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ABSTRACT

The more important factors responsible for the contemporary crisis in Catholic schools throughout the United States are identified. The identification is made through discussions of the following topics: (1) An overview of the socio-historic and socio-religious forces responsible for the establishment and growth of the Catholic elementary and secondary school systems; (2) A nontechnical description of the existing Catholic school system in terms of its basic units, policy and administrative structures, financing, and staffing; (3) A statistical delineation of the more conspicuous symptoms of the Catholic school crisis in retrospective and in prospect; and (4) An analysis of the social and religious forces, specifically the nexus between demographic, economic, social, and educational changes and significant changes in the American religious mentality and in the goals and structures of Catholicism since the watershed of Vatican Council II. (For related document, see ED 058 473.) (DB)

Issues of Aid to Nonpublic Schools

Volume II (of IV)
The Social and Religious Sources of the Crisis in Catholic Schools

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.

ISSUES OF AID TO NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS

VOLUME II

The Social and Religious Sources Of

The Crisis

In Catholic Schools

Submitted to the President's Commission on School Finance

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INTRODUCTION

The crisis of American non-public education has its most drastic and profound expression in Catholic elementary and secondary schools. This evaluation does not ignore the evidence that financial symptoms of an analogous malais are becoming conspicuous in other areas of non-public education. But with scattered exceptions, the immediate emergency is predominantly a Catholic school phenomenon.[1] Nationally, Jewish, Greek Orthodox, Calvinist, Seventh Day Adventist, and Protestant Episcopal schools have been holding their own as have the generally nonsectarian institutions affiliated with the National Association of Independent Schools. (The NAIS College - preparatory boarding schools are a dramatic though numerically insignificant, exception). The Missouri Synod Lutheran Schools have experienced enrollment losses, but this has been fully attributed by Lutheran leaders to the recent birth rate decline.[2] Only the Catholic system has suffered startling setbacks in all parts of the country.

The purpose of this report is to identify for the President's Commission on School Finance the reasons why Catholic schools are threatened so profoundly. It does not purport to suggest solutions to this situation. Such solutions will necessarily involve constitutional questions as well as questions related to political and educational philosophy, social changes, demographic projections,

and financial resources. But strategies to rectify the problem can be effective only if they are proposed on the basis of an understanding of the difficulties in all their complexity. This report will provide the perspectives and the data essential to such an understanding.

Let us be clear on one point at the outset. Popular opinion notwithstanding, the dilemmas of Catholic schools do not derive simply from a shortage of dollars and cents. Indeed, such a position is simplistic and naive in the extreme. Though serious and extensive, the financial difficulties of Catholic schools are more properly identified as symptoms than as causes of the crisis. Here the crisis of Catholic education is viewed as the historical product of an infinitely more complex set of social and religious forces. In outline form, the description and analysis of these forces require that our report address itself to the following topics:

1. An overview of the socio-historic and socio-religious forces responsible for the establishment and growth of Catholic elementary and secondary school systems;
2. A non-technical description of the existing Catholic school system in terms of its basic units, policy and administrative structures, financing, and staffing;
3. A statistical delineation of the more conspicuous symptoms of the Catholic school crisis in retrospect and in prospect;

4, An analysis of the roots of the crisis in terms of the dynamic interplay of contemporary social and religious forces, specific attention will be focused on the nexus between demographic, economic, social, and educational changes and significant changes in the American religious mentality and in the goals and structures of Catholicism since the watershed of Vatican Council II.

PART I

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

A set of unique historical circumstances and events led to the initiation, development, and growth of the present Catholic school system. This history, like all history, is a part of the present in both its intended and unintended consequences. The dynamics of the contemporary school crisis, therefore, cannot be fully understood without a knowledge of these historical circumstances and events.

While neither time nor space permit a detailed historical presentation,[1] the major points require a brief treatment of the following: (a) From Colonial Sectarian Schools to Protestant Hegemony; (b) Parochial Schools and the Council of Baltimore: (c) Catholic Schools in the 20th Century.

From Colonial Sectarian Schools to Protestant Hegemony.

