impediments, in the main, to racial justice, can be justified, and if not, what tentative conclusions seem warranted. The data to be used for this purpose are in no sense representative. Drawn from samples selected fortuitiously rather than randomly, they demonstrate that some nonpublic schools are performing functions that are generally not recognized, but they do not indicate how frequently those functions are performed, and in what parts of the country. Further research should definitely be done to map these trends systematically.

B. More Specific Considerations

1. Functions of Nonpublic Schools in CP Communities

We have defined CP ("change-threatened, positively reacting") communities as those which are threatened by runaway racial change but in which the dominant reaction of citizens is positive--one of attempting to develop a new, racially integrated stability. It is often asserted that nonpublic schools in the North and West have frequently impeded sincere efforts to achieve racial integration in the public schools. Let us assume for the sake of discussion that, if we had adequate national data, we would find the attempts of public schoolmen and common citizens in CP communities (in some unknown percentage of cases) to have been obstructed by the tendency of numerous parents to use the nonpublic schools as havens for lily-white segregation. In contrast, we must also inquire into the likelihood that nonpublic schools perform a positive function (again, in an unknown percentage of cases) in CP communities.

Appendix D (Volume IV) provides a case study of a Chicago neighborhood that lost the battle to achieve stable racial integration, largely, it appears, because of appalling errors on the part of central office public school administrators and board members who were insensitive to, or badly misinformed concerning local conditions. The writer of the case, then a public school principal in Chicago, was describing a school near his own. Since that time,

virtually the same pattern inundated his own school neighborhood and another nearby (in despair, he resigned from the school system and obtained a new appointment as principal of a public school in a suburb). One wonders, in reading this case, whether the neighborhood could have been saved if most parents had enjoyed ready access to a nonpublic school.

With thoughts like these in mind we decided, early in the work leading to this report, to conduct a brief case study of the function being performed by nonpublic schools in communities now seriously threatened by runaway racial change. One of the communities selected ("South Shore" in Chicago) falls clearly into the CP category. It was chosen partly because we had extensive materials on hand concerning the history and politics of the community from another study recently completed at the University of Chicago. Furthermore, a member of the team was well acquainted with the school in question (a highly reputable nonsectarian school), having consulted with the trustees concerning their severe financial problems. The school will be identified pseudonymously as the "Butler School."

Within the past 20 years, the proportion of non-white residents in South Shore has gone from less than one percent as recorded in the 1950 census to estimates of 50 to 75 percent in 1970. With this rapid shift in population, an expected exodus of some white residents has occurred, along with a decrease in income levels, school overcrowding because of an increased number of young families, a drop

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in the number of local businesses, and an increase in local crime. All of these conditions, and particularly the problems with the schools, are of much concern to the remaining white and many of the black residents. Within the South Shore community, there seems to be a very definite desire to maintain some form of racial and social balance and not allow the area to become an all black neighborhood. In spite of the growing number of problems, it seems that there are members of the white community who sincerely wish to remain in the South Shore area and are willing to put up with a number of inconveniences and even dangers to do so. Within this framework, any institution or organization which can offer a stabilizing influence is of great value.

Prior to recent migration of black people, the population in this area was fairly stable. The earliest residents of the area were German truck farmers who settled the swampy forest land in the 1860's. The first real growth in the area took place between 1910 and 1930. By 1920, the population was 31,832, composed mostly of English and Swedish Protestants, with a few Irish and English Catholics to the west and the beginning of a Jewish community. Between 1920 and 1930, the population more than doubled (to 78,755), and many large apartment buildings were built along the newly completed Outer Drive. The Jewish population increased considerably. The leading national groups were German, Irish, and English.

Between 1930 and 1950, the South Shore population remained relatively stable. By 1950, the total area population was 79,336, including 79,115 (99.8 percent) whites, and 182 (0.2 percent) blacks. The stability of the area was evident in the continuity of the residents. As one resident explained, often three generations of the same family lived in the South Shore area. Two of the other residents interviewed, one a mother of school-age children have lived in this area all of their lives.

The first real migration of black people into the area occurred during the late 1950s and 1960s. By this time, many of the younger white families had moved out into the suburbs to the south or to more western neighborhoods, and as the older population died, their homes were offered on the real estate market. In 1940, 45 percent of the population was between the ages of 30 and 44 years, and 32.5 percent were 45 or older. By 1950, this had shifted to 36.6 percent between 20 and 44 with 40.5 percent over 45, and by 1960 only 27.8 percent were between 20 and 44 while 49.1 percent were past 45 years old.

The immigration of Blacks was gradual, but by 1960, the population had shifted, so that while the total population dropped 7.9 percent to 73,086, the black population increased from 182 people to 7,018 or 9.6 percent of the total population. At this time, among the 6,321 owner-occupied units, 360 were owned by non-whites, an increase of 356 over the 1950 census figures. There

were also 22,467 rental units, 1,860 with non-white renters.

From 1960 on, the only population figures available are estimates but they show the continued shift in population. According to estimates, prepared for the Hospital Planning Council of Metropolitan Chicago in November, 1966, the area population decreased from 73,086 in 1960 to 72,681 in April 1965 and decreased further to 72,434 by April 1966. In the same estimate, the non-white population was calculated as increasing from 7,579 in 1960 to 28,557 by April, 1965, and 31,581 by April, 1966, a shift from 10.4 percent of the total population to 43.6 percent and a total increase of 24,002 people.

In statistics provided by the Real Estate Research Corporation for the Chicago Board of Education, estimates for the 1970 and 1975 population in the South Shore area are as follows: by 1970, a total population of 84,000, with 41,000 whites and 43,000 (51.8 percent) black, and in 1975, a total population of 82,300, with 16,300 white and 66,000 (80.2 percent) black.

The change in neighborhood composition has not progressed equally in all areas. Some areas still have concentrations of either black or white residents.

To translate the statistics about the population shift into human experience is to show the more realistic side of such changes. As one woman explained, when her family moved to their present home eighteen years ago and joined the local block club, the group was

composed of all people living on both sides of the block, people of various interests and opinions, but they were all white. Said she, "When the question of black people moving into the block came up, some people said they would move the next day and others said they would wait and see what happened. When the first black family did move in, the people who said they would stay moved immediately, and those who said they would leave stayed." Now, she said, there was a total of three white families on her street.

Like a stone thrown into a pond, a rapid change of population sends out ripples which cause additional problems. One such problem in the South Shore area, as in many similar areas, was panic peddling and discrimination in the selling of property. According to one resident, there were cases of discrimination in housing, particularly a few years ago, but more often, there have been instances where unscrupulous real estate brokers take advantage of the situation by buying a house from a white family for \$15,000 and selling it to a black family for \$19,000. Another resident felt that the realtors should also be faulted for helping certain areas to become all black blocks instead of working toward integrated ones. He said that after a certain number of homes were sold to black families, the realtors considered the block to be a black one and no longer showed homes to prospective white buyers, thus effectively keeping white families out of certain areas.

Concerning the incidence of panic peddling in the South Shore area, there seems to be some difference of opinion. According to the director of the local Chamber of Commerce, there was very little.

However, the president of the South Shore Commission said the Commission had "come down hard" on panic peddling a few years ago. For awhile it lessened, but "it is cropping up again" recently. Another resident explained that in 1968 and 1969, due to the combined efforts of the South Shore Commission and its neighbor to the south, the South East Community Organization (SECO), area residents formed an organization called the South East Council for an Integrated Community and succeeded in getting the state legislature to enact legislation providing that property owners who do not wish to be solicited by realtors may register with the Human Rights Council and any realtor who ignores their notice may be fined.

Another approach to stabilizing the population shift was the idea of "managed integration," introduced as a resolution in 1966 before the South Shore Commission and incorporated the following year as part of the Commission's South Shore Plan. This proposal was concerned with regulating the movement of entering black families so as to avoid concentrations of either white or black neighborhoods - a balanced integration pattern. To accomplish this, the Commission set up a screening program in cooperation with local realtors and established a tenant referral service. It also hoped to attract incoming white families, particularly like those of faculty members at the University of Chicago. However, the plan proved less than effective. The director of the Chamber of Commerce

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blamed its failure on realtors who did not screen their applicants on the basis of personal references and job security, but instead allowed anyone to move into the area. Other residents said the plan was unrealistic.

An additional problem came about as a result of the large size of many of the houses and apartments in the area. In some places the larger apartments are broken up into smaller units, and soon several families were living in what was intended for only one. These crowded conditions, combined with an increased number of children, have resulted in a faster depreciation of some buildings and have presented a grave problem to some community leaders.

In conversations with residents of the South Shore area, the problem always immediately mentioned is that of the public schools. Within the past seventeen years, there have been at least three major efforts by community residents to effect changes in the public schools. Current school boycotts and demands that principals be removed constitute another effort at change. Because of the shift in population and the increase in the number of young families with children, the schools most of which were built in the years when the age level of the population was increasing, are now greatly overcrowded. As the chairman of the Commission explained, "No attempt has been made to keep up with the needs of the schools. The school population has doubled and the services have not."

In 1950, according to census figures, there were 11,917 people between the ages of 5 and 19 living in the South Shore area. While

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it is difficult to say just how many of this number were actually attending schools in the South Shore area, it would seem safe to say that at least 75 percent, or 8,938 children, were in South Shore schools at that time. By 1960, the total figure for that age group was 12,012, 75 percent of which is 9,009. Projections prepared for the Chicago Board of Education indicated that in 1970 there would be a total of 15,385 children in the public and nonpublic schools. This figure breaks down into a public school enrollment of 13,599, and a nonpublic school enrollment of 1,794. By 1975, the total school enrollment is projected at 14,676, with 13,060 in the public schools and 1,616 in the nonpublic schools.

The transition in racial composition is also reflected in the school enrollment estimates for 1970 and 1975. In 1970, it was estimated that there were 3,215 whites and 10,376 non-white students in the public schools and 718 non-white students and 1,076 white students in nonpublic schools. By 1975, these estimates project that the enrollment of white children in the public schools will drop to 810, compared to 12,250 non-white children. In the non-public schools the number of white to non-white is much more equal, with estimates of 646 white to 970 non-white.

In projections made for the change in racial characteristics at South Shore High School between 1966 - 1970, the number of white students drops from 1,348 in 1966 to 500 in 1970, while the black student body increases from 934 to 2,010, and the total enrollment,

including students described as "others," increases from 2,321 in 1966 to 2,580 in 1970.

The first local crisis in community and public school affairs in the South Shore area came in 1964, when a Parent Teacher Association (PTA) became concerned about the racial make-up of that school. Between 1963 and 1965, the racial make-up of South Shore elementary schools had changed as follows:

School	Percentage Negro	
	1963	1965
O'Keeffe	40.0	85.4
Bryn Mawr	16.0	55.2
Horace Mann	7.0	43.0
Bradwell	.0	0.7
Parkside	90.0	97.8

Aware that Bryn Mawr would soon become an all black school unless some effort at racial balance was maintained, the PTA proposed that additional entering children whose presence in that school would upset the already precarious 60-40 balance should be sent to the nearest other public school. This recommendation was contrary to the Chicago Board of Education's "neighborhood school system," and the board attorney determined that it would impose an unconstitutional quota system based on race.

In early 1965, the PTA proposed an alternative "flower petal plan" in which Bryn Mawr would share overlapping boundaries with surrounding schools, and incoming children who would shift the racial make-up would attend the surrounding school nearest their home.

Because the neighboring schools could see that such a plan would have possible unbalancing effects on their racial composition, there was no agreement among the schools. Several other plans were suggested, but none were accepted. At that time, pressure was applied to Chicago School Superintendent Benjamin Willis and the Board of Education by the South Shore Commission and the Friends of the Chicago Schools Committee to provide a stabilizing plan for the South Shore area schools by the end of that school year.

Willis replied to this pressure by proposing to the Board a plan which he said was based on the welfare of every child ("not just in one or two schools, but in all Chicago schools,") and which "instead looked at the individual educational needs and tried to respond to them." His plan called for the following:

1. Creation of a new district, including the seven schools in the South Shore area.
2. Re-organizing the schools on a k-7 basis, placing grades 8 to 10 in the old high school building and erecting a new high school for grades 11 and 12.
3. Assigning graduates of Madison, who had formerly gone to Hirsch High School, and those of Fermi, Parkside, and O'Keefe, who had formerly gone to Hyde Park High School, to South Shore High School.
4. Reducing class size in the area elementary schools to 30.
5. Introducing a saturation program in the area schools.

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6. Developing a Saturday arts program.
7. Opening an evening junior college in the high school to serve area adults.
8. Creating an Action for Education committee, composed of school staff and community leaders, to work on the development of local educational programs.

This plan drew immediate criticism from the Commission and the PTAs at the schools involved. They said it would cause serious over-crowding of the high school and did not take into consideration the stability of the community. Also it brought in schools, Fermi and Madison, which were not part of the South Shore area and which would increase the color proportion of blacks at South Shore High School from 10 to 40 percent immediately. Later Willis modified his plan to exclude Madison and Fermi from the district and removed South Shore High School from the Bowen-Hirsch-South Shore Cluster.

One of the primary steps in the plan just discussed was the proposed creation of a new high school in the South Shore area. This school was to be designed to accommodate the eleventh and twelfth grades and would serve as a prototype of future schools in Chicago. In 1965, Willis told the Commission that the school would be ready for occupancy by September 1966. The construction was delayed until spring by litigation proceedings, and in February, 1966, Willis announced that the completion date was moved up to September, 1967. This, however, was not the case, and although the school was

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finally opened in September 1968, some areas of the building (such as the auditorium) are still unfinished in 1971.

While the community was waiting for the new high school, other changes were taking place in the existing high school. To reduce the overcrowded conditions there, three high school branches were set up at Bradwell, O'Keefe and Bryn Mawr. This step increased the overcrowding in the elementary schools. Bryn Mawr was now operating at 200 percent capacity.

Another problem came up about the special academic programs at the new high school. In the original proposal, it was promised that this school would be one of the most progressive in the Chicago area, but as the opening date came closer, the faculty began to doubt the validity of this idea. Also, teachers were concerned that, because of the overcrowding at the elementary schools, the new high school would be opened up to seventh and eighth graders, so that upon opening, the high school would be operating at 132 percent of capacity. A number of teachers wrote a letter to the area superintendent questioning these rumors, stating that the implementation of the rumored proposal would "preclude the possibility of meaningful creative programming and educational innovation to determine what role the schools can play in helping to stabilize an integrated community."

In the meeting with the faculty, the area superintendent promised that the school would serve only grades nine through

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twelve and would not be operated beyond capacity.

With the closing of the branch high schools, from three to four hundred additional seats were available. Teachers wanted to use these seats to establish advanced placement programs as suggested in a "mini magnet" proposal suggested by Superintendent James Redmond (successor to Benjamin Willis). However, this resulted in additional friction within the community, for while the teachers saw the "mini magnet" plan as an educational experiment, the South Shore Commission hoped it would keep and attract new white students to the area and the black community saw it as excluding qualified blacks in order to use the seats for white students.

After several months of meetings and communications between the school authorities and various community groups, a general understanding was reached. The high school was opened for grades nine through twelve on a permissive-transfer plan and offered special programs to attract both high quality white and black students.

A third major crisis in school-community relations came about as a result of city-wide discussion of bussing to achieve integration. Over the objections of its own Schools and Youth Committee, the Board of Directors of the South Shore Commission proposed to establish a one-way compulsory bussing plan but later modified this approach and proposed instead an intra-community bussing program (Plan A) in which each of the elementary schools would reflect the racial composition of the entire area.

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This plan was rejected by the Board of Education because the schools in the area were of too similar racial composition and two of them, Parkside and O'Keeffe, were over 96 percent black. Instead, the board suggested "Plan B" which called for the clustering of the five schools with less than 90 percent black students with the next five schools to the southeast. However, the community rejected this idea because the southeast was already having integration problems. It was feared these problems would increase the tension in South Shore.

Three additional plans (C, D, and E) were suggested and rejected after much controversy. Finally, Plan F was introduced, which called for a return to the one-way bussing of 463 students from three South Shore schools to nine schools to the southeast. This plan created a tremendous community reaction, and at the suggestion of Superintendent Redmond, the Board of Education voted to create a committee to hold hearings on the proposal. Three such hearings were held, with few community supporters for the proposal and many critics. Reaching no satisfactory agreement, the Board of Education decided to return the problem to Redmond for further work. After several months of continued meetings, the Board of Education suggested that two "mini magnet" schools with a 50-50 racial composition, drawn from 20 feeder schools on an equal basis, be established and offer special educational programs and reduced class size. Although this plan met with some favor, it was still questioned by liberal whites, militant blacks and "neighborhood school" people and eventually was dropped.

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Partially as a result of the past difficulties, recently there have been new problems between the community and the schools. Community residents seem to have lost confidence in the ability of the schools to handle the situation. Several people interviewed said they thought teachers were no longer able to maintain order in the classrooms, and students were undisciplined. Some area residents feel the local schools are not provided with necessary supplies and classroom materials. This is one of the several complaints recently included in a four-page list of grievances prepared by the Concerned Faculty Members of Horace Mann Elementary School and sent to the principal and district offices.

Public concern over these school problems has become apparent in several ways. At two of the schools, Bradwell and Horace Mann, parent groups have requested the resignation of the principals. Recently at Horace Mann, the parents' organization planned a week of "harrassment" to back up their demands. Included in this harrassment were a mass rally on the school grounds, delegations of parents visiting the principal to ask when she would be leaving, and parents visiting the classrooms. On the Sunday prior to the planned harrassment, there was a fire at the school (damage was estimated at \$10,000). The police suspected arson, but the PTA denied any involvement. A similar incident at Bradwell School last July caused \$2,000 in damage.

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Another tactic used by parent organizations is to boycott classes. Several South Shore schools have had boycotts in the last two years. Most recently, a boycott lasted for two weeks at Horace Mann.

Because of increasing problems in the public schools and the trouble with juvenile gangs, as discussed below, a number of parents have become alarmed enough to remove their children from the public schools. Some families move out of the area entirely. Others look for alternatives in education in terms of nonpublic schools, of which there are nine in the South Shore area, (three Catholic elementary schools, two Catholic high schools, a Jewish Day School, a Greek Orthodox Elementary School, a Montessori School, and the "Butler School").

One resident interviewed, a mother of six, has had children in both public and nonpublic schools. The two eldest attended a local public school, where the parent is still active in the PTA. The middle three children began in the public schools, but as the overcrowding continued, the parent enrolled them in a nonpublic school. The youngest child will be starting school in the fall and at first, the mother planned to send him to a public school. She changed her mind at a PTA meeting when the question came up, "What can we do about the children who are bringing guns to school?"

However, not all people who would like to send their children to nonpublic schools are able to do so. Another resident reported that his sister looked into nonpublic schools for her children because "it is not safe to send kids to public schools," but she

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found the costs for several children prohibitive. Her family then moved out of South Shore.

Another by-product of the transition in the South Shore area is an increase in crime levels and the activities of juvenile gangs. Gang activity is not new to this area. According to one resident, there have been white gangs for 25 years. In recent years, however, the problems have come primarily from the black gangs coming over from the Woodlawn area. Most residents interviewed said that, so far, they felt the leaders of such organizations were from outside the area, although the chairman of the Commission said that, while three years ago these gangs would be seen going over into Woodlawn for their activities, now they are coming into South Shore. He said the community was united against them and so far had managed to keep them from getting a strong hold on the youth in spite of the threats that if local youths did not join them, there would be people dead in the streets.

However, there has been a definite increase in the number of crimes, particularly auto thefts, street assaults, and robberies. According to figures published in January, 1971, in the Fourth District the January crime rate increased by 3.8 percent compared to a drop in the total city crime rate of 5.1 percent for the same time period. In the Third District, which covers the northern half

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of the South Shore area, there was a decrease of 0.1 percent. These percentages show a crime increase of 10.6 percent in the Third District and 55.8 percent in the Fourth District in the year since January, 1970.

As local crimes have increased and shopping patterns have changed, local stores have gone out of business or have moved to other areas. According to one resident, several years ago the South Shore was a self-contained area, well supplied with stores. Now many stores are vacant and there has been a decrease in the quality of the merchandise available and in the upkeep of the stores themselves. A number of small businesses reportedly closed or moved to avoid having to pay gang members for "protection". A store that was practically a landmark in the area closed recently when the owner was shot during a robbery.

Structured telephone interviews were conducted with 36 mothers with children in the Butler School, in an effort to elicit further evidence concerning the possible role of nonpublic schools in helping stabilize the community.²⁴ Response distributions (as shown) on the following items seem particularly pertinent:

Generally, how would you rate the quality of the public schools in your area? Would you say they are excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

excellent	<u>0</u>
pretty good	<u>4</u>
Only fair	<u>9</u>
poor	<u>33</u>

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Generally, how would you rate the quality of the Butler school? Would you say it is excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

excellent	<u>28</u>
pretty good	<u>8</u>
only fair	<u>0</u>
poor	<u>0</u>

Based on your own experience or on what you've heard or seen, how do you feel that the public schools in your neighborhood compare with a few years ago? Are they better, about the same, or not as good as they were a few years ago?

better	<u>4</u>
about the same	<u>4</u>
not as good	<u>27</u>
no way of knowing	<u>1</u>

How do you feel that the Butler school compares now with the way it was a few years ago? Is it better, about the same, or not as good as it was a few years ago?

better	<u>1</u>
about the same	<u>18</u>
not as good	<u>4</u>
no way of knowing	<u>13</u>

How about the next few years--do you think public schools in your area are going to get better, stay the same, or get worse?

get better	<u>8</u>
stay the same	<u>13</u>
get worse	<u>15</u>

How about the next few years--do you think the Butler school is going to get better, stay the same, or get worse?

get better	<u>3</u>
stay the same	<u>18</u>
get worse	<u>5</u>
can't say	<u>10</u>

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How do you feel the Butler school compares academically with the public schools in your area? Is it much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse?

much better	<u>34</u>
somewhat better	<u>2</u>
about the same	<u>0</u>
somewhat worse	<u>0</u>
much worse	<u>0</u>

Sometimes children are harmed physically at school or while on the way to or from school. How does the Butler school compare with public schools in your area in this regard? Is it much safer, somewhat safer, about the same, somewhat more dangerous, or much more dangerous?

much safer	<u>26</u>
somewhat safer	<u>3</u>
about the same	<u>7</u>
somewhat more dangerous	<u>0</u>
much more dangerous	<u>0</u>

Sometimes children run into bad moral influences at school. As compared with public schools in your area, is the Butler school much safer morally, somewhat safer morally, about the same, not as safe morally, or much less safe morally?

much safer morally	<u>26</u>
somewhat safer morally	<u>7</u>
about the same	<u>2</u>
somewhat less safe morally	<u>0</u>
much less safe morally	<u>0</u>

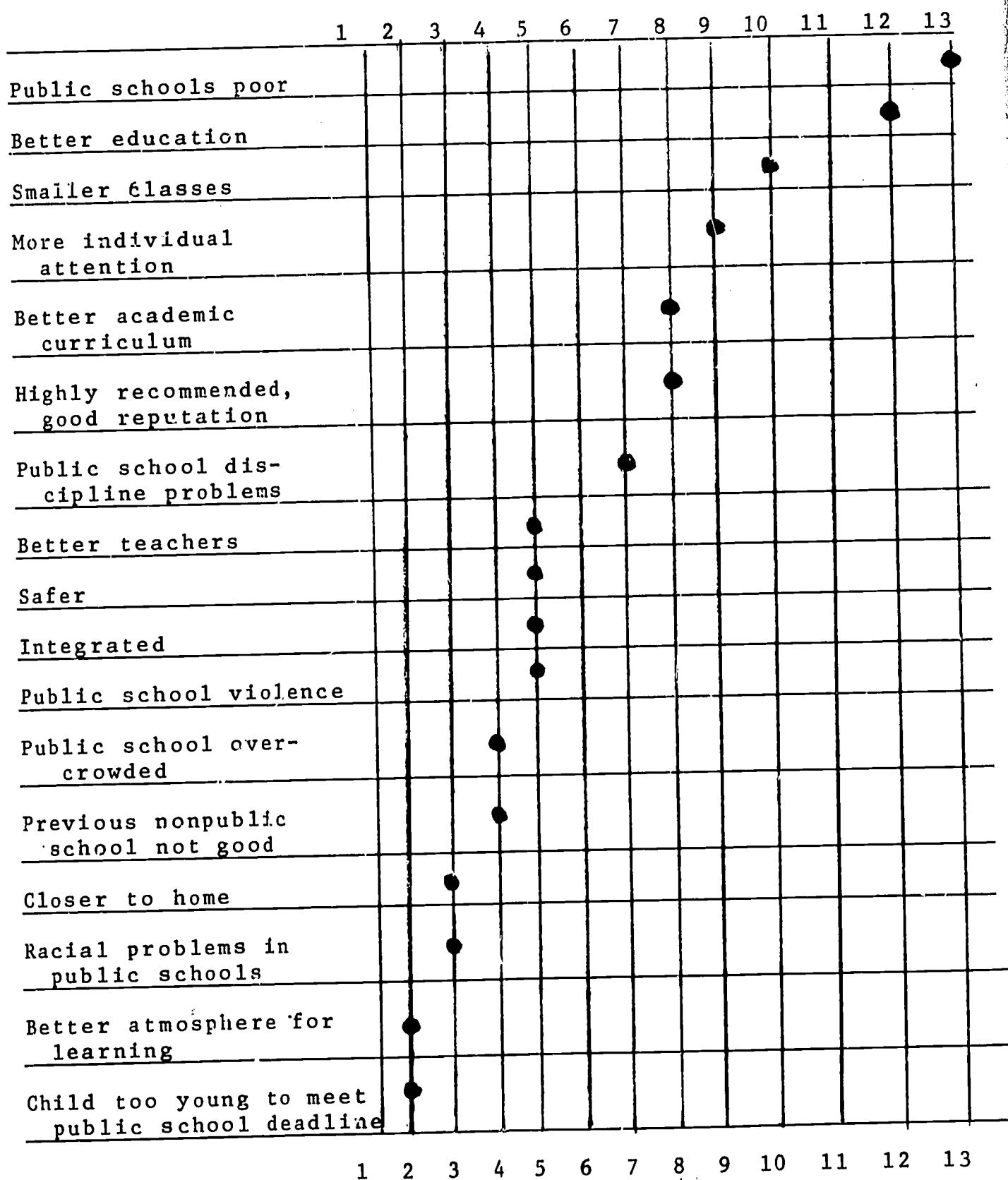
If the Butler school closed down at the end of this school year, what would you do?

seek another nonpublic school	26
move.....	6
send child(ren) to public schools.....	3
not returning to Butler anyway (dissatisfaction with school)	1

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Regarding your child _____, who is in the _____ grade:
 What are your major reasons for sending him/her to the
 Butler school? Any other reason? (Probe for several).

Number of Responses



(If mother said she would find another nonpublic school for the child). What if you could not get your child into another nonpublic school?

move	11
send to boarding school	5
send to public schools in area.....	6
send to public schools not in area (but not move).....	4

(Note that when both parts of this question are considered, a total of 18 parents out of 36, exactly 50 percent, indicated they would leave the community if no nonpublic school were available for their children.)

Approximately how much will it cost you (including transportation and other incidentals, to send this child to the Butler school during the present school year?

1st grade: \$	950.00	7th grade: \$	1500.00
	1200.00		1200.00
	960.00		don't know
	900.00	8th grade:	1600.00
	800.00		1100.00
2nd grade: \$	900.00		1300.00
	1200.00	9th grade:	2200.00
	1500.00		1600.00
	1000.00	10th grade:	2000.00
3rd grade: \$	1300.00		2000.00
	5000.00 (incl. donations)	11th grade:	1600.00
	1500.00		
	1500.00	12th grade:	2000.00
4th grade:	1500.00		
	2000.00		
	1600.00		
5th grade;	1100.00		
	1200.00		
	1800.00		
6th grade:	1400.00		
	1500.00		
	1500.00		
	2200.00		
	1700.00		

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What would you do if these costs increased by 10 percent a year for the next 5 years?

definitely tolerate.....24
borderline tolerance.....
(depends on salary,
economy, what other
alternatives are
available, etc.).....7
withdraw from Butler.....5

When you were a child, did you ever attend a nonpublic elementary or secondary school?

yes 8
no 28

For how long have you lived in the community where you are now located?

<u>Years</u>	<u>years</u>	<u>Years</u>
1.....1	5.....2	9.....1
2.....1	6.....3	10.....3
3.....5	7.....3	11.....2
4.....4	8.....1	12.....3
		over 12.....7

In the next two or three years, are you definitely planning to move out of this community, are you uncertain about moving, or are you definitely planning to stay?

Definitely planning to move 13
Uncertain 12
Definitely planning to stay 11

What is your husband's occupation? (If no husband, record interviewee's occupation.)

Professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher, clergy, etc.).....16
Executive, Managerial, Proprietor (president,
vice president or other officer, owner, etc.)..... 8
Creative and Communications (artist, writer, radio-TV,
newspapers, magazines, etc.)..... 4
Sales (other than retail)..... 2
White Collar or Civil Service (clerical, administrative,
supervisor, etc.)..... 3
Service (hotel, restaurant, repairs, etc.)..... 1
Skilled Labor, Craftsman, Foreman (carpenter, checker,
machinist, tool-die worker, welder, etc.

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Is your husband under 40 or older than that? (If no husband, do as in item 21).

Under 40.....17
Older than that....17
Just 40 2

What is the last grade of school your husband completed? (If no husband, do as in item 21).

8th grade or less.....0
Some high school.....1
High school graduate.....3
Some college.....2
2-yr. college graduate.....7
4-yr. college graduate.....8
Master's degree.....5
Doctorate.....10

Race (from school records)

White.....17
Negro.....18
Puerto Rican.....0
Mexican or
Spanish Amer.....0
Oriental.....0
Other (specify)...1 (Filipino)

What is your religion?

Protestant.....21
Roman Catholic... 9
Jewish..... 3
Other..... 3 (Unitarian, none,
Eastern Orthodox).

These data, we think, are sufficiently dramatic to need little comment. Combined with the preceding analysis of conditions in South Shore, they lead us to conclude that there are CP ("change-threatened, positively reacting") communities in which nonpublic schools make a profound contribution to the achievement and maintenance of stable racial integration. It seems tragic, consequently, that the Butler School, along with other nonpublic schools in the area, continues to

encounter staggering financial problems, largely because a sizeable proportion of its erstwhile high-income parents have moved away. Some of these parents have been replaced by parents who are less capable of supporting it financially. However, the school can no longer fill its classrooms with children whose parents can afford the tuition. It is operating considerably below capacity, and its future is far from assured.

2. Functions of Nonpublic Schools in CN Communities

We have defined CN ("change-threatened, negatively reacting") communities as those which are threatened with runaway racial change but in which the dominant reaction of citizens is negative--one of fear and hostility, resistance to racial mixing. Some CN communities seem clearly racist, but in others, factors are operating that seldom are adequately recognized. It is simplistic, for example, to analyze in identical terms a Ukrainian community that feels its integrity threatened by any non-Ukrainians who intrude upon its territory and a polyglot middle-class neighborhood that excludes outsiders on a selective basis (only blacks and/or Jews and/or Catholics). In the first instance, the exclusion is significantly a matter of maintaining ethnicity. In the second instance, the exclusion springs primarily from the view that some groups are inferior. We will return to this theme at a later point.

In an effort to discern in at least exploratory fashion the functions nonpublic schools might perform in CN communities, many of

them white ethnic in composition, we conducted a case study in Chicago's West Humboldt district. The school in question is Our Lady of the Angels (OLA), a Catholic school. (The analysis of West Humboldt that follows, with the research on which it is based, is the work of John A. Rohr of the University of Chicago).²⁵

Our lady of the Angels parish was established in 1894. Shortly thereafter, the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin arrived to staff a parochial school, which by 1906 served over 1,100 children. Church and school flourished until the internationally publicized fire in 1958. Within two years a new school had been built at a cost of \$1,250,000. In addition to an impressive array of modern educational equipment (reading machines, overhead projectors, etc.), the school features an elaborate "learning center" where children are instructed in small groups by electrical and mechanical devices supervised by some forty neighborhood women who volunteer their services as teacher-aides. The achievement of the pupils, the dedication of the parents, and the beauty of the plant are some of the factors underlying the justifiable pride of the parishioners in their school. It is not surprising that a pamphlet celebrating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the parish called the school "the jewel of the west side."

To understand the reasons for the strong parish loyalties to the school, we must consider more than its academic character.

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OLA serves a predominantly Italian neighborhood contiguous to rapidly changing areas of the south and east. Many of the Italian residents came to OLA from the older Italian settlement at Taylor Street on Chicago's near west side. Some of these people were forced to move because of urban renewal projects, while others feared the growing number of blacks in the area. More than a few OLA parents have recently arrived in the United States. Seven out of the ninety-one questionnaires sent out for this case study were returned because the parents did not understand English. There are also, of course, many life-long residents among the parents who send their children to OLA. The remarkable unity of the OLA community may be due not only to the religious and ethnic similarities of the people but also to the shared experience of the tragic fire.

Concern over the rapid changes in racial composition in nearby areas is a constant topic of conversation in West Humboldt neighborhoods. To the west of West Humboldt is the Austin area, whose celebrated busing crisis merited national attention in 1968. West Humboldt residents are well aware that Austin High School went from all white in 1963 to 73 percent Black in 1969. The eastern section of West Humboldt has already witnessed a remarkable influx of Puerto Ricans. Humboldt Park once served as a buffer zone between Puerto Ricans to the east and whites to the west, but after the 1966 riots, many Puerto Rican families "jumped"

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the buffer and settled in West Humboldt. The first public school west of the park had an enrollment that was 58 percent Puerto Rican in 1969-70. Chicago Avenue lies one block south of OLA and presently constitutes the dividing line between blacks (to the south) and whites (to the north.) The local public school, the Ryerson, had an enrollment that was 74 percent black in 1969-70. According to the principal's estimate, the enrollment is now 90 percent black. The Ryerson had been all white in 1963.

OLA is, therefore, surrounded by neighborhoods that have undergone remarkable racial changes in a very short time. The salient characteristics of the immediate environs of OLA are the presence of powerful community organizations determined to preserve stability in the neighborhood, along with aggressive and, at times, unscrupulous realtors, equally determined to upset this stability through "panic peddling."

The community organizers in the OLA area are unrelenting critics of the local realtors. They maintain the "panic peddlers" exploit the racial tensions of the neighborhood for their own profit. According to the community organizers the realtors will phone a home owner in an all white area and urge him to sell before it is too late.. "before the apes are on your doorstep." The victim of "panic peddling" will frequently sell his home for considerably less than it is worth. The purchaser is often a "straw buyer" hired by the realtors to buy up homes at bargain

prices. The realtors, their critics contend, then look for prospective black buyers, who will have to pay far more than the home is worth because of the limited housing market open to blacks. Thus, the realtor buys in a self-generated buyers' market and sells in a sellers' market. When one or two black families have moved in, the motives for panic selling are reinforced-- with more profits for the realtors.

If the neighborhood is not stabilized after the first few black families move in, poorer blacks will follow in the footsteps of their more affluent brethren. If they cannot afford a conventional mortgage, they will have to buy on contract--with even more profits for the realtor. The original black settlers soon discover that the ghetto they thought they had escaped has caught up with them. If they sell their new home, they suffer a substantial loss. The realtors, however, profit by the commissions they make each time a home is sold. With an assist from greedy realtors, the community organizations contend, integration becomes the interval between the arrival of the first blacks and the departure of the last whites.

The Organization for a Better Austin (OBA) is the best known community organization on Chicago's west side and serves as a paradigm for similar groups attempting to resist the blandishments of the "panic peddlers." It was organized in 1966 and draws support from local block clubs, churches, and businessmen. There

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are 187 organizations represented in OBA. Of these, 49 are black organizations, 41 are white, and 97 are bi-racial. The substantial black representation in OBA operates out of the basement of the Church adjoining the school. Rev. Richard Doderro, an assistant pastor at the parish, is a leading figure in the Committee's activities.

Our plan was to conduct telephone interviews with OLA parents, just as we did with parents in the Butler school (see earlier passages on the South Shore case study). However, as we noted earlier, parents in the area were so sensitive to harrassment by telephone (especially from "panic Peddlers") that we were forced to rely on mailed questionnaires instead.²⁶

The distribution of parental responses to the following items seems particularly noteworthy:

Generally, how would you rate the quality of the public schools in your area?

excellent	1
pretty good	5
only fair	23
poor	42

Generally, how would you rate the quality of OLA?

excellent	56
pretty good	17
only gsit	0
poor	0

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Based on your own experience or on what you've heard or seen, how do you feel that the public schools in your neighborhood compare with a few years ago? Are they better, about the same, or not as good as they were a few years ago?

better	4
about the same	5
not as good	61
no way of knowing	4

How do you feel that OLA compares now with the way it was a few years ago?

better	33
about the same	26
not as good	8
no way of knowing	5

How about the next few years--do you think public schools in your area are going to get better, stay the same, or get worse?

get better	4
stay the same	11
get worse	57

How do you feel OLA compares academically with the public schools in your area?

much better	67
somewhat better	3
about the same	0
somewhat worse	0
much worse	

Sometimes children are harmed physically at school or while on the way to or from school. How does OLA compare with public schools in your area in this regard? Is it much safer, somewhat safer, about the same, somewhat more dangerous or much more dangerous?

much safer	50
somewhat safer	14
about the same	6
somewhat more dangerous	2
much more dangerous	0

V:85

Sometimes children run into bad moral influences at school. As compared with public schools in your area, is OLA much safer morally, somewhat safer morally, about the same, not as safe morally, or much less safe morally?

much safer morally	54
somewhat safer morally	16
about the same	2
somewhat less safe morally	0
much less safe morally	0

Regarding your child _____, who is in the _____ grade: What are your major reasons for sending him/her to OLA

1. Religious education.....45
2. Higher academic standards.....41
3. Better discipline.....23
4. Better teaching.....20
5. OLA better than other schools in area.....16
6. Better moral training.....13
7. More individual attention and supervision.....13
8. Better equipment and facilities.....11
9. Safer..... 9
10. Closer to home..... 0
11. Less crowded..... 3

If OLA school closed down at the end of this school year and no other private school were available, would you prefer to move away or send your child to the local public school?

move away.....	63
send child to public school...	7

Approximately how much will it cost you (including transportation and other incidentals) to send this child to OLA during the present school year?

K	1st	2nd	3rd
\$150	\$150	\$195	\$ 75
150	170	200	125
300	200	200	140
	235	200	170
	250	260	195
	250	400	200
	250	400	200
	275	600	220
			225
			300
			400

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Approximate cost of sending child to OLA, cont'd.

<u>4th</u>	<u>5th</u>	<u>6th</u>
\$125	\$125	\$155
200	150	175
200	175	200
250	200	200
250	200	250
270	225	350
400	300	
700	330	
	350	
<u>7th</u>	<u>8th</u>	
\$150	\$170	
200	175	
200	200	
225	200	
250	200	
275	200	
320	265	
350	300	
450	300	

What would you do if these costs increased by 10 percent a year for the next 5 years?

pay.....33
don't know.....13
take child out of OLA.... 9
move..... 8
difficult to pay..... 5

In the next two or three years, are you definitely planning to move out of this community, are you uncertain about moving, or are you definitely planning to stay?

definitely planning to move...19
uncertain.....37
definitely planning to stay...16

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Why? Can you think of anything that might change your mind?

Move
Declining neighborhood...25
If OLA closes.....13
Unsafe from crime.....13

Stay
If community stabilizes
racially.....8

When you were a child, did you ever attend a nonpublic elementary or secondary school?

Yes...42
No....30

For how long have you lived in the community where you are now located?

1 yr. ...2	6 yrs...2	11 yrs...2
2 yrs....5	7 yrs....4	12 yrs...4
3 yrs....6	8 yrs....4	13 yrs...2
4 yrs....2	9 yrs....2	14 yrs...3
5 yrs....4	10 yrs....3	15 yrs...6
		over 15 yrs...22

What is the occupation of the head of the household?

Blue collar.....60
Clerical, sales..... 6
Semi-professional..... 2
Proprietors, entrepreneurs,
managers..... 4
Professional..... 1

Is the head of the household under 40 or older than that?

Under 40.....33
Older than that..40

What is the last grade of school completed by the head of the household?

8th grade or less.....19
Some high school.....19
High school graduate.....23
Some college..... 6
2 yr college graduate..... 3
4 yr college graduate..... 1
Master's degree..... 1
Doctorate..... 1

In what country was your parental grandfather (your father's father) born?

Italy.....	40
U.S.A.....	12
Poland.....	6
Russia.....	3
Germany.....	2
Mexico.....	2
Greece.....	2
Puerto Rico..	2
South. Amer..	1
Austria.....	1
Ireland.....	1

Here again, as in the case of the Butler School, the response patterns are so dramatic that little comment is required. It is pertinent, however, to note some startling differences between OLA and Butler. While the clientele at Butler is preponderantly professional, executive, and managerial, the clientele at OLA is predominantly blue collar. As a group, Butler parents are much better educated than OLA parents. Parents at OLA tend to be somewhat older than parents at Butler. OLA parents view public schools even more negatively than do Butler parents. While 50 percent of Butler parents say they would move if no nonpublic school were available to them, the corresponding proportion is 90 percent at OLA! While Butler is well integrated racially, OLA is for all practical purposes a white segregated school (according to data from school records). Tuition fees are much lower in OLA than in Butler. While Butler exhibits no notable concentration of parents from white ethnic groups, OLA appears to be primarily Italian.

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The remarkable loyalty of OLA parents to the school does not seem explainable on academic grounds alone--despite the reputed excellence of OLA. The OLA staff was not surprised at this finding. Neither were public school administrators at four neighboring schools. Neither was a local Protestant minister. The findings of the questionnaire fit the expectations of community leaders.

The parents indicated many reasons for sending their children to OLA, as indicated in the above-tabulated responses to item 5. Religious education, high academic standards, and better discipline were mentioned most frequently. None of the parents mentioned reluctance to have their children go to school with large numbers of blacks or Puerto Ricans. Community leaders, however, were unanimous in affirming that such reluctance was at least a partial cause for the parents' decision.²⁷

The opinion is persuasive. OLA draws students from four public school districts. While OLA is virtually all white, only one of these public schools, the Nobel, is all white. We have already noted that the Ryerson is approximately 90 percent black. The enrollment of Puerto Ricans at the Cameron jumped from 14 to 30 percent in one year (September, 1969 to September, 1970). The Orr Elementary School is 96 percent white, but is part of the same physical plant as the Orr High School, which was 48 percent black in 1969-70 and may be as high as 70 percent black in the current academic year (1970-71).

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The motivation behind OLA parents' support for their school is obviously a complex question. It is not very helpful to brand these people as "racists," since nearly every American to the right of Eldridge Cleaver has probably been called a racist at some time. Even if we could use the word "racism" with some precision, we would still have to decide where to draw the fine line between ethnocentricity, fear for the safety of one's children, and a legitimate concern for property values, on the one hand, and racism on the other.

When OLA Parents were asked about their plans if the school should close, the question was more than sheer speculation. The entire community--including public school officials--is deeply concerned about the future of OLA. The Pastor of the Advent Lutheran Church acknowledged that OLA and the Regular Democratic Organization are the only viable institutions in the neighborhood. Rumors of OLA's demise are heard with disturbing regularity in local bars and coffee shops. Such rumors, of course, have a dangerous tendency to become self-fulfilling prophecies. OLA's enrollment has declined dramatically over the past 10 years, as the following figures show:

1961.....	1615
1962.....	1572
1965.....	1548
1968.....	1384
1969.....	1200
1970.....	911
1971.....	866

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If this trend continues, the stabilizing influence of the school will be reduced significantly. Tuition increases have undoubtedly played an important part in the enrollment drop-off. Sister Bertilla, the principal of OLA, estimated the annual cost of educating one child at \$375. At present the tuition rates are \$170 per child. The parish pays the remaining \$205 from Sunday collections. Families with two children at OLA pay \$270, with \$480 coming from parish funds, and those with three pay \$340, with \$785 coming from the parish.

The main reason for the increase in tuition has been the decreasing number of nuns on the faculty and the corresponding increase in the number of lay teachers. In 1960 OLA had twenty-two nuns and eleven lay teachers. Less than \$100,000 was paid in salaries. In 1970 there were eleven nuns and seventeen lay teachers, with over \$200,000 going for salaries. The decreasing number of sisters is, of course, a well known phenomenon throughout the Catholic Church. There seems to be little hope of reversing the trend.

If OLA should close and 88 percent of parents should move (as they said they would), the "panic peddlers" certainly would not fail to profit from the development. West Humboldt would be added to the growing list of white ethnic neighborhoods that have turned black. White migration to the suburbs and outer fringes of the city would be accelerated. The demise of West Humboldt

would bring one step closer the urban structure we all hope to avoid--an affluent white ring around an impoverished black city. As more white families leave Chicago, the city's tax base will be gradually eroded and crushing tax burdens will be imposed on the gainfully employed who remain (or, more accurately, cannot escape.) In moving out of West Humboldt, the emigres might well look upon themselves as an uprooted people and bring their hatred and bitterness with them to the suburbs where they could perpetuate their attitudes and perhaps even pass them on, intact, to their children. Finally, the first black residents in the area around OLA would soon find themselves trapped once again in the ghetto they had sought to escape.

In trying to handle the problem of whether the Catholic Church (and perhaps government) should "subsidize racist attitudes in the name of neighborhood stability," it may be helpful to borrow a conceptual tool from Max Weber's essay, "Politics as a Vocation."²⁸ In this essay Weber distinguishes two ways of approaching ethical issues. The first he calls the ethic of ends and means (or "absolutist") and the second the ethic of responsibility. A man committed to an absolutist ethic believes certain forms of human behavior are always immoral and should never be done, regardless of circumstances. The example of the pacifist comes to mind readily. He will not participate in war--no matter how righteous the cause. Other men rely primarily on circumstances

when making moral judgments. They are not unprincipled, but their principles can be modified or even abandoned in extreme cases. Weber describes this approach as an ethic of responsibility--a concern with the result of one's action rather than with the means one employs. An example might be a doctor opposed to abortion unless the mother's life were seriously threatened.

Weber contends that only the man who embraces an ethic of responsibility has a vocation for politics. The nature of the political process requires so many compromises that a man burdened with many absolute moral principles--e.g. no wars, no abortions, no divorces, no racism, etc.--could not function effectively without sacrificing his integrity. In applying Weber's analysis to the situation at OLA, the crucial question would seem to be the moral character of the racism implied in "holding the line" against blacks. The political man will balance this evil against the many advantages that result from it, whereas the non-political man will have nothing to do with supporting any movement tainted with racism, regardless of the consequences. A political solution could accommodate the unwholesome attitudes of OLA parents by balancing them against the many praiseworthy motives of these people, and especially against the disastrous results of the alternatives to accommodation.

A helpful, if somewhat imprecise, analogy might be the way in which some nations subsidize prostitution by paying doctors for

periodic physical examinations required of licensed prostitutes. A legislator who voted for such a measure might well look upon prostitution as a moral abomination. Nevertheless he might believe that the wiser course is to control the evil effect of prostitution rather than wait for the day when men will desist from this form of self-indulgence. His action would not imply moral approval of prostitution. It would mean only that he felt attempts to drive prostitution underground would lead to greater harm than a policy of regulating it through a licensing system.

The analogy, like all analogies, is somewhat off target. It has the value, however, of calling attention to the fact that the central issue in our discussion is not the moral character of racism. The presumption is that racism, like prostitution, is morally wrong. The precise point at issue is to invite the reader to examine his conscience to discover the type of analysis he brings to questions of political morality. Is it one of moral absolutism in which a morally tainted means can never be used to bring about a good end or avoid a bad one? Or is it an ethic of responsibility in which the primary focus is on the results of one's decisions and behavior rather than on the means by which one reaches these results?

If the maintenance of schools like OLA is justifiable, the justification is that the public interest is served by dissuading these people from leaving their homes, fleeing the city, destroying

Chicago's tax base and, ultimately, contributing to the urban Gotterdammerung -- an affluent white ring around a decaying black ghetto.

Some might object that to maintain the "community stabilizing" private school is to deal with urban problems at a very superficial level. Wouldn't it be better to tackle such problems at a more fundamental level by trying to change the attitudes of parents who fear sending their children to schools with large numbers of blacks and Puerto Ricans? Wouldn't it be a far greater contribution to the public interest to attempt to change these attitudes rather than accommodating them by subsidizing private schools?

The response to this objection depends on one's philosophy of government--just how much good or, more precisely, what kinds of good can government achieve? We would suggest that The Federalist Papers provide a sound approach.²⁹ James Madison recognized the excellence of appeals to religion and morality to motivate men to do what is right. He did not ignore, however, the inefficacy of such appeals in public affairs. He realized that to be effective public policy must appeal to man's self-interest. The genius of democratic government does not lie in transforming men into angels but rather in making men as they are and channelling their passions and prejudices along socially constructive lines. We would suggest that maintaining schools like OLA stands squarely in The Federalist tradition. It recognizes that the people of

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West Humboldt, like most Americans, are tainted with America's primordial curse--racism. It does not try to change these people quickly at a fundamental level. It recognizes that an attempt to do so would be ineffective and perhaps even counter-productive. It takes them as they are--with their familial, ethnic, and religious loyalties as well as their racism--and argues that if their school does not survive they will move and thereby accelerate urban decay. It concludes that this would not be in the public interest and therefore looks for ways to prevent it.

* * * * *

The major conclusion of Rohr's analysis of conditions in West Humboldt seems clear--in CN ("change-threatened, negatively reacting") communities of this type, where typically there appears to be little chance of developing stable racial integration anyhow, one role of nonpublic schools (though one involving ethical complexities) is to provide a safe white haven for local youngsters so their parents will not move away and make conditions much worse than they are at present.

This may not be the only value of institutions like OLA, however. The preservation of ethnic white communities (assuming they may eventually be purged of whatever element of racism of which they are guilty) may be vital to the future availability of life-style options. As an alternative to racism, surely we do not seek a society ethnically homogenized!

Nevertheless, much social policy implies that the old "melting pot" ideal, to produce a uniform culture, is still a national goal. We act on many occasions as if the ideal community were racially, religiously, ethnically, and socio-economically undifferentiated. But there are emphatic, growing indications that many (perhaps most) citizens reject that assumption. Many groups have successfully resisted the melting pot. While acquiring the ability to interact in our society at many levels, they continue to maintain unique attributes, preferring to live in their own neighborhoods and restricting primary relationships to people having the same national origins.

There are apparently many reasons for the persistence of ethnicity in the United States, including the need for many people to seek a sense of identity through association with ethnic groups and a desire to relieve the monotony of mass culture. Many citizens, legislators, and scholars whose advocacy of egalitarianism is above reproach are nevertheless repelled by the image of an amorphous society, undifferentiated in basic life style.

The life-style options represented in an ethnically diverse society are as seriously restricted by the coercive break-up of an ethnic enclave whose members are trying to maintain it (take a Polish neighborhood on the far west side of Chicago) as through the coercive maintenance of an ethnic enclave whose members are

trying to desert it (take a black ghetto on the near west side of Chicago). To force blacks or Italians or Ukrainians or Chinese into a Polish community that is struggling to maintain its ethnic integrity is as destructive of freedom as to force blacks or Italians or Ukrainians or Chinese or Poles to stay in their ethnic communities when they want desperately to move out.

A second reason why the existence of white ethnic communities must be a serious consideration in public policy is that the commitment of white ethnics to their communities is an irreplaceable urban asset. To many other whites, a move to the suburbs may be justified simply by more pleasant physical surroundings. But many white ethnics are willing to stay in their urban locales long after physical conditions have deteriorated. They tolerate air pollution, noises, congestion, substandard services, and many other inconveniences because they have an extensive emotional and financial investment in these neighborhoods. Even a relatively quick tour through the ethnic areas of Chicago, for example, turns up many community organizations, often housed in expensive, recently erected buildings. One encounters impressive churches, schools, office buildings, meeting halls, etc., that would have to be abandoned at serious financial loss if the residents were to leave. Yet these enclaves have been obliterated frequently and continue to be threatened at present. The typical response of community leaders to the question, "How much longer can this neighborhood hold out?" is "five years at most" in Chicago areas we have visited.

Public leaders often seem unaware that white ethnic communities are generally healthy social systems in a disorganized, demoralized urban setting. Since many of the buildings in these neighborhoods are old, though generally well maintained, since population densities are high, and since mixed land uses are common, such areas frequently appear, to the superficial observer, like slums in the making.

Though a potent resource for urban rehabilitation, white ethnics typically feel estranged from government, and with good reason.³⁰ Their resistance to racial integration is typically characterized a pure bigotry, as if efforts to maintain ethnic integrity could be dismissed with the wave of a hand. Public leaders frequently jeopardize ethnic neighborhoods in misguided attempts to produce integration or "clear out the slums." Seldom recognized is the fact that white ethnic communities are generally healthy social systems in a disorganized demoralized urban setting. They are inhabited for the most part by long-time residents with a strong commitment to the neighborhood. People in these areas often exhibit deep roots in the family structure. The old and the young are mixed together in a more natural fashion than one finds in most suburban areas. The vitality of the area is enhanced by ethnic food stores and restaurants, fraternal and social organizations, and the physical proximity of relatives and friends. Rents are generally reasonable. Places of work are often close at hand. These assets compensate for mixed land uses, the prevalence of

somewhat unsightly buildings, and the fact that many homes, though well maintained, are old and far from beautiful by the standards of urban planners, who often can hardly wait, it appears, to replace them with expressways and expensive high-rise apartments that local people cannot afford.

The dissolution of white ethnic communities often sets in motion a chain of events that induces other whites to leave the city. The more affluent whites, living on the fringes of the city, discovered that working-class white ethnic communities no longer separate them from outward-moving blacks, and are the more likely to flee.

In the long run, perhaps, the right of some citizens to maintain ethnic neighborhoods and the right of other citizens to live in integrated neighborhoods do not necessarily conflict with each other. So long as ethnically distinct communities are greatly outnumbered by multi-ethnic or non-ethnic communities in the United States, as at present, the two values may be complementary. It seems unlikely that the majority of neighborhoods in the United States will ever attempt to maintain ethnic homogeneity.