Few Americans today know that until 1830 all education in the various states was the function of an established church.[2] For example, in Massachusetts as early as 1647 the so-called "Old Deluder Act" required a teacher of scripture in every township of 50 or more households.[3] Thus, in a narrow sense while public schools, they remained under the control of a particular denomination, e.g., in Massachusetts the Congregational Church. The enactment of the Federal Constitution in 1780 did not

appreciably alter this situation. Article III of the first State Constitution of Massachusetts again is a case in point. Article III contained the following claus:

> ...and the legislature shall, from time to time, authorize and require, the several towns, parishes, precincts and other bodies politic, or religious societies, to make suitable provisions, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality, in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily.[4]

Ball and Skelly point out that this provision of Article III was a striking reconfirmation of the union of Church and State in Massachusetts that was to remain a law of the Commonwealth "until almost half a century after the national ratification of the Bill of Rights (including the No Establishment clause of the First Amendment).[5] Buetow points out that such "established" schools were not unique to Massachusetts but instead were found in most of the original colonies and states.[6]

During the late 1820's a movement began to "disestablish" the schools. This resulted in a "distinction between sectarian doctrine, on the one hand, and general religious (including moral) instruction on the other.[7] However, since the majority

of the population was at that time Protestant, it was taken for granted that this general religious instruction would be Protestant (shorn of denominational differences). The consequence was Protestant hegemony in public schools.

Thus the first large wave of Catholic immigrants during the early 1800's found a public school system that was admittedly Protestant and blatantly anti-Catholic in character. Moreover, they were persecuted because they were Catholic, because they were foreigners, and because they were poor. As their numbers continued to swell, dissatisfaction inevitably arose about the sectarian aspects of the public schools.

Massachusetts again afforded an example of the next major historical development. Faced with rising Catholic population, with increasing anti-Catholic hostility and with demands for subsidized Catholic schools, the Massachusetts Constitution which had mandated public support of Protestant education was amended in 1953 to bar public support of any sectarian education.[8] Ball and Skelly quote directly from the debates of 1853 to illustrate the arguments for and against the anti-aid amendment.[9]

Arguing for the anti-aid amendment, a Mr. Parker of Cambridge stated:

> Sir, this resolution [barring public support of any sectarian education] has nothing sectarian in its character. It proposes simply to retain

> and serve your common schools in the condition in which they are at the present time, beyond all preadventure, come from what quarter an attempt for change may come--and I care not from what quarter it comes."

Over against this position a Mr. Wood of Fitchburg saw that the common schools were in fact Protestant and argued that Catholics should also be entitled to secure aid:

> "Many of the intelligent Irish do not and will not send their children to our schools. I had a conversation with one of these, a man who desires the advancement of learning as much as I or any man in the State. I asked him why he would not send them to our schools. His answer was: 'I will not send my children to a sectarian school.' 'A sectarian school?' "Well,' said he, 'that is just the way with you here in America, and with religionists all over the world. Our sect is no sect; everybody else is sectarian. Now,' said he, 'what constitutes a sectarian school? It is where you will have all the Protestant forms of worship introduced. You will insist on having prayers according to the Protestant forms. You will introduce your Protestant Bibles and other Protestant books, and you will have none other. Now, I put it to you, would you be willing to send your children to be instructed by Roman Catholic priests; to be compelled to read their Bible, and have comment upon it?' I said 'No'. "Very well, then, you ought not to expect us to do it.' Now, I put it to this Convention, how is it possible to raise any money by taxes to be expended for common schools, if it cannot be expended for either Protestant or Roman Catholic schools?
>
> "Now, let me say another thing. It is all important that our Irish children should be educated. It is as important to us as it is to the Irish themselves. We do not want them to grow up amongst us, ignorant and vicious, first to rob our hen-roosts, and afterwards to commit more serious offences. It is all important that they should be educated. If we cannot educate them in such schools as we have, let us give them such schools as they can accept."

In rebuttal, a Mr. Bull of Upton pleaded "Open your doors wide to all, and banish sectarianism from your schools, and Catholics will become Protestants through the influence of these schools". The amendment passed 183 to 87, and the public schools in Massachusetts were to retain their sectarian character well into the 20th Century.

Parochial Schools and The Council of Baltimore

This situation was not confined to Massachusetts. The growing Catholic community in the United States recognized everywhere the sectarian character of the public school. Indeed, as Buetow points out, as early as 1829 the first Provincial Council of Baltimore recognized the need for the Church to establish its own separate schools.[10] This recognition was reaffirmed in 1852 and again in 1866 at the First and Second Plenary Councils of Baltimore as a means of protecting the faith of growing children.[11] As a result Catholic schools were established in many parishes during this period. In Chicago, for example, by 1880 93 percent of the parishes in the city had schools.[12] Nationally about 44 percent of all parishes had schools prior to 1884.[13] It was in this year (1884) at the Plenary Council of Baltimore, that the Catholic hierarchy drew up the definitive and conclusive legislation regarding parochial schools. The Council mandated that:

1. Near every church, when it does not already exist, a parochial school is to be erected within two years from the promulgation of this Council and to be kept up in the future, unless in the judgment of the Bishop the erection and maintenance of the school is impossible.