There are encouraging indications of late in the vicinity of West Humboldt that the ultimate good which Rohr cites (in the passage above) as justifying a period of resistance to integration may not be unconscionably far off--if we are imaginative enough to devise strategies that do not presume an ability to rid man suddenly of

his foibles. Rev. Francis X. Lawlor, a Catholic priest in the area who for years has been condemned as a racist for helping local people resist enforced racial integration, has recently been taking steps that show much promise.³¹ First, he succeeded in his attempt to be elected as an alderman. Second, he held talks with Mrs. Anna Langford, a black alderman from an adjoining black ward. Then he and Mrs. Langford established committees of people from their two wards to work together cooperatively on the solution of mutual problems, including the stabilization of the communities. Father Lawlor's actions seem to embody a strategy that has seldom been tried: Instead of forcing working-class white ethnic communities to accept Blacks (a tactic that seems almost inevitably to backfire), perhaps we should instead take steps to reduce the threat that the movement of Black people poses, even if that means temporary abandonment of efforts to achieve integration. With the threat reduced, the white ethnics and the blacks may be able to develop cooperative arrangements. Eventually, much social scientific research suggests, the need to collaborate on the solution of mutual problems may create understanding and acceptance between the groups.³² Contact between groups is not enough to combat prejudice. The relationship must be relatively non-threatening and must provide an occasion for unity in a common cause.

To supplement data provided thus far concerning the community-stabilizing role of nonpublic schools, we conducted telephone interviews with mothers from three Catholic parochial schools in greater

Boston, using methods identical to those utilized for the Butler school (see details provided earlier).³³ St. Angela's elementary school is located in the Mattapan area of Boston, which was until about five years ago a Jewish-Irish neighborhood. The public schools had excellent reputations. As more and more Black citizens moved in, local people perceived the public schools as deteriorating. The Jewish families left very quickly, but many Irish Catholics have remained. St. Angela's school is about 15 percent Black. The pastor thinks the neighborhood will become entirely Black, but hopes the process can be slowed. He thinks the neighborhood may be able to remain integrated for ten or fifteen years. Part of the existing stability seems due to the availability of St. Angela's school, and part to the fact that, since homes in the area are high quality, people are reluctant to sell them.

St. Mark's school, in the Dorchester section of Boston, is entirely white. However, the public schools of the area draw from the neighboring Black community. If the parochial school closes, the parents will have the choice of sending their children to predominantly black public schools or moving away.

St. Peter's, also in the Dorchester section, is in the direct path of the Black migration. Real estate prices have plummeted. What is going to happen to the community remains a question mark. A few black families have purchased homes in the parish, but they are isolated instances. In most cases, the pastor says, they are better citizens than their white predecessors. Here the quality of

the real estate is much poorer than in the other two parishes mentioned, consisting mostly of wooden two and three deckers. Most parishioners are lower class. The pastor predicts the area will become Boston's worst slum eventually, but can't predict the rate at which this will happen.

The distribution of the responses of mothers from St. Angela's, St. Mark's and St. Peter's to the most important interview items are as follows:

Generally, how would you rate the quality of the school? Would you say it is excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

	St. Angela	St. Mark	St. Peter
excellent	4	0	0
pretty good	9	10	9
only fair	19	5	11
poor	13	4	4
don't know	2	2	2

Based on your own experience or on what you've heard or seen, how do you feel that the public schools in your neighborhood compare with a few years ago? Are they better, about the same, or not as good as they were a few years ago?

better	1	2	
about the same	6	7	5
not as good	35	9	14
no way of knowing	5	3	7

How do you feel that the school compares now with the way it was a few years ago? Is it better, about the same, or not as good as it was a few years ago?

better	18	8	7
about the same	23	8	15
not as good	4	5	3
no way of knowing	2	0	1

How about the next few years--do you think public schools in your area are going to get better, stay the same, or get worse?

	St. Angela	St. Mark	St. Peter
get better	8	9	3
stay the same	13	5	8
get worse	25	6	12
don't know	1	1	2

How about the next few years--do you think the _____ school is going to get better, stay the same, or get worse?

get better	19	11	4
stay the same	22	6	11
get worse	0	3	5
can't say	6	1	4

How do you feel the _____ school compares academically with the public schools in your area? Is it much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse?

much better	27	8	14
somewhat better	14	4	5
about the same	4	6	7
somewhat worse	0	2	0
much worse	0	0	1

Sometimes children are harmed physically at school or while on the way to or from school. How does the _____ school compare with public schools in your area in this regard? Is it much safer, somewhat safer, about the same, somewhat more dangerous, or much more dangerous?

much safer	16	6	5
somewhat safer	20	4	9
about the same	10	11	11
somewhat more dangerous	1	0	1
much more dangerous	0	0	0

Sometimes children run into bad moral influences at school. As compared with public schools in your area, is the school much safer morally, somewhat safer morally, about the same, not as safe morally or much less safe morally?

	St. Angela	St. Mark	St. Peter
much safer morally	30	7	16
somewhat safer morally	7	5	4
about the same	10	10	6
somewhat less safe morally	0	0	0
much less safe morally	0	0	0

Regarding your child , who is in the grade: What are your major reasons for sending him/her to the school? Any other reasons? (Probe for several).

- St. Angela
- Better education.....32
 - Religious training.....24
 - Better discipline.....18
 - Tradition in family (Catholic schools).....13
 - Good teachers--dedication...10
 - Public schools bad..... 9
 - Moral training..... 4
 - More individual attention... 4
 - Objection to blacks in public school..... 4
 - Respect for authority..... 3
 - Teacher turnover rate high in public school..... 2
 - Integration in St. Angela (not all Black)..... 1

- St. Mark
- Religious education.....14
 - Good education..... 8
 - Discipline..... 7
 - Traditional..... 4
 - Closer 4
 - Other members of family went to Catholic school.... 4
 - Better than other schools around..... 2
 - Preference..... 2
 - Felt it was the thing to do.. 2
 - Atmosphere..... 1
 - Good teaching..... 1
 - Religious duty..... 1
 - More individual attention.... 1

- St. Peter
- Religions education.....20
 - Discipline.....13
 - Good education..... 8
 - Closer..... 3
 - Nuns,better teachers..... 3
 - Tradition.....3
 - Other family members went there.....3
 - History of Catholic schools in family..... 2
 - Relative in the religious order..... 1
 - Preference..... 1
 - Neighbors' children go there.. 1
 - More individual attention.... 1
 - Best school in area..... 1

Has your child attended any other school?

	<u>St. Angela</u>	<u>St. Mark</u>	<u>St. Peter</u>
Yes	34	6	8
No	13	15	17

Why did you change?

	<u>St. Angela</u>	<u>Public</u>	<u>Private</u>
Better education		12	
Religious education.....		8	1
No kindergarten in private school..		8	
More discipline		6	
Tradition on private schooling in family.....		4	
Blacks in public schools.....		4	
Better teachers.....		3	
Closer.....		2	2
More individual attention,,.....		1	
Poor communication between teacher and parents.....		1	
Waiting list at St. Angela;s.....		1	
Too much pressure.....		1	
Limited to a certain grade only....		1	
<u>St. Mark</u>			
Religious training at st. Mark's..		2	
Better education at St. Mark's....		2	
Class size too large.....		1	
More attention given at St. Mark's		1	
Couldn't afford.....			1
<u>St. Peter</u>			
Parochial education.....		4	
Poor education.....		2	
No room at St. Peters at that time		1	
No kindergarten at St. Peter's...		1	

If the _____ school closed down at the end of this school year, what would you do?

St. Angela
 Move.....17
 Look for another private school...16
 Send to public school..... 9
 Don't know..... 3
 Tutor..... 1
 Send to another area through busing.....1

St. Mark
 Send to public school.....8
 Send to nonpublic school..6
 Best education offered....2
 Don't know.....2
 Move.....2
 Can't close.....1

St. Peter
 Another private school.....8
 Be disturbed.....2
 Public school.....11
 Move..... 3
 Don't know..... 1
 Not concerned.....1
 No public school at all....1

(If mother says she would find another nonpublic school for the child). What if you could not get your child into another nonpublic school?

St. Angela
 Forced to send to public school.....8
 Don't know.....3
 Tutor.....1
 Send to another area through busing.....1

St. Mark
 Send to public school.....6

St. Peter
 Public school.....7
 Move.....1
 Public school.....1
 Don't know.....1

Approximately how much will it cost you (include transportation and other incidentals) to send this child to the _____ school during the present school year?

St. Angela
 1st grade
 50
 90
 100
 108
 125
 180
 300

St. Mark
 1st grade
 No students in this grade

St. Peter
 1st grade
 50
 70
 115
 150

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Cost to send child to _____ school, cont'd.

<u>St. Angela</u>	<u>St. Mark</u>	<u>St. Peter</u>
2nd grade	2nd grade	2nd grade
108		50
150	No students in this	65
160	grade	75
170		85
180		
3rd grade	3rd grade	3rd grade
63		90
80	No students in this	100
100	grade	100
130		160
150		
4th grade	4th grade	4th grade
70		75
90	No students in this	75
90	grade	100
108		170
150		
5th grade	5th grade	5th grade
55		50
60	No students in this	125
65	grade	125
70		145
80		
110		
118		
140		
150		
6th grade	6th grade	6th grade
100	60	30
108	60	50
110	75	
125	80	
125	95	
	180	
	180	
7th grade	7th grade	7th grade
70	40	50
100	65	120
100	70	
100	80	
180	80	
	130	
	150	

Cost to send child to _____ school, cont'd.

<u>St. Angela</u>	<u>St. Mark</u>	<u>St. Peter</u>
8th grade	8th grade	8th grade
45	80	75
60	150	100
85	160	
80	160	
108	170	
	180	
10th grade	200	
1,000		

What would you do if these costs increased by 10 percent a year for the next five years?

Pay.....40	Pay.....16	Pay.....18
Difficult to pay.3	Take child out.3	Difficult to pay.3
Don't know.....2	Couldn't pay...1	Remove child.....1
Remove child.....1	Don't know.....1	Don't know.....1

When you were a child, did you ever attend a nonpublic elementary or secondary school?

yes.....27	yes.....13	yes.....20
no.....19	no.....18	no..... 6

How long have you lived in the community where you are now located?

1.....1	5.....2
2.....2	6.....1
3.....2	7.....3
4.....4	8.....1
6.....3	11.....3
7.....3	14.....2
8.....3	pvar 15.....14
9.....3	
11.....1	
12.....1	
13.....1	
14.....1	
15.....2	
16.....2	
18.....1	
20.....1	
over 20...17	

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In the next two or three years, are you definitely planning to move out of this community, are you uncertain about moving, or are you definitely planning to stay?

	<u>St. Angela</u>	<u>St. Mark</u>	<u>St. Peter</u>
Definitely planning to move	8	1	7
Uncertain	16	6	6
Definitely planning to stay	22	14	13

Why? Can you think of anything that might change your mind? (Probe)

St. Angela

Move

If neighborhood goes all black..14
If St. Angela's closes..... 7
Poor schools..... 7
Unsafe conditions..... 5
House getting small..... 2
If services in community are
not maintained..... 1

Stay

Like the area.....11
Convenient..... 2
Family nearby..... 2
Owns own home..... 2

St. Mark

Move

If St. Mark's closes..... 3
Crime..... 1
Buy own home..... 1

Stay

Economic reasons.....2
Happy here.....2
Near work.....1
Just moved in,
would lose financially..1

St. Peter

Move

Safety endangered..... 3
Blacks moving in..... 2
Closure of St. Peter's.....2
Poor schools.....2
Cheap whites moving in.....1
Old house.....1

Stay

Can't afford to move...3
Relatives nearby.....1
Like the area.....1
Must cope with changes..1

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What is your husband's occupation? (If no husband, record interviewee's occupation.)

	St. Angela	St. Mark	St. Peter
Professional	3	3	0
Executive, Managerial, Proprietor	3	3	0
Creative and Communications	1	0	0
Sales (Retail sales)	1	2	2
All other sales	0	0	0
White collar or Civil Service	11	5	4
Transportation	4	1	3
Service (hotel, restaurant, repairs, etc.)	3	1	2
Skilled Labor, Craftsman, Foreman	11	5	12
Semi- and Unskilled Labor	4	0	1
Farmer	0	0	0
Other (specify)	sys. analyst	Elec. Mntn.	disabled
	police officer		housewife
	widowed Housewife		
	army colonel		
	housewife		
	disabled		

Is your husband under 40 or older than that? (If no husband, record interviewee's age.)

Under 40.....	20.....	5	11
Older than that.....	27.....	15	15

What is the last grade of school your husband completed? If no husband record interviewee's schooling.

8th grade or less.....	0	0	3
Some high school.....	7	5	8
High School graduate.....	28	5	7
Some college.....	5	4	5
2-yr. college graduate.....	0	2	1
4-yr. college graduate.....	4	4	2
Master's degree	2	0	0
Doctorate	1	1	0
Law school.....	1

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Race (from school records)

	St. Angela	St. Mark	St. Peter
White	38	19	21
Negro	1		
Puerto Rican			
Mexican or			
Spanish American.....	1		
Oriental			
Other (specify).....			
No answer.....			

(Omit for Black interviewees)

In what country was your paternal grandfather (your father's father born?)

	St. Angela	St. Mark	St. Peter
U.S. or Canada.....	14	7	9
Ireland.....	18	9	13
England, Scotland or Wales.....	3	1	1
Germany.....	1	0	0
France.....	1	0	0
Italy.....	4	2	0
Spain or Portugal.....	0	1	0
Greece.....	0	0	0
Other (specify).....	3	1	1
	Dominican Rep.	New Found.	Russia
	Romania		
	Don't know		

What is your religion?

Protestant			
Roman Catholic	47	20	26
Jewish			
Other			

3. Functions of Nonpublic Schools in SF Communities

We have defined SF ("stable, feasible") communities as those which are relatively stable racially and are so located that considerable racial integration can be achieved by changing attendance area boundaries, busing children to and from other communities, and other tactics. For some children, virtually all stable communities may fall into this category, for there are few areas in which no integration is feasible.

Here again, it has not been possible for us to secure representative data. Our purpose is to explore relationships that do occur, though with unknown frequency. Further work should be conducted to clarify the national picture in this regard.

National leaders of nonpublic school groups seem to have no difficulty identifying schools that have as a central goal the maintenance of a stable, integrated student body for children who would not otherwise enjoy that advantage. Two examples, reportedly are the Manhattan Country School in New York City and the Germantown Friends School in Philadelphia. We would strongly recommend studies to determine how many schools of this type are functioning in the United States, and with what apparent results.

For present purposes, only one example of the trend will be cited, the program known as ABC (A Better Chance"), is run cooperatively by approximately one hundred member institutions of the National Association of Independent Schools.³⁴

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The program, begun in 1964, has as its spearhead component the Independent Schools Talent Search, an effort to find acutely disadvantaged youth who might benefit from spending at least three years in the "beefed-up" environment of an outstanding college preparatory boarding school. Table 29 along with Figure 1, summarizes family background information concerning the 1,800 students thus enrolled. Before entering the independent school, each student is provided with a summer program designed to ease the transition, mainly by giving him confidence in his ability to adjust to an independent school. Thus far, over 600 participants have graduated from independent schools and gone on to the colleges and universities shown in Table 30. Some 800 are enrolled in ABC independent schools during the current year (1970-71).

A study is now being conducted, with foundation funding, to assess the results of ABC, which, by removing a student from a frequently destructive environment to a well appointed boarding school for three years, may be one of the most intensive "compensatory" interventions thus far attempted. The estimated per-pupil cost for the three years is placed between \$10,000 and \$12,000. The bulk of the program has been underwritten by the schools themselves, with the help of private philanthropy (see Table 31). Between 1964 and 1969-70 some public funds were made available, particularly through the Office of Economic Opportunity. We are informed that participating school officials are extremely enthusiastic about ABC and would expand it vastly if necessary funds could be obtained.

TABLE 29
FAMILY BACKGROUNDS OF ABC STUDENTS

Year of Entry	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1964-70 Average
Median family income (\$)	5320	4940	4640	4420	4160	4260	4850	4480
Mother's education (median years of school)	12.2	10.8	10.6	10.3	10.0	10.5	10.2	10.6
Father's education (median years of school)	11.5	10.3	9.8	10.0	9.3	9.9	9.5	9.7
Students NOT living with both parents (%)	39	41	44	59	51	57	61	52
Families receiving welfare (%)	17	23	21	26	25	41	44	29

TABLE 30
COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY ATTENDANCE
OF ABC INDEPENDENT SCHOOL GRADUATES, 1966-70

Harvard 30	Stanford 8
University of Pennsylvania 27	Trinity 8
Dartmouth 20	Hamilton 7
Tufts 20	Case Western Reserve 6
Yale 18	Fordham 6
Columbia 17	Hobart 6
Williams 16	University of Michigan 6
Cornell 13	Princeton 6
Wesleyan 13	Amherst 5
Carleton 12	Boston University 5
N.Y.U. 11	University of Connecticut 5
Oberlin 10	Howard 5
Antioch 9	Lincoln 5
Brown 9	Northwestern 5
Northeastern 9	Radcliffe 5

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TABLE 30, Cont'd

College and University Attendance
of ABC Independent School Graduates, 1966-70

Simmons 5	Boston College 2
Washington 5	Bowdoin 2
Barnard 4	University of Colorado 2
Brandeis 4	Connecticut College for Women 2
Clark 4	Drexel Institute 2
Duke 4	Earlham 2
M.I.T. 4	Elmhurst 2
Ohio Wesleyan 4	Federal City 2
Syracuse 4	Georgetown 2
Wayne State 4	Hartwick 2
Alfred 3	Jackson 2
American 3	Lawrence 2
Univ. of Chicago 3	Macalester 2
Colby 3	Manhattanville 2
University of Denver 3	University of Massachusetts, Boston 2
Dickinson 3	Middlebury 2
Emory 3	Pennsylvania State 2
Hampshire 3	Pomona 2
Lake Forest 3	Prescott 2
University of Massa- chusetts, Amherst 3	Rensselaer Polytechnic 2
Pembroke 3	Rice 2
University of Pittsburgh 3	Springfield 2
University of Rochester 3	Tulane 2
Rutgers 3	Vanderbilt 2
Sarah Lawrence 3	University of Vermont 2
Swathmore 3	Western Michigan 2
Utica College of Syracuse University 3	Wheelock 2
Union 3	Wittenburg 2
Vassar 3	Worcester 2
Albion 2	
Baylor 2	
	Other colleges 125 (one student each)
	TOTAL - 607

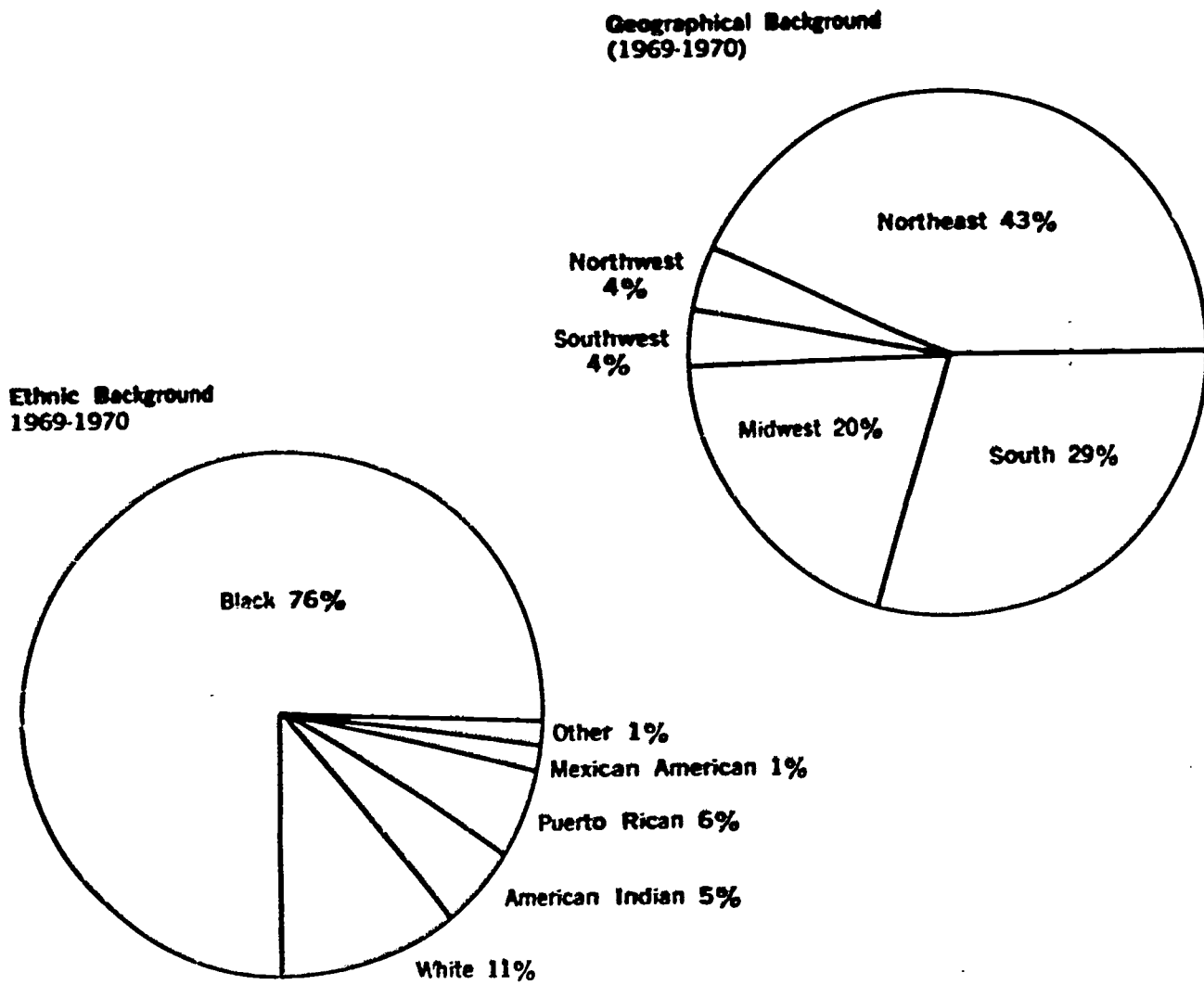


Fig. 1. - Ethnic and Geographic Origins of ABC Students.

TABLE 31
SOURCES OF SCHOLARSHIPS FOR ABC STUDENTS

	'64	'65	'66	'67	'68	'69	'70	Total
Federally financed students	--	100	300	50	50	--	--	500
Students financed entirely by ABC Schools	63	93	155	133	189	184	174	991
Students financed with the aid of ABC matching scholarships	--	--	--	40	67	144	126	377
Total of new students	63	193	455	223	306	328	300	1868

We are inclined to conclude that the potential for using non-public schools to help achieve racial justice in SF communities is very great, and that some significant contributions (unknown in extent at this point) have been made in the past.

4. Functions of Nonpublic Schools in SN Communities

We have defined SN ("Stable, not feasible") communities as those which are relatively stable racially but which, because of geographic and other limitations, present little opportunity for racial integration in the schools, at least for the vast majority of youngsters. (Our comments here are most applicable to all black communities). When children cannot be given the benefits of

integrated schooling, steps can nevertheless be taken to advance the cause of racial justice. In the long run, perhaps the most important contribution of the schools in these situations is to help the minority groups whose children attend these schools achieve economic and political parity. It seems likely to us, at least, that prejudice against nonwhites in the United States will persist until these minorities have achieved economic and political power.

There is considerable evidence to suggest that whenever two interacting human groups are notably unequal economically and politically, the advantaged group will hold prejudiced views toward the less advantaged group, perhaps partly as a way of managing guilt.³⁵ Idiosyncracies of language, morality, body build, facial characteristics, and dress that might be viewed as charming features of an equal group will be regarded as marks of inferiority in a disadvantaged group. It is far from accidental, for instance, that a wide range of dialects spoken by white citizens in the United States are accepted as the speech of intelligent people, whereas the verbal patterns of blacks, though richly expressive, are designated as "substandard," to be eradicated as quickly as possible.³⁶

The need for parity is a focal concern of the Black Power movement. Many black leaders are convinced, partly on the basis of the history of other ethnic groups in the United States, that

blacks will always be oppressed and discriminated against until they develop their own economic and political power base -- that social equality is largely a function of equality in other spheres. One possibility in this regard is that black Americans might fruitfully pursue the example of American Catholics, who developed their own nonpublic school system as a device for getting ahead in a society whose public schools were hostile to Catholic interests in many particulars.³⁷

Whether schools for blacks are run by black people or not, there is little doubt that fundamental reforms are long overdue in education, particularly in the inner city. So long as large proportions of black children fail to develop adequate basic skills economic and political parity is unlikely to be achieved. For present purposes, the central question is whether the necessary improvements are likely to come at all, or come quickly enough, through public education almost exclusively, or whether, as an alternative, nonpublic schools must play an important role.

This is obviously not the place, in the light of the space already consumed, for a prolonged discussion of the comparative contributions of public and nonpublic schools to the improvement of educational practices through experimentation and other means, but we should highlight at least the major considerations. It is sometimes argued that the very existence of nonpublic schools makes reform more difficult to achieve in public education by draining

off citizen interest.³⁸ The available research on this question (summarized in Appendix C), though not conclusive, suggests that the charge is not generally valid.

It can be argued with much cogency, however, that educational experimentation should be diverse and wide-ranging in a day when there is growing consensus that the schools are not performing within a tolerable proximity to citizen aspirations, yet no clear solution can be identified. Imaginative students of education can broach strategies that seem promising, but none whose worth has been substantiated conclusively in a variety of settings.

In tranquil times, schoolmen might calmly mark time while waiting for researchers and a few radical experimenters to produce a sure method for improving education substantially. In the current crisis, it may be mandatory for the schools to experiment on a widespread basis with approaches which though not yet definitely proven effective, seem more hope-inspiring than business-as-usual. If so, a range of organizational forms should be utilized to foster maximum flexibility. All organizations seem to resist changes that threaten the hard-won rewards of their members, but organizations structured in different ways will differ as to the changes they resist. Some experiments should be more easily executed in public schools than anywhere else--new arrangements for articulating the work of elementary and secondary schools in a large city, for example. Existing nonpublic schools should be particularly well suited to other experiments--such as departures from the urban approach to teacher preparation and certification. Only a few

nonpublic schools, catering to special groups of parents, may be able to try some radical ideas--take Summerhill's concepts as an instance. Still other experimentation may never occur unless new nonpublic schools are created, nonpublic schools unlike any that now exist.

The recent growth of such iconoclastic enterprises as "street academies," "storefront learning centers," and "free schools" would seem to indicate that a growing number of people concerned with the education of the disadvantaged view the private sector as the best place to institute needed improvements, at least initially.³⁹ The assumption is breaking down that the best source of opportunity for upward mobility is necessarily the public schools. The research of Colin Greer at Columbia University indicates that the extent to which public schools have helped the disadvantaged in the past has been greatly exaggerated.⁴⁰ In fairly recent studies in the State of Michigan and the City of Chicago, evidence was uncovered to the effect that there was greater equality of opportunity extended to the rich and poor students in Catholic schools than in public schools.⁴¹ (The latter study appears in Volume IV, Appendix B). When the proportion of academic achievement gains attributable to in-school variables was isolated, the "Chicago study suggested that the public schools were doing their best job with the wealthy, at the expense of the poor, whereas the Catholic schools were doing their best job with the impoverished, not the rich."⁴² There is evidence that in the past the Catholic schools significantly aided

outcast Catholics in their attempts to secure acceptance and status in this society.⁴³ It seems entirely possible, then, that nonpublic schools may have a vital role to play in helping achieve racial justice for future citizens for whom racial integration in the schools is not a realistic goal at the present time.

Summary

The function of this chapter was to analyze the charge that nonpublic schools in the United States are necessarily an impediment to racial integration (and thus, more generally, to racial justice). The available data concerning integration in nonpublic schools did not substantiate the charge. It would be difficult, apparently, to demonstrate (particularly outside the South) that public schools as a total group are significantly more integrated than nonpublic schools as a total group.

When we examined the issue by looking at more clearly defined situations, the above-mentioned charges seemed to be based on a simplistic view of problems involved in achieving racial justice. In some racially integrated communities, nonpublic schools are a vital instrument for preserving integration. In some predominantly white communities that resist integration, nonpublic schools help prevent a rapid exodus of whites and thus keep open the possibility of developing rapprochement between blacks and whites. Nothing could be much worse in this regard than for the geographic separation of blacks and whites to be vastly intensified and for the

interests of the cities and the suburbs to be further polarized. In some stable communities where integration is feasible, nonpublic schools are making a strong contribution to that end. For the many disadvantaged children for whom integration is not feasible, the nonpublic schools may help produce a more adequate quality of education. There are also communities, no doubt, in which nonpublic schools are a net liability in the struggle for racial justice.

National studies should be launched to provide information concerning the frequency of these trends. In the meantime, however, the conclusion seems valid that the potential for using nonpublic schools as an instrument for achieving racial justice is very great. To state that the objective would be more readily achieved if nonpublic schools were curtailed or abolished is obviously naive and indefensible.

FOOTNOTES

1. Walter McCann and Judith Areen, "Vouchers and the Citizens--Some Legal Questions," Teachers College Record, 72 (February, 1971), 391.
2. See, for example, "NEA Moves to Aid Black Mississippians," NEA Reporter, Feb. 27, 1970; Winifred Green, untitled paper presented at seminar on "Public Funds for Nonpublic Schools" sponsored by National Committee for Support of the Public Schools. Washington, D.C., January 27, 1970; Reese Cleghorn, "The Old South Tries Again," Saturday Review, May 16, 1970; Jim Leeson, "Private Schools Continue to Increase in the South," Southern Education Report, II (Nov., 1966), 22-25; "Many Southern Schools Bar Doors to Negroes, Defying Federal Law," Wall Street Journal, Sept. 24, 1969; "Supreme Court Ruling May Spur Segregation of Some Dixie Schools," Wall Street Journal, November 11, 1969; "South's All-White Private Academies Double This Year," Chicago Tribune, November 27, 1970.

3. Thomas Pettigrew, "School Integration in Current Perspective," Urban Review, 3 (January, 1969), 4-8. Silberman has made essentially the same charge. See (Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in Black and White (:New York: Random House, 1964), p. 291.
4. At a special institute on "The Relationship between School Decentralization and Racial Integration," at Teachers College, Columbia University, under the sponsorship of the U. S. Office of Education, July 11, 1968.
5. David Seeley quoted, ibid., p. 8.
6. The data are drawn from a survey conducted by the National Catholic Education Association (NCEA) and reported in NCEA's Report on U. S. Catholic Schools, 1970-71. These data were gathered as part of a survey by the National Center for Educational Statistics (in the U. S. Office of Education) of all nonpublic schools (unfortunately the data on non-Catholic nonpublic schools are still unavailable). The Catholic data were analyzed and described by the Rev. George Elford, Ed.D., Director of the NCEA Data Bank. The section of the paper dealing with national and regional minority group enrollment patterns in Catholic schools draws heavily on his preliminary and final reports.
 The 1970-71 NCEA survey requested enrollment information from each Catholic school on the following ethnic minority groups:
 - a. American Indians
 - b. American Negroes
 - c. Spanish surnamed Americans
 - d. Oriental Americans
 - e. All other Americans -
 the generally white ethnic groups.
 It was noted in the NCEA report that the term "white" was used in an imprecise manner to include all who did not belong to a specified ethnic minority group. In several instances the respondents did not understand this category referred to the majority of their pupils.
7. Includes the states of Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas, Utah, Washington and Wyoming.
8. A Statistican Report on Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools for the years 1967-68 to 1969-70. Washington: NCEA, 1970, p. 10.
9. Pettigrew, "School Integration," p. 6.
10. "Black Catholics in the U.S.: An Exploratory Analysis," Sociological Analysis, 20 (Winter, 1967), 186-192.

11. Jencks, Christopher. "Private Schools for Black Children," New York Times Magazine, November 3, 1968, p. 134.
12. John D. Donovan and George F. Madaus. Catholic Education in the Archdiocese of Boston: The Voices of the People (New England Catholic Education Center, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass., 1969). In this study, people living in Boston rated the quality of the public schools much lower than did suburbanites.
13. Regions of the country are defined as follows:
New England Region: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont.
Midwest Region: Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania.
Great Lakes Region: Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin,
Plains Region: Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.
Southeast Region: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia.
West and Far West: Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.
14. NCEA, op. cit., pp. 42-43.
15. See Table 1 of the HEW News Release of January 14, 1971. HEW A20, 1971.
16. NCEA, OP. CIT., PP. 42-43.
17. Both tables are adapted from the Preliminary Report on Rural Integration in Catholic Schools, 1970-71, NCEA: Washington, D.C., November 1970. Mimeographed. Cities must remain anonymous.
18. NCEA, op. cit., p. 48.
19. Ernest Bartell, et al., Catholic Education in the Archdiocese of St. Louis, (Notre Dame, Indiana: Office of Educational Research, University of Notre Dame, 1971).
20. These data, for the school year, 1968-69, were provided by A Study of the American Independent School, directed by Dr. Otto Kraushaar. The purpose of the study is to map and characterize the various types of nonpublic schools (elementary and secondary) in respect to educational goals, constituencies, religious orientations, teaching methods, and values espoused, and prospects for the future. A probability sample was drawn

from the following types of schools: Catholic (240); Lutheran (45); Adventist (45); Jewish (30); Episcopal (30); Calvinist (mostly Christian Reformed) (30), Other Church related schools (110) and Nondenominational Independent Schools (220). The heads of all these 750 schools were mailed questionnaires. For a small number of schools within each of these strata (totaling 250), questionnaires were mailed to a sample of students, parents, teachers and governing board members.

This data source has at least one serious limitation that must be kept in mind when interpreting results. The questionnaires were mailed, and thus the response rate was limited. The overall returns were as follows:

Parent questionnaire.....	65%
Faculty questionnaire.....	67%
Student questionnaire.....	74%
School Head questionnaire.....	71%
Governing Board questionnaire.....	65%

While these return rates are high for mailed questionnaires, the issue of generalizability might be raised. More importantly, questions on the characteristics of non-respondents would certainly be an issue. Even with this fairly high return rate the numbers represented in some groups are so small that in some cases groups had to be eliminated from consideration; in others the resulting interpretation can be regarded as being suggestive at best.

The Kraushaar study of American Independent Schools gathered, in addition to basic census data concerning the religious, racial and ethnic backgrounds of students and faculty, data on the attitudes of various publics toward minority group enrollment and employment in nonpublic schools. This is the only source available that allows inferences to be made about minority group enrollment in nonpublic schools outside the Catholic sector. Further, it sheds light on attitudinal differences between parents, students, school heads, and governing board members toward minority group enrollment and employment in nonpublic schools.

The Kraushaar study asked each school head sampled the following questions regarding the religious and ethnic background of the students and faculty in his school:

The following four questions concern the religious, racial, ethnic or national background of your students and staff. Many schools do not have records for some or all of this information. If so, please give your best estimate in each case.

- A. Approximately how many of your students are:
 Roman Catholic.....
 Protestant.....
 Jewish.....
- B. Approximately how many of your faculty are:
 Roman Catholic.....
 Protestant.....
 Jewish.....
- C. Approximately how many of your students belong to each of the following ethnic or racial groups:
 Black American.....
 American Indian.....
 Mexican American.....
 Puerto Rican American.....
 Oriental American.....
 Of foreign citizenship.....
- D. Approximately how many of your faculty belong to each of the following ethnic or racial groups:
 Black American
 American Indian.....
 Mexican American.....
 Puerto Rican American.....
 Oriental American.....
 Of Foreign Citizenship.....

Three things should be kept in mind when studying what follows. First, these are estimates by principals or headmasters of the religious, social and ethnic background. Second, the "other" category under the ethnic-racial background question becomes by process of elimination the largest single category - that of "white" American or European origin. Third, unfortunately one cannot directly compare the Catholic school sample with the NCEA figures presented in the previous section because of the two year difference between the two studies. The nearest study in point of time is the NCEA 1969-70 survey, A Statistical Report on Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools for the Years 1967-68 to 1969-70, NCEA. Washington, DC. 1970. If these 1969 figures are used, it appears as if the Kraushaar data tend slightly to underestimate percentages in each racial/ethnic category.

21. R. Glock and C. Stark, American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1968.
22. Peter S. Prescott, A World of Our Own: Notes on Life and Learning in a Boys' Preparatory School. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1970, p. 81. This is an excellent description of life in Choate, an all boys' preparatory school.
23. The description of conditions in South Shore is largely the work of Mary Kelley of the University of Chicago. Miss Kelley relied chiefly on three methods:

The majority of the statistical information was derived from the 1960 census records, supplemented by estimates prepared for the Hospital Planning Council of Metropolitan Chicago and for the Chicago Board of Education. Unfortunately, the 1970 census figures were not available in specific enough form to be included. These estimates of population increases were used, simply as estimates, in order to show current trends, and should be considered to be precise figures.

A second method was to use information provided in a report prepared in September, 1968, by Carl W. Struby, a member of another research team at the University of Chicago. Added to this was a scanning of copies going back one year of the South East Economist, a weekly newspaper in the general area of South Shore.

The third approach involved interviews, either in person or by telephone, with some of the community leaders. In all, nine people were interviewed, and while they comprised scarcely a comprehensive list of people active in local affairs, they did represent a cross section of opinion and participants in recent activities. Included in this group were the executive director of the Local Chamber of Commerce and a former member of the South Shore Commission, and his assistant; the newly appointed director of the South Shore Commission; the president of that organization; the former chairman of the South Shore Commission Schools Committee and a mother of several school-age children; another mother of school-age children who was also the director of a private school in the South Shore area; the co-chairman of the Citizens' Patrol; and the assistant to the pastor of one of the established churches in the area.

24. The work of Laurel Mahajan of the University of Chicago in conducting the interviews and tabulating the results is gratefully acknowledged.

A complete list of families patronizing the Butler School, grade by grade, was obtained from the Headmistress, for whose

outstanding cooperation we are much indebted. A proportion random sample of 66 mothers was selected. The interviewer began at the top of the list for each school, interviewing the required number of parents at each grade level until the specified total of 36 was reached. The vast majority of the interviews took between ten and fifteen minutes to conduct.

In advance of the interviews, each parent on the list received a memo from the headmistress of the Butler school, explaining that a study was being done for the President's Commission on School Finance and a telephone call could be expected, but leaving the nature of the study unspecified. Not a single mother who was contacted refused to be interviewed. There was no noticeable evidence of hesitation in responding to the items.

25. Dr. Rohr notes: "I am grateful to many of the kind people in the Austin and West Humboldt areas for the cooperation I received in preparing this study. A special word of thanks is due to Sister Bertilla, principal of Our Lady of the Angels, James Zeller of the Organization for a Better Austin, and Jack Velte of Our Lady of the Angels Real Estate Practices Committee.
26. The questionnaires were mailed out from the school, along with a letter from the principal strongly requesting (practically insisting on) cooperation, to 91 OLA parents, a random sample proportionately stratified by grade. We were forewarned that some of the parents could not read English and consequently would have to return the questionnaires without responses. This occurred in 7 cases out of the 91. Of the remaining 84 questionnaires, 73 (87 percent) were returned by mail to the University of Chicago in usable form. Anonymity was strongly guaranteed.
27. The community leaders in question were the following: Rev. Paul Buettner of Advent Lutheran Church; Miss Dorothy Brenner, principal of the Ryerson Public School; Mrs. Larkin, principal of Cameron; Miss Jacqueline Edwards, assistant principal of Nobel and Mr. Charles Kramp, Assistant Principal of the Orr Elementary School.
28. The essay will be found in From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. (translated and edited by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, New York: Oxford, 1968, pp. 77-122).
29. See Federalist #10 and #51.
30. Cf. Richard J. Krickus, "White Ethnic Neighborhoods: Ripe for the Bulldozer?" ("Middle America Pamphlet Series"; New York: American Jewish Community, 1970), pp. 8-9.

31. See, for example, "Lawlor Asks Schools Meeting," Chicago Tribune, April 23, 1971, p. 3. Also, "On Together, ibid.," May 3, 1971, p. 10.
32. Allison Davis, "Acculturation in Schools," in Milton L. Sarron, ed., American Minorities (Knopf, 1957), pp. 446-49; Muzafer Sherif, "Experiments in Group Conflict and Cooperation," in Harold J. Leavitt and Louis R. Pondy, Readings in Managerial Psychology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 408-421; Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, Dynamics of Prejudice (Harper and Row, 1950); Carl I. Hovland and Robert R. Sears, "Minority Studies of Aggression: VI. Correlations of Lynchings with Economic Indices," Journal of Psychology, 9 (1940) pp. 301-10; Joseph Greenblum and Leonard I. Pearlin, "Vertical Mobility and Prejudice: A Socio-Psychological Analysis," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour H. Lipset, eds., Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification (Free Press, 1953), pp. 480-91; D. Pierson, "Race Prejudice as Revealed in the Study of Racial Situations," International Social Sciences Bulletin, 2, (1950), pp. 467-78; Jeanne Watson, "Some Social and Psychological Situations Related to Change in Attitude," Human Relations, 3 (1950), pp. 15-56.
33. We are greatly indebted to Fr. Roger Linnan of Boston College for executing this research.
34. Information presented here is based on discussion with Mr. Cary Potter, President of the NAIS, and upon ABC's annual report for 1970.
35. C. B. Cazden, "Subcultural Differences in Child Language: An Interdisciplinary Review," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 12 (1966), 188; Charles G. Hurst, Jr., and Wallace Jones, "Generating Spontaneous Speech in the Underprivileged Child," Journal of Negro Education, 36 (1967), 362.
36. Davis, "Acculturation in Schools."
37. Jencks, "Private Schools for Black Children."
38. Ian Munzie states, for example: "The public school system [in Boston] is failing the black kids and it is failing the white kids, as well as Puerto Rican, Cuban and Chinese, and it is especially failing the crucial test of bringing them together as just plain kids...
Historically we know why. The sons of money went to private schools, the brainy middle-class to the new prestige public schools such as Latin and the smartest sons and daughters of Catholic families to the highly selective parochial system.

The brain drain left the city with a basically second-class public school system and one in which, with a few noted exceptions, neither parents nor teachers expected too much; preparation for college not being the socio-economic necessity it has been made today.

The quality of the Boston School Committee reflected such attitudes. So long as the committee took care of the "right" schools with their active alumni the rest of the system, about 80 percent, could conveniently be neglected, and was. Ian Menzies, "Boston Schools at Low Ebb," Boston Globe, March 8, 1971.

39. See, for example: Joseph Featherstone, "Storefront Schools in Harlem," New Republic, Sept. 7, 1968; Charles Lawrence, "Free Schools: Public and Private and Black and White," Inequality in Education, Nos. 3 and 4, March 16, 1970, pp. 8-12; "Academies for Dropouts," Time, August 2, 1968, p. 50; Chris Tree, "Storefront Schools," Urban Review, February 1968, p. 29; Charles Merrill, "Negroes in Private Schools," Atlantic Monthly, July, 1967, pp. 37-40; Jonathan Black, "Street Academies: One Step Off the Sidewalk," Saturday Review, November 15, 1969, pp. 88-89, 100-101; "The CAM Academy," in Ronald and Beatrice Gross, etc., Radical School Reform (New York: Simon and Schuster (1969), pp. 322-330; Donald A. Erickson, Crisis in Illinois Nonpublic Schools (Springfield, Ill.: Elementary and Secondary Nonpublic Schools Study Commission, 1971), pp. 4-66 to 4-74, 4-74 to 4-81.
40. Colin Greer, Cobweb Attitudes (New York: Teachers College Press, 1970).
41. Donald A. Erickson, "Nonpublic Schools in Michigan," in J. Alan Thomas, School Finance and Educational Opportunity in Michigan (Lansing, Mich.: Michigan Department of Education, 1968), pp. 209-291; Greg Hancock, "Public School, Parochial School: A Comparative Input-Output Analysis of Governmental and Catholic Schooling in a Large City," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1971).
42. Ibid.
43. Andrew W. Greeley and Peter F. Rossi. The Education of Catholic Americans. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966). Also see Vol. II of this series and the Steeman paper in this volume.

CHAPTER VI

THE ECONOMICS OF PLURALISM

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

In exploring questions of aid to nonpublic schools from the viewpoint of the economist, we have produced two papers. In the first of these, Jeffrey Puryear explores the issues from a fairly high level of abstraction. At this level it is possible to clarify points that are considerably more obscure when the complications of actual workaday situations are present. But if underlying principles are most readily articulated in abstract papers such as Puryear's, other objectives are easier to achieve in analyses that address concrete situations in the "real world." Consequently we are presenting in addition an essay by Andre Daniere, originally prepared for a Massachusetts commission and revised for our purposes, that elicits in a specific context (a bill considered in Massachusetts) the implications of some principles enunciated by Puryear. In one respect, it adds to the list of considerations. Its author argues that rational consideration of aid to nonpublic schools must involve systematic examination of consequences for public education. Daniere's enunciation of the "principle of fractionality" seems particularly apt.

As some scholars who examine these materials may observe, not all conceivable economic questions have been covered, even with the two papers. For example, it seems likely to some economists (Milton Friedman, for instance) that the existence of nonpublic schools tends to ensure greater income elasticity of demand, and therefore more adequate support of education generally, than can be achieved in an

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exclusively public system. Initial discussions on this possibility revealed that it was far too complex to be analyzed adequately, along with the other matters covered by Puryear and Daniere, within the limits of time and other resources available. Nevertheless, these pages may comprise the most systematic economic analysis of aid to nonpublic schools thus far available in a single document. If so, they represent a significant beginning of work that could be vastly extended.

CHAPTER VI

THE ECONOMICS OF PLURALISM

Section A: Economic Issues in Public Aid to Nonpublic Schools

Jeffrey Puryear
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ECONOMIC ISSUES IN PUBLIC AID TO NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS¹

By Jeffrey Puryear
University of Chicago

The task of this paper is to explore some of the economic issues raised by public aid to nonpublic elementary and secondary schools. Much of the discussion will be from a theoretical point of view to ensure both clarity in presentation of the arguments and systematic orientation to the myriad of practical detail which might obscure the central issues throughout. Most of the ideas considered have been expressed in other places by responsible and respected economists; the goal here is to present them in a unified fashion and in somewhat simplified terms. Since the organizational forms that public aid to nonpublic schools might conceivably take are nearly infinite, we will limit our consideration to two alternatives, which are both pragmatically relevant to the current situation in the United States and illustrative of key analytical and policy problems:

Alternative A: Maintain the system as it is in the United States. Do not provide public aid to nonpublic schools and do not facilitate their existence by lowering the tax burden on families who choose private schools.

Alternative B: Finance the growth of a system of public and nonpublic educational options by granting a family a specified amount of educational credit for each child, to be spent as the family chooses on either public or nonpublic schooling. This, with its many possible variations, is commonly known as the voucher system.

¹I wish to acknowledge the extensive comments by Dr. Mary Jean Bowman of the University of Chicago. Any strengths this analysis might have are due in large part to her constructive criticism; any errors or weak points are entirely my responsibility.

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In assessing the possible effects of these two alternatives, three kinds of questions will be considered: the allocation of educational services, the distribution of educational burdens, and economic efficiency.

The Allocation of Educational Services

Imagine the community of River City, with two schools, one private and one public. Both cost \$600 per pupil per year. The public school is maintained entirely by local taxes, which must be paid whether or not a child is attending that school. The private school is maintained entirely by tuition fees and covers costs with charges for each pupil of \$600 per year.

Some people in town think that the quality of education at the private school is better than at the public school, while others may disagree. Similarly, some may prefer particular attributes of the private school (most commonly its religious instruction), whereas others do not. For simplicity, we will assume that every family has the same income and has just one child of school age. Those who would prefer to send the child to the private school will act on that preference only if their feelings are so strong as to justify the extra \$600 over and above the tax costs (paid anyway) of the public education. Many who prefer the private school but not to the extent of spending an extra \$600 will send their children to the public institution. Yet the true resource costs of providing education in these two schools was specified as the same. The result is a distortion in allocating resources to the public and private institutions, and people with preferences for the private school are penalized relative to those preferring the public institution.

This situation roughly approximates alternative A outlined above. Citizens in River City face the same supply conditions for educational services

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up to the resource cost value of \$600 per child per year. Should a family desire to send its child to a type of school different from that provided publicly, the cost of doing so skyrockets; they still must pay taxes to support the public school and in addition the entire private school tuition.

Under alternative B, families who prefer a type of schooling different from that offered publicly could more easily satisfy their distinct educational tastes. As under A, all pay a school tax, but the receipts of that tax are used to provide vouchers for each school-age child. The vouchers carry a fixed dollar value of, let us say, the \$600 previously specified as the cost per child of the educational services. These vouchers can be spent on either public or nonpublic schools. There is no penalizing or rewarding of one preference against another.

Now, suppose that a family wished not only to obtain a different kind of education for its children but also to invest in more costly education than the publicly provided \$600 per child--say at a level of \$1,000 per child. Under alternative B it could do this with an extra expense beyond the voucher of \$400, matching the extra cost of services provided with the \$1,000 education, whereas under alternative A the extra expense to the family would have been the full \$1,000. Hence if services costing an extra \$400 were worth an extra expense of \$400 in the family's judgement the child would be sent to the \$1,000 school under alternative B. Under alternative A, on the other hand, a family would have to consider the extra \$400 worth of services to be worth an extra \$1,000 expense before it would patronize the more expensive institution.. Again the incentives for the allocation of resources among kinds and qualities of education are distorted under alternative A whereas, given the subsidy to education generally in the vouchers, there is no distortion under alternative B.

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Thus far we have assumed all families to be in the same income position, with the same "ability to pay." That assumption was a convenient simplification. Because it allowed us tacitly to treat all families' dollars as of equal importance without straining credibility or ethical values we could see the allocative distortions clearly and unambiguously. Shifting to the more realistic situation, in which there is a wide range in family incomes, it becomes evident immediately that alternative A entails more severe constraints on realization of preferences among poor than among rich families. Should a wealthy family desire to send its child to a nonpublic school it can do so without too great a sacrifice. But such options are virtually out of the reach of lower class families, even if we consider only private schools with the same level of resources per child as the public schools. Thus the poorer one is, under alternative A, the more he is restricted to that type of education offered by the local public school and the less he can exercise his particular educational preferences.

In contrast, alternative B eliminates special costs of attending private schools equivalent in their real costs per child to the public schools, giving poor families equal freedom of choice among schools at the voucher cost level. Obviously, neither alternative equalizes rich and poor with respect to their positions in purchase of education at cost levels substantially in excess of what the vouchers will purchase. This is a point to which I shall return.

One question often raised in contemplating a voucher system is whether it would lead to a massive flight to nonpublic schools by middle and upper-class children. We should emphasize at the outset that movement won't necessarily be from public to nonpublic schools, but could very well be from one public school to another. Public schools differ greatly in their level of

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support, their mix of educational methods, and their social characteristics. Thus once free to apply their vouchers to any school they wish, a family may simply elect to send their children to a "better" public school and, should there be any difference between the price of the school and the size of the voucher, pay the balance from their personal funds.

Now, putting aside the fact that if such an exodus occurred it might tell us something well worth knowing about the quality of education available in some public schools, three points are of interest. First, for the very rich the type of financing provided is virtually irrelevant. Their wealth enables them to choose between public and nonpublic schools on the basis of quality or convenience, rather than on the basis of cost. So altering the supply of funds for educational investment is not likely to change their choices.

Secondly, at equal costs to parents, any move from public to nonpublic schools (or from one public school to another) will depend solely on the character of the options available. Insofar as parents see the education provided by one school as being more beneficial to their children than that provided by another, they can be expected to choose accordingly. Such differences needn't be restricted to the amounts of learning that take place, but may also apply to different educational contents. Some families may prefer a greater emphasis on religion or an ethnically homogeneous student body, or many other quality considerations. Should equal-cost nonpublic schools be more successful in convincing parents that they offer a better education, they will attract more students. Public schools, of course, could and probably would counter this by altering the type of education offered or by appealing to a different group of people. The net result will depend on which schools

most effectively meet the perceived educational demands of families within the limits of public regulation and minimum standards. The relevant decision is not necessarily between public and nonpublic schools, but is rather a matter of choosing between different types of education at equal costs.

Now, the third possibility is that factor costs will not be equal. Some schools will cost more than others and we will assume that parents who pay the extra price feel they are getting greater benefits for their children. We've already mentioned that alternative B lowers the marginal price of educational investments in nonpublic (or higher-cost public) education. Whether anyone actually invests more as a result of this change depends upon how responsive he is to changes in the relevant prices. Some people would react strongly to the lower marginal costs of educational investments and invest a good deal more. Others would not react at all and their schooling choices would be unchanged.

Thus two facets of demands determine the response of families under alternative B: the ranking of preferences and the elasticities of substitution between different types or kinds of education. For social or religious reasons some parents will prefer different types of education for their children when costs are equal and some will shift their behavior more readily than will others with changes in relative prices. The results for allocation of children into different kinds of schools at different levels of investment are not certain, though several contentions exist.

One view is that these responses are class-related--that wealthy parents will make a greater percentage increase in educational investment under alternative B than will poorer parents. If this is correct, the result might be a rapid flight of the more affluent students from cheaper schools,

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leaving behind them the less favored and less able in the bottom of the educational barrel.

Another contention is that people will sort themselves out into an educational segregation along ethnic and racial lines, although whether this would be greater than the de facto segregation which already exists is difficult to say.

In any event, a variety of controls has been suggested. The most obvious would be to provide every family with something like equal resources. This would mean not allowing parents to supplement vouchers with private funds, or perhaps to progressively decrease the size of the voucher as we move up the socio-economic scale, giving the more affluent families less credit than the less affluent. This would facilitate additional investments by poorer groups more than by wealthier groups and decrease the class-related disparity in supply curves of educational investment funds. Perhaps the most prominent of such plans is the "family power equalizing plan" proposed by Professor Coons at Berkeley. This model, which sets the value of vouchers within a progressive tax structure, tries to insure that differences in the amount spent on children's education are based upon the values and preferences of the family rather than the accident of their wealth.² Other administrative surveillance mechanisms would be necessary to control ethnic and racial discrimination within schools. The effectiveness of any of these measures is not immediately apparent, but they show sufficient promise to merit experimentation.