2. A priest who is gravely negligent in erecting the school within this time or is gravely negligent in its maintenance after it is erected can and must be removed from that Church.

3. The mission or parish which so neglects to aid the priest in erecting or maintaining the school, that on account of this supine negligence the school cannot exist, is to be reprimanded by the Bishop and if it shall have been contumacious, it is to be given spiritual punishments.

4. All Catholic parents are bound to send their children to parochial schools, unless at home or in other Catholic schools they provide sufficiently and fully for their Christian education, or on account of a good reason approved by the Bishop, using meanwhile the necessary precautions and remedies they are permitted to send them to other schools.[14]

In the light of the contemporary crisis, the decree of 1884 is also important since it mandated the local parish as the ecclesiastic unit responsible for erecting and maintaining schools (as we shall see, the parish remains the basic educational unit to this day). The Catholic school had as its principal goal at that period in history the protection of the young against a hostile, sectarian public school system and the preservation of the faith. A concomitant but often unstated goal of the schools at that time was the preservation of an ethnic identity. (Some see today's crisis as resulting in part at least from the fact that neither of these original goals are presently viable.)

Catholic Schools in the Twentieth Century

During the last part of the 19th century Catholic school enrollments swelled until by 1900 20 percent of the children in school in the United States were in Catholic schools.[15] In describing this period McKenzie writes:

> Indeed, the school was often built before the Church; in many parishes temporary quarters were used for worship until the school was built. This might seem to be an inversion of values; whether it is or not, it expressed the Roman Catholic conviction in the United States that the parochial school was a vital element in the Church.[16]

It should not be concluded that this massive effort was a direct and singular result of the Council of Baltimore. This same period of history saw an end to child labor and the passage of strong compulsory school attendance laws.[19] Enrollments in public schools also rose dramatically during this same period.

Table 1 presents the growth of Catholic elementary and secondary schools from 1920 to 1965.[18] These data show that there was a steady increase in enrollments over the forty-five year period, the only exception being the decline during the 1930's in elementary school enrollment. This is attributable partially to the anti-immigration laws of the 1920's, and

TABLE 1

GROWTH OF CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS FROM 1920 to 1965

	ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS			Religious Teachers	
Year	Number of Schools	Enrollment	Total Staff	Number	% of Staff
1920	6,551	1,795,673	41,592	38,592	92.8
1930	7,923	2,222,598	58,245	53,384	91.5
1940	7,944	2,035,182	60,081	56,438	93.9
1950	8,589	2,560,815	66,525	61,778	92.8
1960	10,501	4,373,422	108,169	79,119	73.1
1961	10,502	4,431,869	110,501	77,900	70.4
1962	10,646	4,485,221	112,199	76,200	67.9
1963	10,775	4,546,360	115,468	77,113	66.7
1964	10,832	4,533,771	117,854	76,343	64.7
1965	10,879	4,492,107	120,206	76,195	63.3

	SECONDARY SCHOOLS			Religious Teachers	
Year	Number of Schools	Enrollment	Total Staff	Number	% of Staff
1920	1,552	129,848	7,924	6,971	87.9
1930	2,123	241,869	14,307	12,217	85.3
1940	2,105	361,123	20,976	17,522	83.5
1950	2,189	505,572	27,770	23,147	83.3
1960	2,392	880,369	43,733	32,910	75.2
1961	2,376	937,671	46,623	34,153	73.2
1962	2,502	1,009,126	46,880	33,573	71.6
1963	2,430	1,044,446	51,038	35,436	69.4
1964	2,417	1,066,748	53,344	35,609	66.7
1965	2,413	1,081,703	67,013	37,600	65.8

Source: "A Statistical Report on Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools for the Years 1967-68 to 1969-70. National Catholic Educational Association, 1970, p. 5.

partially to the crippling economic effect on many parents of the depression years.

Despite the phenomenal growth reflected in Table 1, the Church was never able to fulfill the mandate of 1884 that every Catholic child be educated in a Catholic school. In 1962, one of the peak years for enrollment, slightly under one-half (46.7%) of all age-eligible Catholic children were enrolled in Catholic schools.[19] By 1968-69, using infant baptisms as the basis for projecting the age eligible universe,[20] and NCEA enrollment figures for that year, only 35.59 percent of eligible children were in fact enrolled in Catholic schools. This arithmetic represents a decline of more than 10 percent. The basis of this decline is of course independent of any decrease in the birth rate.[21] As we shall see, this failure of the Catholic schools to reach all Catholic children is one of the ingredients contributing to the present crisis.