Another potential source of allocative inequity under alternative A is

²John E. Coons, William H. Clune III, and Stephen D. Sugarman, Private Wealth and Public Education (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970)

manifested in the concern for de facto segregation and the bussing issue. Under the present system, free schooling is provided within one's general neighborhood--children are typically directed to attend the school nearest their homes and are seldom allowed to choose any other. Since many neighborhoods tend to be homogeneous along ethnic and class lines and since differences in per-pupil expenditures tend to parallel these divisions, the result may easily be a less-than-equal distribution of educational opportunities. Many children, particularly lower-class blacks, may find themselves at a disadvantage simply because they are constrained to attending their neighborhood school rather than one in another part of town. They can avoid this situation only by moving, and this is likely to be too difficult and too expensive. Under alternative B, those residents who wish to invest above the community level of educational support will find it easier to do so without having to move to a different area and without having to pay double rates.

The Distribution of Educational Burdens

We might note that under either alternative all members of a community share in the financial burden of public education even though only some of them have children who go to school. Thus not all of the cost is borne by the users of education. A substantial group of non-users--those without children, the elderly, the unmarried--also pay a share. This is justified by the presumption that education has external benefits which accrue to members of the society other than those who have children.³ A stable and democratic society, it appears, needs citizens who are literate and possess some degree of knowledge and have been exposed to a core of common values. It is also

³Milton Friedman, Capitalism and Freedom, "The Role of Government in Education," (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 83-108; E.G. West, Education and the State (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1965).

often asserted that greater education helps reduce the costs of welfare and law enforcement to society, and that better educated people contribute more to production than they consume, thereby raising levels of living not only for themselves but for others as well. If such externalities exist, there is some justification for shifting a portion of the costs to those who benefit indirectly from the education of others. Thus the principle of payment according to benefits is not necessarily violated by public subsidy to education: indeed, it may require subsidy.

Under alternative A, the amount of resources allocated to a particular school is determined jointly by decision-making bodies representing the community in which the school is located at various governmental levels-- school district, city, township, state, nation--in different combinations for different schools. Under a simple majority voting rule (if we ignore for the moment lobbying and biases in levels of participation at the polls) the level of resource allocation will tend to approximate the median level of support desired by the residents--some will have preferred more and some less. A change in the median level of desired support can be expected to lead to a change in the amount provided in the long run.⁴

Thus the present system of financing provides a minimum level of educational investment to each child. Regardless of how disadvantaged a student may be economically, he suffers no shortage of educational investment capital as long as he is content with public schools. Each year he faces a supply curve of educational investment funds which is infinitely elastic up to the level of public educational support. That is, the price of such funds is

⁴William Craig Stubblevine, "Institutional Elements in the Financing of Education," Southern Economic Journal, XXXII number 1, part 2, July, 1965, pp. 16-18.

the same for any amount desired up to that amount provided by the public. After that the curve rises rapidly. As long as he desires to invest no more than is publicly provided, he may continue through high school without borrowing funds or having to dip into his (or his family's) savings. Thus a "floor" is created which partially evens out the lower extremes of income distribution and tends toward a more equitable distribution of opportunities. It should be noted, however, that this method equalizes educational opportunities among children by constraining all choices to the median (if no private financing is practical). This is fine for all who are prepared to accept their education at the median level. But it is less satisfactory for those who wish more education or education of a type not offered by the public system.

Under alternative B, the same principles would apply. Parents would still be able to shift a part of the educational burden upon non-users and thus demand more than they would if they had to pay full costs. Similarly, non-users would be willing to pay a share of the costs of education because they receive some of the benefits in the form of externalities. How the distribution of educational burdens would shift under alternative B will depend in part on the proportion of school children who were attending private schools under alternative A, in part on sensitivity of responses to changes in effective price ratios, and in part on composition and attitudes of the voting public. This complex of conditions and influences is well worth studying but goes beyond the scope of the present paper, which makes no attempt to present modern developments in the theory and analysis of collective decision-making.

Economic Efficiency - Supply and Demand Considerations⁵

A rational person will invest in more education only so long as what he expects to get out of any additional investment is greater than the additional cost of that investment. This generalization encompasses both monetary and non-monetary returns (and costs) to the investor, but we may simplify by translating the non-monetary to dollar equivalents.

We shall further assume that the marginal rate of return to investment decreases as the amount invested increases. This is because the longer a student stays in school, the greater the amount he could be earning if he were working, and the shorter his remaining working life becomes. For this reason, everyone can be expected to stop going to school at some point, because the marginal gains of continuing are less than the marginal costs.⁶ More precisely, optimal decisions would entail investing in education up to the point that the expected marginal rate of return just equals the marginal rate of interest on additional investment funds. Anything less would leave some potential benefits to the individual unrealized and anything more would be overinvestment from his point of view.

If everyone paid the same price for educational investment funds and if everyone got exactly the same return on any given educational investment, most

⁵The majority of the ideas in this section are taken from Gary S. Becker, "Human Capital and the Personal Distribution of Income," W.S. Woytinsky Lecture No. 1, Institute of Public Administration and Department of Economics, The University of Michigan, 1967.

⁶An exception to this situation would be the possibility of investing greater amounts per year, thus avoiding the time considerations mentioned. However, there appear to be declining marginal returns to educational investment after some point. Except at very low initial levels of investment, doubling the amount of one's investment in education in a given year is unlikely to double the subsequent returns.

problems of equity and of societal efficiency in the distribution of educational investments would disappear. In fact, however, access to educational funds differs among groups. Some people can get large amounts of investment capital rather easily, through their families, foundations, or other sources of cheap credit. Others either have no access to such capital funds, or can only get them by paying high interest rates. Thus the capital market for educational investments is quite segmented, and people investing in their educations must shift from the cheapest, to the second cheapest, and eventually to more expensive sources.

To some extent these segmentations are related to ability; more able students stand a better chance of getting scholarship aid for added educational investments than do the less able, simply because many scholarships are awarded on the basis of ability or some combination of ability and need, rather than on need alone.⁷ But social factors are also important. Students from more affluent families are more likely to have access to cheap investment funds through savings and greater family assets than are those from less affluent families. Also, there tends to be a correlation between ability and socio-economic status; brighter students are more likely to be found in more affluent families than in less affluent families. All of these relationships tend to segment the capital market for educational investments, compelling different people to pay different prices for funds. So, although the supply curves of educational investment funds faced by individuals all tend to rise as investment increases, for some they rise more rapidly than for others over a given range of investments.

⁷Ability-related segmentations in the capital market are probably more relevant to university education than to elementary or secondary education.

It is also apparent that some people get more out of a given amount of educational investment than others. We assume, for example, that people with greater intelligence will profit more personally than those with less intelligence, other factors being equal. This is another way of saying that their private rate of return is higher.⁸ Some of these differences are also due to social factors. Two children of equal ability from different family backgrounds might have quite different rates of return to given amounts of education. The child from the more favored family situation might profit more from education because he is better motivated, or is more at ease in achievement situations, or simply because he had the necessary social connections to open doors for him once he begins working. Thus some people will wish more education than others; demand for education is not equally distributed across the population.

The greater one's demand for educational investment funds (i.e. the higher his rate of return) the more he will wish to invest. Similarly, persons facing more favorable supply conditions will wish to invest more than those facing less favorable supply conditions. By combining these two considerations, it becomes apparent that people who have both high rates of return to education and easy access to investment funds will tend to invest the most, while those with low rates of return and less favorable access to investment funds will tend to invest the least.

It has been argued that supply conditions do not vary independently of demand conditions in the United States. Children of better educated parents

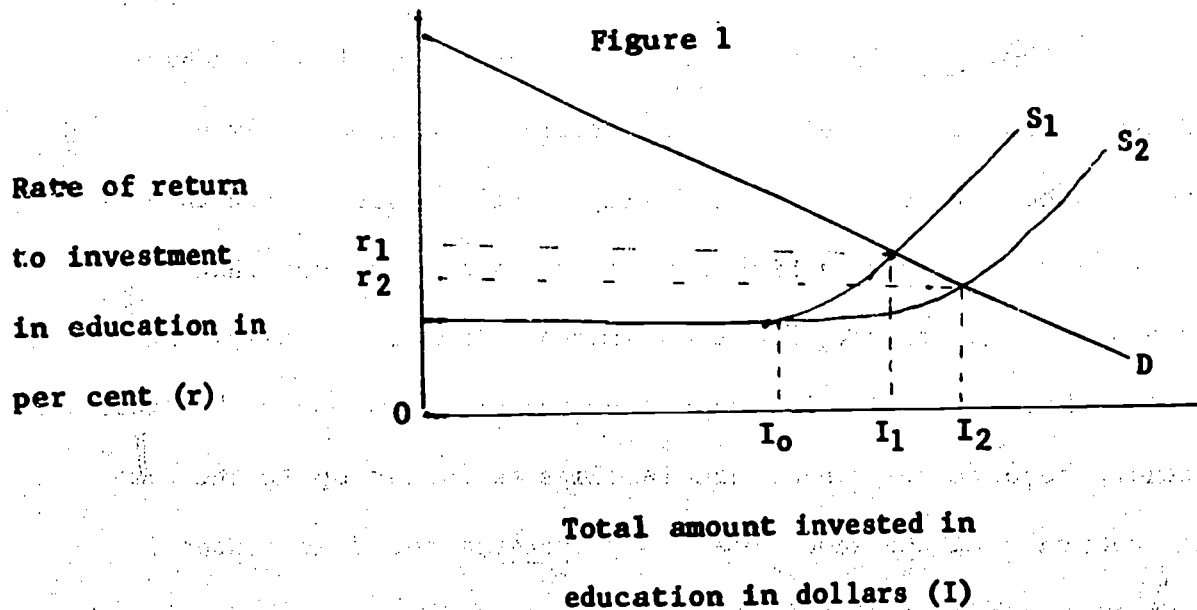
⁸This portion of the discussion is oriented to the private returns to education and not to social returns. Were we to take the social point of view, we might reach somewhat different conclusions. For some classes of people--those prone to violence and crime, for example--the social returns to educational investment at a given level might be greater than the social returns to other groups, even though the private returns would probably be less.

and/or from higher-income families commonly have easier access to funds, whether through scholarships or greater parental resources, thus increasing the differences in investments and subsequent earnings.

The most economically efficient allocation of educational resources would be one under which the marginal rates of return to all investors were equal. Each person would have invested up to the point where his marginal rate of return on any additional investment just equalled the marginal private cost of more investment funds. He would have made the maximum use of his educational potential, given the costs of capital, and the rate of return would be the same for all persons. This is, however, a difficult condition to achieve if different people face different costs of investment funds. Suppose, for example, individual A can get all the funds he wishes at 8 per cent and individual B can get all the funds he needs at 5 per cent. A will invest until his marginal rate of return is 8 per cent and will then stop. Any additional investment would cost him more than he would get out of it. B will invest until his marginal rate of return is 5 per cent and then stop, for the same reason. An efficient allocation of resources would suggest that we take some funds away from B and put them into A, since a dollar taken from B means roughly a 5 per cent loss while that same dollar invested in A means roughly an 8 per cent gain. Efficiency would have this trade-off continue until the marginal rates of return to investment for each were equal.

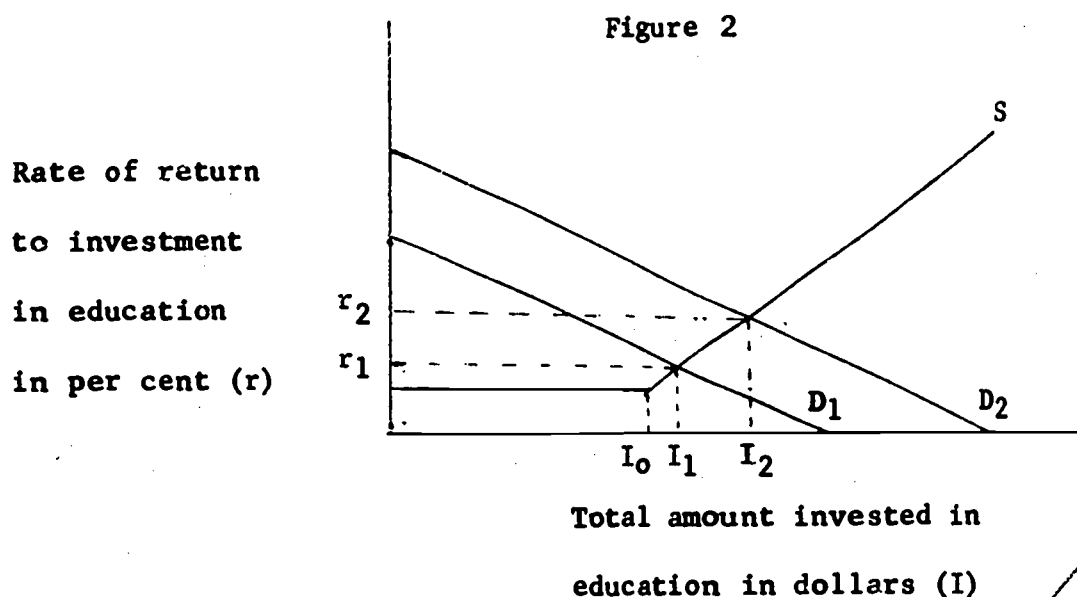
Some of the possibilities become clearer when illustrated by means of graphs. In figure 1, two families are assumed to have the same demand for education (D) but to face different supply curves of educational funds once they exceed the publicly provided minimum amount of investment (I_0). Family 1 faces supply curve S_1 while family 2 faces supply curve S_2 . Family 2 is

obviously in a more favorable position than family 1 because it can get any particular amount of funds beyond the publicly provided minimum amount at a cheaper interest rate than can family 1. We have already noted that each family will invest up to the point that the marginal rate of return on any additional investment just equals the marginal private cost of more investment funds. For family 1 this occurs at point I_1 since the marginal rate of return (r_1) just equals the marginal cost of funds (r_1). But for family 2, because they have access to cheaper funds, the optimum investment (I_2) is greater, where the marginal rate of return (r_2) just equals the marginal cost of funds (r_2). Since the marginal rates of return for these two families differ, we are not at a point of maximum economic efficiency. If these two families faced exactly the same supply curve, they would stop at the same marginal rate of return and economic efficiency would be maximized.



Now, let us shift to another possibility. Figure 2 shows two families with different demands for education (D_1 & D_2), but who face the same supply

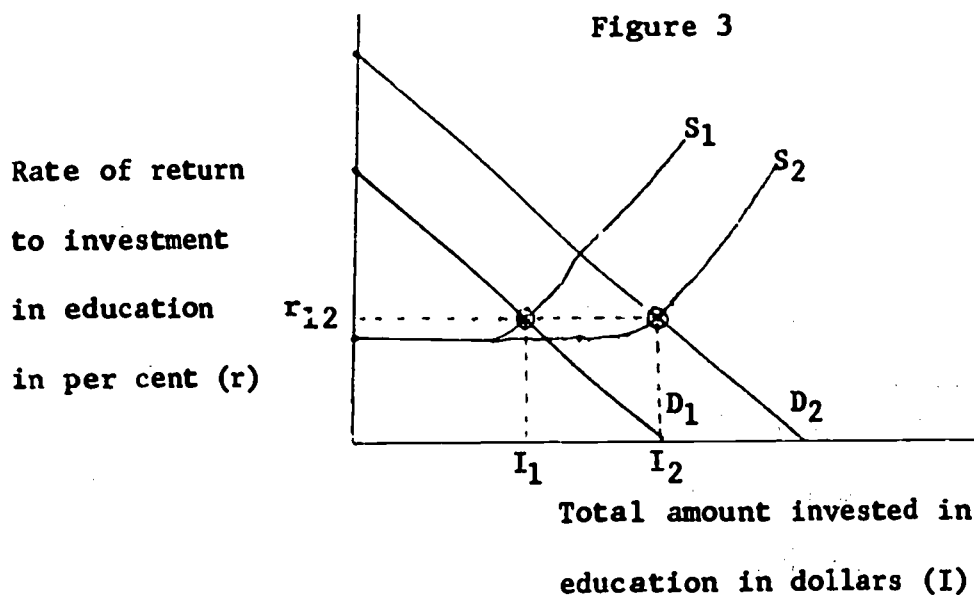
curve for funds (S).



Here the rising supply curve is the source of differences in rates of return and consequent inefficiency. Family 2 gets a higher marginal rate of return from any given level of investment in education than family 1. If the supply curve were flat, each family would have invested different amounts in education, but would have stopped at equal rates of return--an economically efficient situation. Since the curve rises, family 2 still invests more than family 1, but is forced to stop at a higher marginal rate of return than family 1. Thus economic efficiency is not maximized. From this example it should become clear that perfectly flat supply curves are accompanied by greater economic efficiency, because they encourage families to invest up to the same marginal rate of return. At the same time, they increase the differences in amounts of education associated with differences in demands.

Finally, let us combine these two situations, since we know that in the real world families have both different demands for education and face different supply curves of funds. Figure 3 shows two families who have both

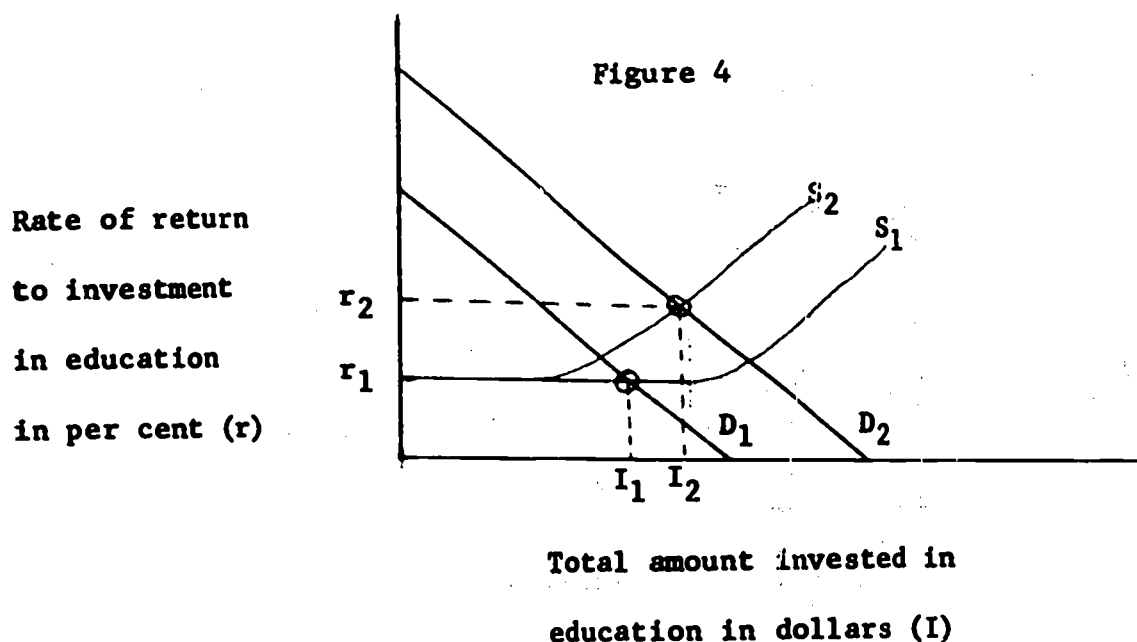
different demands for education (D_1 & D_2) and face different supply curves (S_1 & S_2). Here there are a variety of possibilities with respect to economic efficiency. If, as we've already suggested, supply conditions do



not vary independently of demand conditions in the United States, a situation such as that shown in figure 3 may be the result. Here, there is a positive correlation between demand and supply conditions. Those families with the highest demands for education face the most favorable supply curves. In this particular case, the resulting investments are at the same rate of return, and economic efficiency is thus maximized. In general, a positive correlation between demand and supply conditions will tend toward economic efficiency, though it also increases the dispersion in amounts of education and subsequently in earnings.

If, however, demand conditions were negatively correlated with supply conditions, so that those with the highest demands for education received the least favorable supply conditions of funds, and vice versa, the results

would be as shown in figure 4. The marginal rates of return to investors would tend to be further apart, decreasing economic efficiency though the total amounts invested draw closer together.

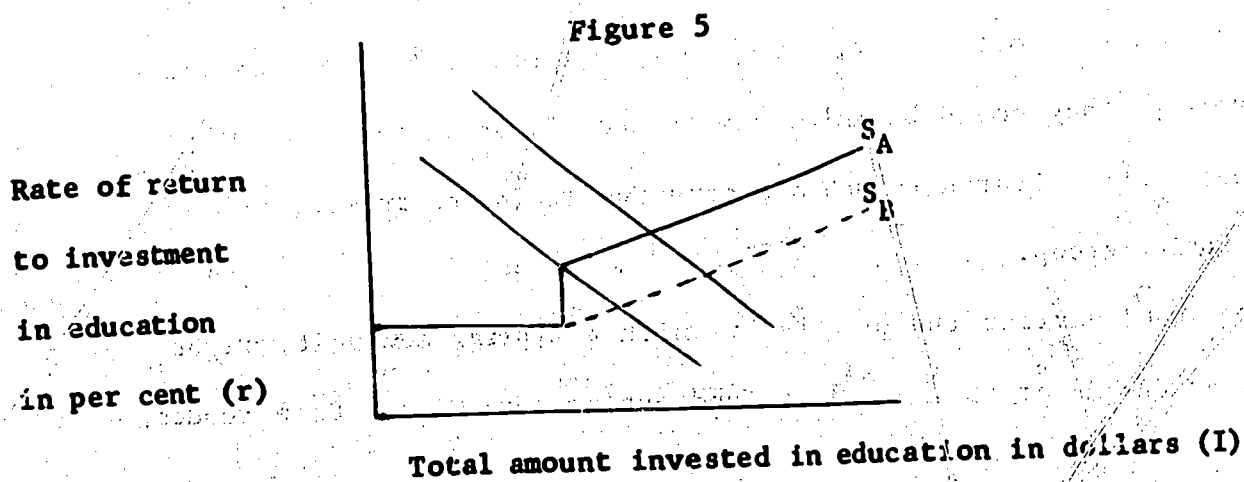


All of this suggests that where demand curves differ, a steeper common supply curve leads to greater inefficiency in allocation of investments, because some people will stop at much higher rates of return than others. Decreasing the dispersions of supply curves may or may not increase efficiency, depending on the relationship between supply and demand conditions. But any policy which both increases the elasticities of supply curves and brings them closer together promotes a more efficient allocation of educational resources. Let's see how alternatives A and B fare with respect to educational provision when subjected to such criteria.

The imposition of compulsory minimum standards of educational investment means that all children must invest a certain amount regardless of their marginal rates of return. Insofar as some children are so disadvantaged culturally or emotionally that additional education stops being worth their

time at a point below the minimum educational requirements, such standards reduce efficiency. The extent to which this occurs depends on the number of such disadvantaged children existing, and also on the relative effectiveness of schools in compensating for such disadvantages. It seems plausible that some schools will be more effective for some kinds of children than others. In any event, since both alternatives A and B include the concept of a minimal amount of schooling, the effects on efficiency can be assumed to be the same.

Let us consider now what would happen with respect to decisions to invest in more expensive education at any given grade level. It will facilitate exposition to make the simplifying assumption that higher expenditures do entail "more" education per year in some meaningful sense, and to disregard preferences otherwise. The demand and supply curves of the earlier diagrams are here viewed as referring to amounts invested in schooling in any given year. Under alternative A there will be a sharp upward jump in the supply-of-funds schedule for a shift from the public school rate of investment to any higher level, since a shift to private schools is entailed. Under alternative B no such break occurs. Disregarding the many adjustments that would occur in other respects, the difference is illustrated in figure 5,



which supposes a single common supply curve under A and under B. By application of vouchers, parents wishing to make extra investments in education at any grade level would now only have to pay the difference between the amount provided by the community and the tuition charges of a more expensive school. Thus the supply curve would not rise as rapidly (i.e. it would be more elastic), tending therefore toward a more efficient allocation of resources.

The Internal Efficiency of the School

Let us turn then to the effects of the two alternative systems of finance upon the productive efficiency of any particular school. Here we are concerned with the relationship of school inputs to school outputs and whether the type of financing affects that relationship. The mix of production factors is basically decided by teachers and administrators, with varying influence from government, parents, and students, in the form of legislation and informal pressures. It appears that a wide range of production combinations is possible, depending on the attitudes of the decision-makers involved and on the receptivity of students and their parents. One generalization will serve as a beginning: if we assume rational behavior on the part of parents, investment in education beyond the publicly provided amount will only occur if parents judge that the benefits accruing to such investment exceed the costs. Again, this does not mean that these benefits must be monetary; they could be religious or social, as in the case of parents who send their children to schools catering to (or restricted to) a particular social group.

We mentioned earlier the process by which a typical community might be expected to decide at what level to fund public education. Once funded,

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the associated processes by which the type and quality of education are determined are more difficult to pin down. Certainly the abilities and attitudes of the teachers and administrative staff play a part, and possibly, through Parent-Teacher Associations and other contacts with the school, the expectations of parents have an effect. But there may be little direct incentive to provide an education consistent with the needs and desires of the children and their parents. To be sure, good teachers and administrators will be constantly aware of the needs of their pupils and will adjust their methods accordingly. But there is no certainty that less able or committed personnel will be as responsive to the needs of their pupils.

Since most teachers and administrators are middle-class (as are perhaps most school boards) one might easily expect the type of education to roughly approximate the desires and goals of middle-class people. The question is whether such an approach is adequate for the children of non-middle-class families, particularly the very poor or those outside the cultural mainstream of the United States. In such cases, parents cannot threaten to withdraw their children from the school, because there is no financially viable alternative--private schools are likely to be too expensive and they must send their children somewhere. The only way they can affect the type of education their children receive is verbally--through discussion with teachers and administrators. But such people are typically disadvantaged in terms of verbal skills and are often reluctant to even attempt this tactic.

But even so, we might argue that such parents either don't care or are unable to judge the type of education most beneficial for their children, making it necessary for the community (through teachers and school administrators) to make such decisions. This is the "paternalistic" justification for

government intervention in education noted by Milton Friedman.⁹ This view is fine as long as it works. Insofar as the education provided such children benefits them more than that provided by their parents' decisions, it can be justified. Yet judging by the magnitude of the concern expressed over the effectiveness of inner-city schools to provide for the peculiar needs of their pupils, some people would argue that the paternalistic efforts of middle-class administrators and teachers have been inadequate to the task.

One of the questions that has recurred over a century in writings of economists concerns the ability of parents, and of poor parents in particular, to assess the quality of educational offerings. From Tom Payne to the present there is a strong theme suggesting that the necessity to attract students would lead to competitive efforts to provide better services. But a parallel theme also has run the other way, in concern that educational hucksters might multiply under alternative B, deceiving uninformed families regarding the value of the educational services proffered. Such a risk is common to any professional service. In this case as in others it could be lessened by the imposition of minimum quality requirements and government accreditation for all schools receiving voucher payments, whether public or nonpublic. Similarly, measures dealing with the role of advertising might be instituted.

Under alternative A, public schools appear to be highly inflexible. The process of expansion, for example, is a long one, beginning with recognition of needs by administrators and ending with a proposed bond issue or tax increase which may or may not be approved by the voters. Consensus by the community is required for major changes. Several years may pass between

⁹Friedman, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.

recognition of needs and the implementation of appropriate measures.

The flexibility of arrangements under alternative B stands in sharp contrast. Here change is the outcome of independent decisions arrived at in competing markets. As the demand for educational quantity and quality changes, the educational entrepreneur makes his decisions. New schools are built, new methods are instituted, teachers' wages are bid up, and there is no need to wait for a community majority to make a decision. Of course, those members of the community who disagree with such proposed changes may simply refuse to send their children to those schools. And if the entrepreneur incorrectly assesses emerging educational needs, he won't attract enough students and will either go out of business or make additional changes. The point is that there is no need to wait upon a community consensus. The flexibility of individuals seeking new and better methods greatly facilitates adjustments.¹⁰

Similarly, alternative B could be expected to lead to a greater range of resource combinations within different schools. Whether parents know more than do teachers about what kinds of education benefit different kinds of children is not altogether clear and not really the point. A more basic consideration is the probability that educational production functions are different for children from different cultural, economic, and emotional backgrounds. Human beings are not a homogeneous raw material and it is likely that different kinds of people require different kinds of inputs in order to profit from and to acquire an education. This suggests a variety of educational institutions employing a variety of methods, and whose benefits,

¹⁰Stubblevine, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

whether measured in economic, social, or psychic terms, are greater than their costs.

To the extent that an open private-public system (alternative B with its direct subsidies to pupils instead of institutions) stimulates the flow of students into schools most able to maximize their potential, it would appear to be an improvement over the present system of neighborhood monopolies, which has a more difficult time catering to diverse needs. Under such a system, educational entrepreneurs would have an incentive to innovate (once again, subject to minimum government standards) in the hopes of discovering particular educational production combinations suitable for particular kinds of students. It is quite possible that the added flexibility of such a system will more than compensate for any "bad choices" which ensue. And it is also possible that for many disadvantaged groups the type of public education presently offered them is a "bad choice."

The role of competition in promoting the efficient allocation of resources needs also to be considered. Under the present financing system public schools hold a virtual monopoly over elementary and secondary education. The efficiency of their efforts is not subject to any direct pressure from the clients they serve. Under a mixed system, an element of competition would be added, not only between nonpublic schools, but between nonpublic and public schools. Since each school's financial integrity would depend on the number of students it could attract, it would be constantly concerned with the suitability of its offerings to the needs of its potential students. It would, therefore, have an incentive to investigate what happens to its students after they graduate, in the hopes of evaluating the effectiveness of its curriculum. Cost consciousness would probably also increase under

alternative B. The use of new materials and methods might be more strongly subjected to critical evaluation. And schools would have a strong incentive to maximize the internal efficiency of their operations.

It would appear, then, that the flexibility and productive efficiency of schools would increase under alternative B. There would be a greater incentive to innovate and to tailor schools to the peculiar needs of particular kinds of students. Thus it is not difficult to envisage the growth of schools specializing in certain kinds of culturally or emotionally disadvantaged children. Though such schools may also exist under alternative A, they may be prohibitively expensive for those who need them most, or very cumbersome and slow to respond to change.

The goal of this paper has been to examine some of the economic issues raised by public aid to nonpublic elementary and secondary schools, in the hopes of clarifying some of the possible effects of two alternative approaches. Alternative B, with its direct subsidies to pupils rather than to institutions, appears to provide a more equitable distribution of educational services, a distribution of educational burdens more in accord with services received, and a greater economic efficiency. Although it is tempting to make sweeping recommendations from such an analysis, I would like to emphasize that the issues treated here are by no means clear-cut. The indications are, from the standpoint of the economic issues raised, that much is to be gained by instituting some form of a voucher financing system for elementary and secondary education. Much, however, depends on the responses of parents to such changes, and on the effectiveness of administrative safeguards used to prevent abuses of such a system. As in any complex social organization, achievement of an optimal solution depends on a variety of checks and balances.

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Thus the appropriate next step would be a series of experiments designed to explore the ways in which parents respond to lower marginal costs of educational investment, and perhaps more importantly, the ways in which schools respond to a more competitive, free-market situation.

CHAPTER VI

THE ECONOMICS OF PLURALISM

**Section B: Statement to the Massachusetts Commission to Study
Public Aid to Nonpublic Schools (Revised)**

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Andre Daniere

STATEMENT TO THE MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSION TO STUDY PUBLIC AID TO NON-PUBLIC
SCHOOLS

(Revised)

INTRODUCTION

Even though the expertise represented by this Commission and its staff should insure the recommendation of appropriate policies concerning the treatment of non-public schooling by the State, recent developments at the legislative level suggest that grave misunderstandings are widespread or, alternatively, that legislation will be written by the winners in a contest of greed and prejudice rather than by reasonable men patiently working out differences in a common pursuit of the public welfare. The Catholic dioceses, after well-timed and well-publicized closings of several schools, are stampeding the legislature with a voracious bill lifted from the Pennsylvania record, the sole merit of which is its apparent constitutionality. Their eagerness and confidence are such that they have not seen fit to illuminate the debate by making public the studies they recently completed, or to clarify their financial condition by embarking on an experimental program of tuition increases and compensating student aid. On the other side of the aisle, entirely negative attitudes toward any kind of private-school support are rationalized by reference to imaginary threats of Roman subversion and imaginary virtues of our public school system. The following is offered as a contribution to the rational debate which, hopefully, this commission will foster before irreversible mistakes are made.

I. SCHOOL FINANCING AND PUBLIC WELFARE

Even though too much time may be spent in discussing principles and objectives I will start with a concise statement of my understanding of the options which the State has available in fulfilling its education mandate.

Ideally, the state government must prepare and implement two schedules setting forth requirements for the maximization of basic social benefits from school education.

(1) The first schedule describes the nature and standard cost of "socially required" education for each child. The schedule does not, of course, refer to individuals, but to groups of pupils characterized by age, measured aptitudes (i.e., expected performance in alternative tracts of further schooling) and extent of earlier deprivations. The schedule reflects an attempt at maximizing a weighted index of certain social benefits associated with production and distribution of school education, including net economic productivity, desirable social change, personal growth of individuals and equalization of opportunities.

(2) The second schedule specifies the total contribution which each family must make to the financing of socially required education in the state. The schedule should accord with the overall "progressiveness" of taxation in the state, or alternatively, to whatever new standards of "progressiveness" are being sought.

Once it has established these schedules, the state can implement them through a state system of compulsory public education support by appropriate state taxation. However, this would ignore the high value which our society rightly places on the exercise of freedom of choice by individuals - in this

case, the parents and those who, for whatever reason, wish private schools to flourish. We must seek to maximize this exercise consistently with the production of socially required education and the payment by all families of their "due" contribution to its support.

1. The best institutional arrangement for making family control effective without dangerously "atomizing" education is to give local communities (legal or natural) a major share of control of public education. If the logic of "social welfare" analysis is to be followed, however, the control exercised by communities must remain consistent with the satisfaction of overriding social objectives. From another standpoint, it is also desirable that local control be accompanied by some local fiscal responsibility. Thus, the public system we seek - and achieve very imperfectly - is one under which communities assume a substantial share of control and financing of local public schools, while the state operates a system of controls, taxation and reimbursements which (a) guarantees a "socially required" education to all children, and (b) induces each community (i.e., its member families) to make their "due contribution" to the cost of "socially required" education in the state.

2. We can increase freedom of choice further by allowing parents to buy - and others to support - appropriate non-public education without fiscal or other penalization. The education is "appropriate" if the child's expected final achievement is at least as high as that provided by his "socially required" education. Assuming, for a moment, that non-public schools are fully supported by parents, the absence of fiscal penalization means that families should be reimbursed (or their taxes reduced) by whatever amount they pay directly toward their child's education, up to the standard cost of his

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"socially required" education. Alternatively, reimbursements can be made to the schools attended so as to generate an equivalent drop in tuition charges. In either case, the state is simply placing some (or all) of the public funds committed to the child's education in the hands of his parents, so that the latter can provide that education in the light of their own preferences.

On the other hand, powerful arguments can be advanced to the effect that the excessive growth of private schooling would result in widespread inefficiency (too many small units), social fragmentation, and unequal opportunities. Clearly, the private-schooling privilege should not be allowed unless the satisfactions it procures are greater than the social losses it generates: if we assume that the dollar value which parents place on the privilege is equal to the maximum tuition they are willing to pay for it, this means that we would want to stop the expansion of private schooling before the estimated social costs exceed the aggregate volume of tuitions which private-school parents* could be made to pay. From the standpoint of equity, the state must also see to it that parents are made to pay full compensation for the social losses they generate, the funds to be used in support of corrective measures or for general tax relief. If any net benefit still accrues to private-school parents, we may take one other step toward equalization and demand that parents share those remaining benefits with the general public. All this can be done by reimbursing private-school parents somewhat less than the standard cost of their child's socially required education, thus forcing them to relieve general taxpayers of a portion of their burden.

* If the level of reimbursement could be increased by stages (from its present level of zero) over the years, a measure of private schooling benefits to parents in any year, t , could be obtained by subtracting from the aggregate of tuition charges in that year the sum: (reimbursement in year 1 x added enrollment in year 1) + (reimbursement in year 2 x added enrollment in year 2) + . . . + (reimbursement in year t x added enrollment in year t).

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The argument requires only slight modifications when the role of other contributors to the support of non-public education is taken into account. The latter include donors contributing directly or through their church, as well as individuals (often religious) who contribute their services at less than the competitive salary. To the extent that such contributions simply join with parental tuitions to replace public funds committed to the support of a public service, one could argue that all should be jointly reimbursed up to the standard cost of public education. In effect, then, the net contribution of parents and donors would only go to school expenditures beyond the standard cost. Since the flow of funds back and forth between public purse and individuals is obviously inefficient, and since the imputation of reimbursements to different contributors would present additional difficulties, the logical solution is for the state to pay all non-public school tuitions up to the standard education cost and to let donors and families contribute additional resources as they see fit. Once the adverse effects of extensive private schooling are recognized, however, we must again insist that identifiable losses be more than compensated by the social gains of free choice.* To insure equity, we must also ask all those who benefit (i.e., parents and voluntary contributors in all forms) to pay compensation for the social losses they induce and, perhaps, to share whatever net benefits still remain. This can, again, be achieved by reimbursing non-public schools for only a fraction of the standard cost of their pupils' education, thus shifting some of the total costs of education from general taxpayers to non-public

* The latter now include the satisfaction of supporting a favorite cause, which we may take to be valued by givers at the maximum they would contribute, net of associated tax savings.

school parents and allied contributors.

The principle of fractional reimbursement does not hold without qualifications, two of which deserve particular emphasis.

(1) It is not enough to ensure that beneficiaries will compensate for the social costs of private schooling. Appropriate regulations, controls, and incentives must be established so as to reduce the potential social costs and generate all the possible benefits of a non-public school sector.

Whatever system we adopt should:

- (a) encourage a high level of support of public school education,
- (b) encourage education experimentation in the private sector,
- (c) prohibit subversion of private education.

Some would add the inducement or enforcement of desirable levels of socio-economic and racial integration. My own view is that such conditions should only be imposed if they are effectively enforced in the public schools as well. As long as our public school system is molded by the neighborhood concept and by housing segregation, I see no great loss from parallel segregation in private schools.

The only pressures now applied for public school integration in our state are directed at low and middle-income groups in the cities, while suburban residents maintain zoning and building codes that keep out all 'undesirable' elements. If these conditions remain, it can be argued that private school systems would, of themselves, reduce rather than increase segregation. At present, white suburban families cannot afford not to patronize their well segregated public schools: they pay high taxes for their support and get no relief if they participate in private ventures in integrated schooling. Once private schools can be started with substantial public reimbursements, however, nothing should prevent liberal white parents from joining with their black counterparts and practicing in conveniently located schools the integration they have been seeking.

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(2) There is reason to fear that, as long as private schooling must be financed in part from tuitions, those of low-income will have lesser access to it. Let us be clear about one thing, however: unless we are committed to the principle that our public schools must remain inadequate, private schooling is a privilege of benefit to parents, not to their children. If public schools are provided with adequate means, the only substantial inequalities that non-public schools can foster are those arising from pupil segregation. But low-income children are already segregated within the public school system, so that they cannot lose much from a shift of allegiance in the upper strata. We can go one step further: nothing prevents the various organizations that are, or would become, involved in running private school systems from redistributing tuition burdens so as to insure a socially balanced enrollment. Tuitions can be set at \$400 or more, with remissions in accordance with family income going all the way to a zero net charge. Whatever their past record may be, Catholic dioceses in the state should have no doctrinal objection to this principle.

3. The argument in favor of fractional, rather than full reimbursement of standard (socially required) education costs, rests on a fundamental act of faith in our public school systems, i.e., that they can be made to secure an optimum education for each child. If we feel that, because of inherent bureaucratization, lack of competition and rigidity of feeding patterns, public schools must forever fail a substantial number of our children, then the "social costs" of non-public schooling are easily turned into a potential "social benefit". Whatever may be lost through excessive atomization will

be more than recouped in the form of productive experimentation, better "tuning" of children to the school of their choice and, under appropriate regulation, greater social and ethnic integration. There is, then, every reason for the state to offer full tuition reimbursement up to the cost of "socially required" education, allowing payments to any publicly or privately sponsored school that operates in accordance with the rules.

As one whose children benefit from a "good" public school under reasonable levels of social (although not racial) integration, I cannot, empirically, subscribe to the final demise of public education. I remain convinced that meaningful experimentation can be carried out in the public sector and that its results, whatever their source, can be incorporated in the public schools. Until further evidence becomes available, there is little ground for the hope that the regulation of non-public enrollment can achieve higher levels of integration than state or federal regulation of public school enrollments. In any case, the strength of the public-education Establishment is such that reforms are more likely to succeed through it than against it. Realistically, we must postulate the continued existence of a massive network of public school systems, from which it follows that school education cannot be strong without strong public schools. There is no question that, in the present morass of our city school systems, some educational gains can, at first, be achieved by expanding non-public school alternatives; but social losses must eventually dominate, and the sooner the more efforts we put in improving public education.

II. PRINCIPLE OF FRACTIONAL REIMBURSEMENTS: PROBLEMS IN IMPLEMENTATION

A careful weighing of the costs and benefits arising from non-public schooling leads to the firm conclusion that parents or schools should only

be reimbursed a fraction of the per-pupil cost of education in public schools. A useful way of figuring the proper level of reimbursement is to consider what occurs as we progressively increase the reimbursement from zero to full per-pupil cost in public schools:

If we place ourselves a few years hence, when a large proportion of parochial schools may, indeed, have been forced to close their doors, we start with a residual (50,000?) of pupils attending private schools without public support. As the reimbursement begins and is gradually raised, more pupils leave the public schools and social costs increase - although social gains may be generated at first if public schools are inadequate (as they are in many of our districts) or do a particularly poor job of educating the transferred pupils. The benefits to private school parents do, of course, increase - although at a decreasing rate - since more families can afford private schooling and individual burdens are reduced. As to benefits occurring to general tax-payers through reduction of the total tax load, they increase up to a point, then decline and finally become zero when reimbursement is at the full per-pupil cost of public education.*

* Consider, as an illustration, the following schedules. The total number of pupils is 100,000 and the per-pupil cost in public schools is \$1,000.

Reimbursement per pupil (Priv. Schools) (1) (Dollars)	Enrollment in Priv. Schls. (2)	Enrollment in Pub. Schls (3)	Cost of Priv. Pupil Reimbursements (4)=(1)×(2) (million \$)	Cost of Pub. School Support (5)=3×1000 (million \$)	Total Public Expenditure (6)=(4)+(5) (million \$)	Public Saving From Reimbursements (7)=95M-(6) (million \$)
0	5,000	95,000	0	95	95	0
100	10,000	90,000	1	90	91	4
200	15,000	85,000	3	85	88	7
300	25,000	75,000	7.5	75	81.5	12.5
400	32,000	68,000	13	68	81	14
500	40,000	60,000	20	60	80	15
600	48,000	52,000	29	52	81	14
700	54,000	46,000	38	46	84	11
800	60,000	40,000	48	40	88	7
900	65,000	35,000	58.5	35	93.5	1.5
1,000	70,000	30,000	70	30	100	-5

In this example, maximum relief on public budgets occurs at \$500 reimbursement (50% per-pupil cost), with a private school enrollment equal to 40% of the total. However, most of the saving can be achieved with only \$300 reimbursement (33% of per-pupil cost), with a private-school enrollment equal to 25% of the total.

Important note: The relation between columns (1) and (2) is for illustration only: it has no empirical basis whatsoever.

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There is thus some level of payment, short of full-cost reimbursement, at which net benefits are maximized, and it can be assumed that such benefits will be fairly distributed among all citizens. However, our information is too scant--and our objectives too imprecise-- for a fully rational determination of the right fraction to be made. From a practical standpoint, it is easier to reach a consensus on the desirable percentage of non-public enrollments, and to set the reimbursement fraction so as to generate that enrollment. I would expect fairly general agreement around the position that a transfer of more than 30% of all pupils to the private network would so weaken the public system as to generate "unrecoupable" social costs; if so, a reasonable goal is to maintain the present percentage of non-public enrollments (22%) while allowing deviations up to 30%. The appropriate reimbursement fraction can be ascertained by beginning at a relatively low 20% of public education costs and raising the level year by year until enrollments are stabilized at the desired level.

Fractionality and "Purchase of Services"

A good deal of proposed legislation toward public support of non-public schools incorporates the concept of "purchase of education services" by public authorities. Since the delicate weighting of various elements of social welfare is still relatively foreign to our legislative and judicial traditions, similar language can be used in legislation designed to implement the principle of fractional reimbursement to parents or schools. From the standpoint of constitutionality, something could probably be gained by stating that the purchase is from parents who in turn, must use the services of an accredited school. However, the practical effect of a

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purchase from (payment to) the schools is the same as that of a purchase from (payment to) parents, and we may let the lawyers decide which is best.

On the other hand, legislators must be warned against committing the Commonwealth to purchase education services at the "reasonable cost" thereof. As long as services purchased represent-or may later represent-a high proportion of those supplied in public schools, this is, in effect, a commitment to reimburse a high percentage of the per-pupil cost in public schools. For the principle of fractionality to be fully protected, the appropriate state commitment can be stated in fairly general terms as follows:

"to bid for the purchase of education services at such a price as will best serve the good and welfare of the Commonwealth."

If a more pointed objective is considered desirable, we will not go far wrong by concentrating on the redistribution of benefits among general taxpayers and stating our purpose as:

"to bid for the purchase of education services at such a price as will provide substantial relief* on public budgets."

The actual fraction of per-pupil cost set in the legislation may, or may not, fully satisfy these requirements, but it should represent the best judgement of law-makers (or those to whom they delegate authority) in the light of these criteria.

* There is some danger in seeking "maximum relief", as this might call for a reimbursement rate that cuts excessively into public school enrollments.

III. COORDINATION OF STATE AID TO PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS

In its original design, the Massachusetts state reimbursement formula to public school districts (Chapter 70) would have insured that, as long as all pupils attend public schools, each city and town can spend an adequate minimum on each of its pupils by raising in local taxes its "due" share of the total cost of school education in the state (in accordance with its "ability to pay").* It is of course well known that the formula fails to achieve this objective. For one thing, not all pupils attend public schools, with the result that communities with a high proportion of private school pupils can achieve parity of public school expenditures by paying less than their due share of state-wide public education costs (although private-school parents within them pay an unduly high proportion of the cost of all school education). For another, incentives built in the formula are not strong enough to insure adequate fiscal efforts on the part of all communities: many pay less than their due share, at the cost of their children's education. Finally, a variety of distortions guarantee that richer communities need not pay their due share to achieve the school expenditure minimum, and can spend the money thus "saved" on some "extra" education for their own pupils. Nevertheless, the system, as it stands, represents the best compromise which our legislators have been able to make with the ambitious objectives of the theoretical formula.

* This generally describes the so-called "Percentage Equalization Formula", but the following argument applies to "Foundation" formulas as well. Note that, in the Mass. version, the relative ability to pay is calculated as the ratio of Town valuation to all pupils (public & non-public), while the resulting reimbursement percentage is applied to public school expenditures only. This is why the objective of the general formula as described above is only satisfied when all pupils attend public schools.

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Consider a town which, at the present time, has no private school pupils and receives a state reimbursement under Chapter 70 equal to 30% of what it spends on public education out of local taxes. If the latter amount is \$500 per pupil, the town receives a state reimbursement of \$150 per pupil and can spend a total of \$650. per pupil (not including various categorical aids). We shall assume that \$500 per pupil in local taxes is precisely the "due share" of the town so that, in the absence of distortions, the \$650 per pupil it can spend after reimbursement is equal to the state "guaranteed" minimum.

Consider next what happens when children begin to shift to the private sector.*

1. As things now stand, each child transferring to a private school saves the town taxpayers \$500 and the state taxpayers \$150, while it costs the family and other contributors something on the order of \$650. The town taxpayers are thus withdrawing \$500 from their "due share" of public education support in the state, although one family among them may have to boost its education payments by as much as \$650. Put another way, general taxpayers in the town (and state taxpayers to a lesser degree) enjoy a special bonus at the expense of private-school clients.

* Developments described under 1 and 2 are contingent on the peculiarity of the Massachusetts formula listed earlier, i.e. the computation of valuation per pupil in relation to all pupils rather than public school pupils only. Under the ordinary formula (using valuation per public-school pupil), the reimbursement loss occurring with each transfer to non-public schools is such that the district must maintain a constant local tax contribution to keep up its expenditure per pupil. This ceases to be true, however, as soon as reimbursements drop to zero and, under strict application of the formula, would turn negative. For such "negative" reimbursements (payments from district to state) are usually proscribed. If the state stands ready to pay for the cost of non-public education, it is, again, to the town's advantage to let go of its public school system and, thus, reduce its school taxation to zero.

2. Existing proposals for non-public school aid address themselves to the inequities of the latter shift. It is suggested that the state pay part or the whole of the \$650 which private-school parents and allied charities are now asked to contribute in excess of their taxes. Whatever the merits of such a reimbursement out of public funds, we must keep in mind that payment out of state funds will do nothing to correct the other inequity we have noted, i.e., each pupil transfer to the private schools will continue to cut \$500 out of what the general taxpayers in the town contribute to education support. Moreover, if the town knows a good thing when it sees it, it will simply let go of its public school system, save itself the local taxes, and have the state finance a prosperous string of private schools. This is one way to get rid of local taxation as a source of school finance; but it is also a way to destroy public schools across the state.

3. As long, therefore, as we depend on local taxation and equalizing state reimbursements for the support of public schools, the proper way of distributing aid to non-public schools is through the public schools districts. The town used for illustration will keep contributing its due share of statewide costs if, whenever a child transfers to the private sector, it continues to pay \$500 out of local taxes and the state continues to reimburse \$150, the funds now going to non-public school parents or directly to the attended school. This implies a computation of state reimbursements under Chapter 70 in terms of all school pupils and an obligation imposed on school districts to reimburse parents of (or schools attended by) non-public school pupils an amount equal to the public school expenditure per pupil.

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However, I have argued that the reimbursement to private-school parents should represent a fraction of the amount spent on public school pupils. If we settle on 31% as the proper fraction, the town will only reimburse \$200 for each private-school pupil and will again avoid payment of its due share, this time to the tune of \$450 per pupil transferred. If we settle on 50%, the town will reimburse \$325 and draw a bonus of \$325. Clearly, then, we are re-introducing a degree of inequity: the justification for fractional reimbursements is, indeed, to create public savings which can be applied to general tax relief and to correction of the potential ills of private education; but there is no reason why the savings should go in their entirety to taxpayers of communities addicted to private-schooling.

One way of spreading benefits more equally is for the state to apply the fractionality principle to its own reimbursements covering private school pupils, i.e., to reimburse the town less for its private-school pupils than it does for those in public schools. The tax burden of communities would still be reduced substantially as a result of transfers to the private education network. On the other hand, no danger of wholesale exodus from the public schools would exist since, as long as the proportion of private-school pupils is small, potential shifters must contemplate both heavy school taxes and a substantial net payment for tuition. Furthermore, a moderate taxpayer bonus to communities in which transfers occur is equitable: for one thing, the bonus is financed by private-school families in the community; for another, the community itself experiences a major share of the social costs of private education. Finally, communities with a large present proportion of private school pupils tend to be in the lower range

of wealth and to carry heavy municipal "overburdens"; the bonus they would receive would thus compensate for some of the inequities of the state reimbursement system.

4. In fairness to the principle of direct state subsidization of private schools or parents, it must be recognized that the by-passing of school districts causes the less damage the smaller the fraction of "standard cost" reimbursed to non-public schools or parents. Better still, the non-public reimbursement fraction can be applied to the local public school expenditure per pupil (rather than to a state standard) so as to provide private-school parents with an incentive to support public school education in their community. Such a system of direct fractional reimbursements would still allow our towns' taxpayers to withhold \$500 from their "due share" of support every time a transfer takes place, but there would be no stampede out of public schools since, again, each family contemplating a transfer would have to think of a substantial net tuition on top of its school-tax payments. However, the taxpayer bonus would be excessive, and it would be larger the richer the community (the least its school aid percentage).

The ill effects of direct state subsidization of the private education sector can be further neutralized by shifting the base of state reimbursements to public schools i.e., by modifying the Chapter 70 formula so that each pupil transfer to a private school reduces reimbursements to the district by the full amount of local taxes saved (\$500 in the illustrative town) or by some fraction thereof. Under the peculiar form of percentage equalization formula now in effect in

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Massachusetts, this condition would be approximated by the following modifications: to induce full maintenance of the local tax contribution, change the school-aid percentage r , to $R = (p \times r) - (1 - p)$, where p is the proportion of public school to total pupils in the district; to induce fractional maintenance of the local tax contribution, change the school aid percentage, r , to $R = p \times r$, or to some arbitrary fraction thereof. The major problem this presents, however, is that the school-aid percentage easily becomes negative if p and/or r are small, i.e., if the district has a high proportion of private-school pupils and/or is relatively wealthy. This would call for a "backward" reimbursement by the district to the state---a contingency which already occurs for wealthy districts under the existing formula and is handled through imposition of a school-aid percentage floor. Whether we do this or simply multiply the present school-aid percentage by p (again guaranteeing a positive reimbursement), the system would always be procuring excessive advantages to districts which are either wealthy or heavily dependent on private schooling.

IV. GENERAL CAUTIONS

Rather than reviewing the various plans proposed or in effect in various states, I prefer to isolate a few features of major importance and to point out, in each case, what cautions are in order.

1. Looking back at the discussion just completed, it is clear that we should avoid any system under which payments are made by the state directly to the non-public schools or to parents. Under the present system of public school financing in the state, this will always result in an unwarranted reduction of tax burdens

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in communities with a high incidence of private schooling. If state payments are close to the actual cost of public education, they will encourage a massive migration of pupils to private schools and destroy the public system.

Concerning the first matter, we must keep in mind that the bonus to general taxpayers in "privatized" school districts is already granted under Chapter 70, i.e., communities do lose state reimbursements, but save far more in local taxes every time a pupil transfers to a non-public school. The only difference which direct state payments to the private sector would make is that private-school parents in the community would cease to finance the whole of that bonus: the state would now assume a share of it. In this respect, therefore, a direct fractional state subsidy would represent progress over the situation we now have. But it would still fall short of any reasonable "equity" objective. For equity to be enhanced, we must insure some degree of local tax participation in the support of non-public schools.