The decade of the fifties into the early sixties is an important period in the history of Catholic education from the point of view of the contemporary crisis. During the period immediately following World War II church attendance, conversions to the Church and entrance into religious orders rose sharply.[22] Immediately after the War and extending into the Cold War period the Church became a source of social solidarity, community and security for large numbers of Catholics.[23]

At the same time the American Catholic scene was marked by a lifting of restrictions on construction, a surplus of wealth accumulated during the War years, and a soaring birth rate. Suburban developments prospered. As the suburbs grew, new parishes with their satellite schools were built to meet the demands of newly mobile middle class Catholics. The result of these interesting religious, economic, and demographic developments are reflected in Table 1 in the dramatic increase in schools during the period 1950-1962.

As mentioned previously, this period also saw a large influx into religious orders. From 1955 to 1965 the number of religious increased by 21,000.[24] The reasons for this increase in vocations are similar to those that led middle class Catholics to become more active in the Church.

During this same period increasing attention was paid to improving the quality of Catholic schools. Originally religious and ethnic features were the primary inducement to patrons; consequently the schools had less need to be academically competitive. The tendency was accentuated by the fact that students were drawn in large measure from immigrant groups or from the lower socio-economic strata. Until recently, at least, most working class parents have been reluctant to challenge professional educators let alone Church officials. It is understandable, then, that most Catholic schools in

that era could tolerate conditions widely regarded as sub-standard--such as class sizes virtually unheard of in public education, untrained, underpaid teachers, and archaic facilities and equipment. (This is not to say that the product was inferior. Most popular notions of academic adequacy are not based on evidence).[25]

The religious orders were among the first to recognize the need to upgrade the Catholic schools. This recognition culminated in the creation during the early 1950's of the Sister Formation Movement. This program was a massive effort to bring the professional preparation of sisters in the fields of health, education, and welfare to a level comparable with professionals in the public sector.[26] This Sister Formation Movement had several important unanticipated outcomes that will be discussed in the final section of this report. Suffice it to say at this point that the Movement was quite successful in its intended objective of upgrading the educational level within religious congregations.

The period from about 1965 to the present has been a period of crisis. This crisis period will be analyzed in much more detail in further sections of the report and need not detain us any longer. This, then, completes the description of Catholic schools in historical perspective. Let us now turn to the system perspective of Catholic schools.

PART II

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS: A SYSTEM PERSPECTIVE

The Catholic school system in the United States consists of 150 distinct, separate, and diverse diocesan systems. Further, there are subtle and sometimes dramatic variations between these 150 basic units, even between dioceses in the same state, in organizational, policy, and administrative structure. The term "school system" itself, when applied to the organization and structure of Catholic schools is misleading if it is construed in the usual sense. Unlike a public school district where individual schools are controlled by a central administrative office, the individual Catholic schools in a diocese are merely an assemblage or set of more or less (usually less) coordinated schools.

Mindful of this diversity this section attempts to describe in a generalized way, as far as is possible, the various components of the Catholic school system pointing out where appropriate major variations. To this end we shall describe: a) the basic units of the system; b) the traditional structure for policy and administration of the system; c) the emerging structure for policy and administration of the system; d) the financing of the system; and e) the staffing of the system. The discussion in this section will remain as far as possible on the descriptive level. Its purpose is merely to

clarify for the reader the organization and structure of the Catholic school system. The remainder of the paper will treat of the historical, sociological, demographic, religious, and educational forces that have interacted to produce the present crisis in Catholic schools. Consequently the factors will only be alluded to in this descriptive section.

The Basic Units of the System

There are five basic types of Catholic schools: parochial, inter-parochial, diocesan, private and institutional. Table 2 presents the classification by these five school types of the 4,672,510 pupils enrolled in the 11,937 Catholic schools in the United States for the academic year 1969-70.[1]

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND ENROLLMENT BY SCHOOL TYPE

	Schools		Enrollment	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Elementary				
Parochial	9,045	93.3	3,463,308	96.0
Inter-Parochial	268	2.7	70,588	3.0
Diocesan	45	0.5	6,309	0.2
Private	337	3.5	66,963	1.8
Total Elementary	9,695	100.0	3,607,168	100.0
Secondary				
Parochial	503	24.2	173,911	16.5
Inter-Parochial	229	11.0	126,290	12.0
Diocesan	537	25.9	374,792	35.7
Private	807	38.9	375,937	35.8
Total Secondary	2,076	100.0	1,050,930	100.0
Institutional	166		14,412	
Total Schools	11,937		4,672,510	

The parochial school, sometimes called the parish school, is one controlled and supported by the local parish. Table 2 shows that the bulk of Catholic elementary schools, and almost one-fourth of all secondary schools are local parochial or parish schools. Table 2 also shows that the parochial schools enroll 96 percent of all Catholic elementary pupils and about 17 percent of all secondary students. The fact is a direct historical outgrowth of the 1884 resolution of the Council of Baltimore discussed in the previous section.