2. We should avoid any system which, directly, or by implication, will reimburse private-schools or parents at the full cost of an equivalent public education. The argument for "fractionality" was developed at length in a previous section, and no purpose would be served by repeating it. Although no clear yardstick is available, I submit the following guidelines as a point of departure: a \$700 cost can be covered with \$250 (35%) from parental tuition, \$200 (30%) from philanthropic sources (including contributed services) and \$250 (35%) from public aid. There may be fears that such a level of participation will be too small for effective support of non-public school enrollments. It should be clear, however, that there is some level of public aid below full cost at which a healthy network of private education can be maintained. I hazard the guess that an average tuition of \$250-300 would not jeopardize enrollments; in any case, we can certainly start with a reimbursement level of the suggested order (35% of per-pupil public cost) and see whether private institutions are, indeed, capable of raising the remainder from tuitions and charity without losing enrollments. If they are not, an upward adjustment of reimbursements may be in order.

3. We should avoid any system that ties private school reimbursements to specific service inputs, i.e., teachers, textbooks, etc., or to the teaching of specific subjects. The service which the state purchases is elementary, or secondary, or special education. If measured at all, it should be in terms of standard achievement of pupils (averages of their scores can be compared with those of public school pupils in the same grade, for groups having entered an earlier grade with the same average score) and maintenance of minimum standards in the area of pupil health and attitudinal molding.

First, it should be clear that all the rhetoric about "secular" educational services and "secular" subjects serves only to confuse and obscure the issues. Catholic schools were not set up to teach Catechism, and whatever they do in this line must be viewed as an extracurricular activity of minor relevance. Their main business is to teach what the public schools teach; the difference is in the values and attitudes they impart to children. That is what parochial school parents are buying, although they hope that their children will "learn better" as well. The meaning of this is, on the one hand, that constitutional issues are not avoided by emphasizing the "secular" distinction: The teaching of values and attitudes permeates all activities. The second implication, however, is that the limitation of reimbursements to inputs in "secular" services promises no relief to state taxpayers: if not now, at least following the new legislation, Catholic schools can be expected to spend on "secular" matters precisely what public schools are now spending. Since "secular" matters encompass most of the curriculum (social studies tend to be left out for questionable reasons), a promise to reimburse all such expenditures is thus a promise to pay private schools a high percentage of the full alternative cost of public education.

Nothing, of course, prevents us from paying only a fraction of the cost of service inputs or from eliminating some inputs arbitrarily (e.g., construction

and maintenance, administrative personnel, etc.). The trouble with the first alternative is that the laundry list of items subject to reimbursement will acquire a life of its own. Because so many innocuous articles are purchased, we will lose sight of the fact that the education they produce should not be bought at full cost. Slowly but surely, our legislators will heed the argument that the state should pay full price for the things it is on record as purchasing.

As to limitations on the list of reimbursable inputs, they will effectively shackle experimentation in private education. If only one item is subject to reimbursement (e.g., qualified teachers), the school will allocate all possible resources to the hiring teachers, and highly qualified ones at that, since that's where the state money is; every cent they divert to curriculum materials, or to teacher aides, or to administrative efforts in program development, will be a cent lost. Even if reimbursements apply to a varied package of inputs, its items will obviously have to accord with state or local district specifications, and it is likely that narrow limits will be imposed on their "quantity-per-pupil" in accordance with professional wisdom. Thus, one of the few major social benefits which private education could claim will be thrown overboard.

4. We should avoid any system that discourages beneficiaries of private-school aid from supporting public schools at a high level of per-pupil expenditure. This support will obviously fail to materialize if payment to private schools or parents is made without relation to the amount spent or tax effort produced by communities from which private pupils originate. The tying of teacher reimbursements to salaries paid for equivalent training and qualification in local public schools fails utterly to create proper incentives. Under such a system, private-school parents will give the school board no support in its attempts to withstand teacher demands for higher salaries, while at the same time supporting low public

school budgets and thus squeezing out the public teaching force. Real support for the public system will only materialize if the size of the payments received for private-school pupils is tied directly to the per-pupil expenditure incurred by public schools in originating communities.

V. THE "HARRINGTON" or "DIOCESAN" BILL

This may be a subject of wonder, but the most actively discussed and most intensely supported bill now before the Massachusetts Senate manages to bring together every undesirable feature ever conceived. It is a direct state reimbursement to the schools, it promises payment of a high percentage of the full cost of equivalent public education, it reimburses specific school inputs, and it does not link payments to the public school support provided by beneficiaries. In short --and unless appropriations to the "Non-public Education Assistance Fund" are systematically kept at a fraction of total entitlements-- the bill heralds the end of public education in Massachusetts and, meanwhile, gross inequities in the disposition of public funds.

The bill has two redeeming features only: one is its commitment to the use of standardized pupil performance tests in "checking" the quality of service provided by private schools---although the record is marred by joint insistence on Commissioner approval (standardization?) of textbooks and other instructional materials. The other is the absence of any earmarking of tax revenues to finance the Non-public Education Assistance Fund: there is reason to hope, in the light of legislative experience in our state, that only a fraction of the necessary funds will ever be appropriated. This, of course, will not solve the problem, since payments will generate tax inequities, curtail initiatives and weaken public school support; but wholesale desertion of the public schools will, at least, be prevented.

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On the other hand, we should not underestimate the strength of the pressures that will build toward payment of the promised full "reasonable" cost of purchased secular educational services. One may suppose that the choice of this particular formulation by the Catholic dioceses is rooted in something more than a desire to emulate Pennsylvania or the constitutional reassurance provided by a U.S. District Court. The diocesan authorities must have realized that the bill they advocate has the greatest potential payoff in terms of total public support of parochial schools. The record of their fight over the last two years suggests that they will neither relent, nor fail to use any weapon under their control. Unless, therefore, the bill we enact carries a clear commitment to fractionality of payments, we are taking a very serious risk with the future of public education.

Even if the bill does no more than keep private-school enrollments at their present level, the burden on state budgets when the full reasonable cost is reimbursed will be impressive. There is every reason to assume that parochial schools will hire a full complement of teachers in all "authorized" subjects and pay their remaining religious teachers the full salary allowed by their training and qualifications. Under these conditions, the "reasonable cost" per pupil cannot possibly fall below \$500. The bill would appear to provide reimbursement to non-public schools in Massachusetts irrespective of whether some, or a majority, of their pupils are from out of state. However, we can get a rough estimate of the cost by applying the \$500 to the 250,000 Massachusetts pupils in private schools: it comes out as a yearly \$125 million.

I will not say much concerning alternative plans now in the public record, since they are not likely to receive very serious consideration. In brief, however, it can be stated that (1) the leasing of non-public school facilities to public school districts is little more than an elegant method of liquidating low-income parochial schools; (2) facilities-sharing plans should be

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viewed as a useful adjunct to whatever system of private-school aid we adopt, but their administration appears quite cumbersome and the solution they provide is ambivalent: either too little is shared to generate adequate savings or too much is shared to preserve the school's integrity; (3) the idea of limiting reimbursements to school services rendered to the poor, the handicapped or the disadvantaged is acceptable, but far less conducive to maximization of public welfare than a non-discriminatory reimbursement system complemented by aid bonuses for the servicing of special categories; (4) as to the paying by the state of a uniform (small) amount for each child attending school, it has as much appeal as a plan to parcel out welfare funds equally to all families in the state.

VI. PROPOSED AID PROGRAM

The program which I would hope to see enacted in Massachusetts is outlined below. It adequately meets all the specifications discussed in the early parts of the statement.

1. The "reimbursable expenditure" of school districts under Chapter 70 is augmented by 75% of the estimated local cost of educating non-public school pupils in public schools. Under Chapter 70, the "reimbursable expenditure", RE, is the amount to which the district's "school aid percentage" is applied to compute reimbursements; it also represents an approximation of the local tax cost of public education.* The proposed extension consists in augmenting RE by the quantity $0.75 \times (RE/HAM) \times (SAT-NAM)$, where SAT is the number of school attending children in the district and HAM is the net average membership in its public schools. The last factor (SAT-HAM) is an approximation of the number of district pupils in non-public schools. The middle factor is the reimbursable expenditure (local tax cost) per public school pupil; when multiplied by (SAT-HAM), it gives the amount private school pupils would cost the district* if all were supported at the same level as public school pupils. Since (see below) the local district is only required to support private pupils at 35% of public school costs, the

* Subject to upper and lower limit adjustments compensating for inequities in the aid percentage.

state makes a parallel cut in its reimbursement; the factor it applies, however, is 75% instead of 35%, thus providing the district with a substantial bonus.

Example---in round figures, Boston has 130,000 school attending children and 90,000 in net average membership in public schools. Its reimbursable expenditure of \$50 million would be increased by $0.75 \times \frac{50 \text{ million}}{85,000} \times (130,000 - 85,000) =$ \$20 million. Since Boston's school aid percentage is 55%, its entitlement to reimbursements would increase by $0.55 \times 20 =$ \$11 million (from the present $0.55 \times 50 =$ \$27 million).

2. Each school district is required to reimburse district families an annual amount equal to 35% of the base per-pupil expenditure in local public schools, for each child enrolled in a non-public school. The base per pupil expenditure is calculated through division of the following sum by the average net membership in public schools: reported reimbursable expenditure* plus state reimbursement to the district, as presently calculated under Chapter 70. The family reimbursement, to be made in three installments, can be paid to the family upon school certification of pupil attendance and proof of tuition payment equal to, or larger than, the amount received; or it can be paid to the school attended upon presentation of a voucher signed by parents.

Example--Assuming that Boston is reimbursed its full present entitlement under Chapter 70, the base per-pupil expenditure in public schools would be obtained by forming the sum: 50 million (reported reimbursable expenditure) plus 27 million (reimbursement) = 77 million, and dividing by the net average membership of 85,000, which gives a figure of approximately \$900. The reimbursement due each private school pupil for Boston would be 35% of this amount, or \$315. Since about 45,000 pupils would benefit, this would cost Boston $315 \times 48,000 =$ \$14 million.

*The "reported reimbursable expenditure" differs from the "reimbursable expenditure" used in computing Chapter 70 entitlements, in that it has not been subjected to upper-and lower-limit adjustments.

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Note that the increased state reimbursement to Boston is only \$11 million, so that the district must supply \$3 million from its own taxes. This added local burden must not hide the fact that Boston is now receiving substantial additional aid (under Chapter 70) as a result of having a high proportion of private school pupils, even though it contributes nothing to their schools out of public funds; also that it is still receiving a "bonus" under the proposed system. It can certainly be argued that Boston ought to receive more state reimbursements than it now does, but this should come through a revision of Chapter 70 toward a more equitable calculation of the school-aid percentage.

3. In order for pupils or schools to qualify for reimbursement, the schools must:

- a. Satisfy present minimum requirements for school operation in the Commonwealth.
- b. Subject their pupils to regularly scheduled standard achievement tests under state supervision; and show minimum average pupil achievement over five-year periods in grades 3,6,9 and 12, for groups of pupils in a common achievement range three grades earlier.
- c. Be open for inspection by district officials through classroom visits, review of study materials and interviewing of pupils; and receive certification that the school is not actively fostering values and attitudes that are destructive of the social fabric.

Costing and Additional Qualifications:

The cost of the program to the state would be of the order of \$50 million. An additional \$20-25 million would be required in the aggregate from local taxes, on the part of communities which now receive an unwarranted state reimbursement bonus and in which recipients of private school aid are concentrated. The

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local tax contribution to the program would be wiped out by a relatively small increase in the percentage of public school expenditures reimbursed under Chapter 70. My resources were not sufficient to undertake a comprehensive calculation, but figures in the attached table are illustrative.

Clearly, both the 75% factor applied to state reimbursements on the account of private-school pupils and the 35% applied to the per pupil base expenditure to compute private school aid are negotiable. The attached table shows alternative figures for a state reimbursement on the account of private-school pupils at the same rate as public school pupils (i.e., the present reimbursable expenditure is simply multiplied by SAC/NAK). An important refinement consists in calculating the additional state reimbursement to districts and the per pupil base expenditure separately for elementary and secondary school pupils. Finally, it is clear that modifications would have to be made in response to any significant change in the reimbursement system contained in Chapter 70.

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Impact of Proposed Formula

**(Including alternative 100% state reimbursement
to district on account of private school pupils).**

Selected Cities and Towns

	Reimburse- ment to priv. schls. or parents by district \$000	(75% Factor Applied)		(100% Factor Applied)		Reimburse- ment to priv. schls. or parents per pupil \$	SAC NAM	Equalized Val/SAC in relation to state aver. (Relative wealth)
		Add. state reimburse- ment to district \$000	Add. local contributions of district \$000	Add. state reimburse- ment to district \$000	Add. local contribution of district \$000			
1 BOSTON	14,146	10,744	3,402	14,325	-179*	309	1.33	0.69
2 WORCESTER	3,353	2,522	831	3,362	- 9*	302	1.39	0.71
3 SPRINGFIELD	2,770	2,113	657	2,818	-48*	247	1.39	0.68
4 NEW BEDFORD	1,401	1,183	218	1,577	-176*	205	1.46	0.70
5 FALL RIVER	1,809	1,469	340	1,958	-149*	246	1.58	0.60
6 CAMBRIDGE	1,331	289	1,042	385	946	301	1.44	1.63
7 LYNN	1,451	692	759	922	529	216	1.47	1.10
8 NEWTON	1,352	257	1,095	342	1,010	345	1.22	1.49
9 QUINCY	1,076	578	498	770	306	253	1.27	1.02
10 LOWELL	1,369	1,018	351	1,358	11	227	1.40	0.72
11 SOMERVILLE	1,709	1,226	483	1,634	75	248	1.56	0.76
12 BROCKTON	582	406	176	541	41	217	1.16	0.80
13 LAWRENCE	1,315	872	443	1,163	152	226	1.71	0.85
14 MEDFORD	1,036	578	458	771	265	235	1.44	0.99
15 CHICOPEE	812	705	107	940	-128*	179	1.36	0.59
16 WALTHAM	799	217	582	290	509	240	1.33	1.36
17 PITTSFIELD	878	555	323	740	138	253	1.20	0.89
18 MALDEN	624	402	222	536	88	237	1.28	0.88
19 BROOKLINE	565	89	476	119	446	413	1.20	2.96

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	Reimburse- ment to priv. schls. or parents by district \$000	(75% Factor Applied)		(100% Factor Applied)		Reimburse- ment to priv. schls. or parents per pupil \$	SAC NAH	Equalized Val/SAC in relation to state aver. (relative wealth)
		Add. state reimburse- ment to district \$000	Add. local contributions of district \$000	Add. state reimburse- ment to district \$000	Add. local contribution of district \$000			
20 HOLYOKE	630	426	204	568	62	200	1.37	0.88
21 EVERETT	650	148	502	198	452	287	1.32	1.53
22 HAVERHILL	703	448	255	598	105	243	1.39	--.88
23 WATERTOWN	440	115	325	154	286	249	1.28	1.39
24 SALEM	762	272	490	362	400	259	1.49	1.21
25 BRAintree	347	132	215	176	171	243	1.17	1.21
26 LEXINGTON	182	66	116	88	94	317	1.06	1.13
27 NORWOOD	442	242	200	322	120	238	1.29	1.01
28 ATTLEBORO	317	203	114	271	46	216	1.22	0.88
29 CHELSEA	420	336	84	448	-28*	259	1.34	0.62
30 GLOUCESTER	231	105	126	140	91	222	1.20	1.12
31 WAKEFIELD	314	117	197	156	158	248	1.23	1.21
32 DANVERS	388	216	172	289	100	250	1.29	0.99
33 BILLERICA	89	74	15	98	-9*	223	1.05	0.65
34 MARBLEHEAD	262	69	193	92	170	248	1.25	1.49
35 SOUTHBRIDGE	349	208	140	278	71	225	1.70	0.94
36 HINGHAM	200	89	111	119	81	256	1.16	1.13
37 LUDLOW	191	139	52	185	6	229	1.41	0.76
38 SWANSEA	195	129	66	172	23	242	1.33	0.85

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	(75% Factor Applied)		(100% Factor Applied)		Reimburse- ment to priv. schls. or parents per pupil \$	SAC VAL	Equalized Val/SAC in relation to state aver. (Relative wealth)
	Reimburse- ment to priv. schls. or parents by district \$000	Add. state reimburse- ment to district \$000	Add. local contributions of district \$000	Add. state reimburse- ment to district \$000			
39 AMESBURY	283	216	67	288	270	1.60	0.68
40 NORTHBRIDGE	158	116	42	155	228	1.31	0.74
41 WILBRAHAM	115	64	51	86	286	1.13	0.97
42 MONSON	11	15	-4*	20	229	1.08	0.88
43 G.BARRINGTON							
44 ORANGE	48	40	8	54	240	1.14	0.56
45 LINCOLN	78	15	63	20	348	1.17	1.55
46 MARION	41	10	31	14	256	1.22	1.82
47 CLARKSBURG	24	22	2	29	200	1.27	0.55
48 MILLVILLE	28	26	2	34	227	1.37	0.53

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(*Minus sign indicates a net gain of the district, i.e. an additional state reimbursement larger than the district's reimbursement to private schools or parents.)

CHAPTER VII

**MAJOR FINDINGS FROM STATE-SPONSORED STUDIES OF NONPUBLIC ELEMENTARY
AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

CHAPTER VII

MAJOR FINDINGS FROM STATE-SPONSORED STUDIES OF NONPUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The purpose of this paper is to synthesize the important findings from studies conducted under state sponsorship in recent years with respect to nonpublic elementary and secondary schools. Work of this type has been completed, or is now in process, in at least thirteen states: Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. New York has begun a second investigation, and similar research has been authorized in New Jersey. The comments that follow are based upon the ten study reports that are now available to us.¹ Particular emphasis is given to inquiries in Michigan, Rhode Island, Maryland, Illinois, and Wisconsin, since these involved the analysis of extensive bodies of systematic evidence. Several state-wide studies (e.g., in Kansas, New Hampshire, and Vermont) offer little more than unsubstantiated impressions and opinions and consequently are of little value for our purposes. The Kansas report announces, for example: "The committee was impressed with the stature of the people appearing before it...Nonpublic education in Kansas is not in the hands of religious fanatics."

The inquiries in question differ markedly as to the types of data that were deemed important enough to assemble and analyze. If all the findings were recorded here, the result would be a potpourri of dubious

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value. Some consistency may be found, however, with respect to two general areas of evidence. The first, discussed in Part I of this paper, concerns the nature of the crisis in nonpublic education. The second, reserved for Part II, relates to questions of selectivity and experimentation in nonpublic schools.

One further delimitation applies to Part I. According to evidence in most of the state-sponsored studies, perhaps assembled most systematically in chapters 6 and 7 of the Illinois Report, the most immediate crisis concerns the Catholic schools primarily. Jewish, Greek Orthodox, Calvinist, Seventh Day Adventist, and Episcopal schools have been gaining at least modest ground, along with most member institutions of the National Association of Independent Schools. The Missouri Synod Lutheran schools have lost enrollments, but to an extent largely attributable to the recent birth rate decline.² Between 1963 and 1969-70, however, the number of pupils in Catholic elementary schools dropped by 20.7 per cent, from 4,546,360 to 3,607,168.³ Catholic high schools continued to grow for a time, but lost 1.1 per cent of their students between 1967-68 and 1968-69 and another 2.8 per cent between 1968-69 and 1969-70. Since Catholic high schools draw most of their freshmen from Catholic elementary schools, the crisis may simply be taking a few years to crest at the upper grades.

It seems likely that the storm now buffeting Catholic schools will soon affect most other nonpublic schools in the United States. Both public and nonpublic schools are in trouble, being viewed increasingly as mindless, irrelevant, and inhumane. While repeatedly demanding more money, they seldom adopt more productive methods to help offset the costs.

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In all likelihood public education will survive, for it is guaranteed a steady flow of students and at least minimal funds. (What public school system ever went out of business because it was ineffective?) But patrons of nonpublic education must shoulder a double burden--a full share of mounting public school taxation, plus the increased outlays that seem necessary to keep nonpublic schools competitive. Unless nonpublic institutions generate powerful new incentives, most of their clients may desert them. As one ominous indication, the college preparatory boarding schools, generally patronized by affluent families, are losing students and financial solvency. A 1960 survey estimated that only 75 per cent of boarding institutions affiliated with the National Association of Independent Schools were balancing their budgets. The proportion dropped to 53 per cent by 1970.

Part I of this paper is addressed to the question: Why are Catholic schools threatened so profoundly, long before other major groups have experienced comparable uncertainty? That question, if properly answered, should provide an understanding of the immediate crisis and important clues as to the difficulties that nonpublic schools outside the Catholic group may face in the near future. Since none of the state-sponsored studies involved representative national samples, and since it is impossible to establish beyond doubt the reasons why parents, teachers, administrators, and church leaders make the decisions that they do, no one knows precisely what are the causes of the current crisis. What follows in Part I, however, is what seems to be the most logical interpretation of the available evidence. On many occasions it will be necessary to use state and local data for purposes of illustration. The

tendencies these data exemplify are national in scope, but are certain to vary in intensity from one part of the country to another and among different types of Catholic schools.

PART I. THE IMMEDIATE CRISIS IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

Notice, first of all, that the motives for Catholic education that once were most basic of all no longer exist. In the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries, Catholics needed to protect their young against a hostile environment.⁴ The faithful were despised and persecuted--because they were Catholics, because they were recent immigrants (especially if not Anglo-Saxon), and because they were mostly poor. Public schools were promoted by Protestants as the most promising device for destroying Papism and other foreign evils. Parochial schools could not be built fast enough to shelter all Catholic youngsters, so the church worked relentlessly to neutralize the Protestant bias in public education. But the first line of defense, religiously and ethnically, was the fast-growing network of Catholic schools.

When its patrons are attracted by religious and ethnic features, a school has limited need to compete academically, especially when catering to the lower socio-economic strata. Until recently, at least, most working class parents were reluctant to challenge professional educators, partly, no doubt, because few children from working class homes were competing for entry to highly selective colleges, and partly because working class parents were often intimidated by professionals. (Militancy and higher educational aspirations may be changing the pattern.) At one time, then, Catholic schools could tolerate conditions widely regarded as

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substandard--such as massive class sizes, untrained teachers, and primitive facilities and equipment. (This is not to say that the product was inferior. Most popular notions of academic quality are based, not on evidence, but on the carefully promoted Tenuous Commandments of professional educators).

The bulk of Catholics gradually won middle-class status. Through battles hard fought in the courts and elsewhere, the public schools were purged of Protestant bias. Most Catholics abandoned the languages of their forebears, along with other ethnic distinctions their schools had been designed to perpetuate. Secure in their middle-class jobs, suburban homes, political representation, and mainstream Americanhood, Catholics in the Sixties began to ask whether a system created under seige any longer made sense.⁵

Many parents still valued Catholic schooling as a device to strengthen religious commitment in their children, even though public education was no longer overtly hostile.⁶ Then in 1966, the national study by Greeley and Rossi was reported.⁷ Its findings, discussed throughout Catholic America, questioned the religious effectiveness of the church's schools, especially when the apparently modest results were compared with the massive investment. There are recent indications, in fact, that many Catholics see little difference between those who have and those who have not attended Catholic schools.⁸ Comparatively few Catholics seem to believe that their schools have a major religious impact.

The Sixties also brought Catholics the whirlwind of change symbolized by the Second Vatican Council. New ideas were current concerning religious commitment. Many leaders argued that church-related schooling

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was not only religiously ineffective, but downright harmful, inhibiting a constructive witness in the world. Support grew for proposals to replace Catholic schools with other agencies of religious formation.⁹

Since old religious and ethnic motivations were weakening, Catholics began to evaluate their schools more centrally on academic grounds.¹⁰ As parents demanded more of the popular indices of pedagogical excellence, such as smaller class sizes, better buildings, and teachers with more extensive training, expenditures and tuitions burgeoned. Now that fewer poor people could afford them, the schools were patronized more exclusively by middle-class parents, who were the more likely to demand costly "improvements," forcing expenditures up again.

Unprecedented expenses were incurred as Catholic schools sought to be more attractive to patrons.¹¹ Reductions in class size alone were sufficient to bring many schools to the brink of financial ruin.¹² Salary schedules were liberalized in an effort to attract personnel with better qualifications.¹³ Regular teachers (known as "lay" teachers in Catholic schools) were encouraged to acquire more training.¹⁴ In so doing, they moved to higher steps on the salary schedule. Preparation programs for teachers from religious orders (known as "religious" teachers in Catholic schools) were lengthened and intensified. The cost of their services jumped upward in response.¹⁵

The need to compete academically with public schools could not have come at a worse time, for expenditures in public education were soaring because of such new dynamics as collective negotiations by teachers. While Catholic schools were spending sums previously undreamed of in an effort to achieve parity, parity was more elusive year by year.

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At this point several self-reinforcing cycles became evident (in some cases they had begun much earlier), throwing the system out of control. Members of religious communities, who once contributed services worth millions annually, began to regard the schools as outmoded and directed their efforts into other fields.¹⁶ Probably more than any single factor, the teaching nuns had provided the fiscal foundation for Catholic schools. Lay teachers, often three times as costly or more, were hired to replace them.¹⁷ To attract a greater number of well qualified lay teachers in an era of short supply, salaries had to be more competitive.¹⁸ But salary standards were being forced rapidly higher by teacher bargaining in public schools. At the same time, in an effort to be more respectable academically, most Catholic schools had to seek lay teachers who were more extensively trained (and thus more costly still). Otherwise, the replacement of nuns by lay teachers would result in diminished quality, for religious teachers generally had more formal education behind them than did existing lay teachers in Catholic schools.¹⁹ The new, better-qualified lay teachers, who could easily obtain public school positions, had less reason to tolerate poor salaries than the many lay teachers in the past with substandard credentials.²⁰

Reexamining the relevance of other church institutions in the wake of Vatican II, many individuals dissociated themselves from the religious orders, and many others decided not to join.²¹ The scarcity of teaching sisters was further accentuated. More lay teachers were introduced at staggering expense. Since the aged and infirm remained in the orders, the ratio of dependent to productive members jumped, aggravating once more the costs of obtaining religious teachers.²² At one time,

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religious communities had been willing to subsidize Catholic schools, obtaining less money from the schools than it cost to make personnel available.²³ The deficit could be made up elsewhere--from members who brought in substantial incomes as nurses, for example. Now the tendency was being reversed. Questioning the value of the schools, many orders were inclined to demand remuneration more comparable to public school salaries, with the objective in view of using the "profit" to subsidize other religious and social endeavors. When given new freedom to choose their areas of work, rather than merely being assigned by their superiors, as previously, many individuals in the religious orders left the schools on their own volition.

Now that nuns were disappearing from the classrooms, parents were even less likely to value Catholic education primarily for religious reasons.²⁴ The schools seemed strangely secular. When the sisters who remained began to abandon their traditional garb, this impression was probably intensified.

Since the Catholic schools were looking more and more like public schools, the lay teachers decided they were not missionaries after all, but performing the same functions as their public school confreres. They demanded payment in appropriate currency--dollars on earth, not rewards in Heaven. Emulating public school personnel, they began to organize, bargain, and strike.²⁵ Their salaries were steeply upgraded once more.

Pleading for public assistance, Catholic leaders were told that the states could not constitutionally support religion-permeated instruction. Attempting to minimize sectarian overtones in most subjects, they contributed further to the impression of patrons and teachers that Catholic

schools were no longer religiously distinctive. Yet public aid was seldom gained in the process.

If Catholics had remained in central cities, the crisis would have been less deadly. Urban public schools were deteriorating. Their halls and classrooms were often blighted by hostility and violence. Much teacher energy was dissipated in an effort to maintain minimal order. Children were attacked inside the school, on the playground, and on the way home. Because so many students had learning difficulties, capable youngsters felt handicapped by the slow pace of instruction. With control over admissions and expulsions, the Catholic schools were in a better position to ensure physical security, moral safety, and challenging instruction.²⁶ Yet it was precisely these areas, where Catholic schools were a vital option, that middle-class Catholics were leaving. Few families that remained or moved in could afford to support the Catholic schools. When some dioceses provided emergency aid, they were criticized by church members elsewhere, who did not want their donations used to help people they regarded as unworthy.²⁷ Money was withheld from collection plates to make the point clear. Diocesan officials lacked resources to finance defunct schools indefinitely, particularly in the face of this resistance within the church.²⁸

What of the suburbs, to which most Catholics were migrating? Here there was enough money to finance Catholic schools, but the willingness was waning.²⁹ Suburban public schools, more adequately financed and subject to fewer disruptions, were in better repute. They often boasted costly facilities, small classes, and elaborate programs that few Catholic schools could match. In the suburbs, because a larger

proportion of the local tax dollar was earmarked for public schools, parents were more conscious of the cost of public education, more likely to resent the burden of patronizing Catholic schools. A growing number switched to public education. The defections were probably encouraged by rapid increases in Catholic school tuitions.³⁰ (Had the crisis-locked less suddenly, fees could have been augmented little by little, and fewer patrons might have been alienated). Unfortunately for the schools, they were rejected most frequently by the people in charge of the future-- by Catholics who were younger and better educated and lived mostly in the suburbs.³¹

In short, in the cities where Catholic schools were needed the most, money was not available to provide them. In the suburbs where money was plentiful, the motivation was disappearing.³² The church's financial procedures, far from rectifying the inequity, were generally regressive, impinging more heavily on the poor than on the wealthy.³³ Parochial-school tuitions, for example, were often higher in low-income parishes than in parishes populated by the well-to-do.³⁴

Financial shortages were aggravated by a frequent lack of planning. Numerous new school buildings, erected without attention to demographic and attitudinal trends, were drastically underutilized, virtually from the day they opened. As a result, many parishes, dioceses, and religious orders were faced with the necessity of paying off large mortgages for classrooms that could not be put to good use.

Since it seemed suicidal to raise tuitions enough to meet increased costs when patrons were already defecting, Catholic elementary schools had to be subsidized more than previously.³⁵ Apparently most

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parishes used at least 50 or 60 per cent of their incomes to maintain schools, and in some cases the proportion rose to 80 or 90 per cent.³⁶ Since less than 50 per cent of Catholic children attended these schools, the subsidies seemed inequitable. Church leaders, stunned by mounting deficits and tortured by doubts about the value of the schools, closed some down, phased out entire grades in others, and abandoned the traditional policy of starting schools in most new parishes.³⁷ As a result of these policies, coupled with the class size reductions mentioned earlier, far fewer spaces were available, even in areas where the demand was still strong.

The increased costs and patron defections would have caused less panic a few years earlier, for the nation's birth rate was still expanding, and Catholics were particularly prolific. With enrollments closer to capacity, deficits would have been smaller and weakening loyalties less evident. But in the Sixties, Catholic family sizes were closer to the national norm, and the birth rate was declining. Fiscal difficulties were compounded by a dramatic enrollment decrease, and patron defections, coinciding with a reduced availability of school-age children, seemed worse than they actually were. Noting the deficits, accelerating enrollment drop-offs, closures, phase-outs, personnel changes, and arguments about the system's value, many parents lost confidence in the future of Catholic schools.³⁸ Children who would have begun their education in these schools under more stable conditions were started instead in public schools, and many were transferred to public schools after first communion, including youngsters from families that still preferred and could afford Catholic education. (The Catholic schools have often been regarded as

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the best place to prepare a child for his first communion.) Parents were reluctant to begin a process that might soon be interrupted by a closure, phase-out, or program deterioration.

Not all segments of Catholic education have been affected equally in these respects. Important differences exist between parochial, diocesan, and "private" schools; between various parishes, dioceses, and religious orders; and between the elementary and secondary levels. It is possible, however, that many of these distinctions will disappear over time. Thus far, for example, the high schools have suffered much smaller enrollment losses than the grade schools.³⁹ But historically, most Catholic high school students have come from Catholic elementary schools. As this source dries up, the high schools may be affected dramatically.

When a group is unified by strong conviction, startling adversities can be taken in stride. Witness the fact that the Catholic school system was initially created when most Catholics were oppressed and poor! But now most parishes and dioceses are disunited concerning the value of church-related schooling. If it is assumed that part of the enterprise must be phased out, furthermore, the clergy and religious teachers seem to insist that the high schools be maintained intact while most lay Catholics want the elementary schools preserved.⁴⁰ Unless more consensus emerges, it may be possible to salvage little from the world's most massive school system created at private initiative.

No single factor mentioned here could have brought Catholic schools so quickly to their knees--especially if introduced singly and gradually. Many nonpublic schools have adjusted to similar difficulties, though not

in this lethal dosage. The Lutheran schools of the Missouri and Wisconsin synods accomodated long ago to the weakening of ethnic motives.⁴¹ Many schools once founded to perpetuate sectarian views are now thoroughly secular, surviving on academic reputations. Several groups built new facilities when their patrons moved to the suburbs. Per-pupil costs and tuitions have risen much higher in some nonpublic schools than in the Catholic sector.⁴² According to a recent study in St. Louis, the average Catholic was not heavily burdened by the cost of church-related schools, for only one per cent of estimated gross family income was being allocated to that purpose.⁴³ Teacher bargaining has failed to ruin other systems. Other schools have been subsidized entirely from church budgets without disastrous after-effects. But when these forces struck the Catholic system, they came in rapid sequence, potently juxtaposed. It is doubtful that the crisis can be reversed through piecemeal tinkering. To borrow a phrase from Donovan and Madaus, a massive crisis of confidence is evident among church leaders, religious personnel, and laymen.⁴⁴ It may take dramatic interventions to assuage their doubts about the future.

PART II: SELECTIVITY AND EXPERIMENTATION IN NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS

One frequent contention is that nonpublic schools cater predominately to children from well-to-do families, leaving the poor and difficult-to-educate in the public schools. Several studies in the past have substantiated a tendency for nonsectarian nonpublic schools, in some areas, at least, to be socio-economically selective to a marked degree.

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In these studies, the selectivity of the church-related group was much less pronounced. In his study of New Haven two decades ago, for example, Davie divided the city into "natural areas" in terms of land use, income, nationality, occupation, delinquency, dependency, social club membership, and inclusion in the Social Register.⁴⁵ He found that area boundaries drawn in terms of each of the above-mentioned criteria were very similar, that 25 distinctive areas emerged, 22 of them residential, and that the residential areas could readily be grouped into six classes roughly indicative of social rank. The evidence indicated a close relationship between residential class and the frequency of nonpublic school attendance. Whereas 43 per cent of children from Class I areas (areas of highest social status) attended nonpublic schools, the percentages dropped to 21.4 for Class II, 20.6 for Class III, 13.1 for Class IV, 9.6 for Class V, and 10.8 for Class VI (lowest social status). The bias was particularly evident in the nonsectarian nonpublic schools. In the two residential classes of highest status (Class I and Class II), a large percentage of students attending nonpublic schools were in the nonsectarian group (90.0 per cent in Class I and 49.2 per cent in Class II), even though most nonpublic schools by far were church-related. The vast majority of nonpublic school students in the lowest two residential classes (Class V and Class VI) were in sectarian schools (94.2 per cent in Class V and 96.4 per cent in Class VI).

A more recent Harvard University study of Englewood, New Jersey, provides two maps which, when compared, show relationships similar to those found by Davie in New Haven.⁴⁶ Visual inspection reveals that the percentage of the total student enrollment found in nonpublic schools is

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clearly correlated with median housing values and median family incomes in various areas of Englewood. Since the areas represented in the two maps do not coincide precisely, tabular presentation of the data is not feasible.

According to Baltzell's research in Philadelphia, members of the upper class showed a powerful penchant for patronizing several well known New England college preparatory boarding schools and country day schools, particularly schools of Episcopalian affiliation, but including several nonsectarian schools.⁴⁷ His data suggests that independent school backgrounds and membership in exclusive college clubs--rather than educational attainment per se--differentiated members of the upper class from the other Philadelphia elite.⁴⁸ "Of the Philadelphians listed in Who's Who, 41 per cent of those also listed in the Social Register, as against 15 per cent of those who were not, reported attendance at some private school."⁴⁹ In his Yankee City study much earlier, Warner gained a similar impression, picturing the independent college preparatory school as an instrument used by the upper class "to indocrinate the child with certain attitudes and values, certain manners, and certain daily rites and routines that will prepare him for a society which believes in its superiority to the other groups in the community and is so accepted by these groups."⁵⁰ A number of studies indicate that a distinct upper-class student culture may have characterized some of the best-known independent college preparatory boarding schools, at least in the past.⁵¹

But one must interpret such evidence carefully. The data concern a small number of expensive independent schools, not even randomly selected. One cannot infer from the social class composition of its

student body that a school necessarily does or does not foster prejudice. It is quite possible, obviously, for heterogeneous student bodies to exhibit malevolent social discrimination and for homogenous student bodies to emphasize democratic ideals.⁵² Physical presence is not tantamount to social acceptance, and physical absence does not necessarily mean social rejection. As Lieberman points out:

Educational research going back at least twenty years has demonstrated that college preparatory students tend [in comprehensive high schools] to monopolize class offices and other prestigious positions far out of proportion to their numbers. These students are also favored in grading, in discipline, and in the various academic, musical, and literary contests, which characterize large comprehensive schools. . . .⁵³

In some cases, it has been argued, the comparatively homogeneous social setting of an independent school may have more of a democratizing effect than a heterogeneous public school context.⁵⁴ The student who could depend upon his expensive clothes, impressive home, and social background to bring him status in a heterogeneous student body may have to adopt a new outlook among more homogeneous peers, almost all of whom can boast the same advantages.

It must be recognized, in this regard, that many public schools in privileged suburban neighborhoods (Francis Keppel calls them "private schools at public expense") are fully as exclusive as high-status nonpublic schools. Getzels reports data to the effect that public school students in some suburbs differ in values from public school students in industrial cities in much the same manner as graduates of exclusive nonpublic schools were found to differ from graduates of public schools in studies cited earlier in this discussion.⁵⁵

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The possibility also must be recognized that the aristocratic subcultures of numerous college-preparatory schools may be changing in the face of a new climate of self-criticism. Birmingham and Blackmer report a profound intellectual ferment among students in these schools, a tendency to censure established institutions, and a fretfulness over manifestations of snobbishness and softmindedness.⁵⁶ Cumiskey, similarly, writes of the "nego," a dissenting breed of Independent school student, disillusioned with pat values and striving for more defensible moorings.⁵⁷

In contrast to the expensive nonpublic schools, mostly non-sectarian, the large church-related school groups have generally catered to a far broader range of the social-class spectrum, though with some degree of selectivity in terms of family income. In their national study, for example, Greeley and Rossi showed that the well-to-do Catholic was more likely than the low-income Catholic to send his child to the Catholic school.⁵⁸ The connection between income level and parochial school attendance was particularly marked at the elementary level and outside the central city. Limited evidence from state-sponsored studies suggests that the situation may have changed since that time, with rather marked socio-economic selectivity in Catholic high schools being much less in Catholic elementary schools, as data cited later will indicate.

In the Michigan study, Catholic, Calvinist, and Lutheran non-public schools were somewhat more selective socio-economically than the public schools, with the exception of the Lutheran elementary group, possibly because so many Lutheran schools were in rural areas, patronized by farmers.⁵⁹ However, the Catholic schools were surprisingly similar

to the public schools in the income distribution of their personnel (see Table 1). Catholic schools seemed significantly more selective than the public schools only at the secondary level.

TABLE 1

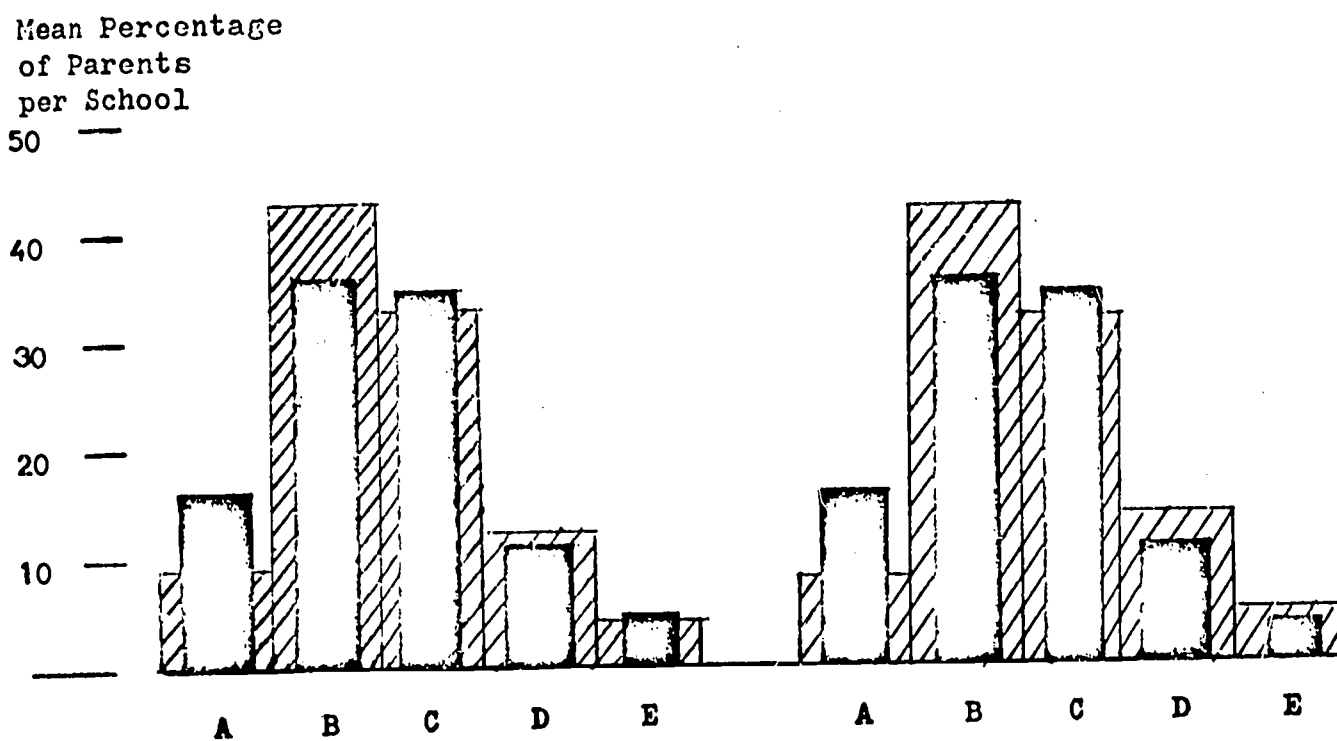
PERCENTAGE OF CATHOLIC, CALVINIST, AND LUTHERAN SCHOOLS ESTIMATED AS SERVING HIGH- AND LOW-INCOME AREAS

Estimated Average Head-of-household income	Catholic		Calvinist		Lutheran		Public	
	Elem. %	Sr.Hi. %	Elem. %	Sr.Hi. %	Elem. %	Sr.Hi. %	Elem. %	Sr.Hi. %
Less than \$7,000	54 (263)	46 (78)	35 (12)	20 (1)	33 (30)	0 (0)	57 (1482)	63 (354)
\$7,000 or more	46 (222)	54 (91)	65 (22)	80 (4)	67 (61)	100 (1)	43 (1124)	37 (208)
Totals	100 (485)	100 (169)	100 (34)	100 (5)	100 (91)	100 (2)	100 (2606)	100 (562)

Figure 1, based on data in the Illinois study, suggests that in the average church-related school in Illinois, nearly 10 per cent of parents are estimated to have incomes below \$5,000 a year, compared with approximately 17 per cent of parents in public schools in the same areas.⁶⁰ The relative selectivity of the nonpublic schools is somewhat greater when the nonsectarian group is added to the pool. However, the differences between public and nonpublic schools would probably have been more marked in this particular if a random rather than matched sample of public schools had been utilized.

In the Rhode Island study, students in elementary and secondary nonsectarian nonpublic schools were found to come from homes well above average in income, education, and occupational status, while the students themselves exhibited I.Q.s averaging around 120, as compared with an

FIGURE 1
 DISTRIBUTION OF PARENTS BY INCOME LEVEL,
 PUBLIC AND NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS IN ILLINOIS,
 1969-70 (PRINCIPAL'S ESTIMATE)



Combined Catholic and Protestant (Shaded)
 Public (Solid)

All Nonpublic (Shaded)
 Public (Solid)

- A - \$0 to \$4,999 per year
- B - \$5,000 to \$9,999 per year
- C - \$10,000 to \$19,999 per year
- D - \$20,000 to \$49,999 per year
- E - \$50,000 and over

average of about 105 in the public elementary and secondary schools.⁶¹ Catholic school students were more similar to public school students. Their average I.Q. was reported as 106 at the elementary level (compared with 103 in public schools) and 120 at the secondary level (no comparable figure was quoted for the public high schools).⁶² The selectivity of the Catholic high schools, among other factors, was reflected in the fact that 75 per cent of their graduates went to college, while only about 50 per cent of public school graduates did so.⁶³

One major advantage in the Michigan study was that the data could be used to compare the extent to which educational advantages were equally distributed among income groups within the public, Catholic, Calvinist, and Lutheran school systems. A dramatic finding emerged: As far as the school characteristics considered in the study were concerned (e.g., obsolete classrooms, class sizes, overcrowding, age of textbooks, availability of paperback collections, availability of television equipment, special classes for talented youngsters, availability of librarian, percentage of teachers in federal summer institutes, new mathematics curricula, and nongrading), there was considerably less equality of educational opportunity within the public schools than within the non-public schools. While public education could be credited with serving a somewhat wider range of income levels, it could be severely criticized for doing so inequitably, providing children in wealthy areas with far more modern and costly facilities and programs than it was providing to children in impoverished areas. And while nonpublic education could be faulted for failing to serve many of the most disadvantaged families, it was distributing its resources rather equally among the families it did serve.

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A closely related question, concerning the racial and ethnic selectivity of nonpublic schools, is much better illuminated by data in our paper on "Nonpublic Schools and Racial Equity" than by any of the state-sponsored studies, but it may be useful to cite the limited data that are available from the latter source.

The commission sponsoring the Maryland study concluded, on the basis of both testimony and the evidence summarized in Tables 2, 3, and 4, that there was little racial integration in the nonpublic schools of the state, though the Catholic schools located in black areas had done more to achieve a racial mixture than had any of the other nonpublic schools. The commission noted, as a point of comparison, that more than 50 per cent of public elementary schools in the state and more than 75 per cent of public secondary schools were still segregated (Tables 5 and 6).

TABLE 2
PER CENT OF NON-WHITE ENROLLMENT,
MARYLAND NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1969-70

Type of School	Number of schools reporting non-white enrollment as indicated						Total
	0-5%	6-10%	11-25%	26-50%	Over 50%	Unknown	
Nonreligious	24	0	5	0	2	0	31
Lutheran	8	1	2	0	0	0	11
Catholic	157	12	10	4	10	2	195
All Other Religions	28	6	4	1	2	1	42
Total	217	19	21	5	14	3	279

Source: Maryland Report, p. 16.

TABLE 3
 ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUNDS OF
 STUDENTS IN MARYLAND CATHOLIC SCHOOLS, 1969-70

Elementary Schools	Catholic	Non-Catholic	Total
Afro-American	3,355	1,133	4,488
Indian and Spanish	1,025	65	1,090
All Other Students	69,337	1,090	70,427
Elementary Total	73,717	2,288	76,005
<u>Secondary Schools</u>			
Afro-American	733	219	952
Indian and Spanish	275	4	278
All Other Students	19,390	462	19,852
Secondary Total	20,398	685	21,083

Source: Maryland Report, p. 16.

TABLE 4
 ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUNDS OF STUDENTS
 IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS, ARCHDIOCESE OF BALTIMORE, 1969-70

Elementary Schools	Catholic	Non-Catholic	Total
Afro-American	2,090	1,045	3,135
Indian and Spanish	470	55	525
All Other Students	46,744	681	47,425
Elementary Total	49,304	1,781	51,085
<u>Secondary Schools</u>			
Afro-American	446	75	521
Indian and Spanish	101	2	103
All Other Students	13,096	212	13,308
Secondary Total	13,646	289	13,932

Source: Maryland Report, p. 16.

TABLE 5

ENROLLMENT BY RACE, MARYLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1969-70

Level		Racial Breakdown of Pupils in Schools Whose Net Rolls are 90% or more Nonwhite	Racial Breakdown of Pupils in Schools Whose Net Rolls are Racially Balanced (10-90% white)	Racial Breakdown of Pupils in Schools Whose Net Rolls are 90% or more White	Racial Breakdown of Pupils in All Schools
Elem.	Nonwhite	68,834	11,557	705	81,096
	White	469	11,644	25,540	37,653
	Total	69,303	23,201	26,245	118,749
Sec.- Voc.	Nonwhite	30,643	15,810	223	46,676
	White	110	21,649	5,897	27,656
	Total	30,753	37,459	6,120	74,332
Total	Nonwhite	99,477	27,367	928	127,772
	White	579	33,293	31,437	65,309
	Total	100,056	60,660	32,365	193,081

Includes Kindergarten, Early Admissions
Excludes Home, Hospital, and Junior College

Source: Maryland Report, p. 19.

TABLE 6

CLASSIFICATION OF MARYLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS
BY RACE OF PUPILS, 1958 TO 1969

Racial Composition	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Elem.												
90% or more Nonwhite	59	61	63	66	70	72	78	80	84	88	87	89
90% or more White	56	52	50	48	48	39	39	36	38	37	36	34
Racially Balanced (10-90% White)	25	31	30	32	31	39	38	39	37	34	35	37
Total	140	144	143	146	149	150	155	155	159	159	158	160
Sec.-Voc.												
90% or more Nonwhite	12	13	14	15	16	17	17	19	24	24	23	22
90% or more White	11	11	11	8	8	5	4	5	3	3	2	2
Racially Balanced (10-90% White)	13	13	13	16	16	20	21	19	19	20	21	21
Total	36	37	38	39	40	42	42	43	46	46	46	45
Total												
90% or more Nonwhite	71	74	77	81	86	89	95	99	108	111	110	111
90% or more White	67	63	61	56	56	44	43	41	41	40	38	36
Racially Balanced (10-90% White)	38	44	43	48	47	59	59	58	56	54	56	58
Total	176	181	181	185	189	192	197	198	205	205	204	205

Each school with its annex is counted only once.

Source: Maryland Report, p. 19.

Moreover, the Maryland commission noted, though the nonpublic schools as a group had little reason for pride in this particular, some extenuating circumstances were applicable, particularly in the Catholic groups that made up the bulk of nonpublic schools: most religiously affiliated schools understandably tend to enroll primarily members of the faith they represent, among whom, generally, are few black families. Few nonpublic schools are found in black neighborhoods, and the cost of both transportation and tuitions are a deterrent to potential black enrollees. The bulk of the nonpublic schools draw students from their immediate neighborhoods and thus, like most public schools, reflect the racial characteristics of the localities in which they are situated.

Table 7, taken from the Illinois study, reports an increasing enrollment of black students in nonpublic schools, though the proportions as yet are very small. The comparatively large percentage of black students reported in nonsectarian nonpublic schools in Illinois is somewhat misleading, for it is largely a function of the fact that all-black nonsectarian nonpublic schools in Chicago are disproportionately represented in the questionnaire responses from which the data were derived. Apart from this inflated figure, the largest proportion of black students is found in the parochial (parish-operated) Catholic schools. The extremely small quota of blacks in Jewish schools is understandable in the light of the many hours per week devoted in these schools to the Hebrew subjects, an emphasis that few black parents would see as beneficial for their children.

The state-sponsored studies of nonpublic schools seldom attempt to gather evidence concerning the extent to which nonpublic schools are engaged in significant experimentation. Though the Rhode Island investigation was no exception, its author (Brickell) took the following position, largely, it

TABLE 7

ENROLLMENT OF BLACK STUDENTS,
ILLINOIS PUBLIC AND NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1966-67
TO 1970-71

AFFILIATION	1966 -67	1967 -68	1968 -69	1969 -70	1970 -71
	% mean (n)	% mean (n)	% mean (n)	% mean (n)	% mean (n)
Public	10.5% 144 (72)	11.0% 147 (77)	12.6% 171 (80)	17.9% 231 (92)	25.0% 307 (94)
Religious Order Catholic	.6% 7 (11)	.7% 8 (13)	.9% 9 (15)	5.0% 47 (18)	5.0% 42 (20)
Diocesan Catholic	4.9% 56 (6)	4.6% 56 (6)	5.0% 48 (8)	5.5% 43 (10)	5.6% 38 (11)
Parochial Catholic	4.0% 37 (28)	4.1% 38 (28)	4.6% 38 (30)	4.8% 32 (35)	6.2% 36 (39)
Lutheran	.6% 5 (5)	.9% 7 (5)	1.3% 8 (6)	1.3% 7 (7)	1.4% 8 (6)
Calvinist	0.0% 0 (1)	0.0% 0 (1)	0.0% 0 (1)	1.4% 15 (2)	1.4% 10 (3)
Jewish	0.0% 0 (2)	0.0% 0 (2)	0.0% 0 (2)	0.0% 0 (2)	.3% 1 (2)
Nonsectarian Nonpublic	3.2% 21 (4)	3.7% 26 (4)	3.5% 25 (4)	8.3% 39 (6)	15.9% 62 (7)

appears, on the basis of his impressions and one earlier inquiry:⁶⁴

Nonpublic schools appear to be less responsive to changes in the external environment than public schools, according to evidence from one study conducted after Sputnik I. No nonpublic school exists in the same kind of political environment as a public school. It need not respond to the same kind of pressures.

Most nonpublic schools make little if any use of their freedom to innovate. Thus they have nothing different to be copied. In fact, during the past decade the public schools seem to have moved ahead in this respect. Nonetheless, from time to time nonpublic schools will attract great attention by being first to cross a new frontier, leading public schools after them. It is considerably easier to think of examples from the days of Progressive Education in the 1930's than it is from the 1960's, but the Advanced Placement program (under which high school students can take college subjects and perhaps earn college credit or at least skip the freshman course) is an example of a new endeavor in which nonpublic schools have furnished excellent leadership during the present decade.⁶⁵

This statement seems misleading in several particulars and may consequently necessitate a brief discussion of the available evidence.

In one of the earliest reputable investigations on the topic, Cole reported in 1928, after studying schools for boys throughout the United States:

Comparatively few private schools, for the most part only those of the progressive country day variety [the largely nonsectarian "independent" schools], show any influence of current educational thought. . . .

An intensive study of the curriculum of forty private schools of all types compared with a similar study of the high schools of fifteen large cities leads to the conclusion that the private school curriculum is relatively inflexible and the offering of courses smaller. . . .

One group only, the progressive schools, depart from the general rule. . . . A fuller curriculum is offered with fewer constraints, and there is an apparent endeavor to utilize the results of educational experimentation, as well as to experiment themselves.⁶⁶

Just a few years later, in an inquiry into all types of nonpublic schools in Minnesota, Koos concluded:

The trend of the evidence in these comparisons has been so uniformly in a single direction that it seems needlessly repetitious to restate the findings in summary: the offerings of private schools as a group are unquestionably more traditional and conservative than are those of public schools . . . Public schools are without question open to criticism for the conservative make-up of their offerings, but private schools are more open to it than public schools. . . . There are in this country examples of individual private schools in which freedom for experimentation exceeds that in public schools generally, and which on this account are making substantial contributions to the progress of secondary education. But the evidence of the current chapter is ample proof that this is far from characteristic, and therefore, it would be next to preposterous to use freedom for experimentation as a blanket justification for all private schools. It can be used only for that exceedingly small proportion that can be shown to be actually experimental.⁶⁷

In the Illinois study, in the fall of 1970, the principal of each public and nonpublic school in the sample was asked whether he thought his school was in the top 10 per cent of schools in the state with respect to some innovative feature.⁶⁸ Then he was asked, if he had answered positively, to identify what innovation(s) his school was emphasizing. In general, the responses were mundane in the extreme, both from public and nonpublic schools. The innovations most frequently mentioned were common structural, procedural, or technological features. They could easily have been selected from a catalog of popular packaged improvements widely touted for more than a decade among school administrators. Virtually all of these had been widely "installed" in schools throughout the United States without affecting the fundamentals of the teaching-learning encounter in any way that research had consistently been able to establish. Prominent in this list were team teaching, modular scheduling, "mini-courses," various grouping patterns, departmentalization, resource centers, and fairly conventional hardware. Another group of innovations, mentioned by a few public and nonpublic schools, centered in various ways around the expression of a different approach to childhood and children, including special concern for the students' needs and sense of efficacy.

These more encouraging responses were equally frequent in public and nonpublic schools. Site visits by members of the research staff suggested strongly that the purported innovations were as genuine in the one sector of education as in the other.

Previous work had alerted us to the probability, however, that significant experimentation in nonpublic schools was not evenly distributed. Its probability seemed greatest, a priori, in the most extreme situations in which nonpublic schools are found--in schools patronized by the wealthy and in schools patronized by the poor. As for the former, though many parents have been attracted to expensive schools in the past partially for reasons of social status, it appears, a reputation for academic excellence, whether fully warranted or not, seems essential to the continuance of these institutions. Most of their clients, well educated and articulate, seem most unlikely to continue paying the high fees that are involved while tolerating signs of backwardness and mediocrity. As for schools in impoverished inner-city areas, here a different set of dynamics comes into play. The comparatively few parents in these areas who can afford to support nonpublic schools must usually do so at great financial sacrifice. In most cases, the schools must be supported from outside the area by people who believe they are accomplishing something truly significant. Often the programs are subsidized to a great extent through contributed services, including the services of teachers and administrators who are willing to work for a fraction of what they could obtain elsewhere. These inputs seem generally based on the expectation that nonpublic schools will outproduce public schools in the area. In some cases, as we mentioned earlier, the freedom to select students is virtually all the nonpublic school needs in order to appear superior, for by excluding the troublesome and the students with the most severe learning problems, it can

guarantee an important measure of physical security, moral safety, and more rapidly paced instruction. In many instances, however, one would expect that nonpublic schools in the inner city would be under strong pressure from parents and other supporters to experiment with unusual programs.

There is clear evidence, extending over several decades, concerning the experimental contributions of more expensive, mostly nonsectarian, nonpublic schools. (In his above-quoted statement, Brickell seems unaware of this fact). During the Progressive Education era, John Dewey began putting his ideas into practice in a privately supported laboratory school at the University of Chicago. By the time Dewey had his falling-out with the university president and left in a huff for Teachers College, Columbia University, the laboratory school "had become the most interesting experimental venture in American education; indeed, there are those who insist that there has been nothing since to match it in excitement, quality, and contribution."⁶⁹ Cremin, who has written the most definitive history of the progressive movement, points out that "some of the most courageous and imaginative pedagogical experiments of the era did proceed under private auspices, and . . . did exert incalculable influence on the larger course of American education."⁷⁰ Baltimore's Park School, for example, was established after a split on the public board of education; one discontent faction decided to start a private school of its own. Margaret Naumburg founded the Children's School, later named the Walden School, in a pioneering effort to apply psychoanalytic principles to instruction. Caroline Pratt began the Play School to see whether children would learn better through well structured play activities. Many other examples could be given.

A somewhat different wave of educational reform received a major boost from Sputnik. This revolution represented an attempt mainly to introduce more

academic rigor into instruction. The major findings concerning the contributions of nonpublic schools during the period were produced almost accidentally. During 1961-62, Larmee decided to see whether recent national developments were having any influence on the best-known private college-preparatory institutions, such as Andover, Exeter, Lawrenceville, and St. Paul's.⁷¹ He discovered that the influence flowed mostly the other way. The eleven private schools in the study had done much to initiate the national developments. Three of the schools played a central role in starting the Advanced Placement Program and continued to be exceptionally active in the effort. Six members of 1961 Advanced Placement examination committees and twenty-six members of the reading committees were from these three schools. Twenty-one teachers from the same schools filled key positions in national curriculum movements, such as the School Mathematics Study Group, the Physical Science Study Committee, and the committee developing the Chemical Bond approach to chemistry instruction. Teachers from all eleven schools had participated either in examination preparation or as readers for the College Entrance Examination Board. The schools exhibited dozens of departures from the orthodox in such areas as programmed reading; teacher and administrator training; experimental summer activities; the development of South American, Russian, and African history courses; courses relating to Russia, Spain, France, Germany, and the Orient; citizenship and Bill of Rights course-unit experiments; television instruction in mathematics; and language programs combining traditional three-year programs into two years and four-year programs into three years.

The attempt to document experimentation in nonpublic schools serving the poor, as in the Illinois study, is something new. Though the effort was limited because of time and other resources, the researchers encountered many

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private groups--church groups, groups of teachers, and groups of parents--who were attempting, often on a shoestring, to provide instructional opportunities distinctively different from those that were available in the public schools in the area.

Many of these efforts are well epitomized in a single example, the CAM (Christian Action Ministry) Academy on West Madison Street in Chicago.⁷² Sponsored by eleven churches in the area, CAM Academy specializes in reclaiming dropouts from the public schools. Its leaders have espoused the objective of so conclusively demonstrating the superiority of unconventional approaches to these rejected students that the public schools will be forced to adopt the same procedures and the academy can then cease its efforts. Attendance is completely voluntary. No subjects are mandatory. No efforts are made to "cover" prescribed curricula. Since the pace is relaxed, teachers can help students as much as seems necessary at any point without feeling pressure to "move along to the next scheduled topic." Informal relationships are maintained. Strong efforts are made to maintain an intimate "community" atmosphere. According to an evaluation completed by the University of Illinois in 1970, the students have made superior progress in mathematics and language. CAM Academy has been at least partially instrumental in stimulating the development of a loose-knit collection of "free schools" in Chicago, some part-time and some full-time, all experimenting with new programs for children who do not succeed in the nearby public schools.

In the Michigan study, the evidence concerning experimentation in the majority of nonpublic schools was more encouraging than data cited earlier.⁷³ The Roman Catholic schools in the state were more active than the public schools in a number of areas, especially the introduction of new mathematics curricula and various nongrading experiments. Their teachers were more extensively

engaged in in-service training programs. It could be, however, that these findings were somewhat local and temporal, largely the result of the fact that our questions coincided with a particular emphasis at a particular time, not representative of over-all tendencies.

All in all, considering the evidence from many sources, the most reasonable conclusions seem close to those suggested in the Rhode Island study in some respects, but different in others. When all public schools are compared against all nonpublic schools, there is little reason to expect the one group to be more experimental or innovative than the other. Within each sector, however, one may identify groups of schools that may make far-reaching contributions to the improvement of instruction. In the private sector, the frontier-creating schools seem to be found primarily at the two socio-economic extremes--among the wealthy, who often seem to demand avant-garde programs in return for the extremely high fees they must pay; and among the poor, where nonpublic schools can rarely exist unless outsiders are persuaded that they are accomplishing something vital.

One further misleading assertion in the statement from the Rhode Island study quoted earlier should probably be discussed briefly in closing--that "nonpublic schools appear to be less responsive to changes in the external environment than public schools, according to one study conducted after Sputnik I." The study in question investigated innovations, not the adaptability of a school to its environment. In many cases, the school that adapts most closely to the needs and interests of its constituency (the only environment to which one can expect it to adapt) will be among the least innovative schools found everywhere. Consider, for example, an Old Order Amish school. The history of schools of this type suggests strongly that they have been better adapted to their communities than most mainstream schools have been to

theirs. But Old Order Amish schools are hardly innovative in the customary sense of that word.

The issue of the comparative adaptability of public and nonpublic schools is complicated by the fact that their constituencies differ. The public schools must be responsive to majoritarian demands articulated through the political process. These demands often make it impossible for the public schools to be responsive to minorities. The nonpublic schools must be responsive to demands articulated through the market by their clients and supporters. One advantage of the latter arrangement is that it provides a mechanism for the satisfaction of the needs and interests of minorities in a given area. The most valid position, perhaps, is that flexibility and freedom are likely to be maximized best if both the public school's political response and the nonpublic school's market response are kept constantly available.

FOOTNOTES

¹For the sake of brevity, the state studies will be identified hereinafter merely as "Illinois Report," "Maryland Report," etc. The complete references are as follows (in alphabetical order):

Illinois: Donald A. Erickson, Crisis in Illinois Nonpublic Schools, Final Research Report to the Elementary and Secondary Nonpublic Schools Study Commission, State of Illinois (Springfield, Ill.: the Commission, 1971).

Kansas: "Nonpublic Schools in Kansas and Their Relationship to Public Schools: Report of the Joint Education Subcommittee" (Topeka, Kansas, 1970, processed).

Maryland: Commission to Study State Aid to Nonpublic Education, Report to the Governor and General Assembly of Maryland (Baltimore, Md.: the Commission, 1971).

Michigan: Donald A. Erickson, "Nonpublic Schools in Michigan," in J. Alan Thomas, School Finance and Educational Opportunity in Michigan (Lansing, Mich.: Michigan Department of Education, 1968), pp. 209-291.

New Hampshire: "Report of the Nonpublic School Study Commission" (Concord, N.H.: 1970, mimeographed).

New York: Financial Support: Nonpublic Schools: New York State (Albany, N.Y.: The University of the State of New York, 1969).

Rhode Island: Henry M. Brickell, Nonpublic Education in Rhode Island: Alternatives for the Future, A Study for the Rhode Island Special Commission to Study the Entire Field of Education (Providence, R.I.: the Commission, 1969).

South Dakota: South Dakota Private Education Study Committee, The Quality, Impact and Future of Private Education in South Dakota (Sioux Falls, S.D.: the Committee, 1970).

Vermont: Legislative Council of the State of Vermont, "Private Schools in Vermont: Report of the Committee to Study Proposal No. 38 (Montpelier, Vt.: 1969, processed).

Wisconsin: Governor's Commission on Education, "Final Report of K-12 Task Unit to the Private Education Task Force" (Madison, Wisc.: 1970, processed).

²"Two contributing factors influencing enrollments in Missouri Synod Lutheran schools should be noted here. During the past decade the U.S.A. birth rate declined 17% from 4,295,000 live births to 3,467,000. During the same period the number of children baptisms reported by Missouri Synod congregations declined 23% from 90,183 baptisms to 69,442...Enrollment declines may continue during the early 70's and stabilize during the mid-decade. Enrollment gains can be expected in the late 1970's...Present declining elementary enrollment...should not mislead us. On the basis of birth rate projections, our country will be experiencing another population growth period at the close of the 1970's." Marcin F. Wessler, "Lutheran Elementary School Statistics, 1969-70 (mimeographed statistical report issued by Board of Parish Education, The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, St. Louis, Mo.).

³National Catholic Educational Association, A Statistical Report on Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools for the Years 1967-68 to 1969-70 (Washington, D.C.: the Association, 1970), pp. 7-11. Hereinafter, this document will be identified simply as NCEA Data Bank Report.

In Michigan, the Catholic schools had lost 4.3 per cent of their enrollments between 1962-63 and 1967-68. Michigan Report, p. 253. New Hampshire reports a loss of approximately 15 per cent for all nonpublic schools between 1966-67 and 1969-70. New Hampshire Report, p. 2. The following table summarizes rate-of-decline data from five other states. In each case it is evident that the Catholic schools are responsible for virtually the entire decline. A generally accelerating loss rate seems obvious.

TABLE 8
YEAR-BY-YEAR PERCENTAGE OF ENROLLMENT DECLINE
IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS
(BASED UPON PREVIOUS YEAR AS 100 PER CENT)

	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71
Maryland*	2.7	0.6	3.3	6.3	7.2	--
Illinois, 2 day	--	--	0.67	2.14	3.52	3.95
Illinois, elem.	--	2.21	3.90	5.85	7.58	8.10
New York*	0.63	1.19	2.26	3.41	--	--
Kansas	4.0	3.0	4.8	7.1	--	--
Wisconsin*	1.2	5.3	4.9	10.0	9.4	--

* Catholic schools only
Sources: Maryland Report, p. 11; Illinois Report, p. 8-7;
New York Report, Appendix D, p. 1; Kansas Report, p. 1;
Wisconsin Report, p. 4.

⁴The relevant history, with particular attention to the largest archdiocesan system of them all (in Chicago) is traced by James W. Sanders in chapter 10 of the Illinois Report. Jane G. Buresh provides further evidence concerning the hostile environment in chapter 9 of the same document.

⁵For an early influential statement of this position, see Mary Perkins Ryan, Are Parochial Schools the Answer? Catholic Education in the Light of the Council (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964).

⁶In the Greeley-Rossi study, the advantage of Catholic schooling most often reported (73 per cent of respondents) was religious instruction. Andrew M. Greeley and Peter R. Rossi, The Education of Catholic Americans (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1966), pp. 206-207. In the Boston-area study by Donovan and Madaus, the reason most often given by parents (it was offered by from 43 to 58 per cent of respondents) for sending children to Catholic rather than public schools was "better religious training." John D. Donovan and George F. Madaus, Catholic Education in the Archdiocese of Boston: The Voices of the People

(Chestnut Hill, Mass.: New England Catholic Educational Center, 1969), p. 176.

In the Rhode Island study, 84 per cent of all Catholics interviewed said that an important motivation of patrons was the "religious or moral atmosphere in the school." About 57 per cent of Catholic laymen thought parents were attracted in part by the assurance that nothing contrary to the faith would be taught in Catholic schools. Rhode Island Study, pp. 103,113.

⁷Greeley and Rossi, Education of Catholic Americans.

⁸Donovan and Madaus, Catholic Education, pp. 179, 187.

⁹In the Boston Archdiocese, 64 per cent of Catholics said they favored gradually closing Catholic schools and using the money to set up well-staffed religious education centers instead. Only 31 per cent were opposed. The strongest support came from college graduates. Donovan and Madaus, Catholic Education, p. 290.

¹⁰According to data gathered by Leonard V. Koos between 1925 and 1928, there were marked differences between sectarian and nonsectarian secondary schools with respect to the reasons why students attended them. (See Leonard V. Koos, Private and Public Secondary Education: A Comparative Study [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931], p. 23.) In Roman Catholic schools, 81.2 per cent of students mentioned religious reasons, as did 72.6 per cent of students in schools operated by other denominations, but only 0.5 per cent of students in nonsectarian schools. Only 7.2 per cent of Catholic students explained their attendance by stating that their school was better than the local public school, along with only 10.0 per cent of students from other denominations, but 38 per cent of students in nonsectarian nonpublic schools. In marked contrast, the recent study by Donovan and Madaus (Catholic Education in the Archdiocese of Boston, op. cit., p. 177) indicates that, of parents who send their children to Catholic schools, 45 per cent with children from 6 to 12 years of age, 48 per cent with children 13 and 14 years of age, and 41 per cent with children 15 to 18 years of age mention that they believe the Catholic schools are superior in quality to the public schools. Since Koos drew his data from Minnesota, whereas Donovan and Madaus were studying metropolitan Boston, the differences may be partly regional. And since Koos queried students in secondary schools, whereas Donovan and Madaus interviewed parents of pupils in both elementary and secondary schools and asked somewhat different questions, the differences may derive partly from dissimilar methodologies. The most plausible basic explanation, however, is that religious and ethnic motivations in Catholic schools have been giving way to an important extent to academic motivations. As a further indication that shifting parental orientations are involved, the study by Donovan and Madaus shows (p. 178) that the proportion of parents for whom the choice of a Catholic school seems related to a perception of superior quality rises from 36 and 46 per cent for two groups of parents from 40 to 54 years of age, to 45 per cent for parents from 30 to 39 years of age, to a remarkable 75 per cent for parents under 30.

¹¹In Illinois, the diocese with the most trustworthy data (Joliet) had experienced an increase of 95.9 per cent in total operating costs at the elementary level between 1966-67 and 1970-71 and an increase of 87.9 per cent at the secondary level during the same period. Corresponding per pupil increases

were much larger at the elementary level (256.6 per cent) and slightly smaller at the secondary level (78.7 per cent). At the elementary level, per-pupil costs had risen from \$122.77 to \$315.00. At the secondary level, per-pupil costs increased from \$307.80 to \$550.09. (Illinois Report, pp. 7-9, 7-10, note typographical error corrected here).

Costs have also risen rather dramatically in nonpublic schools not associated with the Catholic Church. In the Calvinist schools in Illinois, per-pupil costs increased 43.8 per cent at the elementary level between 1966-67 and 1969-70, while per-pupil costs increased 26.9 per cent at the secondary level during the same period. As for the elementary schools of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, annual per-pupil operating expenditures were 40.2 per cent between 1964-65 and 1969-70 in the Northern Illinois District, 42.9 per cent in the Central Illinois District, and 49.8 per cent in the Southern Illinois District. Illinois Report, pp. 7-12, 7-13.

The Archdiocese of Baltimore reports that total operating expenses for elementary schools were \$6,276,984 in 1967-68, but \$7,458,410 in 1969-70, for an increase of 19 per cent in only two years. In the secondary schools of the archdiocese, costs were \$5,918,552 in 1967-68 and \$7,807,227 in 1969-70, an increase of 32 per cent. (Maryland Report, p. 9.)

Per-pupil costs in the Wichita Catholic Diocese rose from \$135 to \$186 in the elementary grades between 1966-67 and 1968-69. In the Lutheran elementary schools in Kansas, the corresponding figures are \$278 and \$325. Kansas Report, p. 3.

Annual per-pupil expenditure levels in South Dakota nonpublic schools (the vast majority of which are Catholic) are estimated at \$360.32 for 1961-62, \$374.00 for 1962-63, \$392.92 for 1963-64, \$408.76 for 1964-65, \$447.41 for 1965-66, \$496.58 for 1966-67, \$536.51 for 1967-68, \$601.50 for 1968-69, \$621.10 for 1969-70, and \$686.37 for 1970-71. South Dakota Report, p. 46.

Also see NCEA Data Bank Report, p. 19.

¹²While there is no consistent research evidence to indicate that reductions in class size per se (at least within the range that seems politically and economically feasible), will improve learning, parents seem much impressed by this criterion, and a feature typically offered by expensive independent schools is exceptionally small classes. In Rhode Island, for example, class sizes in independent schools were approximately half the public school average. Rhode Island Report, p. 38. In Rhode Island, Catholic schools actually added teachers while losing pupils. The average pupil-teacher ratio dropped from 36 to 1 in 1959-60 to 26 to 1 in 1968-69. Rhode Island Report, pp. 48-52. Also see Illinois Report, pp. 7-26 to 7-29.

In South Dakota, pupil-teacher ratios in nonpublic schools (the vast majority of which are Catholic) reportedly have remained relatively constant since 1960-61, increasing from 15.1/1 in 1960-61 to 15.5/1 in 1969-70. At the elementary level, they have declined dramatically, from 33.6/1 in 1960-61 to 21.3/1 in 1969-70. South Dakota Report, p. 48.

¹³When National Catholic Education Association Data Bank figures for lay teacher salaries in elementary and secondary Catholic schools in 1968-69 are compared with 1962-63 data provided by the Notre Dame study, dramatic increases are indicated. According to these sources, 72.2 per cent of full-time elementary teachers were earning between \$4,000 and \$6,000 in 1968-69, and over 77 per cent of secondary teachers were paid between \$6,000 and \$8,000; but in

1962-63 only 2.4 per cent of elementary lay teachers and 46.4 per cent of secondary lay teachers were salaried at more than \$4,500. In 1962-63, 0.2 per cent of elementary lay teachers were grossing more than \$6,000, whereas 27.8 per cent were in this category in 1968-69. In 1962-63, 9.4 per cent of secondary lay teachers earned more than \$6,000, but in 1968-69 over 77 per cent were taking home more than that amount. See NCEA Data Bank Report, pp. 21-22; and Reginald A. Neuwien, ed., Catholic Schools in Action: The Notre Dame Study of Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools in the United States (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), pp. 105-109.

According to figures compiled in the Illinois study, average salaries for lay elementary teachers increased 29.5 per cent in the Joliet diocese and 11.7 per cent in the Peoria Diocese, but decreased 7.3 per cent in the Springfield diocese between 1967-68 and 1969-70. The decrease in the Springfield diocese was apparently brought about by a tendency (probably self-defeating in the long run) to replace religious teachers with lay teachers with very minimal qualifications, who entered the salary schedule at the lowest points and thus lowered the average salary paid to lay elementary teachers in the diocese. Average salaries for elementary teachers in the Calvinist schools during the same period increased 35.1 per cent. The corresponding figures at the secondary level were -3.2 per cent for the Joliet diocese, 37.8 per cent for the Peoria diocese, 5.6 per cent for the Springfield diocese, and 12.1 for the Calvinist schools. Illinois Report, pp. 7-14 to 7-16.

In the Archdiocese of Baltimore, salary outlays for lay teachers increased from \$2,103,472 in 1967-68 to \$2,834,508 (34 per cent) in 1969-70 at the elementary level; and increased from \$1,586,161 in 1967-68 to \$2,715,863 (72 per cent) in 1969-70 at the secondary level, even though the number of lay teachers during the period increased only 13 per cent. Maryland Report, p. 9.

¹⁴Nationally, it appears that at least 59 per cent of lay teachers now hold at least an A.B. degree, whereas the Notre Dame Study reported that only 33 per cent of lay teachers held degrees in 1962-63. NCEA Data Bank, p. 15; Neuwien, Notre Dame Study.

In the Joliet diocese in Illinois, only 49.4 of lay teachers had degrees in 1966-67, but the proportion had risen to 77.3 per cent by 1969-70. During the same years in the Chicago Archdiocese, the proportion of lay teachers with college degrees rose from 48.9 to 81.8 per cent. In the Joliet Diocese, which was requiring that every teacher must hold an A.B. and earn an A.M. within seven years, we calculated that the acquisition of an A.B. by the 147 teachers in the system who did not hold one at the time of the study would cost the system (according to the existing salary schedule) more than \$90,000 a year. Illinois Study, pp. 7-23 to 7-25.

¹⁵The National Catholic Education Association Data Bank reports that at least 80 per cent of religious teachers now hold at least an A.B. degree, whereas the Notre Dame Study reported that only 57 per cent of these teachers held degrees in 1962-63. NCEA Data Bank Report, p. 15; Neuwien, Notre Dame Study.

According to the NCEA Data Bank, cash payments to religious teachers nationally rose more than \$40 million between 1967-68 and 1968-69 at the elementary level and more than \$24½ million at the secondary level, even though the number of these teachers was declining. (Information obtained directly from NCEA.)

Massive increases in outlays to religious teachers are documented in the Illinois and Maryland studies as well, even though the total of these teachers was decreasing rapidly. Illinois Report, pp. 7-20 to 7-22; Maryland Report, p. 9.

As will be pointed out later, however, these increases are only partially attributable to improvements in pre-service training programs.

¹⁶In the Rhode Island study, 12 per cent of religious teachers said they were not satisfied with their assignment to schools. Another 24 per cent were undecided. In Catholic schools, 64 per cent of religious teachers expressed satisfaction with their jobs, as compared with 80 per cent public school teachers and 85 per cent of teachers in independent schools. Rhode Island Report, pp. 54, 100.

Cf. Office for Educational Research, University of Notre Dame, Catholic Education in the Archdiocese of St. Louis: Allocation and Distribution of Human and Financial Resources (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame du Lac, 1970), pp. 69-71. Hereinafter this document will be identified as St. Louis Report.

In Illinois, the following facts were uncovered: In 1967-68, the School Sisters of St. Francis had 430 teachers in Illinois Catholic schools. In 1968-69, 86 members of this order were assigned to other work, followed by 94 members in 1969-70 and 105 in 1970-71. The Joliet Franciscans, who had 474 teachers in Illinois schools in 1966-67, assigned 10 members to other work in 1966-67, 12 in 1967-68, 18 in 1968-69, and 20 in 1970-71. The Sisters of Providence who had 1,168 teachers in Illinois Catholic schools in 1966-67, assigned 77 members to other work in 1966-67, 77 in 1967-68, 66 in 1968-69, 90 in 1969-70, and 98 in 1970-71. The BVM Charity Sisters, who had 1,629 teachers in Illinois schools in 1966-67, assigned 62 members to other work in 1966-67, 116 in 1967-68, 122 in 1968-69, 118 in 1969-70, and 120 in 1970-71. The School Sisters of Notre Dame, with 231 teachers in Illinois in 1966-67, assigned 23 sisters to other work in 1966-67, 23 in 1967-68, 21 in 1968-69, 29 in 1969-70, and 41 in 1970-71. When these figures are considered in the light of evidence, introduced later, that these religious orders are losing more and more old members and gaining fewer and fewer new members, it becomes obvious that they are assigning a rapidly growing proportion of their personnel to other work in preference to the Catholic schools. Illinois Report, pp. 7-31 to 7-35.

Surveying the national picture, the NCEA Data Bank Report states (p. 5): "Whereas 83-92% of the Catholic school teachers in 1950 were religious, and about three fourths in 1960, by 1965 this figure was less than two thirds."

¹⁷In Rhode Island, lay teachers represented only 9 per cent of Catholic school faculties in 1959-60, but 20 per cent in 1968-69. At the time of the Rhode Island study, however, since this shift could be attributed entirely to efforts to reduce class size, the researchers concluded that "lay teachers have not replaced religious teachers." In the long range, however, and particularly in other states, they have. Rhode Island Report, pp. 52, 92.

In St. Louis, where elementary school teachers and school administrators with equal qualifications would have been entitled to salaries averaging \$8,777 in public schools in 1968-69, religious teachers in Catholic schools were paid an average of \$2,224, including the costs of convent maintenance. St. Louis Report, p. 65. Whereas lay teachers were providing their services in 1968-69 for \$2,605 less, on an average, than teachers with equivalent qualifications could obtain in nearby public schools, religious teachers were serving

for \$5020 less than teachers equally qualified in public schools. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Nationally, according to the NCEA Data Bank Report (pp. 12-14), 58.0 per cent of all elementary teachers in Catholic schools were religious personnel in 1967-68, but the figure had dropped to 50.0 per cent by 1969-70. The corresponding figures in Illinois were a drop from 48.4 to 40.7 per cent in the Joliet Diocese, from 52.9 to 50.6 per cent in the Belleville Diocese, from 55.7 to 46.8 per cent in the Chicago Archdiocese, from 56.0 to 49.2 per cent in the Peoria Diocese, and from 58.5 to 48.0 per cent in the Rockford Diocese. The figures at the secondary level show a drop from 41.7 to 37.2 nationally, from 47.6 to 35.4 in the Joliet Diocese, from 70.0 to 55.7 in the Belleville Diocese, from 55.5 to 52.9 per cent in the Chicago Archdiocese, from 60.8 to 51.5 per cent in the Peoria Diocese, and from 71.4 to 55.1 in the Rockford Diocese. *Illinois Report*, p. 7-30.

In the Archdiocese of Baltimore (Maryland), 61 per cent of the full-time teachers in 1967-68 were religious personnel, but the percentage had dropped to 56 per cent by 1969-70. Lay teachers were commanding salaries of \$6,000 or more, whereas the religious were available for around \$1,900. *Maryland Report*, pp. 8-9.

In New York, the salaries of religious teachers were reported as ranging from \$1,200 to \$2,500 in September, 1969. *New York Report*, Appendix D, p. 3. The number of full-time religious and clerics staffing Catholic elementary and secondary schools in the state grew by 2.6 per cent between 1963 and 1964 and by 1.4 per cent between 1964 and 1965, but declined by 2.6, 2.3, and 5.3 per cent in the three years following. The number of lay teachers increased by 12.94 per cent between 1963 and 1964, by 9.66 per cent between 1964 and 1965, by 8.51 per cent between 1965 and 1966, by 9.13 per cent between 1966 and 1967, and by 11.36 per cent between 1967 and 1968. *New York Report*, Appendix A, pp. 3-5.

¹⁸By 1968-69 in St. Louis, new lay teachers were being hired at salaries equivalent to what they could earn in public schools. *St. Louis Report*, p. 43.

¹⁹Rhode Island Report, p. 54. *St. Louis Report*, p. 65. *Illinois Report*, pp. 7-23 to 7-25.

²⁰Even as late as 1968-69, 35 per cent of lay teachers in Boston Archdiocese Catholic schools gave negative reasons for teaching there: that they were not certified (13 per cent), that this was a good place to acquire the first year of teaching experience (8 per cent), that they were there while pursuing a degree (6 per cent), or that they were unable to find a suitable job in the public schools. Donovan and Madaus, *Catholic Education*, p. 190.

²¹The following table from the Illinois study provides dramatic evidence of increasing withdrawals and decreasing entrances:

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TABLE 9
 ENTRANTS AND WITHDRAWALS,
 TEN RELIGIOUS CONGREGATIONS IN ILLINOIS

Congregation	1962 -63	1966 -67	1967 -68	1968 -69	1969 -70	1970 -71
Springfield Dominicans						
Entrants	19	14	16	16	3	4
Withdrawals	N.A.	6	6	16	27	13
School Sisters of St. Francis						
Entrants	15	10	6	9	4	3
Withdrawals	3	14	22	15	32	28
Joliet Franciscans						
Entrants	35	28	25	13	9	0
Withdrawals	2	0	0	3	10	N.A.
Sisters of Mercy						
Entrants	52	33	17	18	2	N.A.
Withdrawals	9	13	39	38	45	N.A.
Sisters of Providence						
Entrants	91	62	40	25	21	10
Withdrawals	9	4	12	29	32	15
BVM Charity						
Entrants	161	104	77	30	13	1
Withdrawals	7	46	85	124	135	N.A.
School Sisters of Notre Dame						
Entrants	N.A.	8	8	7	0	1
Withdrawals	N.A.	5	4	6	9	7
Ursulines						
Entrants	4	3	2	0	0	0
Withdrawals	1	3	6	4	2	0
Adorers of the Precious Blood						
Entrants	8	6	4	0	2	3
Withdrawals	2	8	11	6	11	0
Felician Sisters						
Entrants	22	27	11	12	6	9
Withdrawals	5	7	17	23	29	3

Source: Table 7-15, Illinois Report, p. 7-35.

In the religious orders serving the schools of the St. Louis Archdiocese, the number of persons entering in 1969-70 was less than one-fourth the number

entering in 1964-65, while the annual number of withdrawals had roughly doubled during the same period. St. Louis Report, p. 68.

²²The investigators in the St. Louis study estimated that by 1973-74 the costs of keeping religious orders self-sufficient would increase from \$2,946 to something between \$4,500 and \$4,900. Estimates by the fifteen religious orders that were investigated suggested that the proportion of retired members would increase by almost 5 per cent annually for the following four years. St. Louis Report, pp. 68, 75.

In the Illinois study, ratios of productive to dependent members were obtained for ten of the religious orders providing the greatest numbers of teachers to Catholic schools. In 1962, the most favorable ratio of all, 35 productive members to each dependent member, was enjoyed by the Felicians, but it had plummeted to 11 to 1 by 1969. The Providence nuns moved from a ratio of 20 to 1 to a ratio of 5.5 to 1 during the same period. The same general pattern held true for all ten congregations. Illinois Report, p. 7-34.

A major upward revision of allowance paid to religious teachers was anticipated at the time of the Rhode Island study. Rhode Island Report, p. 71.

²³Whereas it was costing the religious orders with teachers in Rhode Island schools an average of about \$3,000 a year in 1968-69 to maintain each of its members, the diocesan schools were being charged only \$1,300 or so. Rhode Island Report, p. 71.

²⁴This possibility was broached, though apparently not investigated, in the Rhode Island study. See Rhode Island Report, p. 98.

In St. Louis, 62 per cent of the Catholic parents interviewed said they felt religious teachers were more devoted than lay teachers to the character development of their students. St. Louis Report, p. 71.

In the Boston Archdiocese, 45 per cent of parents with children in Catholic senior high schools, 20 per cent with children in Catholic junior high schools, and 8 per cent of parents with children in Catholic elementary schools mentioned the presence of religious teachers as a reason for patronizing these schools. The changing ratio of religious to lay teachers was a prominent reason given by Catholics who were doubtful concerning the future of Catholic schools. Some 45 per cent of all Catholics felt that fewer parents would patronize Catholic schools staffed primarily by lay teachers, and 41 per cent felt that contributions to the schools would decline. Donovan and Madaus, Catholic Education, pp. 176, 213, 273.

²⁵"Some of the lay teachers in the Diocese of Providence have organized themselves into an association for the purpose of negotiating salaries and other forms of compensation. They have been so successful that today there is little difference between their salaries and those paid public school teachers." Rhode Island Report, p. 72.

²⁶In Michigan, there were several indications that in areas populated by wealthier families (mostly the suburbs), Catholic schools were more markedly deprived of several instructional advantages, in comparison with public schools, than were Catholic schools in areas populated by poorer families (mostly the cities). Michigan Report, pp. 231, 238, 254.

In the Illinois study, principals of a stratified random sample of non-public schools (mostly Catholic, by far) were asked to estimate how the majority

of their students' parents would rate their schools on four criteria, in comparison with available public schools. (The items were regarded as semi-projective, not necessarily reflecting parental opinion, but at least providing assessments by people whose viewpoints were likely to be influential). In keeping with predictions, only 18.9 per cent of principals in the suburbs thought parents viewed nonpublic schools as "much superior" academically to public schools, while the percentage rose to 35.0 in small town and rural locations, 41.0 in general urban areas, and 57.1 per cent in areas of poverty. A similar pattern appeared with respect to safety from fire, accident, etc.; the moral climate of the school; and safety from physical assault. Illinois Report, pp. 6-23, 6-24.

In the Boston Archdiocese, Donovan and Madaus found that the attitudes of Catholics in the city of Boston differed markedly from the attitudes of Catholics outside Boston on a whole series of issues--relative quality of Catholic schools (compared with public schools), willingness to build more Catholic schools, and plans to send children to Catholic schools. Donovan and Madaus, Catholic Education, pp. 159.

In the St. Louis study, Catholic enrollment per family was highest in the city. Enrollment per baptism had grown in the city in recent years, but had decreased in the suburbs. The perceived quality of Catholic schools was higher in the city than elsewhere. The relative quality of Catholic schools as perceived by parents appeared, in turn, to be a key factor in the demand for Catholic education. St. Louis Report, pp. 16-17, 24, 25.

²⁷On the basis of their interviews in the Boston Archdiocese, Donovan and Madaus concluded: "There is formidable opposition within various strata of the community toward diverting funds and personnel from middle class Catholic parishes to ghetto areas." Catholic Education, p. 300.

The St. Louis study also provided evidence suggesting the likelihood was small that Catholics in the suburbs would do much to help finance Catholic schools in the city. St. Louis Report, p. 11.

²⁸"The Diocese of Providence has no plans, and presumably does not have the funds, to subsidize parish elementary schools." Rhode Island Report, p. 93.

"All of this financial data indicates--

(1) That the individual parishes do not have substantial liquid resources with which to subsidize their schools out of capital. If the Archdiocese of Baltimore ceased its redistribution program through borrowing and lending, some parishes would be better able to support their schools and some would be less able;

(2) that the Archdiocese could support the parochial schools in a meaningful way for a few years by depleting its liquid assets and liquidating fixed assets, but that after several years of such support, assuming there is no marked reversal of current trends, the problems would still be present and the Archdiocese would be approaching insolvency." Maryland Report, p. 14.

²⁹See evidence under footnote 25, above.

³⁰It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the extent to which enrollment losses in Catholic schools are attributable to tuition increases. What a parent feels he can afford is partly determined by what he values

primarily, partly influenced by what he is accustomed to paying, and partly a function of his disposable income. In a recent study in the Joliet Diocese in Illinois, the reason most often given by parents for not patronizing Catholic schools was tuition costs. Catholic Education Study: Diocese of Joliet (Joliet, Ill.: the Diocese, 1970), Table 14A. Hereinafter this document is identified as Joliet Report.

In the Boston Archdiocese, in contrast, only 10 per cent of parents with children 15 to 18 years of age, 11 per cent with children 13 and 14 years of age, and 14 per cent with children 6 to 12 years of age said they patronized public schools because they could not afford Catholic schools. (Donovan and Madaus, Catholic Education, p. 168).

In the recent St. Louis study, the researchers could find no evidence that tuition costs had had any effect at all in terms of patron defections, probably because fees had been raised so little in that archdiocese. (St. Louis Report, p. 24).

In general, I am inclined to conclude that tuitions, while less important than such other factors as the perceived relative quality of Catholic schools, have some important effect, particularly if they are raised rapidly. The differential evidence obtained on this topic in various studies is probably largely a function of differential methods.

In the Illinois study, mean tuitions for the first six grades in the Catholic parochial schools responding to the questionnaire rose from \$67 per year to \$138 per year (more than 100 per cent) in four years (between 1966-67 and 1970-71). Illinois Report, p. 6-31.

³¹Donovan and Madaus, Catholic Education, pp. 93, 162, 165.

³²In the Rhode Island study, a survey of opinion indicated that high-income Catholics were more likely than other Catholics to disagree with the statement: "Every Catholic child should spend some time in Catholic schools." High-income Catholics were more likely than others to agree that "If priests and sisters conducted classes, visited homes, and ran programs for children, the Catholic schools could be reduced." Rhode Island Report, pp. 102-103.

In the St. Louis Study, the parishes that could best afford to support Catholic schools exhibited little interest in doing so. Enrollments were falling faster in these parishes than elsewhere. St. Louis Report, p. 93. Cf. pp. 95-96.

Also see relevant evidence summarized under footnote 25, above.

³³In the Rhode Island study, most Catholics who were interviewed agreed that affluent church members should help finance the education of poor church members. But in 1968-69, the average tuition in low-income parishes was \$42, whereas only \$37 per child was charged in high-income parishes. Rhode Island Report, pp. 84, 114.

In the St. Louis study, expenditures per pupil in Catholic schools were considerably higher in high-income than in low-income parishes. However, contributions as a percentage of family income were lower for the affluent than for the poor. St. Louis Report, pp. 81-82.

³⁴Maryland Report, p. 10.

³⁵According to the NCEA Data Bank Report (p. 21), 60.9 per cent of elementary school budgets were subsidized by parishes and dioceses in 1967-68,

but the proportion had increased to 64.4 per cent by 1969-70. At the secondary level, these subsidies amounted to only 21.6 per cent of the school budgets in 1967-68 and only 21.0 per cent in 1969-70.

Catholic leaders may possibly have overestimated the resistance of patrons to tuition increases. In the Rhode Island study, most laymen did not see tuition fees (or distance of school from home) as particularly critical impediments to attendance, while the clergy and religious teachers did. Rhode Island Report, p. 104.

In the St. Louis study, similarly, there was no evidence that enrollment decisions were influenced by tuition increases. St. Louis Report, p. 24.

Also see footnote 29, above.

³⁶Maryland Report, p. 10; Kansas Report, p. 2. St. Louis Report, p. 84.

³⁷Illinois Report, pp. 6-28, 6-29.

³⁸In the Boston Archdiocese, at least every other Catholic interviewed said the Catholic schools were likely to get worse, or indicated that he wasn't sure. The tendency was more pronounced among respondents with more education. Donovan and Madaus, Catholic Education, pp. 198, 203.

³⁹Rhode Island Report, pp. 45, 61-62, 67-68; Illinois Report, pp. 6-9 to 6-11.

⁴⁰Donovan and Madaus, Catholic Education, pp. 317-331; Joliet Report, p. S-2.

⁴¹There was a marked relationship between the development and perpetuation of church-related schools and efforts to maintain languages other than English in various Lutheran groups, and many schools did not survive long after English was adopted in liturgy and sermon. Walter H. Beck, Lutheran Elementary Schools in the United States (2nd ed.; St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), pp. 67-72, 141-42, 153-55, 212-13, 408-409.

⁴²In Rhode Island, average tuitions in independent (religiously unaffiliated) day schools had risen from \$600 to \$1175 (96%) between 1958 and 1968, and tuitions in independent boarding schools, from \$1935 to \$2900 (50%). In the Catholic parish schools of the state, in contrast, tuitions averaged \$8 in 1959 and \$28 in 1968. Rhode Island Report, pp. 31, 84.

In Illinois, mean tuition fees for the first six grades in Catholic parochial schools rose from \$67 per year in 1966-67 to \$138 per year in 1970-71. But by 1970-71, tuition fees in the state's orthodox Jewish day schools, whose patrons generally are far from wealthy, rose to \$325 (more than twice the Catholic average), and the Jewish enrollment burgeoned. Greek Orthodox schools, with at least their full share of parents with modest incomes, were charging around \$200 a year. Except for one school in a rapidly changing neighborhood, they were growing dramatically. Average tuitions in Illinois Lutheran schools had climbed from \$122 in 1966-67 to \$384. Illinois Report, pp. 6-31, 6-32.

According to the NCEA Data Bank Report (pp. 18-20), annual per-pupil costs in Catholic schools in 1969-70 averaged \$200 at the elementary level and \$434 at the secondary level. Information gathered in the Illinois study showed that elementary-level per-pupil costs in Missouri Lutheran schools averaged

\$322 in 1969-70. The Illinois Calvinist schools estimated their annual per-pupil costs as averaging \$453 at the elementary level and \$680 at the secondary level in 1969-70. Illinois Report, pp. 7-10 to 7-12.

High school tuitions were reported as averaging \$600 in the Diocese of Brooklyn, \$350 in the Diocese of Buffalo, and \$300 in "the four large high schools of Rockville Center" in New York in 1969-70. New York Report, Appendix A, p. 12.

Per-pupil costs in Kansas Catholic and Lutheran schools were estimated as follows (Kansas Report, p. 3):

	Lutheran Elementary	Wichita Catholic Diocese Elementary	Secondary
1966-67	\$278	\$135	
1967-68	\$285	\$166.25	\$402
1968-69	\$325	\$186	\$393

In Rhode Island in 1967-68, tuitions in independent schools were reported as averaging \$1200 per year for the highest grades offered in day schools and \$3,000 per year for the highest grades offered in boarding schools. But these schools tend to draw considerably wealthier patrons than do the church-related schools. Rhode Island Report, p. 27.

⁴³St. Louis Report, p. 7.

⁴⁴Donovan and Madaus, Catholic Education, pp. 359-60.

⁴⁵James Stewart Davie, "Education and Social Stratification" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1951).

⁴⁶Center for Field Studies, Harvard University, Englewood's Schools: Study of the Englewood Public Schools (Cambridge, Mass.: President and Fellows of Harvard College, mimeographed, 1965), pp. 16, 57.

⁴⁷E. Digby Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 292-334.

⁴⁸Operationally, Baltzell defines the elite as those who are listed in Who's Who, "individuals who are the most successful and stand at the top of the functional class hierarchy." The upper class is defined in terms of inclusion in the Social Register, as "a group of families, whose members are descendants of successful individuals (elite members) of one, two, three or more generations ago. These families are at the top of the Social Class hierarchy; they are brought up together, are friends, and are intermarried with each other; and, finally, they maintain a distinctive style of life and a kind of primary group solidarity which sets them apart from the rest of the populations." Ibid., pp. 6-7.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 294.

⁵⁰W. Lloyd Warner, "Formal Education and the Social Structure," Journal of Educational Sociology, May, 1936, pp. 524-531.

⁵¹See, for example: Charles McArthur, "Personality Differences Between Middle and Upper Classes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1 (March, 1955), 247-254; Charles McArthur, "Sub-Culture and Personality During the College Years," Journal of Educational Sociology, 33 (Feb., 1960), 260-268; W. Cody Wilson, "Value Differences Between Public and Private School Graduates," Journal of Educational Psychology, 1 (October., 1959), 213-215; Richard Prince, "Student Value Judgements Do Differ in Public, Religious, and Private Schools," Phi Delta Kappan, 40 (May, 1959), 305-307.

⁵²E.g., August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949), James Coleman, The Adolescent Society (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1961); M. Sherif and C.W. Sherif, Groups in Harmony and Tension (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1953).

⁵³Myron Lieberman, The Future of Public Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 226.

⁵⁴Willard Waller, The Sociology of Teaching (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), pp. 37-38.

⁵⁵Jacob W. Getzels, "The Acquisition of Values in School and Society," in Francis S. Chase and C. Arnold Anderson, eds., The High School in a New Era (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 159.

⁵⁶Stephen Birmingham, "The New England Prep School," Holiday, Feb., 1964, pp. 130-133; Alan R. Blackmer, An Inquiry into Student Unrest in Independent Secondary Schools (Boston: National Association of Independent Schools, 1970).

⁵⁷Barbara Cumiskey, "New Generation of Schoolboys with Grown-up Worries--the Voice of the Negro," Life, May 25, 1962, pp. 8, 11.

⁵⁸Greeley and Rossi, Education of Catholic Americans, pp. 277-281.

⁵⁹Michigan Report, pp. 224-229.

⁶⁰Illinois Report, Appendix D.

⁶¹Rhode Island Report, p. 24.

⁶²Ibid., pp. 58-59.

⁶³Ibid., p. 60.

⁶⁴The study to which the Rhode Island Report refers at this point is: Commissioner's 1961 Catalog of Educational Change (Albany, N.Y.: New York State Education Department, 1961).

⁶⁵Rhode Island Study, pp. 17-18.

⁶⁶Robert Danforth Cole, Private Secondary Education for Boys in the United States (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1928), pp. 120-22.

⁶⁷Leonard V. Koos, Private and Public Secondary Education: A Comparative Study (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), pp. 162-64.

⁶⁸Illinois Study, pp. 5-21 to 5-24.

⁶⁹Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education: 1876-1957 (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), p. 136.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 277.

⁷¹Roy A. Larmee, "The Relationship Between Certain National Movements in Education and Selected Independent Schools" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1962; and Larmee, "National Movements and Independent Schools," in Roald F. Campbell and Robert A. Bunnell, eds., Nationalizing Influences on Secondary Education (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1963).

⁷²For a more complete description of the CAM Academy, see "The CAM Academy," in Ronald and Beatrice Gross, Radical School Reform (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969), pp. 322-330.

⁷³Michigan Study, pp. 244-253.

CHAPTER VIII

MAJOR FINDINGS OF EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

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Introduction

During the last decade the spirit of Vatican II has set in motion a conscious, continuing and profound reappraisal of almost all aspects of the Church. This reappraisal and the implementation consequences on human and financial resources have forced a considerable, but uneven, research effort to assess various aspects of Catholic schools. Here the critical point is that the elementary and secondary schools have been taken as a "given" and research has been primarily directed toward aiding in decisions about their future; this research can be described as survey, ex post facto or occasionally quasi experimental in nature. There has been a negligible investment in experimental research during this same period directed toward alternative modes of either informal or formal Christian education for the larger Catholic community.

The purpose of this Chapter is to survey the various diocesan sponsored research studies that have been commissioned over the past several years as well as published empirical studies dealing with Catholic schools. This research falls into three main categories, the secular and sectarian effects of Catholic schools on pupils, the financial crisis facing Catholic schools and the attitudes of different publics toward various issues related to Catholic schools. We shall consider each of these areas in turn.

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SECULAR AND SECTARIAN EFFECTS ON CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

Research design to probe the secular and sectarian effects of Catholic elementary and secondary schools can be considered under four main categories: (a) academic achievement, (b) post high school matriculation, (c) divisiveness, (d) religious outcomes.

Academic Achievement

Research on the secular effects of Catholic schools has been directed largely toward determining the extent of parity between the academic achievement level of Catholic schools and that of their principal evaluative referent, the public schools. Lee (1967) asserts that "the overwhelming evidence of research has indicated that...government schools as a group at every level perform a total educative function superior to that of the Catholic Schools." What in fact is the evidence?

Several studies of the academic effectiveness of Catholic schools can be dismissed because of their datedness (Koos, 1931; Lennon, 1948) or due to sampling considerations (Hill, 1957; Neuwein, 1966). Perhaps the logical place to begin is with standardization data from commercial test publishers. In standardizing national achievement and IQ tests, probability samples of Catholic and public schools are drawn in such a way as to represent the universe of such schools. A comparison of the Catholic norms

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with national norms on such tests as The Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (1965), The Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills (1968) or The California Test of Academic Achievement (1968) shows the Catholic group norms are consistently higher than those of the total national sample. Even this is an underestimate since the Catholic sample becomes a subset when computing the national norms.

Higher mean achievement and IQ scores for Catholic schools when compared to national norms have also been found in studies in the dioceses of Boston (Walsh, et al., 1969), St. Louis (Bartell, et al., 1970), Youngstown (Bartell, n.d.), Denver (Neuwein, 1969), and San Francisco (Bartell, n.d.).

Unfortunately, such direct comparisons cannot be taken at face value. The institutional and individual selectivity of Catholic schools confounds and compromises the evaluation of these findings. For example, while the positive relationship between social class and scholastic achievement is well documented (e.g. Brazziel and Farrell, 1962; Deutsch, 1960; Coleman, et al., 1966; Osborne, 1960; Montague, 1964; Payne, 1964), Greeley and Rossi, (1968, p. 43) found that "It was the poor and the poorly educated who disproportionately did not send their children to Catholic schools." We do not know the extent to which inner city children, children with learning disabilities or discipline problems are represented in Catholic norm groups as compared to public norm groups. Further, this higher achievement of Catholic schools might in part be attributed to their

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higher mean scores on tests of intelligence; tests that in fact measure a pupil's ability to succeed at academic tasks.

Recognizing the confounding effects of such variables as IQ or socioeconomic status when comparing public and Catholic school achievement, competent researchers have attempted in the past to adjust for these initial selectivity differences by using standard statistical controls and analyses. However, very recent re-examinations of studies which have shown Head Start programs having no effect or harmful effects have demonstrated that these previously accepted techniques for adjusting for initial differences are, in fact, inappropriate (Campbell and Erlebacher, 1970; Cronbach and Furby, 1970). It would appear that researchers dealing with the comparative academic achievement of public and Catholic schools inadvertently fell into this same methodological pitfall as the Head Start researchers.

Consider the study by Bauernfeind and Blumenfeld (1963). An a priori national sampling model of public and Catholic school students was matched on three variables: IQ, sex and geographic region. After matching, the Catholic school groups scored significantly higher on the SRA High School Placement Tests. This superiority of the Catholic groups can now be explained by the statistical artifact of regression toward the mean caused by the matching procedures used to adjust for the initial selectivity differences.

The two groups because of matching, had identical IQ's. However, given the initial differentiation on the IQ variable, the Catholic students tended to come from the lower end of their distribution while the public students tended to come from the upper end of the public school distribution. Scores on the achievement test were of course free to vary and inevitably moved toward the mean of their respective groups, i.e., upward for the Catholic students and downward for the public groups.

The investigators could have completely reversed their conclusions if they had matched on the achievement test and then compared these comparable groups on the IQ test. The Catholic mean IQ now free to vary, would have regressed upward toward the population mean, while the public school mean IQ would have regressed downward toward its population mean. Thus, the conclusion would have been reversed; public school students achieve as well as Catholic school students in spite of lower measured IQ's.

The problems of controlling for initial differences is not limited to matching procedures described above however. Cronbach and Furby (1970, p. 78) show that "application of analysis of co-variance to studies where initial assignment was non-random, which was widely recommended ten years ago, is now in bad repute...If the treatment groups differed systematically at the start of the experiment with respect to any relevant characteristic other than the covariate, even

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a perfect measure of the covariate cannot remove the confounding..." Meehl (1970) calls such corrections "inherently fallacious." The conclusion is inevitable. We must concede that interpretations of the achievement studies in Boston (Walsh, et al., 1969), Denver, (Neuwein, 1968), Notre Dame (Neuwein studies, 1966), all based on adjusted mean achievement scores, are now highly suspect at best and misleading at worst.

Let us now consider the research efficacy of another statistical technique. Specifically, the multiple regression model has been used in studies in Youngstown (Bartell, n.d.) and St. Louis (Bartel, et al., 1970) to investigate the relationship between scholastic achievement and such variables as family income and instructional costs. The more recent St. Louis study concludes "that the parochial schools of the Archdiocese of St. Louis are having a positive impact upon the scholastic and religious achievement of their students. The home environment and school environment variables work together in such a way as to produce scholastic achievement well above the national norm." (p. 61) Let us re-examine the basis of this positive conclusion concerning the effect of Catholic schools.

It should be noted that with the exception of the sixth grade vocabulary findings, the pattern of St. Louis regression results are similar to Mayeski's (1969) re-analysis of the Coleman data. Mayeski criticizes Coleman's slighting of the potential importance

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of school characteristics on achievement. The St. Louis study certainly does not slight the importance of the school. However, Mayeski, in his re-analysis goes on to show clearly (p. 368) that school variables (including per pupil expenditures) share a great deal of variance with student variables and that this overlap therefore makes interpretation ambiguous. In this connection the omission from St. Louis regression equations of any measures of student characteristics (except race) further clouds the validity of their conclusions.

On a separate but related level the interpretation of both Mayeski and Bartell reflect the disciplinary bias endemic to the research enterprise. Thus Mayeski, like Bartell, et al., did find that the family variable and racial group membership were significantly related to achievement. Mayeski, the psychologist, recommended that substantial gains in achievement might be realized through greater parental involvement; indeed he concluded that small changes in school variables will not bring about substantial gains in achievement. By way of contrast, Bartell, an economist, suggested that in St. Louis at sixth grade, "Perhaps a dollar invested in school inputs tends to have a greater positive impact on school outputs than an additional dollar of family income" (p. 62).

One final point that needs to be considered is that in the interpretation of the St. Louis regression results, phrases like "positive impact: (p. 61), and "produce scholastic achievement" (p. 61) could be read as implying a causal connection between the variables used in the regression equation. The use of the regression to infer causation is of course a tricky business at best. Brownlee, (1965, p. 724) in discussing the relationship between cigarette smoking and health quotes the following from the Surgeon General's report:

Statistical methods cannot establish proof of a causal relationship in an association. This causal significance of an association is a matter of judgment...To judge or evaluate the causal significance of the association between the attribute or agent and the disease, or effect upon health, a number of criteria must be utilized, no one of which is an all-sufficient basis for judgment. These criteria include:

- (a) The consistency of the association
- (b) The strength of the association
- (c) The specificity of the association
- (d) The temporal relationship of the association
- (e) The coherence of the association

Thus before we can say that a certain combination of school and family variables combine to produce a scholastic effect, there is need to use the technique of strong inference (Platt, 1964), the method of multiple working hypotheses (Chamberlin, 1965), and the statistical techniques of causal inference outlined in Blalock (1961). Needless to say, these techniques, or the criteria outlined by the Surgeon General, have not been employed in studies of the achievement performance of Catholic school pupils.

In sum, the evidence is simply this. While we know that Catholic school students generally score higher on the average than public school students on tests of academic achievement the extent to which this difference is attributable to the effects Catholic schools per se are unknown. We can say no more.

Post High School Matriculation

Let us turn now to another criterion of the effectiveness of secondary education often cited, namely, the number of graduates going on to some form of higher education. In this regard, the Notre Dame (Neuwein, 1966) and Wisconsin (1970) studies report that percentage of Catholic students going on to some form of post secondary education is well above the national average. However, these findings, it should be noted, are predicated on estimates by school officials rather than actual matriculation records. They are therefore highly vulnerable. A strong basis for similar conclusions is found in the work of Morrison and Hodgkin (1970), and Greeley and Rossi (1967) who used actual enrollment data from national samples. They reported that students from Catholic high schools are more likely than those from public schools to go on to some form of post high school education. These studies were not insensitive to selectivity factors and attempted to adjust for them. Unfortunately their efforts resulted in the same type of statistical artifact cited above in our discussion of academic achievement. Therefore, their conclusions after adjustment remain suspect.

To confound things further, Trent (1967) also on the basis of a national sample, concluded that graduates of Catholic high schools are less likely to attend college than are public school Protestants though they are more likely than are public school Catholics. Here our concern is not to explain the different conclusions of separate studies but only to note that Trent's findings are perhaps evidence of the selectivity factors operating in admission to Catholic secondary schools.

We can certainly compare the post high school matriculation statistics of Catholic and public schools; however, the relationship between the school per se and matriculation is undoubtedly concomitant rather than causal.

Divisiveness

A negative criterion of the effect of Catholic schools often expressed is that they are "divisive." At an attitudinal level however, recent opinion studies (Gallup, 1969; Donovan & Madaus, 1969), show that the vast majority of the public feel instead "that private schools are regarded as a natural concomitant of a pluralistic society" (Gallup, 1969, p. 8). Greeley and Rossi (1966) spent considerable time investigating this effect among Catholic school graduates. They conclude:

"It may well be that, on the bases of the answers to these....questions, we cannot yet bring in a 'not guilty' verdict to the charge that Catholic schools have a harmful influence on the social consensus of the land. But surely it would not be an exaggeration to render the ancient Scotch verdict of 'not proven.' (p. 143)

Much the same can be said concerning the results of studies that speak to the charge that Catholic schools produce non-competitive economic attitudes in their students (Bressler and Westoff, 1963; Rossi and Rossi, 1961; Greeley, 1963; McClelland, 1971). Again, a "not proven" verdict seems indicated. Bressler and Westoff express it in these terms. "There is insufficient evidence to demonstrate that a Catholic education actually encourages an allegiance to work and mobility values. But we can quite clearly reject the hypotheses that among Catholics, religious education is negatively related to these values of worldly success."

Similarly, the charge that Catholic schools produce rigid thinking patterns and/or authoritarian and dependent personalities in their students remains "not proven". The conflicting results in studies of creative or divergent thinking of parochial school students by Navarre (1965), Tate and Straub (1965), Boles (1965), and Daw and Pugh (1965) probably reflect no more than fluctuations in samples, none of which can be extrapolated to any definable population.

In the area of authoritarian and dependent personalities, studies by Quinn (1965), Boehm (1968), Brett and McClain (1968) produce conflicting and inconclusive results.

Thus we could certainly agree with Greeley and Rossi's use of the ancient Scotch verdict, "not proven" when they answer the charge that Catholic schools are divisive. If any such charge of divisiveness should be leveled against Catholic schools, it would have to be

a charge of accomplice or accessory after the fact. The home background, ethnicity, social-economic class, and a host of other culprits would also need to be indicted.

Religious Outcomes

Our fourth and final area of the evaluation of the effects of Catholic schools concerns religious outcomes. Here we have an expanding body of research on the effectiveness of Catholic schools designed to test the very basic assumption that Catholic schools provide a unique and desirable religious moral formation not obtainable from the public school, or even from the alternative Church sponsored confraternity programs. Several studies (e.g. Elford, 1968; Madaus and Donovan, 1969) show that parental decisions to send children to Catholic schools are based primarily on this assumption. Paradoxically, a majority of these same parents perceived little or no difference in the religious behavior between adults who attended Catholic schools and Catholics who attended public schools (Elford, 1969; Madaus and Donovan, 1969).

The researchers' quest for "harder" data than the reported perceptions of the laity on the religious outcomes of Catholic schools inevitably encounter all of the methodological and selectivity pitfalls associated with research on the non-sectarian outcomes previously discussed. However, perhaps more frustrating than these obstacles is the elusive nature of the definition and operationalization of criteria of religious outcomes. Let us first consider the selectivity problems.

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The institutional and individual selectivity factors that confound analysis and interpretation of the secular outcomes of Catholic schools already discussed are also at work confounding interpretation of data on the effectiveness of Catholic schools on religious outcomes. The home background of students is a case in point. For example, in the Archdiocese of Boston (Donovan & Madaus, 1969), the formal educational resources of the Church are being over utilized by children from highly religious homes and under-utilized by those children from markedly weaker religious family backgrounds. Or consider Greer's (1970) findings that in Northern Ireland "the degree of certainty of belief in God and frequency of Church attendance of parents are important factors in the transmission of this belief and practice to the next generation" (p. 10). Thus with the clarity of hindsight, we should not have been surprised with Greeley and Rossi's description of the religious outcomes of Catholic schools. They concluded "that Catholic schools have worked very well for those who would already be part of the religious elite; they have not worked so well for those whose religious backgrounds were less intense, and apparently, Catholics who have not attended them have not been appreciably harmed by their non-attendance" (p.117).

Stated somewhat differently, it appears that what Greeley and Rossi found is that the Catholic schools are, to borrow a phrase from Chickering (1970), acting in loco uteri. That is, since a majority of students at entrance are predisposed to forming, or

already display the characteristics desired of graduates, the school merely acts in loco uteri, as a womb, neither accelerating nor retarding development but simply providing a safe haven where it can occur.

The powerful influence of the home on the child's subsequent secular educational achievements and attitudes have been well documented (Bloom, 1964; Dave, 1963; Wolf, 1964; Flowden, 1967; Coleman, 1968; Hess & Torney, 1967). It should come as no surprise then that the religiosity of the home is an early and powerful determiner of religious attitudes and moral development (e.g. Bull, 1969, p. 112). Westoff, (1967, p. 49) concluding an eight year longitudinal study on fertility values states that "Differences in fertility orientation among Catholics in general appear to reflect much more the influence of factors other than that of the educational experience." He further reports on a similar study in Belgium by Szykman which also concluded that high fertility oriented women are selected into Catholic institutions (Westoff, 1967, p. 49). These data suggest that on attitudes toward family planning the Catholic schools were again acting in loco uteri.

Parents in Boston (Donovan & Madaus, 1969) recognized that they were most influential in their children's religious formation during the elementary grades and felt that they had little such influence on the adolescent. Nonetheless, there was a greater preference by these same parents for Catholic schools and religious teachers at the elementary rather than at the secondary level.

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Perhaps these parents, along with many Church officials, share what seems to be a conditioned reflex of equating Catholic education and hence religious formation, with teaching by trained religious personnel in a school setting. Similarly, consideration of alternative modes of Catholic education often are semantically equated with the other institutional education programs of the Church, the CCD, and then quickly dismissed as an ineffective vehicle of religious education. It is painfully obvious that the conceptualization of Catholic education apart from these two formal programs is extremely difficult for many Catholics. Illich (1970) is not alone in his expression of concern over this pervasive folklore which reduces education to a combination of classrooms, teachers, curricula, etc.

Turning now to the criterion problem we find that several studies (Greeley & Rossi, 1964; Walsh, et al., 1969; Neuwein, 1966; Neuwein, 1968) have shown that Catholic schools are markedly successful in transmitting a knowledge of the doctrinal aspects of Catholicism. Greeley and Rossi (1963) for example, concluded that those educated in Catholic schools are better informed than public school Catholics on the "finer points" of religious knowledge. Similarly, in Boston those with twelve years of Catholic school scored, on the average, 26 points higher on the Gaydos Religion Test than their counterparts who spent an equal number of years in CCD programs (Walsh, et al., 1969).

In evaluating these large differences on tests like the Gaydos one must carefully consider the content validity of the criterion instrument employed. In an unpublished study several years ago one of the present authors commissioned two theologians to evaluate in terms of the theology of Vatican II all of the then available cognitive tests of religion. Not surprisingly, they concluded that the content matter of the tests were almost exclusively pre-conciliar. Further, using Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Part I, The Cognitive Domain (1956), each item on each test was classified according to the type of mental operations most likely employed by the respondent. Again, not surprising, these tests tapped simple recall and recognition of facts. The low relationship between knowledge of facts and ability to apply principles and generalizations to solve problems is well known (Tyler, 1950)

Interestingly, there are no meaningful differences between these same groups of Gaydos tested Boston twelfth graders in either religious practices or religious and social attitudes. Along these lines it is interesting to note that the New York study found that the presence or absence of a parochial school in a parish does not have a consistent and reliable impact upon religious practice as evidenced by Mass attendance (New York, 1969, II-14). We can only concur with Silberman (1970, p. 9) when he points out that "Talking about morality, honesty, or kindness in no way insures that people will act morally, honestly,

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or kindly. In the words of a Talmudic axiom, "Let not thy learning exceed thy deeds. Mere Knowledge is not the goal, but action."

The superiority of Catholic school students in the purely cognitive aspects of the faith might be explained by the Church's historical emphasis on the primacy of education for cognition and the intellect; and this until recently aimed at developing an intellect "informed" by the magisterium (e.g. O'Dea, 1968). Implicit in this emphasis on cognition was the faith that positive affective and volitional results would simultaneously accrue much in the same way that the Biblical verb yadah "to know" signifies a unification of intellect, feeling and action." (Silberman, 1970, p. 8). In other words, in one and the same educative act the unified formation of the whole man would be accomplished.

However, the pedagogic techniques to arrive at such a unified outcome are not clear. Because of the nature of Western society, our educational systems, public and private, are geared toward producing people with verbal and conceptual skills. The transmission of such skills readily lend themselves to the verbal methods of lectures, conversations, demonstrations, discussions and the use of the printed word. Unfortunately, in contrast to such well developed methods of verbal-conceptual instruction, the techniques for developing affect, empathy, a viable conscience, etc., are not nearly as well defined and are certainly not identical with pedagogic techniques used in the development of cognition.

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Further complicating the problem is the fact that the pedagogic techniques used to develop verbal and conceptual skills are easily perverted. Freire (1970, p. 58) labels this perversion the "banking concept" where education becomes "an act of depositing in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiques and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize and repeat." Perhaps the superiority of Catholic school students to CCD students on tests of knowledge of doctrine can be explained simply by the fact of professional rather than volunteer bankers and longer banking hours. Time does not permit further development of this line of reasoning. Further, there simply is no data on the number of, or the extent to which, Catholic schools, or for that matter public schools, are presently employing "banking" techniques or conversely are "teaching in such a way as to convert" ideas about morality into "moral ideas" (Silberman, 1970, p. 9).

This latter concern has been at the heart of a recent call to shift the emphasis of formal religion instruction away from children toward adolescents and adults (e.g., Moran, 1966, 1968; O'Neil & Donovan, 1970; Goldman, 1964, 1965). Basically, these proposals attack, on the basis of Piagetian levels of operational thinking, the cognitive, conceptual emphasis on doctrine and precepts found in much of the formal religious instruction given children. Goldman, in England (1964, p. 226) for example, finds that in religious thinking formal operations or propositional, hypothetical thought appears at age 13.5 at the earliest.

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Moran (1968, p. 145) contends that most of those doctrinal and ethical beliefs laboriously emphasized in grade school could much more easily be picked up by adults. There is some rather soft evidence from the Boston Study (Walsh, et al., 1969) supporting Moran's assertion at least in the area of simple recall of doctrinal facts. Ninth graders in Catholic high schools who had had eight years of public elementary school scored 11 points higher on the Gaydos than those who had had eight years of Catholic elementary school and one year of public high school. From this it might appear that one year of Catholic high school education has religious knowledge pay-off greater than that provided by eight years of Catholic elementary school. Not trying to have our cake and eat it too, the Boston results could just as easily be explained by the selectivity artifact.

The partial and inconclusive character of applying developmental principles to religious education must be frankly conceded. For example, Boehm (1968) argues from her data that since Catholic schools emphasize the distinction between accident, misdeed and sin in preparation for First Communion at age 7, Catholic school pupils gain insights into the motivations for their moral actions at a much earlier age than students educated in public school.

Whatever the pros and cons, these arguments against formal cognitive religious instruction of children also touch upon the more crucial problems facing research on religious outcomes of Catholic

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schools, namely the conceptualization of religious outcomes. What does, or should, the Catholic community expect of Catholic schools? In what ways should Catholic school students be different from public school products? Are we talking about higher scores on tests of religious knowledge and doctrinal understanding? Greater attendance at the Sacraments? Greater doctrinal orthodoxy? Performance of certain devotional practices? More "orthodox" attitudes toward family planning? These are the types of criteria sociologists, psychologists, and educational researchers, the present authors included, have traditionally employed. Why? Because constructs such as these lend themselves to observation - the bread and butter of the behavioral scientists' training, profession and world view. We can't help but be reminded here of the apocryphal story of the Catholic researcher who had one of his twins baptized while keeping the other one as a control.

The Coleman report on the effects of public education is a similar case in point. His results have been interpreted by some as indicating that the public schools have little impact once home background is controlled. But the positive and negative impact of schools, teachers, the whole ecology of the classroom is infinitely more subtle than paper and pencil tests can possibly hope to capture. In terms of Catholic schools, Moran makes the important point that prescindng from cognition Catholic school teachers "convey a sense of Christian living (sometimes in spite of what they are saying) but that such outcomes might be obscured or even judged a failure on a sociological instrument" (Moran, 1966, p. 136).

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In other words, we empiricists have failed, and may never be able, to operationalize the Catholic school's ability to develop in its charges a "sensus ecclesiae". Milhaven (1970, p. 207) describes this outcome as follows:

I can, if so inclined, indulge in contemporary fun-games of criticizing the nuns who taught me. The fact remains that their teaching is part of me (including, incidentally, many true and beautiful things about God and man) and will always be. Despite whatever flaws the teaching may have had, or whatever flaws my reception may have had, it remains within me in memory and imagination and habits of thought and feeling. It is one Broadway where Christ speaks to me. Not mystically or ontologically. Not because of any authority of the nuns. But empirically, practically, Christ speaks to me through those human beings. Through them he gives me insights, feelings, impulses of action that mirror Him and His love. Much that He gives me through them is not what they intended to give. Often it is rather something that arises from my reactions to them, a reaction often negative. But part of my ongoing dialogue with Christ will always be in terms of my experiences in grammar school under the Sisters.

This is the type of crucial long range outcomes that can be described by the theologian but that eludes the methodology of the behavioral scientist. Illich (1970) and others argue that this "sensus ecclesiae" can be developed outside of a formal school setting; in fact, Milhaven himself goes on to describe the subtle but powerful encounter with Christ - "Parental faith, liturgy, ways of private prayer, long conversations with friends, and declarations of the hierarchy."

If Milhaven is accurate and the Catholic schools do more than act in loco uteri, do substantially contribute to the development of a "sensus ecclesiae", then additional problems arise that impinge on the present Catholic school crisis.

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First, Milhaven's reminiscences reintroduce the old but powerful concept of permeation - a concept some would rather avoid in debates about school aid and purchase of secular services. It also lends credence to the perceptions of teachers and administrators from the Kraushaar sample (see Appendix A) that religion does affect instruction in other areas.

Secondly, what of the trade-offs? Does the continuance of schools retard or preclude alternative formal and informal educational efforts aimed at the larger Catholic and non-Catholic communities? Economically, are schools the best vehicle for transmitting this "sensus ecclesiae"? Economics apart, Elford (1971) raises the intriguing question of the school's negative impact on the "sensus ecclesiae" of the total parish. To paraphrase Illich (1970), will the pharmacist's pill of school aid so lull and addict the patient that it will inhibit his seeking a surgeon's advice?

Ultimately these are value questions, goal questions, questions for the larger Catholic community, rather than solely for the sociologist, educator or economist. Perhaps we have come to expect too much of our empirical efforts; to over-estimate the products of our learned research. Perhaps our learning, statistically sophisticated and ideologically straight, should be openly seen for what it is. It is a learned ignorance. Inevitably, it's professional narrowness deforms the complex reality of the religious socialization. As Andrew Greeley, speaking to the question of the morality of social

science rhetoric recently put it, "What would be immoral would be to believe that the devices of survey questionnaires, high-flown theoretical rhetoric, and complex mathematical models get at reality save in the most tenuous way..." (p. 371). This is not - underline not - an appeal to throw the baby out with the bath water. Our learned ignorance does provide us insight that should not be denied.

FINANCIAL STUDIES

The financial difficulties pressing in on Catholic elementary and secondary schools is clearly evidenced by the fact that the dioceses of Denver (Neuwein, 1968), Saginaw (Neuwein, 1968), St. Louis (Bartell, et al., 1970), Savannah, (Friend & Neuwein, 1969), Galveston (1968), St. Cloud (Luetman, 1969), St. Paul-Minneapolis (Peat, Marwich, Mtichell & Co., 1970), Omaha (Peat, Marwich, Mitchell & Co., 1961, Grand Island (Cosgriff Organization, 1967), Dubuque (1970), Manchester (Murray, 1968), New York (1969), Indianapolis (Elford, 1968), Milwaukee, (Darnieder et al., 1970), Madison (1969), Phoenix (1969), Corpus Christi (Thomas, et al., 1968), Burlington (1968) and Boston (unavailable, Nuccio, 1969) have all commissioned financial studies of their school systems. While there very well may be other diocesan financial self studies, our search failed to turn up additional sources. The mere existence

of so many locally financed studies across the country is mute evidence of the deep concern of Church officials over the financing of the largest private educational system in existence.

Volume II of our report to the Commission entitled The Social and Religious Sources of the Crisis in Catholic Schools² presents an analysis of the causes of the financial difficulties facing Catholic schools. There we argued that while indeed real, these financial difficulties are more properly identified as symptoms of a deeper crisis facing Catholic education. We shall not attempt to repeat in detail those arguments here; instead the reader is referred to Volume II. Here we shall merely briefly synopsise the major findings common to most of these financial studies.

Until recently one of the major difficulties in doing research on parochial school financing has been the lack of reliable and valid data bases. This fact is further evidence of the extent of decentralization that characterizes most Catholic school "systems." Since the local parish is responsible for the maintenance of the parochial school, accountability has remained at the parish level. Consequently school expenditures were often not separated accurately from general parish expenditures. Further complicating the accuracy of a "system" wide financial analysis was the fact that different pastors

²See particularly pp. 32-38 for a discussion of how Catholic schools are financed.

often employed different accounting procedures. Annual financial reports by pastors to the Chancery generally were not useful in estimating accurate per pupil expenditures. In most studies special questionnaires had to be designed to help the pastor and school principal estimate more accurately the actual operating expenses; in other instances accountants, or the research staff, had to work with officials in order to come up with the best possible cost estimates, (e.g. Bartell, 1970; Cosgriff, 1967; Dubuque, 1970; Luetmer, 1969; Neuwein, 1968a; Madison, 1969; Elford, 1968).

Several studies (Neuwein, 1968a; Friend & Neuwein, 1969; Neuwein, 1968b; Murray, 1968; Peat, Marwich, Mitchell & Co., 1969 1970; Dubuque, 1970; Elford, 1968) have recommended that the dioceses install, and operate under a common accounting system for the individual schools. Catholic school officials have recognized the need for uniform accounting procedures (Elford, 1971b, p. 22) and future data will undoubtedly become progressively more accurate as parish costs are systematically separated from school costs. For example, this year the NCEA reports the first published figures on national and regional per pupil cost, not based merely on superintendents' estimates but instead on information supplied by each school. On the bases of these data it was estimated that 1.3 billion dollars was budgeted nationally for Catholic schools in 1970-71 (Elford, 1971, p. 25).

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Despite poor data, the financial difficulties facing Catholic schools are very real, very extensive and very profound. In New York, for example, it was predicted that as a result of the combination of capital need and project cash losses entailed in the operation of parish schools and Archdiocesan high schools, a cash deficit of "somewhere between \$30 million and \$49 million per year will materialize by 1972". Cost per pupil in New York parochial schools rose from \$55 per pupil in 1958 to \$156 per pupil in 1965. (If the non cash costs such as depreciation, contributed services, etc., are included the \$156 figure rises to \$398). Further, costs per pupil were projected to rise to between \$179 and \$238 by 1970 and between \$256 and \$379 in 1972 (New York, 1969, p. I-1-4).

Similarly in the St. Louis study it was predicted that the cost per pupil of full time Catholic education will increase upwards of 50 percent during the next five years. This would result in a deficit of \$11 million dollars if enrollment was maintained at the present level. Even taking into account forecasts of enrollment declines the predicted deficit for the St. Louis Catholic school system was \$5 million annually (Fahey, 1970, p. 12).

This pattern of rising per pupil costs and mounting deficits was not unique to the St. Louis or New York studies. It was

repeated across all of the studies reviewed. Further, the factors contributing to the financial dilemma were also common to all of the studies under review. The interactive factors of shifts in population, general inflation, enrollment declines concomitant with staff increases, increases in the ratio of lay teachers to religious with its attended decrease in contributed services and rise in salary expenditures have conspired to push Catholic schools into the red. However, these factors alone fail to completely explain the crisis. They in turn are compounded further by the difficulties inherent in the principal revenue sources that the Church historically has depended on to finance her schools.

Nationally over one-half of the income of parish schools comes from parish funds (Elford, 1971, p. 24). (In the diocese of St. Cloud, the parish subsidy ranged from 78.4 to 93.9 percent (Luetmer, 1969, p. 101)). These parish funds in turn come primarily from the Sunday collection. The voluntary donations of parishioners as a source of school income has at least two serious limitations. First, the Sunday collection as a source of funds has been repeatedly shown to be regressive; that is, when contributions are calculated as a percent of income they are inversely related to income. (Neuwein, 1968a, 1968b; Friend & Neuwein, 1969; Bartell, et al., 1970; Bartell, n.d.; Peat, Marwich and Mitchell & Co., 1968.

Second, the Sunday collection has been showing "signs of fatigue" (New York, 1969, p. I-3). The New York study reported that "per capita giving at Sunday Mass rose 45 percent between 1958 and 1964 [the peak years of the post war religious revival]; however, it rose only 6.9 percent between 1964 and 1967" (New York, 1969, p. I-3). The NCEA Research Department sampled five percent of the parishes with schools across the nation and found that:

From 1965 to 1970, the parish income increased 14.8 percent while estimated school costs jumped 68 percent. In 1965 just over one-third (36 percent) of parish income was spent on the school, in 1970, over half of the income (52.9 percent) went for school purposes. While the 4.7 percent increase in parish income from 1969 to 1970 was better than the 2.9 percent five year average rate of increase it did not match the 12.9 percent increase in school costs. (Elford, 1971, p. 29).

The NCEA report does not mention the fact that if an annual rate of inflation of between 5.5 and 6 percent is considered in conjunction with the increase in parish donations then the real purchasing power of the parish has actually declined between .8 and 1.3 percent between 1969 and 1970. Consequently, it is clear that the school has demanded a greater proportion of parish income each year.

The second principal source of school revenue is tuition. Tuition, like voluntary contributions, tends to be regressive, having the greatest negative impact on those least able to pay.

In 1969-70 43 percent of all parish elementary schools charged under fifty dollars a year in tuition and 95 percent charged under \$200 per year (Elford, 1970). However, the NCEA reported a 17.5 percent increase in tuition from 1969-70 to 1970-71 (Elford, 1971).

The regressive nature of tuition apart, the impact of increasing the tuition charge by Catholic schools is not clear. In New York City, for example, it was felt that tuition charges were all that the parents could bear; further any increase would diminish the amount of voluntary contributions to the parish (New York, 1969, p. I-3). The Omaha study conjectured that between 25 and 52 percent of a tuition rise would come from general parish support (Peat, Marwich, Mitchell & Co., 1968). Similarly, Bartell (1970, p. 85) found that in St. Louis contributions were consistently higher in those parishes which do not assess an explicit tuition charge. On the other hand, in St. Louis enrollment declines could not be related to "actual" increases in tuition charges or to the increasing burden on Catholic family incomes. In Chapter V of Volume I of our report to the Commission Daniere makes the interesting point that the Catholic sector has failed to assess the impact of tuition rises by systematically increasing tuition charges over a period of years in different types of parishes. Further, apart from St. Louis, there has been no effort to ascertain whether enrollment declines are related

to tuition increases. In sum, we have little empirical evidence on the effects of tuition rises.

To combat the above weaknesses in the financing of Catholic schools and offset mounting deficits, the studies under review recommended all, or a combination of several, of the following alternatives:

1. Develop both equitable means of intra and inter-parish financing and workable revenue transfer mechanism between parishes. These measures would spread the support burden more equally between the more affluent and the poorer parishes.
2. Transfer religious personnel to the poorer parishes. This would increase the contributed services donation in poor parishes, decreasing their expenditures on lay teacher salaries. This of course would force the more affluent parishes to spend more on lay teacher salaries. The net result would be a form of subsidy by rich parishes of their less affluent counterparts.
3. Raise tuition based on some sort of ability to pay formula.
4. Consolidate smaller units and develop centralized purchasing.
5. Develop closer cooperation with public schools in the form of release time, shared facilities, or dual enrollment.

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6. Elimination of certain grade levels.
7. Increase the amount of voluntary donations. How this is accomplished is not developed. Brown and Greeley (1970, p. 189) point out that the area of voluntary giving needs considerable research.
8. Actively seek state and federal aid.
9. Actively seek aid from business or other private sources.
10. More active participation in existing federal programs such as Title I and Title III.

In the next section of this review we shall see that attitudes toward many of these recommendations vary greatly across different publics. Any move toward a more equitable distribution of the Church's overall resources for education would probably meet with considerable resistance in certain quarters. While the present system of funding is admittedly bad, one can nevertheless ask the question whether or not the Church, given better fund raising and financial policies, has the financial potential to support the school system. Put more directly, can the Church support a school system without state or federal aid? Brown and Greeley (1970, p. 178) argue that a poor immigrant Church was able to build and maintain the largest nonpublic school system in history. They go on to argue that

the extra costs to the present Catholic community is "only slightly higher than it was for our forefathers". It is their contention that the Catholic community itself has the money to support its schools but that new methods of raising, conserving and distributing these moneys must be developed. These last three points are of course easier said than done. However, it would seem that if Brown and Greeley are correct, then this lends credence to the arguments we made in Volume II that the present financial difficulties facing Catholic schools are a symptom rather than a cause of the present Catholic school crisis.

Similarly in St. Louis enrollment declines could not be attributed to the costs of Catholic education, "for the users of the schools pay for less than 20 percent of the operating costs of the school through tuition and related payments." "Moreover, the total operating costs of Catholic education in the schools of the Archdiocese represent only a fraction of over one percent of the estimated gross family income of the Catholic population of the Archdiocese (Fahey, 1970, p. 6 - italics added).

Peat, Marwich and Mitchell (1968, p. V-16-24) concluded that the Archdiocese of Omaha had the overall financial potential within the Archdiocese to meet the present needs of Archdiocesan parishes and schools. They went on to point out that inequities that exist between parishes must first be eliminated.

and they discussed aspects of central financing for the diocese that included (1) a school tax based on a per pupil levey to meet administrative costs of the system, (2) a school foundation plan which would guarantee a uniform minimum per pupil support in all schools, (3) an income and/or property based assessment for each parish in the diocese, (4) pooling of parish and diocesan funds, and (5) establishment of restricted funds for schools.

The question of whether or not the Church has the financial potential to maintain a school system and support other important apostolates, and if it does, whether it can harness this potential, is still an empirically unresolved question. Neither Brown or Greeley, or Peat, et al., discuss the opportunity costs to the Catholic community of tapping financial potential for support of the schools that theoretically they claim is present. Further, granted the financial potential and even given improved mechanisms for fund raising, etc., if positive values and attitudes with regard to Catholic schools are not present the prognosis of tapping this financial pool is negative.

One thing is clear from this review. If Catholic schools are ever to be put on a sound financial basis rather drastic changes must be made in the present mode of raising and

distributing revenues. The church's dependence on contributed services must be re-evaluated and an equitable system of intra- and inter-parish financing and transfer mechanisms must be developed to eliminate the present restricted and regressive aspects of school support.

ATTITUDINAL STUDIES

Introduction

A crisis facing a school system that has been educating one out of every eight American children is the legitimate concern of every American. Consequently our review of attitudinal studies of Catholic education will include a survey of the attitudes of the following publics:

1. Catholic parents who send their children to Catholic and public schools as well as the larger Catholic community whose contributions support the school system.
2. Non-Catholic adults whose values and attitudes toward the Catholic school are politically, socially and ecclesiastically important to considerations of state and federal aid alternatives.

³ For a discussion of new corporate structures for Catholic Schools, see Vol. I, Chapter IX.

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3. Teachers and administrators, lay and religious, who have direct professional involvement in the Catholic school system.
4. Parish priests, who both administer many of these schools and influence opinions in their respective communities.

Catholics clearly comprise the most directly concerned and affected population. The significance of Catholic parental attitudes involves not only their attitude toward the schools but also their broader attitude toward the Church, its teaching mission and alternative means of realizing and financing the mission. To date, for the most part, Catholics alone have borne the burden of financing these schools. But as the prospect of public aid to Catholic schools is more and more discussed and as the possibility of a flood of Catholic students into tax-supported schools becomes more a reality, Catholic education becomes an object of proper concern for non-Catholic members of the community.

The teaching sisters, brothers, and priests whose contributed services have made the system possible, represent a strategic population, especially in relation to alternative forms of education. The same is true of parish priests, who act as molders of opinion in the Catholic community and who have had the primary responsibility for administering the finances of these schools.

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The attitudes of these groups will be studied individually and in relation to one another relative to the following key issues:

1. What are the values served by Catholic elementary and secondary education?
2. What is the perception of the relative effectiveness of public and nonpublic schools in secular and non-secular areas?
3. What were the attitudes of the Catholic samples toward alternatives to the present system for providing Catholic education; toward various retrenchment options considered by some Catholic school systems; and toward various models for the administering and financing of Catholic schools?
4. How do the various publics regard different forms of government aid to Catholic schools?

The review of attitudinal studies which provide information concerning these questions must be interpreted with the following precautions in mind. The methodology and instrumentation of the various attitudinal surveys reviewed are of decidedly unequal value. Percentage responses to open-ended questions are not comparable to forced-choice or closed-end questions though both

must be reported as proportion of the sample who responded as such. Finally, and perhaps most important, these results freeze attitudes at a certain point in time. The reader is reminded of the extremely rapid tempo of change in contemporary society in general and in the Catholic Church in particular. Values, attitudes and situations may change even before decisions can be made on the basis of research findings. For example in Chapter IX of this volume we traced a shift in attitudes from those reported in the Greeley and Rossi study. Thus, the limits of these surveys for predictive purposes and decision-making, especially in the context of rapid change, must be explicitly recognized.

Values of Catholic Education

The Catholic Public

The fundamental question under scrutiny here is "Why do Catholic parents send their children to Catholic schools?" On this point, the research studies show overwhelming agreement. The basic question has been asked in various ways and while the order of preference varies the following reasons for sending children to Catholic schools emerge: religion is both taught and practiced; a religious atmosphere pervades the school; the presence of sisters, priests and brothers; children are

taught to respect property; they are better at teaching honesty and truthfulness; there is better preparation for marriage and family life; they teach right from wrong; discipline is better; and the virtue of self discipline and hard work are engendered. These reasons can be grouped under the three broad categories of moral-religious reasons, disciplinary reasons and reasons of quality education. By far the most important of these three dimensions is the religious-moral dimensions, followed by the dimension of discipline (Allen, 1968; Springfield, 1969; Joliet, 1970, S-3, L-13, C-14; Friend, 1970, 58; Gallup, 1969; Friend, 1969; Neuwein, 1967; Brickell, 1969; Cahill, 1968; Donovan, 1968; Greeley and Rossi, 1966; Donovan and Madaus, 1969; Elford, 1968; Louis Harris Associates, 1969a, 1969b).

Most of the studies cited above found that the following reasons were offered to explain the enrollment of Catholic children in public schools: no parochial school available; distance to the parochial school from home; tuition - people often state that they cannot afford to pay twice for education. However, when overall responses are broken down further it becomes clear that Catholic parents who are better educated, younger and in the higher income brackets tend to be more critical of the educational quality of, and facilities associated with, Catholic schools. This trend deserves careful attention. Catholics in

the higher social class categories historically have patronized the Catholic schools (Greeley and Rossi, 1966). However more recently they have begun to negatively evaluate the need for a total school system (Donovan and Madaus, 1969; Elford, 1968; Holtz, 1970; Friend, 1970; Donovan, 1968; Neuwein, 1967; Louis Harris Associates, 1969a, 1969b).

Parental religiosity has traditionally been a good predictor of Catholic school support (Glock and Stark, 1964; Greeley and Rossi, 1966; Donovan and Madaus, 1969. Allen (1968) found that parents who are more conservative in matters of religion tend to be most supportive of Catholic schools. There is some evidence, gathered in connection with this report, that the relationship between religiosity and school support is weaker now than traditionally has seemed the case. In Chapter IX we found that parents who would be classified as high on the Greeley and Rossie index of religiosity were the very ones withdrawing their children from Catholic schools.

Catholic Priests, Sisters and Brothers

Not surprisingly, "Giving students a sense of moral values" and the "Religious and moral atmosphere of the school," are the goals of the Catholic schools that an overwhelming majority of priests, brothers and nuns select as the most important parents had for selecting Catholic schools. In addition, about eight

out of ten priests and sisters across various studies, felt that discipline is perceived by parents as an important asset of the school, and about 70 percent felt that the quality of the education offered was an important reason parents had for sending their children to Catholic schools (Elford, 1968, Brickell, 1969; Donovan and Madaus, 1969; Linnan and Madaus, 1969a, 1969b).

The Non-Catholic Public

In a national survey of attitudes toward nonpublic schools, Gallup (1969) while noting that the general public is not well informed about nonpublic education, found no generally held belief that the private schools are divisive or undemocratic. The great majority of citizens accept the present three school system (private, parochial and public) as a desirable combination. For the nation as a whole, 73 percent felt there should be both private and parochial schools in addition to public schools; only about one out of four (23 percent) of Americans felt it would be better if private and parochial schools did not exist. In communities where private and parochial schools were operating, and presumably where the general public would be better informed of their nature, the percentage of those who thought nonpublic schools should exist rose to 84 percent.

In the same Gallup (1969) survey, when adults were asked, "If you had the money, or if your children could get free tuition,

would you send them to private school, parochial school, or public school?" Thirty percent said they would send their children to a private school, 29 percent to parochial school, and 41 percent to public school. The combined proportions choosing a private or parochial school, 59 percent, exceeded the percentage electing the public schools.

Although proponents of private education often mention competition stemming from diverse systems, and the greater opportunity for private schools to experiment as advantages accruing from the existence of nonpublic schools, the general public seems to have less recognition or awareness of these purported assets. Gallup found that when asked "If having schools of different kinds in a community is a good thing because competition increases the quality of education," nationally 40 percent agreed, 33 percent disagreed, and 27 percent had no opinion. Further, a majority of 54 percent of the general public felt that public schools were in a better position to experiment than private schools; although in communities which had private schools 52 percent of the respondents indicate that private schools had the best opportunity to try out new ideas (Gallup, 1969).

About one out of two citizens (49 percent) felt that private schools do a better job of building character and inculcating a

sense of values. Three out of ten felt the public schools did a better job in these respects and the remaining proportion had no opinion (Gallup, 1969).

The attitudinal study of Catholic education in the Archdiocese of Boston and in the dioceses of Fall River and Springfield, Massachusetts, included a tightly drawn probability sample of non-Catholic adults as well as non-Catholic clergymen and public school administrators. In these studies, as in the Gallup survey, there was a significant proportion of people who did not feel sufficiently informed to give an opinion about nonpublic schools (Donovan and Madaus, 1969; Louis Harris Associates, 1969a).

One-third or more of the non-Catholics interviewed in the three Massachusetts studies believed that nonpublic schools spend too much time teaching religion and not enough teaching secular subjects. Close to 40 percent felt that nonpublic schools teach children that members of their religion are better than nonmembers. While the vast majority of non-Catholic adults interviewed in these three dioceses felt that nonpublic schools teach children to be good American citizens, close to one-half of the respondents would disagree with the following statement: "Many nonpublic schools teach children that allegiance to their country is second to their allegiance to their Church." Close to majority

of the non-Catholics in the Massachusetts studies did not feel nonpublic schools do much to strengthen the moral fiber of America (Donvan and Madaus, 1969)*

In Boston the survival power of old fears and myths about Catholic schools proved to be durable particularly among the respondents over fifty-five. The conclusion reached was that while non-Catholics were willing to concede academic improvement and a presently satisfactory quality of education to Catholic schools, they are still ambivalent with regard to their overall functions and consequences (Donovan and Madaus, 1969, pp. 144-146).

In summary, it is clear that the great majority of Catholics perceive the unique aspect of Catholic schools to be its religious-moral dimension. The importance parents attach to the religious aspect of the school, and the teaching religious as the symbol of that dimension, cannot be underestimated. As explained and documented in Chapter IX of this report, the decreasing proportion and visibility of religious in Catholic schools has tended to diminish parents' recognition of the unique services of these schools. On the basis of the attitudinal evidence, it would seem that the chances of maintaining parental support for Catholic

*The data here on the Springfield and Fall River samples have hitherto not been published and are taken directly from the computer printouts.

schools can be expected to decrease in direct proportion to the perceived disappearance of the unique aspects of Catholic schools.

The non-Catholic public, while not generally hostile to private or parochial schools, seem poorly informed about their goals and operations. This fact is underscored by the proportion of non-Catholics who answer "Don't know" to questions about non-public education, and by the proportion who hold opinions about the schools which are not supported in fact. Although Catholic school children attain above average scores on standardized measures of secular learning, a plurality of non-Catholic adults, at least in the Boston area, believe these areas are neglected in Catholic schools. It would seem that an important objective for Catholic school officials should be to better inform the average American of the nature, goals and operations of Catholic schools.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE RELATIVE EFFECTIVENESS OF PUBLIC AND NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS

The Catholic Public

It was pointed out above that Catholic adults see the religious-moral formation and discipline and training in hard work as the primary assets of the Catholic school. At the same time, especially among parents who use these schools, there is the belief that the quality of the instruction in secular subjects is as good as, or better than, that in the public schools.

Perceptions of superior quality in the teaching of secular subjects in Catholic schools were very strong in large cities where public schools have tended to deteriorate or fall into disrepute. There also is some evidence that the holding power and attraction of Catholic schools in the large cities has actually increased (Bartell, 1970; Donovan and Madaus, 1969). However in the suburbs, there is a growing tendency among Catholics to rate suburban public schools as providing a better secular education than its Catholic School counterpart (e.g. Bartell, 1970; Donovan and Madaus, 1969).

Despite generally high ratings for the quality of secular education in Catholic schools, there is a generally held recognition that there are areas where public schools are superior. Catholic adults generally feel that the public schools have better guidance and counseling services; better prepare pupils for work in later life; have better physical education programs, make better provision for slow learners; offer a wider range of courses; and do a better job of teaching students to think for themselves (Allen, 1969; Harris Associates, 1969b; Joliet, 1970; Elford, 1968; Brickell, 1969; Donovan and Madaus, 1969; Cahill, 1968; Neuwein, 1967; Friend, 1969; Montgomery, 1970).

These same surveys also indicate that Catholic parents generally believe that Catholic schools are better than public schools in preparing children for marriage and family life,

teaching moral virtues such as honesty, truthfulness and industry, that sisters and teachers show more personal interest in their pupils, and that the sisters are better teachers.

The attitudes of the priests and sisters are almost identical to those of the general Catholic public and do not need separate treatment. As noted and detailed in Chapter IX of this report, in addition to the differences between urban and suburban Catholics regarding the perceived quality of the two systems, wealthier, better educated and younger Catholic parents tend to give higher ratings to the quality of the secular education in the public schools.

The most significant data in connection with Catholic parental attitudes toward quality however, concerns their projections about future quality of Catholic schools. In the three Massachusetts studies a majority of the respondents predicted that public schools would continue to improve in quality. However, a majority felt that the Catholic schools would either stay the same or get worse (Donovan and Madaus, 1969, Harris Associates, 1969a, 1969b). In all three studies pessimism about the future of Catholic schools increased with the education. For example, in Fall River 53 percent of those with an eighth grade education thought the Catholic schools would get better; the figure drops to 24 percent among the college educated (Harris Associates, 1969a). In Boston even the most supportive public,

those with children in the schools, were split over the future quality: 37 percent felt it would get better, 34 percent felt it would get worse (Donovan and Madaus, 1969).

Among Catholics who felt the system would get better, the reason most often offered to support their predictions was "faith". On the other hand, reasons cited for negative predictions were tangible - monetary problems, or decline in religious vocations (Donovan and Madaus, 1969; Harris Associates, 1969a, 1969b). The widespread knowledge of financial problems besetting Catholic schools and the decline in religious vocations have clearly made many Catholics pessimistic concerning the future of their schools. The significance and extent of this pessimism is presented in Chapter IX of this report.

These are parental perceptions. While it may be argued that these perceptions are inaccurate, nevertheless it is the perceptions, accurate or inaccurate, of parents which determine where they send their children to school as well as their willingness to financially support the Catholic schools.

The Non-Catholic Public

When asked, "If you were to rate the quality of education received by children in your community, which would you say is best - private, parochial or public schools?" forty-three percent of the general public rated public education best, 15 percent parochial schools best, 14 percent private school,

20 percent felt all three were equal, and 8 percent had no opinion (Gallup, 1969).

In the public opinion survey in three Massachusetts dioceses, more than half of the non-Catholic respondents rated Catholic schools as excellent or pretty good. Catholic schools were ranked better by both Catholic and non-Catholic respondents in classroom discipline, teaching children right from wrong, and in preparation for marriage and family. A majority of non-Catholics ranked public schools better in offering a wide range of courses, teaching students to think for themselves, in preparation for a later life; developing good citizenship, teaching children to get along with other children (Donovan and Madaus, 1969; Harris Associates, 1969a, 1969b). Outside the city of Boston a plurality among younger and better educated non-Catholics also felt public school teachers and their guidance and counseling courses were better (Donovan and Madaus, 1969).

Concerning the future quality of Catholic schools, close to one-half the non-Catholic respondents in Boston and Fall River expected the quality to get worse; close to one out of four expected the quality to improve (Donovan and Madaus, 1969; Harris & Associates, 1969a). In Springfield more non-Catholics (51 percent) than Catholics (41 percent) thought the future quality would improve; 28 percent of both groups thought they would get worse (Harris & Associates, 1969b). The crisis of confidence

syndrome is clearly present among non-Catholics as well as Catholics.

Attitudes Toward Alternative Models for Catholic Education

Faced with the prospect of educating an increasingly smaller proportion of Catholic school age children as well as mounting financial difficulties, Catholic school officials have considered and proposed various alternatives to the present system. The acceptance or rejection of these proposed changes by the various affected publics is an important factor to be considered in policy decisions. Evidence from the attitudinal surveys reviewed do not give very consistent indications of public reaction and must be interpreted very cautiously. Most of the publics sampled in these surveys have not had any direct experience with the proposed alternatives and it is likely that opinions concerning them are very fluid and subject to dramatic change with direct experience. Four alternative plans, retrenchment, consolidation, shared time, and religious education centers, have been the subject of several attitudinal surveys. Data on each plan will be considered in turn.

i. Retrenchment

Some have proposed a curtailment of one segment of the school system relative to another, e.g., the high school grades or the first four grades of the elementary school. While the majority of Catholics seem to favor eliminating certain grades.

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in the face of rising costs, and in the hopes of educating a larger proportion of school age children, there is no unanimity as to which grades should be eliminated. A majority of Catholic laymen seemed to favor maintaining the elementary school and eliminating the high school. At the same time, however, parents agree that they are most effective in the religious formation of their children at the primary school level and least effective at the high school level (Elford, 1968; Brickell, 1969; Cahill, 1968; Cleveland, 1970; Joliet, 1970; Donovan and Madaus, 1969).

The attitudes of sisters, brothers and priests differ sharply from those of the laity in this regard. Studies of communities of teaching sisters (Madaus and Fontes, 1967; Madaus and Walsh, 1967) and diocesan studies that included samples of priests and religious (Elford, 1968; Donovan and Madaus, 1969; Linnan and Madaus, 1969a, 1969b) found that a majority of sisters, when forced to take a stand, favor closing grades one to four. These opinions are especially noteworthy inasmuch as about two-thirds of the teaching sisters polled were teaching in the elementary grades at the time of these surveys.

The younger priests, those who were teaching in the schools or serving as assistants, reflected opinions similar to that of the sisters. Pastors in general, however, were more apt to agree with the laity that the primary grades are the most important in the Catholic system (Elford, 1968; Donovan and Madaus, 1969; Brickell, 1969; Linnan and Madaus, 1969a, 1969b).

The question of which grades to eliminate is a very complex one. It must go beyond attitudes and opinion polls to include questions of developmental psychology and economics. For example, Bartell (n.d.) points out that the discussion concerning the necessity of cutbacks in school expenditures and the relative desirability of maintaining secondary rather than elementary schools or vice versa has concentrated on a comparison of benefits to the exclusion of comparative costs. This can be a serious omission in rational decision-making if, as much available data show, costs per pupil in the secondary schools averages anywhere from two to three times the costs in elementary schools.

2. Consolidation

There is general support among all segments of Catholic publics, lay and religious, for plans to consolidate. This generally favorable attitude extends to the consolidation of smaller grade schools, the elimination of grades 7 and 8 and the inclusion of these children in more centralized junior high schools, as well as consolidation of smaller parish high schools into diocesan or inter-parochial high schools. The strongest support for consolidation plans comes from teaching sisters and young priests. However, a majority of all the Catholic publics favored these consolidation plans (Elford, 1968; Brickell, 1969; Cleveland, Ohio, 1970; Joliet, 1970; Friend, 1970).

The majority support for these various consolidation plans can probably be explained by the fact that no grades are eliminated, and consolidation plans maintain the schools in their present format.

3. Shared Time

Proposals for shared time and released time, with children taking some of their courses in nearby public school, have met with a surprising amount of opposition in view of the commonly assumed desirability of such arrangements in its literature. In a Midwestern sample (Elford, 1968), a majority of lay respondents opposed shared time and dual enrollment alternatives. More recently (Joliet, 1970; Donovan and Madaus, 1969; Holtz, et al., 1970) a slight majority of lay respondents favored such plans but there still remains a substantial minority who oppose these alternatives.

Teaching sisters and priests are more favorably disposed toward these plans than are the laity. The one exception is the study in Joliet, Indiana (1970), where a majority of priests and sisters opposed dual enrollment and shared time proposals.*

*See Chapter IV, Volume III for a detailed discussion of shared time programs.

4. Religious Education Centers

Proposals to gradually close Catholic schools and replace them with religious education centers staffed by priests, sisters and trained personnel, are received favorably by a consistent majority of Catholic adults in the Boston area (Donovan and Madaus, 1969). When religious education centers were proposed as ecumenical centers located separate from, but next to, the public school they have received majority support from Catholic parents in the Boston area and in the Indiana study (Donovan and Madaus, 1969; Elford, 1968). These facts would seem to indicate that if a majority of Catholics feel that the religious education of their children (the most important reason given by most parents for sending their children to Catholic schools) is being handled by full-time trained personnel, they would be more willing to consider gradually closing the Catholic schools.

However in the St. Louis study (Holtz, et al., 1971), in the Montgomery study (Friend, 1970), and in the Joliet study (Joliet, 1970) these same plans for an alternative religious education split the respondents rather evenly into those opposed, those favoring and those with no opinion. In other words, acceptance of this alternative in these geographic areas is not as strong as in Boston or Indiana. This highlights the fact that there are important differences in attitudes between different regions of the country; and even in the same region differences between

adjacent dioceses. For example, attitudes in Fall River, Boston and Springfield, dioceses in the same state, were quite different from one another on many issues.

Catholic priests and sisters generally felt religious education centers were a good idea. Fifty percent of the public school officials in the Boston area were inclined to oppose the plan, while forty-eight percent favored it (Donovan and Madaus, 1969).

Attitudes Toward Alternative Financial Plans

Although a great majority of Catholic parents will answer affirmatively to a question such as "Catholic schools have a unique and desirable quality that is not found in public schools," or "Every child should spend some time in a Catholic school," the crucial test of attitude is action. Translated into the language of those who must decide on the future direction of parochial school education, two significant questions remain: Will American Catholics continue to put their children in these schools? and Will American Catholics continue to support these schools financially?

An analysis of factors adversely affecting enrollment was presented in Volume II of our report to the Commission. Enrollment predictions in the Archdiocese of St. Louis, the only study with both relevant data and a solid analysis of enrollment trends, shows that enrollments will continue to decline in the St. Louis areas (Bartell, 1970).

The second question, will Catholics continue to put their dollars to the support of the schools, is especially important in the light of the present financial crisis in Catholic education. It was pointed out previously that when judged according to criteria of ability to pay, the principal sources of revenue upon which the Church and her schools have depended are regressive. As the revenue needs of Catholic schools increase, the impact of the burden imposed by particular sources of revenue becomes increasingly significant and subject to evaluation not only by economic criteria, but also that of social justice.

If future Catholic education is to meet the increasing costs of education, it seemingly must have greater financial support from people in the higher socioeconomic class, the same class that has historically been most apt to attend Catholic schools, but whose present allegiance to the system seems to be weakening. Conscious of this need, a number of alternate plans for financing Catholic schools have been considered and proposed to the Catholic public. Inasmuch as the contributions of Catholics to the support of the Church and her schools are strictly voluntary, their reaction to alternate plans for financing education need careful scrutiny.

However, the limitations of data on attitudes toward alternate modes of financing Catholic education have serious limitations. The Catholic public has had little or not actual experience with

these plans and so their opinions must be considered tentative. As will be noted, there are considerable ambivalences and contradictory attitudes expressed.

There is little evidence that the general Catholic public is greatly disturbed by present policies of financing Catholic schools. The only group to register majority disagreement with the statement that "The present policy whereby each parish is responsible for its own parochial schools is the best policy," has been younger priests. The majority of lay Catholics in southern, northeastern and midwestern surveys tended to be neutral or in agreement with present financial policies. At the same time there appears to be some willingness to consider alternate methods of finance (Elford, 1968; Brickell, 1969; Joliet, 1970; Hotz, et al., 1970; Friend, 1970).

Centralization of Finances

The centralization of finances on a diocesan basis is not readily accepted as a suitable plan for financing Catholic education. In such geographically diverse areas as Indiana, Kentucky (Elford, 1960; Joliet, 1970), Rhode Island (Brickell, 1969) and Massachusetts (Donovan and Madaus, 1969), a majority of respondents rejected plans for centralized financing; however diocesan funding of certain specific programs did receive majority approval.

Redistribution of Personnel

In the St. Louis, Boston, and Montgomery areas adult Catholics were presented the following proposal: "Sisters would be assigned to poor parishes even if this means other parishes would have to hire lay teachers." This plan for a more equitable distribution of human resources according to financial need was viewed favorably by 54 percent of the Catholic communities in Boston (Donovan and Madaus, 1969) but rejected by a majority of Catholic respondents in Alabama (Friend, 1970) and St. Louis (Holtz, et al., 1971). In all three areas, a majority of Catholic parents with children in Catholic schools were inclined to oppose this type of proposal.

Another section of this report indicated the importance parents place on the presence of religious personnel in the schools (cf. Chapter IX). Thus, the opposition to this plan probably stems in great part from the loss of religious personnel per se, rather than from the financial outlay implied.

Rich Parishes Help Pay for Poor Parish Schools

In most of the surveys there was a majority agreement among lay Catholics that funds raised in wealthy parishes should be used to help the cost of Catholic education in poorer parishes. Interestingly, as the income of the respondent rises there is some tendency for disagreement to increase. Moreover, a majority of Catholics from parishes classified as wealthy (Eford, 1968) or from the higher income brackets (Holtz, et al 1970; Joliet,

1970; Cleveland, 1970; and Boston (Donovan and Madaus, 1969), agreed that richer parishes should help defray the educational costs in the poorer parishes.

A second but related plan was described to respondents as follows: "Gradually close Catholic schools in suburban, middle class parishes. Use some of the money and staff saved to build a strong and effective religious education program. Use the balance of the money and sisters to staff educational programs in inner city or ghetto areas." In Boston, a slim plurality (47 percent) of the Catholic community were in favor of this proposal, while only three percent fewer Catholics (44 percent) were opposed to this plan to aid Catholic educational programs in inner city ghetto areas (Donovan and Madaus, 1969). The same plan received overwhelming rejection in St. Louis (Holtz, et al. 1970) and in Montgomery (Friend, 1970). In the latter two dioceses a majority of clergy and religious were opposed to this plan.

It appears as if any redistribution of personnel and resources into an area described as a "ghetto" is likely to receive strong opposition from Catholic adults, especially those over 35. Though a strong case might be made for concentrating more personnel and resources in inner-city neighborhoods inhabited by minority groups, if Catholic officials make such a decision they most likely can expect strong opposition from a substantial segment of the laity.

A third plan, increase "the number of Catholic schools so that all Catholic children can attend Catholic schools" may seem to be an unrealistic alternative given the Church's present personnel and financial crisis. However, many Catholics still believe in the concept of every Catholic child in a Catholic school. Fifty-two percent of the Catholics in Boston (Donovan and Madaus, 1969), 40 percent in ST. Louis (Holtz, 1970), and Montgomery, Alabama (Friend, 1970), accepted this proposal. Clergy and religious, more cognizant of the impracticability of such a plan, consistently reject such proposals by large majorities. Also, people in higher income brackets, those who might be expected to pay for these new schools, rejected such a proposal (Donovan and Madaus, 1969).

Attitudes Toward Government Aid

The Catholic Public

The great majority of Catholic adults, lay and religious, feel that government subsidy is a good way to help ease the present financial crisis in Catholic schools (Elford, 1968; Brickell, 1969; Cleveland, 1970; Joliet, 1970). The attitudinal survey in the Boston area found that about eight out of ten Catholics favor such aid. In Boston among the Catholics opposed to aid, the largest proportions were Republicans (9 percent), Independents (24 percent) and college graduates (23 percent) (Donovan and Madaus, 1969).

The Non-Catholic Public

In Eastern Massachusetts, among non-Catholics, 45 percent favored, while 49 percent opposed government aid to Catholic schools. A majority of Jews (59 percent) opposed aid; the Protestant respondents were almost evenly split, 46 percent in favor and 47 percent opposed to aid (Donovan and Madaus, 1969).

It must be remembered that this sample represents only the dioceses of Boston, and attitudes toward aid might be quite different in other parts of the country. However since the Boston data are the only known data available⁴ we shall present a synopsis of the Boston findings.

There was strong opposition among non-Catholics from college graduates (57 percent), Republicans (54 percent), and Independents (53 percent). A plurality (47 percent) of high school graduates also opposed state aid. The better educated among non-Catholics and Catholics would seem to represent the major force of resistance to such programs of aid (Donovan and Madaus, 1969).

In the Boston study non-Catholic clergy and public school officials were also asked the broadly stated question: "How do you feel about government aid to elementary and high schools run by religious groups?" Public school officials were evenly divided on the issue, nearly half in favor and half in opposition. Among the non-Catholic clergy, 54 percent, a statistic almost identical to non-Catholic college graduates, opposed state

⁴It is our understanding that one or two surveys of attitudes toward state aid are extant but private.

aid. Only 39 percent of the ministers favored such aid; this contrasts with 46 percent of Protestant laity favoring aid.

The Boston area survey explored the intensity of the respondents' feeling toward government aid. The intensity dimension was probed by explicitly specifying the costs attendant on the closing of Catholic schools and listing a variety of services and programs that might be supplied to Catholic schools by government agencies. When presented with a threat of closing, a majority of all groups sampled except the Jewish sample (48 percent), favored some form of government aid to Catholic schools. It should be noted that the indefinite word "some" covers a broad spectrum of possibilities, from minimum amount of aid to substantial assistance, and therefore describes more than anything else a degree of openness to such aid provisions.

A majority of Protestants favored aid for bus service (55 percent), remedial teachers (57 percent), textbooks (62 percent) auxiliary services (77 percent), and lab equipment (55 percent). A majority of these same respondents, on the other hand, were opposed to aid for buildings, while the question of teacher salaries for teaching secular subjects split the Protestant group; 47 percent in favor and 46 percent opposed.

A majority of the non-Catholic clergy and the public school officials favored all but two of the aid proposals; funds for buildings and salaries for teachers of non-religious subjects.

A Summary of Attitudinal Surveys

Problems in Catholic education are partly reflections of theological and ecclesial changes in the Church itself. The general religious values, attitudes and behaviors of Catholic people inevitably will be mirrored in their views, opinions and support of Catholic schools. This fact is true for clerical and religious, as well as lay Catholics. To date, it seems premature to predict with any certainty the ultimate effects changes within the Church will have on Catholic schools.

However, if the hypothesis of Greeley and Rossi (1966, p. 75) is correct that

Sunday Mass, monthly Communion, confession several times a year, Catholic education of children, financial contribution to the Church, acceptance of the Church as an authoritative teacher, acknowledgement of Papal and hierarchical authority, informality with the clergy, strict sexual morality, more detailed knowledge about one's religion...

have been the apparent effects of Catholic education, and that they remain a reasonable description of what the Church and the laity expected from these schools, there are indications of a decreasing demand for schools which foster these values.

Catholic thought, behavior, and attitudes in these matters have been altered radically in the past few years. For example, a study commissioned by the diocese of Worcester (Becker, 1969), designed to measure the effects of the Second Vatican Council, revealed that 35 percent of the laity had "some doubts" that the Pope "when speaking on matters of faith and morals is infallible

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and cannot be in error;" 17 percent serious doubts and 12 percent didn't believe this doctrine at all. Further, a majority of two to one opposed the Church's traditional stand on birth control.

In the Dioceses of Boston (Donovan and Madaus, 1969), Fall River and Springfield (Harris Associates, 1969a, 1969b), a majority of Catholics did not believe it was necessary to attend Mass every Sunday to be a good Catholic; seven out of ten believed that the Church's position forbidding divorce and remarriage should be altered; three out of four felt Catholics should be free to use their own conscience on matters of birth control; the laity in Massachusetts were about evenly split on the issue of the right of priests to marry and remain as priest. Among sisters and priests, particularly those under 40, even higher proportions than was the case with the laity, opted for the newer rather than the more traditional theological positions. Further, laymen, clergy or religious, the younger and better educated, were most likely to have the more liberal religious orientation.

These facts should not be interpreted to mean that the Catholics have become secularized, or have bought the "God is dead" theology. Three-fourths of the lay respondents in these Massachusetts surveys indicated that religion was either the most important or a very important aspect of their lives. Reported attendance at Mass was high. The Catholics surveyed remain, for the most part, a religious people, but one whose religious values are changing.

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The consequences of these changing religious beliefs and values do not augur well for future support of Catholic schools. An increasing proportion of Catholics are receiving a higher education; the younger Catholic represents the Church of the future. But precisely these two groups of Catholics, those who are younger, and those who are better educated are less likely to value many of the Church's traditional teachings and goals and are less likely to send their children to, or support Catholic schools. Finally, the teaching sister, historically the backbone of the Catholic school, in larger proportions each year, are seeking apostolates other than in Catholic schools.

It is not necessary here to re-run and re-analyze the specifics or again detail the opinions of the Catholic people concerning Catholic education. The Catholic people surveyed in the various studies were found to be a religious people, still sensitive to the mission of the Church and to their responsibilities as Church members. But they are a people different than yesterday's generation of Catholics. By birth or by naturalization they are citizens of a new Church in a new world. And in this new role and in these new structures, they seem willing to re-value the institutions through which the Church in the United States has sought to fulfill its mission.

Specifically, this new spirit appears in their desacralization of Catholic schools. This view does not challenge either the perceived quality of education provided by Catholic schools

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or the diversity of maintaining and even expanding, if feasible, parts of the educational system sponsored by the Church. A significant proportion of adult Catholics positively recommend such a development. This is particularly true where the quality of public schools is generally evaluated in negative terms.

The critical points appear to be that equally significant proportions see the situation in different terms. Some feel that the Church should concentrate on superior religious education programs which would not only reach the greatest number but would do so under conditions more likely to enrich the quality of present programs. Others desire this same goal but see as necessary prerequisites the retrenchment of Catholic schools. Opinions here vary among laity and religious, but as a point of fact it should be noted that the more professionally qualified are disposed, though not unanimously, toward a cutback at the elementary school level. On the other hand, the non-professional lay persons in the surveys were clearly disposed to preserve Catholic elementary schools even though they concur that at this age level parental education and CCD programs are most likely to be effective. Obduracy is not, however, the mark of this lay population. They are positively sympathetic to most of the alternative plans which would change the structure of parochial schools. Their voices are many and mixed, but overall they are open to changes; they expect changes, they will work with changes.

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The strain toward the preservation of at least a part of the Catholic educational system is however, a real fact and a real force. In a pluralistic society such schools not only can contribute needed and valuable differences, and therefore options, especially in the cities, but they are potential centers of deepening and broadening and intellectual life of the Church. Their preservation, however, involves a resolution in some form of the problems of personnel and finance.

Religious manpower is a declining resource. This fact is clear and positive, but the image of the Catholic teacher as a nun has so dominated the Catholic schools that the lay teacher replacement is suspect. Somehow the image must be changed. Still, even if accepted, lay teachers add to the whole massive problem of financing Catholic schools. There is increasing evidence that the parish financial well, or at least voluntary giving, is drying up. Almost automatically, the source of financial assistance is seen as the government at either or both state and federal levels.

The prospects of assistance from this source are open to questions both in terms of their likelihood and their desirability. However, it is clear that the majority of Catholics feel that such aid is right and necessary, but there are other interested parties. It is true that non-Catholics generally are positive in their evaluation of Catholic schools, but this approval does not transfer to

according government aid to Catholic schools unless it is put in terms of a threat to their pocketbooks. A slight plurality reject the idea of government aid to parochial schools when it is posed as a solution in general terms. When, however, the alternative of an increasing local tax rate is posed as a consequence of no government aid, the proportion of changed opinions is significant.

Whether or not such government aid is desirable from the Church's point of view is another complex issue. It will not resolve all the financial problems of Catholic education. This much is sure, and keeps alive the problem of Catholic funding. Perhaps, more important, the provision of government financial aid may have as consequences certain less desirable products. Thus, it may help to freeze the Church into educational commitments which are still open to question relative to the investment of priorities and personnel. Put badly, does the Catholic Church in the United States see its goals and future so clearly that this commitment can now be made? Secondly, the provision of government aid may prove a threat to whatever may be considered unique and desirable in specifically Catholic schools. If they are still to be perceived as the centers of religious training and Christian formation, can these features survive the terms of government financial assistance. This is clearly a more philosophical question, but it must be addressed directly.

These imponderables and a thousand more specific opinions and experiences have combined to form a distinctive attitudinal climate

among Catholics in the United States. Doubts, fears, suspicion and ignorance and some "hard" financial and personnel facts have nurtured a spirit of pessimism in a substantial and important segment of the Catholic population. This spirit poses difficulties for the decision-making process even now. Perhaps the most significant fact, however, is that negative and/or pessimistic views regarding the future of Catholic education are relatively over-represented in the young and well educated, both religious and lay. In the future the portents are, therefore, far from encouraging. In a large number of areas the opinions of these parents and religious leaders of tomorrow are markedly different from those of the older, less-educated generations. Change is the password of their generation and they desire and expect these changes in the structure of tomorrow's Church and tomorrow's Catholic schools.

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CHAPTER IX

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE PHENOMENON

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CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE PHENOMENA*

Introduction

Over the last five years Catholic school enrollment has decreased rather dramatically. Some of this decline in enrollment can be attributed to the reduction in class size and school closings.¹ However, with regard to the latter there are some indications that these school closings have affected the attitudes of parents toward healthy Catholic schools, further aggravating the enrollment decreases. This study investigates the reasons behind parents' decisions to withdraw their children from healthy Catholic schools in order to determine the extent of this confidence crisis.

The review of the literature which follows will present a summary of the empirical studies of parental attitudes toward Catholic schools over the past ten years. The evidence which indicates a change in the pattern of parental demand for Catholic education, the apparent reasons for these changes, and the framework for the question to be investigated will be presented.

*Co-authored by Roger J. Linnan.

¹See The Social and Religious Sources of the Crisis in Catholic Schools (Donovan, J., Erickson, D. and Madaus, G.). Volume II of our Report to the Commission.

Review of the Literature

One of the publics most directly concerned with Catholic education is that of parents. It is the parents who initially make the decision to send their children to a Catholic or a public school, who apart from the staff are the adults intimately concerned with the system, and whose voluntary contributions have supported the largest privately-financed, religious school system in history. Thus, it is crucial to an understanding of Catholic education and to the formulation of policy that affects the system to know the opinions and attitudes of a public so intimately involved, the parents.

Why have Catholic parents in the U. S. supported this religious school system and sent their children to it in such proportions? Historically, the reasons seem clear. The early American Catholic Church was an immigrant people received into a country hostile both to its religion and its culture. Catholic schools became the first line of defense from the proselytizing in the public schools, and a haven for the maintenance of ethnic identity and solidarity. Hence, the original objectives of the Catholic school were both religious and ethnic (McCluskey, 1968).

Given this fact that American Catholic schools were essentially defensive in origin, one would have predicted that as Catholics became more acculturated into American society, better educated

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and socially mobile, the demand for Catholic schools would have decreased. At least in the initial stages of the Americanization process, this was not the case. During the twentieth century, as American Catholics progressed from blue collar to white collar, to administrative and professional positions in increasing proportions, the Catholic school system continued to grow. Catholics who had won middle class status still valued the Catholic school as the device to develop religious commitment in their children. In fact, as late as 1963 it was the higher socioeconomic class Catholics who were most apt to send their children to Catholic schools (Greeley and Rossi, 1967). It should also be noted, however, that part of this phenomenal growth in the Catholic school system was related to the increased religiosity that swept the country immediately after World War II and peaked around 1963.

Despite the phenomenal growth of the Catholic school system, it must be kept in mind that it was never the vehicle of religious education for a majority of Catholic parents. Examining the fragmentary and somewhat untrustworthy statistics of this century, it can be seen that the proportion of parishes with schools never rose higher than three out of five. (P. J. Kennedy and Sons, 1915-1970). Even in 1962, the year of peak Catholic school enrollment, less than half (46 percent) of the school-age Catholic children were enrolled in Catholic schools (NCEA, 1970). In short, the unavailability of these schools has always been a major reason

for Catholic parents sending their children to public schools (Donovan and Madaus, 1969).

There is considerable evidence, however, that the matriculation patterns for Catholic schools are different now than they were fifty or even ten years ago. Since 1963 elementary school enrollment has declined at the rate of about 6 percent a year. At the secondary level the percentage decline has been less marked until this academic year when it reached six percent (NCEA, 1970). Part of this descending enrollment can be explained in terms of the declining birth rate and administrative decisions to reduce class size and close certain schools. But in addition, changes in social and economic composition of American Catholics, changes in the religiosity of all Americans, including Catholics, changes in Catholicism since Vatican II, and finally, changes in the nature of the schools themselves have all seemed to contribute to this altered pattern.

In the past decade, there have been a number of surveys of Catholic education which have included an investigation of parental attitudes. Though many of these studies have severe limitations in terms of the representativeness of their samples, the quality of the instruments used, and the adequacy of their analysis, the consistency of the outcomes of these various surveys reveal a rather clear constellation of dominant parental attitudes toward Catholic education, at least for the decade of the sixties.

Surveys of Catholic parents in the 1960's found them generally committed to the need for a separate school system. Studies in such geographically diverse dioceses as Portland, Maine (Donovan, 1968), Davenport, Iowa (Cahill, 1968), Denver, Colorado (Neuwein, 1967), Savannah, Georgia (Friend, 1970), Indianapolis, Indiana (Elford, 1968), and Boston, Massachusetts (Donovan and Madaus, 1969) have indicated that however hard it is to define, a majority of Catholic parents felt that Catholic schools had unique and desirable qualities not found in public schools. The proportion of parents who have felt this way has ranged from a slight majority in Portland, Maine to over 80 percent of the respondents in some of the Midwestern studies.

Three reasons for sending children to Catholic schools consistently emerge. First is the religious dimension that the parents view as the unique aspects of Catholic schools. The second is a parental desire for greater discipline. The third is related to both the first and second and involves the presence of religious in the schools. The Notre Dame study (Neuwein, 1967) was perhaps the first major attempt to assess parental attitudes toward Catholic education. When asked to select from a list of thirty-one goals of Catholic education, the following were judged most important:

1. Teaching children to know about God, Christ, and the Church.

2. Training children in self-discipline and hard work
3. Having effective, qualified priests, sisters, and brothers as teachers.

Though the Notre Dame study was national in scope, the sampling procedures and rates of return were not adequately described. Also, the data was collected in 1962-63 and the modal age of the respondents was 40-49.

With similar sampling limitations, the study of parental attitudes in the dioceses of Indianapolis and Evansville, Indiana and Louisville, Kentucky (Elford, 1968), surveys in Denver (Neuwein, 1967), the state of Rhode Island (Brickell, 1969), Davenport, Iowa (Cahill, et al., 1968) and Cleveland, Ohio (Cleveland, 1969), have shown essentially similar results: the religious and moral atmosphere of the school, discipline, and the presence of priests, nuns and brothers in the classrooms were the most important reasons for sending children to Catholic schools.

In a large scale attitudinal study in the dioceses of Boston, Fall River, and Springfield, Massachusetts, a tightly drawn probability sample of parents was interviewed concerning Catholic education. The results deserve close attention because of the expertise in sampling procedures, instrumental design and the conduct, supervision and validation of a large number of interviews. The parents' responses to a series of open-ended questions tend to confirm the results of the closed-ended surveys mentioned above,

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whose representativeness could be questioned; again, the religious training and atmosphere of the school, discipline, and the presence of religious teachers were reasons parents most often cited for sending their children to Catholic schools (Donovan and Madaus, 1969).

A national study of independent schools, directed by Otto Kraushaar sought to assess parental reasons for choosing non-public schools. Two-thirds of the parents who had children in Catholic schools listed religious education, training in study habits, and values closer to those in the home as important reasons for their choice. (See Appendix A, Vol. IV for a detail description of these data). The importance of the religious dimension was also documented in a well designed national study by Gallup (Gallup, 1969).

In the interpretations of the results of the attitudinal surveys described above, the following "caveats" are in order. Attitudinal surveys describe the values, attitudes and opinions of the respondents at the time of the interview to specific formulations of questions. Responses are a result of the respondent's individual understanding of the questions and their direct or vicarious experiences with the issues involved. From one attitudinal survey one cannot assume how the same respondents would react to the same set of questions at a later point in time. Many events or experiences can intervene to dramatically change opinions on issues of interest. In short, then, the findings must be tempered with a consideration

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of the point in time of the survey, wordings of the questions used, and the knowledge and experience of the respondents.

Moreover, the crucial test of attitude is action. As noted above, American Catholic parents have not enrolled their children in Catholic schools in the proportion of previous years. Parents, having once enrolled their children, have withdrawn them. The factors influencing these enrollment decisions can be discerned, at least in part, by relating the above attitudes to changes that have taken place in Catholic schools, in the Catholic Church, and in the nature of the American Catholic population.

From the studies reviewed above, two important facets of Catholic schools should be underscored. First, the religious and social features of the school are the primary attraction to its patrons; this is not to indicate that the Catholic parents as a whole felt the secular education provided in these schools was inferior. Most viewed it as good as, and many - especially those living in the cities - better than the public schools in the teaching of traditional subject matter (Bartell, 1971; Donovan and Madaus, 1969). Secondly, it should be noted that the symbol of the religious dimensions of the school, the disciplinary aspects of the schools, and the quality of the education was the teaching sister, brother, or priest.

In attempting to understand changing enrollment patterns in Catholic education, it seems certain that part of the explanation is the perceived changes in the religious dimensions of the schools themselves. The efficacy of the religious symbol of Catholic education, the teaching religious, has been changed in at least two important respects. First, the number and proportion of teaching religious in Catholic schools has dwindled each year in the past five years. Secondly, the trend toward secular clothes among the religious has served to further diminish the visibility of that symbol.

The importance of this diminished presence and visibility of the teaching religious in parental matriculation decisions seems intuitively compelling but is more difficult to document or assess empirically. In the surveys mentioned above by Elford (1968), Cahill (1968), Brickell (1969), and Cleveland (1970), the great majority of parents indicated that the presence of lay teachers was not important one way or another in their decision to send children to Catholic schools. However, in each of these studies there was a significant minority of parents, almost two out of ten, who indicated that this was an important reason for not sending children to Catholic schools. The importance of the presence of religious teachers in the schools is further evidenced in the Boston study. Whereas the great majority of parents indicated that an increased number of lay teachers would not affect the quality of

either the religious or secular education, 45 percent of the parents indicated that the public would neither support financially nor send their children to a Catholic school where the number of lay teachers greatly outnumbered the number of religious.

The decreasing ratio of religious in Catholic schools would also seem to affect parents' perceptions of the quality of the secular education. In the study of Independent schools by Kraushaar, 60 percent of the Catholic parents sampled mentioned better teachers as the reason for enrolling their child. In the past some parents seemingly reassured themselves that their children were receiving high quality education despite over-crowded classrooms and inadequate facilities because Sister was able to handle such a situation. "The Sisters are the best teachers," and "The Nuns are the most dedicated teachers" are comments frequently made by Catholic parents.

While the above attitude is still fairly common, there has been a growing number of parents, "less mollified by either sister or perhaps a lay teacher, who have demanded conditions more nearly comparable to the public schools. That efforts in this direction have been made is evidenced by the fact that despite annual decreases in the number of students since 1962, there has been an annual increase in the number of teachers in Catholic schools" (NCEA, 1970). This increase, of course, has been achieved by hiring more and more lay teachers. As it turns out, efforts made to improve the traditional signs of quality, e.g., teacher-pupil ratios,

have proved a two-edged sword. While the pupil-teacher ratios in Catholic schools were improving by the hiring of more lay teachers, an important symbol of both the religious and academic quality of the schools was being diminished.

Parents' perceptions of the quality of the secular education is a facet of Catholic schools that needs to be examined in its own right. In the 1950's Catholic parents were more tolerant of large classes, primitive facilities, equipment and materials. This seems to be less the case today. Parents seem more apt to evaluate their schools on academic as well as religious grounds. Though great efforts have been made to improve the quality of these schools, and they are generally regarded as having improved, (Donovan and Madaus, 1969) in the eyes of some parents, they have not been able to keep pace with the public schools in terms of the popular criteria of academic excellence. For example, in the Boston study (Donovan and Madaus, 1969) one-third of the parents who had had four years of college education or who were under thirty-five gave quality of education as the reason for sending their children to public schools. In Portland, Oregon 45 percent of the parents sampled mentioned improving the caliber of instruction and modernization of curriculum and facilities as the things that need to be improved most in Catholic schools (Pallone, et al., 1969). In the Denver study (Neuwein, 1967), again it was the quality of the instruction and the lack of facilities which were listed as the most

important reasons for sending children to public schools. In Savannah, Georgia (Friend, 1970) parents were about evenly split as to the quality of Catholic vs. public education.

Surveys of parental attitudes toward Catholic education which have analyzed their samples on the basis of the education and income of the respondents, e.g., (Donovan and Madaus, 1969; Donovan, 1968; Friend, 1970; Elford, 1968) indicate that parents who are younger, whose education and social position are higher, tend to be more critical of the educational quality of these schools and less supportive of Catholic education. These findings represent a decided shift from the kind of patrons Greeley and Rossi (1966) described as most apt to attend Catholic schools.

What is to be noted here is that regardless of the actual quality, it is the perceived differences between Catholic and public schools that influence enrollment decisions. Studies in the Archdioceses of Boston (Donovan and Madaus, 1969) and St. Louis (Bartell, et al., 1970) indicate that suburban Catholic schools are hard pressed to keep up with neighboring public schools. In the Archdiocese of Boston the perceived quality of the Catholic schools in the city of Boston was significantly higher than those in communities outside the city. Bartell (1970) noted that parents in St. Louis County (suburban) rated Catholic schools as inferior to public schools; parents in St. Louis proper (urban and inner city)

rated them as superior. From this data and enrollment information, Bartell indicated that "loyalty" or support of Catholic schools had actually grown in the city but had decreased in the outer counties. These geographical differences correspond with studies reviewed above where perceived quality is negatively correlated with family income and level of education.

Tuition costs do not seem to be a consistently important deterrent to Catholic school enrollment. Despite the fact that in the dioceses of Cleveland (1970) and Davenport (Cahill, et al., 1968) tuition was listed by half of the parents as an important reason for not sending their children to Catholic schools, attitudinal data is not generally supported by actual enrollment statistics. Bartell (1970), for example, noted in his St. Louis study that enrollment declines were not a function of high tuitions despite contrary indications from attitudinal results.

Implicit in these observations is the fact that enrollment demand for Catholic education, like financial support, is completely voluntary. Hence, enrollment depends upon all factors, economic and non-economic, that affect the tastes and preferences of Catholic parents. These factors include attitudes toward religion, the Church in general, and toward Catholic education in particular, as well as by the perceived quality of Catholic schools and of their public school counterparts.

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In the cities where Catholic schools provide an alternative to inferior public schools, the demand seems relatively constant. Enrollments have decreased in city schools but so have the number of Catholic parents with school-age children (Bartell, 1970; Donovan, Erickson and Madaus, 1971). Outside the cities, where public schools are of adequate quality, preference of Catholic parents for Catholic schools has declined. This means that either these schools are providing less of the unique services desired by Catholic parents, e.g., religious formation, discipline, and high quality instruction, or that the demand for these unique services has decreased.

Evidence of change in the perceived uniqueness of Catholic schools, of changes in the socio-economic composition of Catholic school patrons, and the enrollment consequences of such changes were presented above. In addition, there have been decided changes in the religious tastes, preferences and practices of all Americans, including Catholics. Attendance at services, including Sunday Mass, has declined (Gallup, 1970; Harris, 1969). For Catholics the changes have been more rapid and more pronounced than for non-Catholics. Changes in modes of worship, life style of religious and traditional disciplines have been most apparent. Though more subtle but of no less consequence, have been changes in doctrinal

emphases, altered attitudes toward things of "this world" including sex, love, marriage, and man's relation to the social order, and the differing viewpoints on the place of authority and the role of laymen in the Church. These changes have been received as too little and too late by some Catholic laymen and with bitter resentment and disillusionment by others. The effects that these Post Vatican II changes have had on parental demands for the unique services of Catholic schools is not yet clear. However Allen (1970), in his analysis of data collected by Elford found that it was the more conservative Catholic who was most supportive of Catholic schools; and Deedy (1971) argues that the parish school is the last strong link Conservatives have to the Church they knew and loved.

Finally, the fact of crisis in Catholic schools is everywhere apparent. Newspapers are filled with accounts of Catholic school closings and statements by the hierarchy, pastors, and religious bemoaning the financial crisis of Catholic schools. Knowledge of the severe decrease in religious vocations is widespread. It is almost certain that this atmosphere of tremendous uncertainty has affected parents' matriculations decisions. The effects of this uncertainty are verified in the attitudinal study in the Archdiocese of Boston. While a majority of the Catholic laity felt that compared to a few years ago, the quality of Catholic schools

had improved or held their own, a plurality felt the quality of the schools would get worse over the next few years. However a clear majority felt that public schools would get better over the next few years (Donovan and Madaus, 1969).

Thus, the questions to be examined in this survey are as follows: Has the publicity attendant on the closing of Catholic schools, the diminishing proportion and visibility of religious teachers, the changing composition and religiosity of American Catholics created a crisis of confidence in the parochial school system?

Procedures

In order to gather information pursuant to the questions raised above, it was decided to identify parents who had recently withdrawn their children from a parochial school not directly threatened with closing. While these parents are not typical of Catholic parents in general, they do represent parents who have recently had a change in attitude toward Catholic education. It was believed that this type of parent would provide the sharpest indicators of the factors behind changing parental attitudes, and especially would help to determine the extent to which the closing of schools and the threats of closing are responsible for changing enrollment patterns.

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Parents were selected from the Boston metropolitan area. Lack of funds precluded a more nationally representative sample. Consequently these results are generalizable only to the Boston area, and attempts should be made to replicate these findings elsewhere. The reader is cautioned therefore not to over generalize. Three types of communities were chosen: predominantly blue collar, predominantly white collar, and those characterized as a solid mixture of blue and white collar workers. Differences between the responses of parents from these three types of communities were studied. Whenever differences were found they are reported and discussed. Where no mention is made of community type it is because no differences were found on the particular variable in question. In each of the communities chosen a Catholic school had closed or there was a threat of closing a Catholic school other than the one from which the sample of parents were drawn. In other words, the parents studied withdrew their children from Catholic schools which were not threatened by closing in the foreseeable future. Parents who had withdrawn their children from a parochial school within the past two years, at a time other than a natural transition point, viz. to enter junior high school or high school, were identified. The names and addresses of these parents were supplied by the public school superintendent's office in the communities studied.

An interview schedule was constructed to gather information concerning parents' perceptions of the quality of Catholic vs.

public education, their views on the future of Catholic education, reasons for enrolling and withdrawing their children from parochial schools, and finally, two scales were designed to measure religiosity and social class. Each of the questions in the interview schedule had been used in previous studies and were selected because they had proved effective in the assessment of parental attitudes toward Catholic education. Both open- and closed-end questions were used. A copy of the interview schedule can be found in the Appendix J:1.

After constructing the interview, it was pre-tested to insure that the questions could be used effectively via the telephone. (Ideally a face to face interview would have been preferred but sufficient funds were not available.) On the basis of these pre-tests, there was ample evidence of the "workability" of the telephone interviews. After a brief explanation concerning the purpose of the study, the parents seemed willing to cooperate, obviously understood the nature of the questions, and seemed to have no hesitation to express their opinions over the telephone.

Interviewers were then familiarized with the purpose of the study and the interview schedule itself. They were trained in the use of the telephone interview by a series of "dry runs", where they encountered the kinds of responses expected from parents. Members of the staff who had had previous experience interviewing parents played the role of parents in these instances.

The interviewers were carefully supervised at all times during the actual telephone interviewing. Shortly after the termination of each interview it was checked to insure that all information was complete.

Because attitudinal and opinion surveys are frequently used today as a come-on for sales pitches, it was realized that the introductory remarks by the interviewer would be crucial to secure agreement for the interview. As an indication of its adequacy and use by the interviewers, less than four percent of the parents selected refused to be interviewed.

The Characteristics of the Sample

Table 1 contains a listing of the grade levels at which students were transferred. Students who transferred at grades 7 and 8, natural transition points, in each case were the older brothers or sisters of children who were transferred at an earlier grade level. Children who were transferred at grade one had attended kindergarten in a parochial school. Twenty-nine, or 18 percent, of the parents interviewed, still had at least one child in a Catholic grade school. Put another way, 82 percent transferred all their children. The same percentage had younger children who had never attended a parochial school and had been enrolled in a public school upon reaching school age.

TABLE 1

AT WHICH GRADE LEVEL DID YOU TRANSFER YOUR
CHILD FROM A PAROCHIAL SCHOOL?

Grade	Number	Percentage*
1.....	28	17.95
2.....	46	29.49
3.....	66.....	42.31
4.....	51.....	32.69
5.....	43.....	27.56
6.....	29.....	18.59
7.....	14.....	8.97
8.....	6.....	3.85
	156	100.00

*Percentages have been carried to two places to prevent rounding error.

As can be seen from Table 2, many of these transfers involved more than one child; over 80 percent of the parents had more than one child in elementary school, and over 50 percent had three or more children presently enrolled in an elementary school.

Because attendance at Catholic school is highly related to the family religious practices (Greeley and Rossi, 1966; Donovan and Madaus, 1969), data was collected on the frequency of Mass attendance and reception of Holy Communion on the part of parents. Tables 3 and 4 list these statistics.

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TABLE 2

NUMBER OF CHILDREN PARENTS HAVE PRESENTLY ENROLLED
IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Number of Children	N	Percentage
1.....	29.....	18.59
2.....	43.....	27.56
3.....	38.....	24.36
4.....	39.....	25.00
5.....	4.....	2.56
6.....	2.....	1.28
7.....	<u>1</u>	<u>0.64</u>
	156	100.00

TABLE 3

FREQUENCY OF MASS ATTENDANCE FOR HUSBAND AND WIFE

Frequency	Husband		Wife	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
More than once a week	22	14.29	25	16.03
Once a week	97	62.99	99	63.46
One to three times a month	13	8.44	13	8.33
Once every few months	0	0.00	2	1.28
Couple of times a year	1	.65	2	1.28
Almost never	19	12.34	14	8.97
Not sure	<u>2</u>	<u>1.30</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.64</u>
	156	100.00	156	100.00

TABLE 4

FREQUENCY OF RECEPTION OF HOLY COMMUNION FOR HUSBAND AND WIFE

Frequency	Husband		Wife	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
More than once a week	7	4.55	10	6.51
Once a week	65	42.21	65	41.67
One to three times a month	34	22.08	31	25.00
Once every few months	11	7.14	14	8.67
Couple of times a year	10	6.49	7	4.49
Almost never	24	15.58	20	12.82
Not sure	<u>3</u>	<u>1.92</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.64</u>
	156	100.00	156	100.00

The hypothesis that it is the marginal Catholic parent who is withdrawing his children from Catholic schools can quickly be rejected. Better than three out of four of the parents attended Mass once a week or more frequently. Less than ten percent of the wives and about 13 percent of the husbands indicated they seldomly attend Mass. Likewise, seven out of ten of these parents received Holy Communion at least once a month.

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TABLE 5

MASS ATTENDANCE FOR PARENTS AT FOUR AGE CATEGORIES

Frequency of Mass Attendance	WIFE							
	Age 25-34		Age 35-39		Age 40-44		Age 45-64	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
More than once a week	1	3.85	4	10.53	13	24.07	7	18.92
Once a week	14	53.85	31	81.58	31	57.41	23	62.16
1-3 times a month	4	15.38	0	0.00	5	9.26	3	8.11
Once every few months	0	0.00	2	5.26	0	0.00	0	0.00
Couple of times a year	1	3.35	1	2.63	0	0.00	0	0.00
Almost never	6	23.08	0	0.00	5	9.26	3	8.11
Not sure	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2.70</u>
	26	100.00	38	100.00	54	100.00	37	100.00

Frequency of Mass Attendance	HUSBAND							
	Age 25-34		Age 35-39		Age 40-44		Age 45-64	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
More than once a week	2	7.69	4	10.53	10	18.87	6	16.22
Once a week	12	46.15	31	81.58	32	60.38	22	59.46
1-3 times a month	3	11.54	1	2.63	5	9.43	4	10.81
Once every few months	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.00	0	0.00
Couple of times a year	1	3.85	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Almost never	8	30.77	2	5.26	5	9.43	4	10.81
Not sure	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1.89</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2.70</u>
	26	100.00	38	100.00	53	100.00	37	100.00

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TABLE 6
HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION BY TYPE OF COMMUNITY

Category	White Collar		Type of Community				Total	
	N	%	Blue Collar N	%	Mixed Collar N	%	N	%
Professional	11	20.00	22	2.04	4	7.69	16	10.26
Executive, Managerial, Proprietor	9	16.36	9	18.36	8	15.38	26	16.42
Creative and Communications	3	5.45	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	1.92
Sales	63	10.90	3	6.12	5	9.62	14	8.98
White Collar or Civil Service	7	12.73	7	14.29	7	13.46	21	13.46
Transportation	2	3.64	3	6.12	5	9.62	10	6.41
Service	5	9.09	4	8.16	4	7.69	13	8.33
Skilled Labor	12	21.82	20	40.82	15	28.85	47	30.13
Semi or Unskilled Labor	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4.08</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7.69</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3.85</u>
	55	100.00	52	100.00	49	100.00	156	100.00

On the basis of this evidence, parents who have recently withdrawn their children from parochial school certainly could not be put in the category of non-practicing Catholics. In fact, as a group, their religiosity would be considered above average on the basis of their Mass attendance and reception of the Sacraments (Gallup, 1970; Harris, 1969). However, Table 5 shows that there was a disproportionate number of younger parents (Age 25-34) among those who attended Mass irregularly.

As can be seen from Table 6, the parents represent a good cross section of occupational categories. About one-fourth were in professional or executive-managerial positions; an additional fourth were in white collar, sales or Civil Service positions, and about one out of three were skilled or semi-skilled workers. As communities go from white to blue collar the proportion of lower occupational categories increase and the proportion of higher categories decrease. Slightly more than four out of ten wives and three out of ten husbands were under forty (Table 7). The highest proportion of respondents were in the 40-44 age bracket, roughly a third. The remainder were 40 or older.

Table 8 shows that a little over half of the husbands had had some type of post high school education and about a third were graduates of a four-year college. Over 80 percent of the wives were high school graduates and about one-third had some type of post-high school education.

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TABLE 7
PARENTS' AGE

Age	Husband		Wife	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
25-29	3	1.94	5	3.23
30-34	18	11.61	21	13.55
35-39	37	23.87	38	24.52
42-44	60	38.71	54	34.84
45-54	34	21.94	36	23.23
55.64	<u>3</u>	<u>1.94</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.65</u>
	155*	100.00	155*	100.00

*One respondent refused to give this information

TABLE 8
PARENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Level	Husband		Wife	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
8th grade or less	4	2.56	4	2.56
Some high school	17	10.90	26	16.67
High school graduate	59	37.82	72	46.15
Some college	14	8.97	21	13.46
Graduate of 2 yr. college	7	4.49	9	5.77
Graduate of 4 year college	39	25.00	18	11.54
LL.B.	5	3.21	1	0.64
Master's degree	6	3.85	4	2.56
Doctorate	<u>5</u>	<u>3.21</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.64</u>
	156	100.00	156	100.00

One half of the mothers had attended a Catholic elementary school themselves, one-third had attended a Catholic high school and about two out of ten had attended a Catholic college. A little less than half of the fathers had spent some time in a Catholic elementary school, over a fourth were graduates of a Catholic high school, and a fourth had attended a Catholic college. Thus, the great majority of the parents had had direct experience with Catholic schools themselves.

In summary, the background characteristics of the interviewees are quite heterogeneous with regard to age, occupation, and level of education. For purposes of this study, however, two characteristics of this parental sample should be noted: the vast majority of these parents are practicing Catholics; and over 75 percent of the families contacted had at least one parent who had had part of his education in a Catholic school.

Reasons Given for Enrolling Children in Parochial Schools.

The original motivations of these parents in selecting a Catholic school for their children are shown in Table 9. The pattern of response is very similar to that documented by Donovan and Madaus (1969) in their study of Boston area parents. Religious formation and the presence of nuns as symbols of quality education were the reasons most often given by the respondents. Here again, the primary drawing power of the schools, as perceived by a majority of parents, was its ability to render a unique kind of services -- religious

TABLE 9

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: WHY DID YOU DECIDE TO SEND YOUR CHILD/CHILDREN TO PAROCHIAL SCHOOL ORIGINALLY?

Response	Type of Community						Total	
	White Collar		Blue Collar		Mixed		N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Religion	26	47	31	60	32	68	89	57
Discipline	10	18	8	15	8	16	26	17
Nuns/Quality	33	60	12	23	23	47	68	44
Expedience	3	5	4	8	4	8	11	7
Tradition	14	25	18	15	17	35	49	32
Other	0	0	3	6	0	0	3	2

training and instruction by the nuns. To be noted is the emphasis on the quality of the education by the parents in white collar communities; six out of ten mentioned this is the reason they originally sent their children to Catholic school.

The following examples, which are literal transcriptions of parental statements, will give the reader a sampling of typical responses:

"Religion - I wanted them to get their religion." (Blue collar)

"Better education - I always thought the nuns were the best teachers. (White Collar)

"I always felt the education in the sisters' school was better." (Mixed Collar)

"Religious instruction - when you send them to Catholic school you know they are going to get that." (Blue Collar)

"We were told that the sisters were the best teachers."
(White Collar)

These statements exemplify the two factors, religious formation and nuns as teachers, which seemed to serve as the primary attraction of the Catholic school.

The meaning of the category "Tradition," mentioned by almost one out of three parents, can perhaps be better understood in the light of the following remarks of parents:

"I went to parochial school and so did all the members of my family." (Blue Collar)

"I went to parochial school and wanted my children to go too." (White collar)

"I went and thought it was the thing to do." (Blue Collar)

"It was good enough for me. I thought it was good enough for them." (Mixed Collar)

Thus in short, attendance at a Catholic school had become somewhat of a family tradition for these respondents.

TABLE 10

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: WHAT WERE THE REASONS YOU WITHDREW YOUR CHILD/CHILDREN FROM PAROCHIAL SCHOOL?

Reason	White Collar		Blue Collar		Type of Community Mixed		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Quality of Education	17	31	8	16	15	29	40	26
Cath. schools are going to close	1	17	16	33	11	21	36	23
Personal problem	8	15	10	20	17	33	35	22
Tuition	9	16	9	18	13	25	32	21
Double Taxation	12	22	5	10	7	13	30	19
Expedience	11	20	7	14	9	17	27	17
Lay Teachers	7	13	5	10	5	10	17	11
Too much discipline	6	11	5	10	4	8	15	10
The way religion is taught	6	11	6	12	4	8	16	10

Discipline was mentioned as an important reason for sending their children to Catholic school by 17 percent of the parents. The following quotes capture the flavor of this type of response:

"I felt there was better discipline in the sisters' school." (White collar)

"Discipline - they learn to mind their p's and q's in the sisters' school." (Blue Collar).

"Better discipline - they are made to behave - do their work." (Blue Collar)

The category "Expedience" refers to factors not directly related to the kind of education offered by the school.

"It was closer." (Blue Collar)

"Catholic school was just across the street." (Mixed Collar)

"Wanted him to start school when he was five and public schools would not accept him." (Mixed Collar)

Reasons similar to those above were given by about seven percent of the parents questioned.

Reasons Given for Withdrawing Children From Parochial School

Given the foregoing reasons for matriculation, what factors caused these parents to rescind their original commitment? The reasons parents gave for withdrawing their children are shown in Table 10.

Quality of education was mentioned by one out of four of the parents. This group can in turn be divided into three groups. Ten percent of the parents interviewed mentioned that special facilities or programs in the public school, not present in the Catholic schools, were the reasons for the transfer. Labs, gymnasias, physical education,

sports programs, and specialized science and art courses were among the public school offerings that parents mentioned they wanted their children to have. An additional ten percent of the parents interviewed mentioned that they discovered their child had a special learning disability and they felt the public school was better equipped to cope with it. The remaining six percent indicated that their child was not learning and at least part of the problem stemmed from the quality of the instruction in the Catholic school.

The belief that Catholic schools were going to close was given by one out of four parents as the reason they had withdrawn their child. Examples of parental statements are as follows:

"It's gonna close - they are all gonna close." (Blue collar)

"Catholic schools are going to close." (Blue collar)

"The school will close soon anyway and I decided to make the break now." (White collar)

Or as one male respondent said:

"I know the Assistant Superintendent of schools here. I thought I'd better get my daughters placed while he was still in and there was still some room." (Mixed collar)

He obviously felt a deluge of parochial school students into public schools was imminent and that if he acted now, the chances for his daughters' education would be improved. As will be seen, the significance of the threat of Catholic schools closing is probably even greater than the proportions here would indicate.

The three categories, tuition, double taxation and lay teachers appear to be several facets of a single dimension responsible for parents' withdrawal decisions. The thrust of the parents' remarks concerning tuition was not that the amount was beyond their financial capacity to pay. Rather, given the nature of the parochial school, the services were not worth the price. For example, when tuition was listed as the reason, it was often accompanied by statements such as the following:

"Tuition - Why pay tuition for a parochial school when they can get the same thing or better in a public school."
(Blue collar)

"The tuition - I can't see paying \$100 a year and have a lay teacher." (White collar)

The category "Double Taxation" had similar nuances.

"We're taxed to death in this town to have good public schools. I decided to make use of them." (White collar)

"Double Taxation - What's the point in having to support two school systems." (White collar)

The presence of lay teachers in the schools was mentioned as a reason for withdrawal by 10 percent of the parents.

"It was the second year in a row that he'd had a lay teacher." (Mixed collar)

"What's the point - they're getting to have more lay teachers than nuns. You can have that for nothing in the public schools." (Mixed collar)

Sometimes it was implied that the lay teacher was not a good instructor, but more often, the implication was that the school wasn't

really Catholic if the children were not taught by nuns. In the remarks of parents quoted above, it should be noted that there was little recognition of any unique services offered by the Catholic school.

Discipline and the teaching of religion have always been important reasons for sending children to Catholic schools. In 20 percent of the parents interviewed, these were important reasons for withdrawal. "Too much discipline" is self-explanatory. Ten percent of the parents felt that the atmosphere of the school was stifling their child's development.

"Rigid and over-regimented." (white collar)

"She (a nun) was making him nervous and learning to hate school." (white collar)

The category "The Way Religion was Taught" could have been divided into two categories: those who were appalled at the newer materials and ideas in religious education and those who felt their children were getting a Vatican I concept of Catholicism. In fact, one parent described the religious atmosphere of the school his child attended as "Pre-Vatican II." Other parents indicated they were disappointed in their children's lack of religious knowledge. ("Still doesn't know the Commandments") and training ("He was in the third grade and the sisters still hadn't taught him to go to Confession.") This obviously represents some of the liberal-conservative differences within Roman Catholicism and the reaction of parents when the orientation of the school is different from their own.

"Personal Problem" in most cases was an indication of a rift between parent and teacher, principal, or priest. In some instances the parent had withdrawn the child and sometimes the child had been dismissed.

The category "Expedience," included such things as distance from school, transportation difficulties, and dangerous intersections on the way to the Catholic school. Reasons such as these were given by 17 percent of the parents.

In summary, the diminishing proportion and visibility of religious in the Catholic schools have obviously made them less attractive to some parents. There is also evidence for an increased demand for the kind of education offered in public schools, a demand which has been augmented by a lessened awareness of any unique services in the Catholic schools. While the threat of closing was listed as the proximate reason for withdrawal by one out of four parents, the impact of school closings and the shortage of teaching sisters can be better seen in the section which follows.

Quality Ratings

Parents were asked to rate the quality of present public schools, as compared to a few years ago, and to give their opinion concerning the future quality of public schools. As can be seen from Table 11, 80 percent of the parents rate the quality of the public school as either excellent or pretty good.

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Further, there are significant differences in the perceived quality of public schools across community types. Sixty percent of the parents in the wealthier, white-collar communities rated their public school as excellent; no more than 29 percent in less affluent communities gave their public schools such a rating.

TABLE 11

Responses to the question:
How Would You Rate the Present Quality
of the Public Schools in Your Area?

Response	Type of Community						Total	
	White Collar No.	%	Blue Collar No.	%	Mixed Collar No.	%	No.	%
Excellent	33	60.00	15	28.85	10	20.41	58	37.18
Pretty Good	16	29.09	22	42.31	29	58.18	67	42.95
Only Fair	3	5.45	12	23.08	8	16.33	23	14.74
Poor	3	5.45	3	5.77	1	2.04	7	4.49
Not Sure	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2.04</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.64</u>
	55	100.00	49	100.00	52	100.00	156	100.00

Table 12 shows that one out of three parents felt the public schools had improved as compared to a few years ago; a fourth thought they were the same, and about one out of ten felt they had gotten worse. Many parents did not feel they were in a good position to make such a rating. Lack of discipline in the school was the reason most often given by those who felt public schools had deteriorated.

TABLE 12

Response to the question:
How Do You Feel Public Schools
Compare to a Few Years Ago?

Response	Type of Community							
	White Collar No.	White Collar %	Blue Collar No.	Blue Collar %	Mixed Collar No.	Mixed Collar %	Total N	Total %
Better	20	36.36	13	25.00	24	48.98	57	36.54
Some	18	32.73	12	23.08	11	22.45	41	26.28
Not as Good	2	3.64	12	23.08	3	6.12	17	10.00
Not sure	<u>15</u>	<u>27.27</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>28.84</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>22.45</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>26.38</u>
	55	100.00	49	100.00	52	100.00	156	100.00

The same set of questions was also asked about the Catholic schools. Table 13 presents the results. Two-thirds of the parents, who had recently withdrawn their children from a parochial school rated them as excellent or pretty good. One out of four rated them as excellent. This should not seem surprising. As noted above, the principal reasons for withdrawing were fears of closing and a diminished perception of any unique services in the Catholic school.

A slight plurality of parents (34 percent) felt Catholic schools were not as good as a few years ago, with about a third indicating they were the same, while 18 percent felt they are better now.

TABLE 13

Response to the question:
How Would You Rate the Present Quality
of Catholic Schools in Your Area?

Response	Type of Community						Total	
	White Collar No.	Collar %	Blue Collar No.	Collar %	Mixed Collar No.	Collar %	No.	%
Excellent	15	27.27	10	19.23	12	24.49	37	23.72
Pretty Good	23	41.82	24	46.15	20	40.82	67	42.95
Only Fair	11	20.00	14	26.92	9	18.37	34	21.79
Poor	5	9.09	3	5.77	7	14.29	15	9.62
Not sure	<u>1</u>	<u>1.82</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1.92</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2.04</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1.92</u>
	55	100.00	49	100.00	52	100.00	56	100.00

The major differences in the ratings of public and Catholic schools pertained to future quality. Each respondent was asked: "How about in the next few years - do you think that Catholic schools in your area are going to get better, stay the same, or get worse?" They were asked an identical question about the future of the public schools. These differences are quite dramatic. As can be seen from Tables 14 and 15, sixty percent of the parents felt that in the future public schools would get better, whereas only 18 percent felt that Catholic schools would improve. Likewise, only 11 percent of the parents felt public schools would get worse, but a majority, 53 percent of the parents, felt the quality of education in Catholic schools would deteriorate in the next few years.

These perceptions cut across community type. Further the percentage not sure about the future of Catholic schools is higher than the corresponding figure for public. The extent of this pessimism concerning the future quality of Catholic schools is further highlighted by the fact that among those who felt Catholic schools would get better, over half gave as their reason that only the very good ones would survive.

TABLE 14

Response to the question:
Ratings of Future Quality of Public Schools

Response	Type of Community							
	White Collar No.	White Collar %	Blue Collar No.	Blue Collar %	Mixed Collar No.	Mixed Collar %	Total No.	Total %
Get Better	30	54.55	29	55.77	36	73.47	95	60.90
Stay the same	16	29.09	8	15.38	7	14.29	31	19.87
Get Worse	5	9.09	10	19.23	3	6.12	18	11.54
Not sure	<u>4</u>	<u>7.27</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9.62</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6.12</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>7.69</u>
	55	100.00	49	100.00	52	100.00	156	100.00

Parents were asked to give reasons concerning their predictions of future Catholic school quality. Over half indicated that the current financial state of Catholic schools was the reason for their rating. One-fourth listed the decline in religious vocations and a similar proportion indicated that the increased ratio of lay teachers to religious was the reason for their predicted decline in future quality. These are really two sides of the same coin. As indicated above, parents see the teaching religious as an integral part of Catholic schooling and as the proportion of religious diminishes, so does the quality of the school.

As mentioned above, it was suspected that the diminished visibility of the teaching religious, because of the secular clothes worn by sisters, might in part be responsible for parents' changing perceptions of today's Catholic school. Without any data to estimate the proportion of teaching sisters who wear secular clothes in the classroom, there is some evidence that this practice has already affected the viewpoint of some Catholic parents toward Catholic education. One out of nine parents referred to the "new kind of nun" as the reason for decline in quality. On this point parents seemed hesitant to become more explicit. Those who did said things like the following:

"You can't tell the sisters from the lay teachers today."

"The nuns dress like lay people."

"The sisters today weren't like the ones I had in school. They don't wear the habit and are teaching all kinds of funny stuff in religion."

Referring to some sisters who had recently participated in a mission benefit basketball game with high school girls and who had dressed in slacks and sweatshirts for the occasion, one parent concluded:

"I don't know how they expect to have respect and discipline in the classroom when they dress and act like that."

Among the parents who felt the school would improve, consolidation was the major reason. These parents felt that many Catholic schools would close but those which survived would be of excellent quality.

TABLE 18

Response to the Question:
What do you think is going to happen
to Catholic schools in your area?

Response	Type of Community							
	White Collar		Blue Collar		Mixed Collar		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Close	34	62	40	82	36	69	110	72
Consolidate	17	32	9	16	15	29	40	26
Don't Know	4	7	1	2	1	2	3	2

The other side of the liberal conservative split also showed its head here. Parents who felt Catholic education would improve mentioned among their reasons: religious education was better now and

the sisters were now much better prepared to be teachers than in the past.

The importance of the threats of Catholic schools closing can be better estimated from two questions. First, "What do you think is going to happen to Catholic schools in your area", and second, "Do you think anything can save these schools?" Seventy percent of the parents indicated that Catholic schools would close. Most of the remaining parents predicted consolidation.

TABLE 17

Response to the question:
What is going to happen to the
Catholic schools in your area?

Response	Type of Community						Total	
	White Collar No.	Collar %	Blue Collar No.	Collar %	Mixed Collar No.	Collar R	No.	%
Close	34	61.82	36	69.23	40	81.63	110	70.51
Consolidate	17	30.91	15	28.85	8	16.33	40	20.64
Not sure	4	7.27	1	1.92	1	1.94	6	8.95
	55	100.00	52	100.00	49	100.00	156	100.00

In addition, Table 18 shows that 30 percent of the parents felt there was nothing that could be done to save Catholic schools. Though almost half mentioned that some form of government aid might save the schools, the tenor of their remarks indicated they were not optimistic about government aid becoming a reality.

While a majority of parents listed reasons other than the closing of Catholic schools as the reason for withdrawing their child, it seems clear that the threat of the Catholic school closing was a contributing factor in many of their decisions to find a place in the public schools for their children.

Summary

At the outset, the reader is reminded of the precautions which must be used in the interpretation of attitudinal survey data which were mentioned earlier. In addition, we caution that the outcomes of this study, strictly speaking, cannot be generalized beyond the Metropolitan Boston area. However, it seems likely that attitudes similar to those documented in the Boston area would prevail in any region of the country where Catholic schools have closed or are threatening to close, and/or where the ratio of religious to lay teachers has appreciably decreased in the past few years. This seems especially true in light of the fact that development responsible for the confidence crisis documented in the geographical area of the survey are less pronounced there than in other areas of the country. The New England area in general, and the Boston area in particular, still maintain a proportion of religious teachers in Catholic schools higher than any other region of the country; secondly, to date, very few schools in the Boston area have actually closed.

To a surprising degree, the outcomes of this survey are precisely what was conjectured from the analysis of previous research on the attitudes of Catholic parents. Certain attitudes were more sharply defined because of the nature of the parental sample. However, this was precisely why they were chosen.

The original reasons for sending children to parochial school were similar to those documented in the Review of the Literature. Given this original disposition to provide religious formation and quality education for their children in a Catholic school, we had hypothesized that the diminishing proportion and visibility of sisters in the school has adversely affected parents' perceptions of the quality of the instruction and the uniqueness of the services of the Catholic schools. Well over one half of the parents gave responses that indicated these factors had indeed contributed to their decision to withdraw their children.

The increased attention and emphasis on the quality of the education, especially among younger and better educated Catholic parents had been noted in the literature review. Further, the more recent perceived superiority of the public schools in the eyes of parents from the more affluent suburbs had also been documented. These findings were replicated in this study. One out of four parents indicated that the quality of the nonpublic school was one reason for their decision to withdraw their child/children and enroll

them in a public school. This proportion rose to one out of three in predominantly white collar communities.

In the Review of the Literature we had noted that the religiosity of parents affects the demand for a religiously-oriented school. If parents who had recently withdrawn their children from the Catholic schools were largely not-practicing Catholics, then the explanation for enrollment declines could be attributed at least in part, to the falling away of marginal Catholics rather than highly religious Catholics. Using frequency of Mass attendance and reception of the sacraments as criteria, there was no evidence that this was the case. With the exception of the youngest group of parents (25 - 35), the great majority of these mothers and fathers were regular Church-goers who received the sacraments frequently.

We also conjectured that present changes within the Roman Catholic Church, reflected in the religious program of the school, might be affecting parents' reactions to the school. Although not widespread, there was a significant minority of parents, one out of ten, who were disenchanted with the manner in which religion was taught. Interestingly, their reasons were often diametrically opposed, including both liberal and conservative dissatisfaction.

One of the major reasons for the survey was to determine if the publicity given Catholic school closings and the severe

financial problems attributed to Catholic schools had begun to destroy the confidence of parents in the system itself. To our knowledge, this is the first attempt to gather empirical evidence to assess the strength of this crisis phenomenon. With better than seven out of ten parents indicating they believed the quality of education in Catholic schools would deteriorate in the future, the widespread nature of this crisis is apparent. In our judgment, there is no question but that parents' skepticism concerning the continued survival of the Catholic school system was the factor most responsible for parents withdrawal decisions and an important part of the explanation for declining enrollments. This perceived crisis was of course compounded by the interaction of the factors discussed above.

Clearly, if the sliding enrollments in Catholic schools are to be halted or turned around, one major step must be that of restoring confidence among Catholics in their future viability. Such a public relations task is no easy matter given the religious and social dynamics of this crisis outlined in Volume II of our report to the Commission.

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CHAPTER X

**THE LEGAL INCORPORATION OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS - A
SPECULATIVE INQUIRY**

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THE LEGAL INCORPORATION OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS -
A SPECULATIVE INQUIRY

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In the search for alternatives and new structures occasioned by the current crisis in Catholic education, some attention should be given to the question of the legal incorporation of Catholic schools as non-profit, charitable or educational corporations. This chapter makes no pretense of offering a comprehensive legal study on this subject. What is offered here is an exploratory discussion of the idea of legal incorporation, which outlines the issues and problems that seem apparent at outset. The importance of legal incorporation in the light of the First Amendment cases now before the Supreme Court will be discussed at some length, this being relevant to the question of federal aid to non-public schools.

CORPORATION - NON-PROFIT, CHARITABLE AND RELIGIOUS

A 1968 study by John J. McGrath entitled Catholic Institutions in the United States: Canonical and Civil Law Status¹ was occasioned by questions raised in the reorganization of boards of trustees in Catholic institutions of higher education. The McGrath study has become the handbook on legal incorporation for Catholic institutions. Leaving to the law journals any review of the merits of this study, the study will be used here as a source and summary of the basic concepts of corporation law.

McGrath cited a decision of the Supreme Court of Minnesota for a definition of a corporation.

(a)n artificial being or person created by law, having a legal entity entirely separate and distinct from the individuals who compose it, with the capacity of continuous existence or succession, notwithstanding changes in its membership, and having also the capacity, as such legal entity and artificial person in the law, of taking, holding and conveying property, entering into contracts, suing and being sued, and exercising such other powers and privileges as may be conferred on it by the law of its creation, just as a natural person may.

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McGrath adds the following explanatory comment:

The corporation is purely a creature of law and possesses only such powers and privileges as are expressly or implicitly conferred on it by law...The corporation has most of the attributes of personality that can be conferred on a physical person, namely, citizenship, domicile, and residence. It acts for itself through its officers and agents. It has its own rights and duties, and may be held responsible for its criminal acts. It can take and hold property, sue and be sued, contract in its own name, and continue to exist. All these rights are independent of the individuals who comprise it. The courts will not hold the members of a corporation responsible for its actions - "pierce the corporate veil" - unless they abuse it by using the corporation to the detriment of public convenience, to justify wrong, or to propagate a fraud.

McGrath in his discussion on the ownership of corporation property describes the legal and equitable titles to this property.

The business corporation holds legal title to the property in its own name, but must use the property for the benefit of its stockholders. The corporation is the trustee; the stockholders are the beneficiaries. The corporation has legal title; the stockholders have equitable title. Equitable ownership gives the stockholder certain rights which the courts will enforce: he has the right to share in any profits; he has a right to a proportionate share of the assets if the corporation is dissolved.

In applying this concept to the charitable corporation, the true ownership of the property of educational institutions and hospitals becomes evident. Legal title to the property is vested in the corporation, just as in a business corporation, but there are no stockholders to hold the equitable title. Since the charitable corporation is created to serve the general public, the equitable title to charitable corporate property is vested in the general public.

McGrath next describes non-profit corporation, a broad category which includes both charitable and religious corporations:

The non-profit corporation is a special type of corporation in American law. It may be organized with or without capital stock, and its members usually elect the board of directors, although the members may reserve ultimate control to themselves.

Non-profit corporations are not required to have a religious, educational, or charitable purpose, but charitable corporations are always nonprofit. In states that do not have special charitable, educational, or religious corporations, the non-profit corporation is substituted. Most educational institutions are created under either non-profit or charitable corporation acts.

Certain types of activity, in the interest of public welfare, have always been considered charitable. Any corporation engaged in such activities without a distribution of profit to its members is unquestionably charitable.

In law, charity means a gift for the benefit of an indefinite number of persons for any of the following purposes: (1) relief of poverty; (2) advancement of education; (3) advancement of religion; (4) promotion of health; (5) governmental or municipal purposes; (6) other purposes the accomplishment of which is beneficial to the community.

The charitable corporation must, therefore, confer its benefits upon an indefinite number of persons, or the general public as beneficiaries. To qualify for the many special considerations accorded them, charitable corporations must fulfill two criteria; possess a charitable purpose, and serve an indefinite number of beneficiaries.

McGrath points out that hospitals and schools qualify as charitable institutions. "It is immaterial that students are charged tuition or that patients are charged for the services they receive". He then describes the religious corporation.

The religious corporation is another statutory creature that has come into the law of American corporations. Its sole purpose is to hold the property of ecclesiastical entities such as dioceses, parishes, religious societies. Incorporation is necessary since ecclesiastical moral persons (a term from canon law describing an entity other than a physical person that is the subject of law such as a parish, a diocese, or a religious community) per se are not recognized as such by law in the United States, and yet they hold property in order to fulfill their purposes. In applying the trust analogy to ownership in these corporations, legal title rests in the corporation, while equitable title resides in the appropriate ecclesiastical moral person, (e.g. the religious community or the Roman Catholic Church).

The courts have been most careful to protect not only the property rights of such religious corporations but even their own mode of government. When a dispute arises within such a religious corporation, the discipline, custom, and law of the particular church is enforced by the courts. Thus, the churches are assured the right to manage their affairs in accordance with their own ecclesiastical law.⁶

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From the viewpoint of the Catholic Church, the development of the laws governing the formation of religious corporations has been far from tranquil. This stormy history will be discussed later in conjunction with the spectre of 19th century lay trusteeism, which still hangs over current considerations of the legal incorporation of Catholic schools.

PRESENT LEGAL INCORPORATION OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

According to the U.S. Office of Education survey of 1960-61, 80% of the secondary and 70% of the elementary non-public schools were church-related institutions. While the 1970-71 survey results, not yet finalized, might alter these figures, presumably the majority of non-public schools will still be church-related institutions. A 1969 Survey by the Board of Parish Education, the Lutheran-Church Missouri Synod, which included all church-related schools which belonged to a group that compiled statistics, reported that 12% of the church-related elementary schools were Lutheran and 73% were Roman Catholic; at the secondary level, Roman Catholics operated 84% of the church-related schools. For this reason, this chapter will focus primarily on the Catholic schools. In general, what is true of private Catholic schools described below applies also to private and non-denominational religiously-oriented schools in other denominations or religions, and what is true for Catholic parish schools is true also for those church-related schools that are conducted by local congregations.

Within the general category of Catholic schools two types of schools are distinguished on the basis of the financial management. Private schools are operated and, as a rule, owned by individuals, groups, or by religious communities with the approval of and with varying degrees of cooperation from local church officials. Along with the character of the school itself, this approval and cooperation from local church officials constitutes these schools as Catholic schools. The legal ownership of these schools is held, as a rule, either by the religious community as a religious corporation or by the non-profit,

charitable corporation, which operates the school, e.g. St. Paul's School, Inc. While private Catholic schools operated by laymen are practically always non-profit charitable corporations, religious communities also operate schools incorporated as charitable corporations. In these latter instances, it is important to note that these incorporated Catholic schools are not religious corporations but are non-profit charitable corporations.

In recent years, religious communities faced with the prospect of closing a school have sold or relinquished the school property and its operation to lay boards, made up of parents and other interested persons. These schools were then incorporated as non-profit charitable corporations with the laymen as trustees of the corporation. These occasional instances might well be predictive of a new relationship between religious communities and the private schools in which they serve. In this new relationship, individual religious will usually sign contracts with the lay trustees who own and operate the Catholic school. This seems especially likely in view of the individual preference and individual contract provisions becoming more and more the acceptable practice with teaching sisters.

In some cases, religious communities have legally incorporated individual schools so that gifts made to a particular school clearly remain with the school and are not commingled with the funds of the religious community or those of other schools.

Parish or diocesan supported schools constitute the majority of all Catholic schools. Ninety-five percent of the Catholic elementary schools and 60% of the secondary schools were operated by parishes or dioceses.⁸

These schools are usually owned by the local diocese, organized as a religious corporation. Where state laws are not favorable to incorporation in a way that is compatible with the hierarchical traditions of the Catholic Church,

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the Church properties, including all diocesan owned school properties, are held by the Archbishop in fee simple. This normally entails the same legal effects and religious coloration as does ownership by a religious corporation. The fact that parochial schools were owned and operated by religious corporations and not by non-profit, charitable corporations has largely shaped the manner in which First Amendment cases have been argued and adjudicated and even, for that matter, the fact that they were argued at all.

INCORPORATED CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND THE FIRST AMENDMENT

As this report is being drafted, the U.S. Supreme Court has already heard the presentation of arguments and is deliberating on three First Amendment cases. The Lemmon v. Kurtzman case appeals a verdict of a federal court in the Eastern District of Pennsylvania which upheld the constitutionality of the Pennsylvania Nonpublic Elementary and Secondary School Act. This act authorizes the Superintendent of Public Instruction to purchase from non-public schools for the benefit of non-public school students secular educational services in four defined secular subjects, mathematics, modern foreign languages, physical science, and physical education. The DiCenso v. Robinson case appeals the verdict of a Rhode Island U.S. District Court which ruled that Rhode Island's Salary Supplement Act, which provides for payment of state funds to teachers of secular subjects in non-public elementary schools, resulted in excessive government entanglement with religion and thus violates the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. The third case, Tilton v. Richardson involves an appeal from the verdict of a Connecticut U.S. District Court which upheld the constitutionality of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, which includes church-related colleges and universities in a federal program to expand educational facilities and opportunities.

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While the Supreme Court's decision in all three cases will prove to be of paramount importance for the future of all non-public schools, for present purposes, one area of argument will be singled out because of its bearing on the legal incorporation of Catholic or other church-related schools.

Among the most significant benefits of the incorporation of a school as a non-profit charitable corporation is that the school is thereby rendered legally "secular", as a creature of the state established for the secular purpose of education. As McGrath has noted:

The legal character of a corporation is determined by the "law of its being", which is conclusively and solely deduced from its charter or articles of incorporation, with constant reference to state statutory and decisional law. A secular corporation, incorporated for certain defined purposes and with clearly stated powers, cannot be transformed into a religious or sectarian body by the control or large measure of influence of a church, whether it be the Roman Catholic Church or any other church. The corporation must still be operated pursuant to the law of its being as embodied in its charter or articles of incorporation, and any sectarian control cannot alter its legal character as a secular corporation.

In support of this position, the leading case in an 1899 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, which upheld the use of federal funds in the erection of a wing on Providence Hospital, in Washington, D.C. conducted by the Daughters of Charity, a Roman Catholic community of sisters. The Court held that, as to the legal character of the hospital corporation, it was wholly immaterial that the members of the hospital belonged to a religious community of the Roman Catholic Church and that the hospital was conducted under the auspices of that Church. This ruling of the Supreme Court is crucial to the issue of legal incorporation.

Assuming that the hospital is a private eleemosynary corporation, the fact that its members, according to the belief of the complainant, are members of a monastic order of sisterhood of the Roman Catholic Church, and the further fact that the hospital is conducted under the auspices of said church, are wholly immaterial... The facts above stated do not in the least change the legal character of the hospital, or make a religious corporation out of a purely secular one as constituted by the law of its being. Whether the individuals who compose the corporation under its charter happen to be all Roman Catholics, or all Methodists, or Presbyterians, or Unitarians, members of any other religious

organization, or of no organization at all, is of not the slightest consequence with reference to the law of its incorporation, nor can the individual beliefs upon religious matters of the various incorporators be inquired into. Nor is it material that the hospital may be conducted under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church. To be conducted under the auspices is to be conducted under the influence or patronage of that church. The meaning of the allegation is that the church exercises great and perhaps controlling influence over the management of the hospital. It must, however, be managed pursuant to the law of its being. That the influence of any particular church may be powerful over the members of a nonsectarian and secular corporation, incorporated for a certain defined purpose and with clearly stated powers, is surely not sufficient to convert such a corporation into a religious or sectarian body. That fact does not alter the legal character of the corporation, which is incorporated under an act of Congress, and its powers, duties, and character are to be solely measured by the charter under which it alone has any legal existence."¹⁰

The Connecticut case (Tilton v. Richardson) involves only colleges and universities which were legally incorporated as non-profit educational corporations. These institutions were not incorporated under the special provision of Connecticut law for ecclesiastical societies and church corporations. The counsel for the appellees (the church-related colleges) offered a formulation of the basic issue in the Connecticut case, which might well describe the essential dispute in all three cases now before the Court.

The essential legal dispute between appellants and appellees in this action can be simply stated. Appellants insist that the Establishment Clause validity of general public spending programs for education should be decided according to the religious or non-religious character of schools participating in such programs. The several appellees contend that the controlling question is whether the government has sought to aid and has in fact aided only secular educational functions, irrespective of the religious character of schools performing those functions.¹¹

In the Connecticut case, the appellants did not overlook the Bradfield precedent. (The following representation of opposing arguments as described in the brief of the appellee colleges and universities¹² must be considered so incomplete as to preclude any inference as to the merits of either position.) The appellants contended that vis a vis Bradfield, educational institutions stand on a different constitutional footing from hospitals. In rebuttal, Counsel for

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the appellees cited a 1906 decision (Speer v. Colbert) which applied Bradfield to church-related schools. In this case, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Georgetown University; operated by the Jesuit Fathers:

"was fully and completely incorporated by the above-cited act of Congress of June 10, 1844. That act must be resorted to as the measure of the powers and duties, as well as to define the character, of the corporation created thereby. Bradfield v. Roberts 175 U.S. 291. Taking the character of the college from the act of Congress, we are of the opinion that it is not a sectarian institution..."¹³

The appellants also sought to distinguish Catholic schools from Catholic hospitals, in that the latter did not limit its services to members of a single religious denomination. In this Connecticut case, all the colleges could show that they imposed no religious restrictions on admission to the student body or employment of the faculty and staff. The appellants sought to describe the schools clientele via a "composite profile" of the student body and not by admission requirements.

The appellants also cited the absence of any reference to Bradfield in the Supreme Court rulings in Everson v. Board of Education (1947) and Board of Education v. Allen (1968), two important decisions related to government aid to publics in church-related schools. By way of rejoinder, it was pointed out that because the church-related schools in question in these decisions were for the most part not incorporated, the Bradfield decision had no bearing.

HORACE MANN V. BRADFIELD - THE TEST FOR SECTARIANISM

The Counsel for the church-related colleges proceeded to argue further that even if the Court accepts the appellants' invitation to decide the Establishment Clause issue in this case according to the alleged "sectarian" character of colleges and universities receiving grants, the Bradfield decision should be the controlling precedent in determining the test of sectarianism.

The Counsel for the church-related schools described the Bradfield test:

The underlying premise of Bradfield is that, when a religiously affiliated organization obtains a charter from the state to operate a hospital or a school, the law presumes it will carry out that activity in the same manner as non-church-related organizations which receive similar charters for identical purposes. Thus, in the context of this case, the search for "sectarianism" should be limited to determining whether church-related schools receiving grants are fulfilling the educational functions for which they have been chartered in the states where they are located. If so, such schools will be considered bona fide educational institutions and not sectarian institutions. In a very real sense, therefore, the inquiry under Bradfield is "whether the educational functions (of a church-related school) is distorted because of the institution's religious commitment."¹⁴

A crucial question has been placed before the Court by the counsel for the appellants, who suggested that the religious purpose and character of the school are decisive matters in First Amendment cases. If the Court follows the suggestion of the appellants and judges the cases not on the secular purpose of the law but on the religious purpose of the schools in question, the appellants further suggest that for the test of the schools' "sectarianism" the Bradfield criteria be replaced by the "Horace Mann" criteria. These criteria were formulated by the same counsel, Leo Pfeffer, in a 1966 Maryland Court of Appeals case (Horace Mann League v. Board of Public Works). Charles H. Wilson, counsel for the church-related colleges in Tilton v. Richardson case, described the significance of this earlier Maryland case for church-related educational institutions.

At issue in the Horace Mann case were grants of public money made by the Maryland legislature to four church-related colleges in that state. Two of the colleges were Catholic in their church relationships and two were protestant. The public funds at issue were to assist the construction of classroom and dormitory facilities. The Maryland Court of Appeals ruled that all four grants were valid under the state constitution, but it invalidated three of the four grants under the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment because the recipients of the three invalid grants were--in the words of the Maryland court--"legally sectarian". The Maryland Court reached that conclusion by evaluating the four colleges according to a set of criteria proposed by the taxpayer-plaintiffs in their appellate brief. Those criteria which highlighted the aspects of the religious affiliations of the four colleges fall into six general categories--the stated purpose of the college, the religious character of the college's personnel, the college's

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relationship with religious groups, the place of religion in the college's program, the result or outcome of the college's program, and the work and image of the college in the community.

However, when the specific factors which make up each of those general categories are enumerated, the Maryland court had to assess more than twenty criteria in applying the test it had adopted. For example, under the category of the place of religion in the college's program, the Court looked at the nature of the religious observances on campus (including the extent of religious symbolism in the physical surroundings and whether students are required to participate in religious ceremonies), the place of religion in the curriculum (including whether the religion courses are required and whether there is an "integration of religious courses with the rest of the curriculum")¹⁵ and the place of religion in extra-curricular activities.

When lawyers hesitate to predict the verdict of the Supreme Court, others are even less well advised to suggest possible outcomes. Nevertheless, to explore, speculatively the idea of the legal incorporation of church-related schools, some discussion of the possible outcomes of the First Amendment cases now before the Supreme Court seems to be necessary. Three possible outcomes, outlined in quite general terms, seem to relate to the question of the legal incorporation.

First of all, a decision could be handed down which bases constitutionality of school aid laws solely on the purpose of the law and not on the purpose of the school. Such a decision would lessen the immediate press for the legal incorporation of schools, since present and proposed state aid plans would not be impeded by any conflict with the First Amendment.

Secondly, a decision could be handed down which bases constitutionality on the purpose of the school as well as on the purpose of the law, using as a test for "sectarianism" the Horace Mann criteria. For church-related elementary and secondary schools to pass this severe test would demand such a secularization of the program as to call into question in the minds of the schools' patrons the value of supporting a school, so denatured in terms of its basic goals. Church-related colleges and universities might well be able to meet the Horace Mann criteria without such a sacrifice of their original purpose. However, the markedly different

role of Catholic elementary and secondary schools leave them far more committed to directly and intensively imparting the values and beliefs of the Christian families and the church community. This role would seem to preclude compliance with the Horace Mann criteria.

Thirdly, a decision could be reached which bases the constitutionality of school aid laws on both the purpose of the law and the purpose of the school, accepting as the test for "sectarianism" the Bradfield precedent. Such a decision would, in effect, clearly mandate legal incorporation for all church-related schools desirous of qualifying for government aid in any form. As mentioned above, the Bradfield test would inquire "whether the educational function of a church-related school is distorted because of the institution's religious commitment". The counsel for the church-related colleges in the Connecticut case suggested three factors¹⁶ which would reveal any such distortion of the chartered educational functions. Those factors were: (1) whether the school is accredited, (2) whether the school is open to persons of all religious faiths, or of no religious faith, and (3) whether the school affords its students and faculty a full measure of academic freedom. If the criteria implied by the Bradfield precedent are these three, then certain changes would be required in the customary practices of most Catholic elementary and secondary schools. One might, in the speculative vein, suggest that required changes would include the following. First of all, any religious restrictions on admission to the school would have to be completely abolished. Open enrollment would be mandated for a non-profit charitable corporation chartered to serve the public. While the program offered by these schools, which is not subject to review under the Bradfield criteria, might well attract mostly Catholic students, this would not present any legal difficulties. However, tuition and fees for Catholic and non-Catholic students must be the same.

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It would seem that the demands of academic freedom imply that students, regardless of their religious affiliation, could not be required to attend religion classes or religious services. If this were so, a set of circumstances for both Catholics and non-Catholics would result that might prove interesting and perhaps quite healthy. Active dissent in matters of Church teaching and practice, if expressed in socially acceptable forms, could not be the basis of any negative judgments of any student's character or ability. This same academic freedom with a right to an honest - and polite - expression of dissent, would likewise apply to faculty members. However, in the selection of the board of directors, the administration, and the faculty, what would amount to a religious test, contained in the by-laws or the policies of the board of directors of the school, could be employed without distorting the chartered educational function of the school. McGrath is quite explicit on the legality of the sponsored body exercising influence on the institution in the selection of these key persons. There is no reason to suppose that persons selected on this basis would be less likely to carry out the institution's chartered purposes.

In effect, to meet the Bradfield criteria, Catholic and other church-related schools would become schools which, while espousing the goals traditionally associated with Christian education, would offer to the public a program of general education which affords, to those who are so interested, an opportunity for religious education. The total school experience could be permeated by the religious dimension only if, with the above criteria being met, this atmosphere did not distort the general educational functions of the school in its service to the general public.

In concluding these remarks related to the First Amendment, it must be made clear that these considerations apply only to the U.S. Constitution. State constitutional provisions, especially those in the "Blaine Amendment" tradition, create a whole new set of questions. As Charles Wilson has pointed out:

Many state constitutions contain provisions which are far more restrictive than the Establishment Clause in the limitations they impose on aid to church-related schools. For example, the New York constitution contains the so-called Blaine Amendment which provides that no public money, property or credit may be used directly or indirectly to aid or maintain "any school or institution of learning wholly or in part under the control or direction of any religious denomination, or in which any denominational doctrine or tenet is taught." Even if the Supreme Court rejects the Horace Mann test for Establishment Clause purposes, a state court may conclude that such a test is the best guide for determining whether a church-related school qualifies for state aid under a constitutional provision such as the Blaine Amendment. Indeed, the New York Commissioner of Education sent all church-related colleges in the state a questionnaire several months ago to determine if they qualified for state aid. The questionnaire was quite obviously based on the Horace Mann test. Last week the Commissioner announced that he had found 21 church-related colleges in New York ineligible for state aid based on their answers to the questionnaire. The announcement said that the status of five other schools, including Fordham and Yeshiva Universities, was still in doubt.¹⁷

At Fordham's request, Professor Walter Gellhorn and R. Kent Greenawalt of the Columbia University Law School conducted a study which specified the steps Fordham needed to take to achieve legal parity with other private independent universities in New York State. The public release of this study, entitled "An Independent Fordham? A Choice for Catholic Higher Education",¹⁸ was met with an outcry, which the trustees described as "considerable popular misunderstanding". In effect, the study applied a version of the Horace Mann criteria to Fordham. This response serves as a reminder that the feelings of patrons and alumni must be taken into account as such changes are contemplated.

TRUSTEEISM AND CHURCH AUTHORITY

In the question of separate incorporation of schools, the Catholic sector faces problems and tension which are somewhat unique. In the wake of the Second Vatican Council, which suggested that a more significant role and status be assumed by the laity in the Catholic Church, dioceses and parishes have rapidly established boards of education or parish and diocesan councils. In what has been a less than orderly development, these have often overlapped. Recent figures have indicated that over half of the U.S. Catholic elementary schools have boards of education of some description.

Not untypical of the literature of this new thrust is a booklet by Bernard Lyons entitled Parish Councils: Renewing the Christian Community. In his forward to this booklet, Cardinal Wright (then Bishop) opened with these comments:

The present-day concept of the parish council, or committee, is, in fact, relatively new. It has little relationship and no affinity with the old-time concept of parish trustees. It is not concerned with legal ownership but with religious action. It is concerned hardly at all with corporation notions, and very much with community. It is well to get these distinctions sharply in focus at the outset of a book like this one, not merely to exorcise any evil spirits left over from past controversies but to give full impetus to new directions..."¹⁹

Later in this booklet, Lyons listed "five principal fears related to the parish council concept", one of these being "the fear of lay trusteeism". As mentioned earlier, lay trusteeism is a spectre from the past that looms large in any consideration of the legal incorporation of Catholic schools.

As Dignan²⁰ in his history of the legal incorporation of Catholic Church property has pointed out, the first legal measures for the protection and ownership of church property were shaped by a religious tradition that was entirely Protestant. These laws reflected in part the struggle of the local vestrymen or trustees, many of whom were also legislators, for control over the temporalities of their local churches. Thus, these earliest laws governing the tenure of church property provided that this property be owned and administered by lay trustees, usually elected by the congregation. The Catholic Church, which differed completely in its constitution from other religious bodies in this country, experienced at times severe difficulties as a result of these laws. Disputes between bishops and pastors and the lay trustees reached dramatic proportions in numerous instances. In 1785, in one of the earliest disputes, the issues were stated quite plainly. The trustees of St. Peter's Church in New York City claimed:

...a right not only to choose such a parish priest as is agreeable to them, but (of) discharging him at pleasure, and that after such election, the bishop or other ecclesiastical superior cannot hinder from exercising the usual function.

Bishop Carroll replied:

If ever the principles then laid down should become predominant, the unity and catholicity of our Church would be at an end; and it would be formed into distinct and independent societies, nearly in the same manner as the congregation Presbyterians of our neighboring New England States.²¹

These disputes struck at the very heart of the traditional Catholic Church structure. However the onus of these disputes should not be laid exclusively on the laity of that period. Dignan pointed out that what was true in this New York case was true in most of these disputes:

All the difficulties of these critical years centered around the trustee system, but almost invariably the rebellious laymen were abetted by an unruly priest.²²

As incidents similar to the New York dispute multiplied, the need for more suitable laws of ownership of church property became distressingly apparent. In the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, the American bishops expressed their preference for various systems of church tenure.

The corporation aggregate, of which the bishop, vicar-general and pastor are ex-officio members, and in which the bishop exercises proper control*, is held to be most desirable, and is to be adopted wherever possible. The corporation sole is the next most desirable form until the former can be obtained and where it is used the bishop in the administration of ecclesiastical goods is to consult those concerned, as well as the diocesan consultants. Fee simple tenure is to be altogether abolished.²³

This statement of preference was the basis for the 1911 decree of the Vatican which settled the question.

This proper control to which the bishops referred was best expressed in the New York law of 1863, which stated, in a section referring explicitly to the Catholic Church

"No act or proceeding of the trustees of any such incorporated church shall be valid, without the sanction of the archbishop or bishop of the diocese to which such church belongs, or in case of their absence or inability to act, without the sanction of the vicar-general or of the administrator of such diocese."²⁴

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In the mid-sixties, the Michigan Catholic Conference produced a preliminary study on the legal status of Catholic schools which concluded that

the transfer of legal title from its present ownership by the Ordinaries to a corporate board of education was perhaps essential if these schools are to participate in any²⁵ future programs of federal aid for classroom construction.

A subsequent study was circulated in 1969 which dealt with the means of achieving such a transfer of the ownership and control of parish and diocesan schools to a non-profit, charitable corporation.

It is proposed that the Ordinary (the Bishop) of the diocese would serve as the chairman of the Board of Directors of the corporation (being the diocesan Board of Education) to which title to the schools is proposed to be transferred. Further, it is proposed that by irrevocable provision of the corporate articles the Ordinary retain a right of veto²⁶ over all activities of the proposed corporate body.

This Michigan proposal clearly follows the 1911 guidelines for the tenure of Church property. Only, in this instance these guidelines were applied to the formation not of a religious corporation but of a non-profit, charitable corporation.

At first glance, the inclusion of the veto power for the bishop seems to reduce the participation of other board members to an advisory status. The same observation applies to a similar veto written into the constitution of parish and diocesan councils or boards of education. In the present order of things, all effective lay participation in significant decision-making rests on something of a gentleman's agreement between the bishop or the pastors and the laity involved. According to the church's handbook of official internal policies, which has been drawn up as a full blown legal system called The Code of Canon Law, legal authority rests solely with the bishops and the pastors. While legal authority rests with these men, real authority rests in other hands. Chester Barnard, included in his classic work, The Functions of the Executive, this concept of the origin of authority:

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Whether authority is of personal or institutional origin it is created and maintained by public opinion, which in its turn is conditioned by sentiment, affection, reverence or fatalism.²⁷

Barnard cited the observation of a retired Major-General who long before Vietnam remarked that "the greatest of all democracies is any Army".

Discipline and morale influence the inarticulate vote that is instantly taken by masses of men when the order comes to move forward, but the Army does not move forward until the motion has "carried". "Unanimous consent" only follows cooperation between the individual men in the ranks.²⁸

Perhaps the most dramatic lesson in the nature of real authority endured by Catholic Churchmen came in the wake of Pope Paul's decision on birth control. In this instance, the Army, in effect, refused to march. It is of more than passing interest to note that in making this decision, Pope Paul vetoed the recommendations of a generally representative papal commission in which, perhaps for the first time, laymen were significantly involved. Barnard himself pointed out that an essential element of organization is "the willingness of persons to contribute their individual efforts".

The individual is always the basic strategic factor in organization. Regardless of his history or his obligations he must be induced to cooperate, or there can be no cooperation.

The net satisfactions which induce a man to contribute his efforts to an organization result from the positive advantages as against the disadvantages which are entailed...When the burdens involved are numerous or heavy, the offsetting positive advantages must be either numerous or powerful.²⁹

In the past seven years some 25,000 U.S. priests have left the ministry. At the same time, there is some evidence of lessening willingness on the part of the younger and more educated laity "to contribute their individual efforts to the cooperative system". Perhaps these trying circumstances will produce a dawning of awareness in the Catholic Church, that despite the possession veto powers and final legal authority by bishops and pastors, the Church will soon become democratized simply because Barnard's theory of the nature of real authority

will prove to be the correct one. Reliance on vetoes and legal authority will simply prove ineffective.

In a recent widely advertized booklet designed for general use in Catholic adult discussion groups, the point is made quite forcefully.

It is no secret that difficulties have arisen in the past several years, especially since the renewal inaugurated by the Second Vatican Council, over the conduct of authority in the Church. The difficulties do not center upon the fact of such authority or its rightfulness, but upon the conception of what that authority really is and how it should function. People have begun to be especially sensitive to what they regard as authoritarianism and the arbitrary use of power; they are resentful of secrecy and suspicious of evasion. They are demanding to be consulted and represented in decision-making at all levels. Thus, for several years, something³⁰ of an "authority-crisis" has been brewing in the Church.

The American Canon Law Society has observed in a recent statement directed toward the revision of the canon law, the handbook of the church's internal policies.

"The values of political democracy have become a world-wide ideal. Hence any organization which does not wish to be at variance with the spirit and ideals of a free society must incorporate into its structure as many of the modes of democracy as are consistent with its goals and nature. In particular great respect must be paid to human freedom, dignity and inalienable rights and to the consensual process in decision-making".³¹

Perhaps the incorporation of Catholic schools under boards of directors made up largely of interested laymen might be a dramatic step, even with the episcopal veto, toward a more democratic Church.

INCORPORATION, A STEP TOWARD PARENTAL CONTROL AND POLITICAL ACCEPTANCE

While the separate, legal incorporation of schools could possibly eliminate First Amendment barriers to government aid to church-related schools, the chief obstacle to such aid has not been legal but political. The American electorate has never taken kindly to the authoritarian ways of the Roman Catholic Church. Presumably this attitude has been one factor in the unwillingness of legislature and voters to approve various proposals for government aid for church-related

schools. The above cited Michigan study mentioned that legal incorporation of itself will not help the situation.

No one is so naive as to suppose that such a transfer of legal title alone will eliminate opposition to fair participation. On the contrary, it must be expected that the proposal will be examined in the greatest detail by friend and foe alike. And it must follow that a transfer which resulted in a mere "paper" transfer would be less than helpful and would be likely to damage the effort undertaken. Consequently, there is the most cogent reasons for making the new corporate entity a meaningful organization vested with authority appropriate to its function. Should it be resolved to the contrary, that the new corporate body would be, for example, vested with limited and only advisory powers, it is strongly recommended that the proposed transfer not be attempted.

Obviously, the Michigan study did not consider the bishop's veto, which it recommended, as relegating the board of directors to a limited or advisory capacity. Whether the general public, friend and foe alike, would concur with this assessment is another question. Perhaps, the only workable solution to the demands of the political situation vis a vis the American electorate is to replace the clerical veto with a trust in the laity which makes them full partners in the management of the Catholic educational enterprise.

The Michigan study, in addition to First Amendment considerations and increased compatibility with a democratic society, cited a third reason for legal incorporation, namely, "to bring Catholic theory into actual practice". While glossing over the lack of parental control of Catholic schools, the Church has strenuously and consistently proclaimed the primary rights of parents as educators, a position recently reaffirmed by Second Vatican Council. In view of present veto power over parental control, following a long period of time in which parents had no organized voice at all, one might speculate that the Church's insistence on parental rights was a not too well disguised effort to enhance the position of church-controlled schools.

Recently on the American educational scene, an increasing impetus toward free schools and community schools has been in evidence. These schools are

characterized by their willingness to depart from educational orthodoxy as well as by the high degree of parental involvement and the responsiveness of the schools to parental concerns. It is not without significance that among the Amicus Curiae briefs filed in opposition to the Rhode Island and Pennsylvania laws for the purchase of secular services was a brief filed by the Harvard Center for Law and Education, in concert with various community and independent schools. Included in this group of schools was the Milwaukee Federation of Independent Community Schools, comprised of seven schools formerly operated by the Catholic Church but turned over to the local community in 1969 and relying heavily on parent involvement and control. These Amici stated in this brief that they

favor extensive aid to non-public schools--including those operated by religious institutions--but object strongly on constitutional grounds to the form of aid embodied in the statutes contested in these cases. Amici believe, however, that constitutionally acceptable forms of providing aid to all non-public schools do exist and are practical alternatives.

Pierce v. Society of Sisters, 268 U.S. 510, guarantees to parents the right to direct the education of their children by choosing schools not run by the state. In an attempt to satisfy Establishment Clause restrictions, the Pennsylvania and Rhode Island statutes have created a pervasive set of regulations for aided non-public schools based on conformity to the offerings and approaches of public schools. The effect of these regulations is to condition the granting of aid upon the forfeiture by unorthodox non-public schools of their educational principles and beliefs, and to erode the rights guaranteed by Pierce. These regulations are unconstitutional in view of the fact that there are practical, less restrictive approaches available to a state which wishes to provide general aid to non-public schools.

Thus, present efforts to sustain Catholic schools, in the views of these parties, actually work against the parental rights so forcefully espoused by the Church support of its own schools. If the legal incorporation of Catholic schools was carried out in such a way that these schools became truly parent or community controlled schools, this action might facilitate a reconciliation between the segments of the non-public school community and create an alliance that would seek aid that would benefit all non-public schools.

OTHER IMPLICATIONS OF INCORPORATION

To speculate as to the impact of the separate incorporation of Catholic schools upon the typical parish would be especially hazardous. Incorporation certainly would commit those individuals, who assume the legal responsibility for the school or schools, more deeply to the cause of Catholic schools. This could easily heighten the tensions and polarization that some observers have already noted with alarm. John Deedy, the Managing Editor of the lay Catholic weekly Commonweal, commented in a recent article in the New Republic

One of the tragedies of the post-Vatican II American Catholic Church - a tragedy hardly glimpsed from outside and not sufficiently appreciated inside - is the degree of tension which the parochial school has generated among large numbers of Catholics. Once a unifying bond, the school is now a source of conflict, a polarizer of Catholics. And it will continue to be a polarizer, one fears, since the issue transcends the levels of finances, public or private, of quality and most of the other same categories for reaching a decision about the schools' future...Among (the committed of left and right) the intensity of feeling over the school issue is hard to imagine. It is an intensity which borders on the irrational and which can be dragged⁵⁴ however awkwardly, into every new issue of Catholic life.

Recent attitudinal surveys have indicated that the majority of "conservative" Catholics felt that Catholic schools should not be drastically changed but should continue in their present form. The majority of "liberal" Catholics did not agree. One of the questions raised by the possibility of legal incorporation is to what extent will these schools attract the conservatives in so much greater numbers that the schools become bastions of Catholic traditionalists-conservatism? There is some evidence to suggest that observations by Deedy are well founded.

For conservatives, who have lost one tradition after another - from the Miraculous Medal Novena on Monday nights to the Latin Mass on Sundays - the parish school is the last strong link to the church they knew and loved. It is to be protected and preserved at all costs. For liberals, on the other hand, the parochial school is an octopus, sucking up more and more revenue to educate fewer and fewer of the Catholic school-age population, but more importantly, strangling energies and distracting attention which might more profitably be directed to the renewal of parish life.⁵⁵

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While the overwhelming majority of teaching sisters and other religious still evidence a strong commitment to teaching in Catholic schools, some initial hints of a somewhat parallel liberal-conservative division among religious are appearing. For some, including high ranking Churchmen, the possibility of the incorporated Catholic school developing into a traditionalist-conservative bastion would offer an incentive toward incorporation. Conservatives on all rungs of the church ladder tend at times to consider themselves as the "permanent Catholics", viewing liberals as types to be endured for a time and eventually sloughed off. According to this viewpoint, Catholic schools would continue to educate and produce the "permanent Catholics". This would be especially true if the control of the school were more directly in the hands of the patrons as a result of legal incorporation. Certainly, such a possibility is at this time quite remote. It deserves mention here only to exemplify that there is a possible relationship between Catholic educational structures and the character of American Catholicism.

While not unrelated to the question of polarization, the matter of financing of parish and diocesan schools is crucial to the question of legal incorporation. For example, would the pastors and their parish councils have the same commitment to pay the bills for a school which, as a result of separate incorporation, no longer is directly their responsibility. At present, parish schools receive over half of their support from parish subsidy; inter-parish and diocesan high schools receive just over one-fourth of their income from this subsidy. In the Archdiocese of New York, where the twelve diocesan high schools have been incorporated as one corporation for some time, the Archdiocese subsidizes students who are unable to pay the standard tuition. Apart from this subsidy, which is quite substantial in lower income schools, these schools are tuition-supported in a manner similar to private Catholic schools. This type of arrangement, i.e. tuition support with church subsidy only for those students in financial need, might well be the standard approach in legally incorporated schools. If so, the traditional tuition-free parish school, subsidized by the contributions of the total parish might rapidly disappear from the scene.

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In terms of possible lay reactions, there might be some among the laity who would dub this whole move toward increased lay involvement and the separate legal incorporation of the schools as "Operation Albatross". During the hey-day of Catholic schools, as enrollments increased, vocations increased, and buildings were expanded, the clergy ran the show. Now, as all of the graphs trend downward and the Catholic school appears to some as an albatross around the bishop's and pastors' necks, the laity are called in to offer their necks. To change the metaphor, the situation might be similar to the captain of the Titanic, after a number of days of pleasant sailing, turning the ship over to a lay board, leaving behind a garbled memo mentioning something about an iceberg. On the other hand, there have been several instances, as mentioned earlier, in which Catholic schools have been about to close, where laymen have moved in and via the process of legal incorporation have assumed responsibility for the schools, which now continue in operation. These schools are often staffed with entirely lay personnel.

From the viewpoint of the educational administrator separate legal incorporation would serve to clear up some muddled roles that have long plagued Catholic schoolmen. With the bishops and pastors possessing legal authority and the control of finances, the superintendents and school principals have exercised their responsibilities with a professional authority that was clearly "extra legal". If Catholic schools were incorporated as a diocesan system as proposed in the Michigan study, the Superintendents of Schools would serve as the executive officer for the Board of Directors. He would be responsible to the board - and legally to the board alone. He would appoint or ratify the appointment of administrative staff including school principals, who would have full authority in their positions. The movement among teaching Sisters to seek individual contracts blends in well with the prospect of legal incorporation. In these incorporated schools, all staff members would be tied to the corporation by individual contracts, with the clarification of duties and responsibilities these formal contracts entail.

In the matter of financial accounting, separate incorporation would eliminate the commingling of parish and school income and expense monies, which now renders Catholic parish school accounting an exercise in frustration. Also, as observed in the case of New York diocesan high schools, the incorporation of these high schools as one corporation facilitates teacher negotiations. One contract is negotiated between teacher representatives and the representatives of the school corporation. Full disclosure of all corporation funds and holdings is readily provided to all parties. In such disclosures there is little likelihood of creating the alarm and possible misunderstandings that might result from the full disclosure of all Church financial records and holdings. School financial records contain little or no information that could be construed as "lurid".

An added administrative advantage in incorporating a network of schools as one corporation is that such a step makes possible some constructive solution to the present inequities in the parish by parish financing of Catholic schools. As shown in the NCEA's Report on Catholic Schools, 1970-71 lay teachers in lower income neighborhoods received an average salary that was \$2,000 less than the salary of their colleagues in more affluent neighborhoods. With the centralization of finances in one corporation such inequities could be eliminated.

PROPERTY, TENURE AND INCORPORATION

The incorporation of Catholic schools as non-profit, charitable corporations could be accomplished in two ways. The corporation could be established for the operation of the school or schools, with the property leased from the diocese on a low cost, long term basis (e.g. one dollar per year for 99 years). At present, several of the incorporated community schools operating in facilities which once housed traditional parochial schools rent from the parish under this type of an arrangement. The parish at times contributes not only the facilities but the cost of maintenance as a part of the parish's social mission to the community.

The Michigan study recommended that title to all school properties be transferred to the newly formed corporation. This is understandable in view of the objective of this study, which sought to legally qualify Catholic schools for participation in government classroom construction subsidies. Obviously, to qualify for any aid that affects property holdings, such as the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 now being contested in the Supreme Court, the corporation receiving the aid must have ownership of the property. This presents several difficulties in the traditional parish situation. The typical parish school, cafeteria and adjoining playgrounds serve also as the parish community center, meeting hall, picnic grounds, and parking lot, not to mention any use for an occasional game of bingo. The Michigan study did not overlook this matter.

Since we obviously do not wish to convey anything but the schools, the school land must be separated out and accurately described in legal and survey terms. This could be a monumental and expensive undertaking in itself. Consideration might be given to the employment of a deed which omits a detailed description of the school properties, and simply describes the property thus conveyed in general terms; e.g. "all that real property presently owned by the grantee herein as Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of _____³⁶ and employed for the specific purpose of a parochial school."

The legal complexities of this situation could be the subject of a separate chapter. For example, would the school corporation established for the good of the general public be free to show preference to local parish groups in the after hours use of the facilities? The parish altar society would indeed be distressed to find their former parish school hall unavailable for their card party, since it was already spoken for by the Methodist ladies guild from down the street.

More serious questions arise when it comes to the disposition of the school corporation's property should the school cease to operate. This must be a matter of some real concern, as Catholic schools continue to close at the overall rate of one per day. The Michigan study suggested:

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that the deeds of conveyance, by which the title to the school are transferred to the suggested corporation, provides a reversionary clause by which title to the schools would automatically revert to the office of the Bishop of the diocese from which title originated, should any attempt be made by the corporation to transfer title of the schools to some other agency.³⁷

Rather than question the expertise of the Michigan study, suffice it to say that this matter of the reversion to the former owner or any other manner of disposition of the properties of incorporated schools, which close their doors, should be the subject of careful legal investigation in every instance. Referring to the types of claims made upon properties mentioned earlier, namely legal title and equitable title, McGrath pointed out that in business corporations the property is distributed, upon dissolution, to those who held equitable title to it, namely the stockholders or members. In a charitable corporation, the public holds equitable title to the assets. Thus, the property of a charitable corporation, upon dissolution, is ordinarily distributed by the courts to another charitable corporation of similar purpose.

The tax exempt status of schools incorporated as non-profit, charitable or educational institutions is generally the same as the status of church-related schools operated by religious corporations. However, a review of local and state laws governing income tax and property is necessary in every instance. The Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended and revised (Section 501(C)), which contains the provisions for tax exempt organizations, should be reviewed carefully. Compliance with state and local laws governing charitable corporations does not guarantee exemptions from Federal Income Tax. This requires a separate procedure. To cite an example, in a recent effort to gain tax exemption for an existing Catholic high school, formerly operated by a religious community and now operated under lay control as a non-profit, charitable corporation, the following items were to be submitted prior to approval: (1) The Articles of Incorporation amended to state specifically that in the event of dissolution, all funds remaining in the

school would be transferred to a Section 501 (c) (3) Corporation. (2) A statement of the school's policies and, more specifically, a policy on non-discrimination. The non-discrimination feature would not only go to race and religion, but also to tuition. (3) A schedule of tuition and fees; (4) A statement of the general philosophy of the school; (5) A list of the faculty and Board members; (6) A list of those receiving scholarships; (7) A copy of the application form; and (8) An approximate percentage of minority groups attending the school. This was the recommended procedure in one instance. In every case, a careful investigation of the existing requirements for tax exemption would be necessary.

THE JEOPARDY OF PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

In concluding the discussion of the legal incorporation of church-related schools, it should be mentioned that joining the ranks of non-profit, charitable institutions does not place one securely in the company of the saved. In his 1970 Annual Report, Alan Pifer, the president of the Carnegie Corporation, a philanthropic foundation, described the dire situation presently facing private service institutions in the United States. These institutions, which are as a rule incorporated as non-profit institutions include approximately 1,430 colleges and universities, 4,600 secondary schools, 3,650 voluntary hospitals, 6,000 museums, 1,100 symphony orchestras, 5,500 libraries, and 29,000 welfare agencies supported by the United Fund. It is important to note, that with the exception of the symphonies and theater companies, every category of private service institutions has its tax supported, publicly controlled counterpart.

The threat to private institutions, which Pifer reports, is not the threat of instant collapse but the possibility of a demise via an inconspicuous process encompassing several stages. Pifer describes these stages which are ominously descriptive of the present condition of many Catholic schools.

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There may be a first stage in which the institution, for financial reasons, becomes unable to manage the growth necessary to meet new challenges. This loss of a cutting edge may bring on a second stage in which the institution's own self-confidence and the public's confidence in it begin to slip, a third in which the recruitment of capable staff becomes progressively more difficult, a fourth in which declining income begins to necessitate the curtailment of important activities and reduction of staff, and so on. Even when the institution is moribund, it may drag on for some time before it is finally forced to close down. It is at the very first stage, however, when an institution shows itself to be incapable of vigorous response to changed times, and it should be seen to be seriously ill, and it is then that remedial steps should be taken.

While aware of the financial forces that are working unfavorably for the cause of private institutions, Pifer points in a different direction.

Many of our greatest private service institutions are now showing all the symptoms of being in this initial stage of sickness; and in seeking to understand the cause of their illness, they tend to diagnose it as essentially financial... If financial debility were the only problem faced by private institutions, there might be grounds for at least some degree of optimism... The issue now is whether a majority of our citizens still sees special merit in the retention of a combined public/private system, or conversely, whether substantial numbers would now, for varying reasons, be quite content to see private institutions generally handed over to public control.

Pifer examines the opposition to private institutions. He cites as unfriendly to private institutions those suffering from poverty and discrimination who feel alienated from private as well as public institutions, those, who by way of contrast feel that private institutions have been captured by the liberalism of the day, and those who have a populist mistrust for private institutions, associating them with great wealth, privilege, and a social caste system. Pifer then comes to a type of silent majority.

Finally, there are many people who are simply indifferent to the issue, to the degree that they are even aware of it. They know little of the role of private institutions in our national life, and they care less. From time to time they benefit from what they take to be public services without realizing that these are, in fact, provided by private institutions. Unfortunately, this group probably constitutes a large part of the population.

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According to Pifer, these views are shared by public officials. While "here and there one finds active and courageous supporters of the cause of private institutions", Pifer describes the predominant attitude of public officials as "at best, one of indifference to the entire issue and at worst one of skepticism bordering on hostility".⁴²

Despite the compelling reasons for the preservation of private institutions quite forcefully outlined in the same report, Pifer makes it all too clear that as long as this present mood of indifference continues, the legal incorporation of church-related schools as non-profit charitable corporations, while admitting these schools into quite prestigious company, will not solve their problems.

FOOTNOTES

¹John J. McGrath, Catholic Institutions in the United States: Canonical and Civil Law Status, Catholic University Press, Washington, D.C., 1968.

²Ibid., p. 7 (Congdon v. Congdon, 160 Minn. 343, 200NW. 76, 87 (1924))

³Ibid., p. 8.

⁴Ibid., p. 8-9.

⁵Ibid., p. 9-10.

⁶Ibid., p. 11.

⁷Diane B. Gertler, Statistics of Non-Public Elementary Schools, OE20064-62 Circular No. 755, and Statistics of Non-Public Secondary Schools, OE20050, Circular No. 707.

⁸NCEA, A Report on U.S. Catholic Schools, 1970-71

⁹McGrath, op cit., p. 25-26.

¹⁰175 U.S. at 297-98.

¹¹Brief of Appellee Colleges and Universities, Tilton v. Richardson, Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1970, No. 153., p. 19.

¹²op cit., p. 64-7.

¹³200 U.S. at 143.

¹⁴Brief of Appellee Colleges, op cit., p. 66.

¹⁵Charles H. Wilson, "Tilton v. Finch, the Connecticut Colleges Case" address to the Commission on Religion in Higher Education, Association of American Colleges, Houston, Texas, January 12, 1970.

¹⁶Brief of Appellee Colleges, op cit., p. 66-67.

¹⁷Wilson, op cit.

¹⁸This study has recently been published under the title The Sectarian Colleges and the Public Purse, A Case Study of Fordham University, Oceana Publications, Inc., New York, 1970.

FOOTNOTES (CONT'D)

¹⁹ Bernard Lyons, Parish Councils, Renewing the Christian Community, Divine Word Publications, Techy, Illinois, 1967, p. vii.

²⁰ Patrick J. Dignan, A History of the Legal Incorporation of Catholic Church Property in the United States, 1784-1932, the Catholic University of America, Washington, 1933.

²¹ as cited in Dignan, op cit., p. 75.

²² Dignan, op cit., p. 74.

²³ Ibid., p. 239

²⁴ Ibid., p. 256.

²⁵ Michigan Catholic Conference "Legal Status of Catholic Schools" a Preliminary Study (Box 157, Lansing, Michigan) p. 1.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 2.

²⁷ Christian I. Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1966, p. 164.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 164.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 139-140.

³⁰ John J. Ryan, The Jesus People, Foundation for Adult Catechetical Teaching Aids, Chicago, 1969, p. 144-145.

³¹ American Canon Law Society, "The Role of Law in the Church," p. 13.

³² Michigan Catholic Conference, op cit., p. 2-3.

³³ Brief Amici Curia, Center for Law and Education, Harvard University, et alii, Robinson v. DiCenso and Lemmon v. Kurtzman, United States Supreme Court, October Term, 1970, #570, p. 9.

³⁴ John Deedy, "Should Catholic Schools Survive?", New Republic, March 13, 1971, p. 16.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 16.

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FOOTNOTES (CONT'D)

³⁶Michigan Catholic Conference, op cit., p. 11.

³⁷Ibid., p. 2.

³⁸McGrath, op cit., p. 9.

³⁹Annual Report, 1970, Carnegie Corporation of New York, p. 9.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 10-11.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 12.

⁴²Ibid., p. 12-13.