The inter-parochial school, as the name implies, is one controlled and supported by two or more parishes. There has been an increase in the number and percentage of inter-parochial schools over the last four years reflecting the recent effort to consolidate small parish schools.[2]

The diocesan school is under the direct administrative and financial control of the diocese itself. Table 2 shows that while there are very few diocesan elementary schools, 26 percent of Catholic secondary schools are classified as diocesan. These schools enroll 36 percent of all Catholic secondary students.

The private school is one owned and operated by a religious Order or Congregation. These schools are generally independent of the diocesan system and are funded almost exclusively through tuition and charges. Table 2 shows that these private schools enroll about 36 percent of all secondary students. Close to four out of every ten Catholic secondary schools in the country are privately owned and operated by religious communities.

The last category of Catholic schools, institutional schools, are those attached to a special residential facility such as an orphanage or home for the physically or mentally handicapped or the emotionally disturbed. This type of Catholic school will not concern us in the subsequent discussion of the Catholic school system.

On a different but related level it is not unimportant to describe the proportionate distribution of these Catholic schools by type of community. Table 3 provides these data by showing the location of Catholic schools by community type.[3]

TABLE 3

CLASSIFICATION OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS BY TYPE OF COMMUNITY (1969-70)

	Schools	
	Number	Percent
Elementary		
Urban	3,030	30.9
Inner-City	1,435	14.6
Suburban	2,576	26.3
Small Town/Rural	2,763	28.2
	9,804	100.0
Secondary		
Urban	826	39.2
Inner-City	262	12.4
Suburban	584	27.7
Small Town/Rural	437	20.7
	2,109	100.0
Unreported	24	
TOTAL	11,937	

These data clearly reflect the historical influence of immigration patterns on the development of Catholic schools. Forty-five percent of the elementary schools and 52 percent of the secondary schools are classified as urban or inner-city. Further, 28 percent of the elementary schools and 21 percent of the secondary schools are located in small towns or rural areas. Only a little more than one-quarter of the schools are classified as suburban. These statistics will become important when we consider demographic trends, mobility patterns, and the socio-economic status of the clientele of Catholic schools.

Unfortunately there are no up-to-date figures on the socio-economic status of the clients served by Catholic schools.[4] Greeley and Rossi[5], in their national study found that children most likely to attend Catholic schools are from families of average or higher socio-economic status. Havighurst confirms these findings when he points out that "the Catholic parents with higher social status and higher incomes are tending to support the new and outlying [Catholic] schools, while the capacity of inner-city parishes and parents to support schools is decreasing."[6]

Several state studies, however, show that while the Catholic schools serve a slightly higher socio-economic clientele than public schools, they have been nonetheless successful

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF CATHOLIC AND PUBLIC SCHOOL PARENTS BY INCOME LEVEL

Income	BOSTON, MASS.[1]			SPRINGFIELD, MASS.[1]		
	Catholic School Parents	Public School Parents		Catholic School Parents	Public School Parents	
		Cath.	Non-Cath.		Cath.	Non-Cath.
0 to 4,999	6	8	6	6	8	8
5,000 to 9,999	38	43	40	42	38	36
10,000 to 19,999	51	43	43	46	50	44
20,000 and over	6	5	10	8	5	12

Income	FALL RIVER, MASS.[1]			ILLINOIS[2]		
	Catholic School Parents	Public School Parents		Catholic School Parents	Public School Parents	
		Cath.	Non-Cath.		Cath.	Non-Cath.
0 to 4,999	10	18	6	10	8	16.1
5,000 to 9,999	61	49	47	47	42	35
10,000 to 19,999	27	31	44	30	32	33
50,000 and over	3	2	3	13	18	16

1. These data are the incomes reported by parents. The respondents were selected on the basis of a probability sample and were personally interviewed by field workers from Louis Harris Associates. Percents includes parents with children in all types of Catholic schools These data have not been previously published.

2. These figures are the estimated mean per-school percentage of parents in each income category. Estimates were made by school principals. See Appendix D of the Illinois Study for further details.

in serving children from homes at the lower status level. Table 4 combines data on the socio-economic status of Catholic and public school pupils from separate studies in the Dioceses of Boston, Springfield, Fall River, Massachusetts and in the state of Illinois.

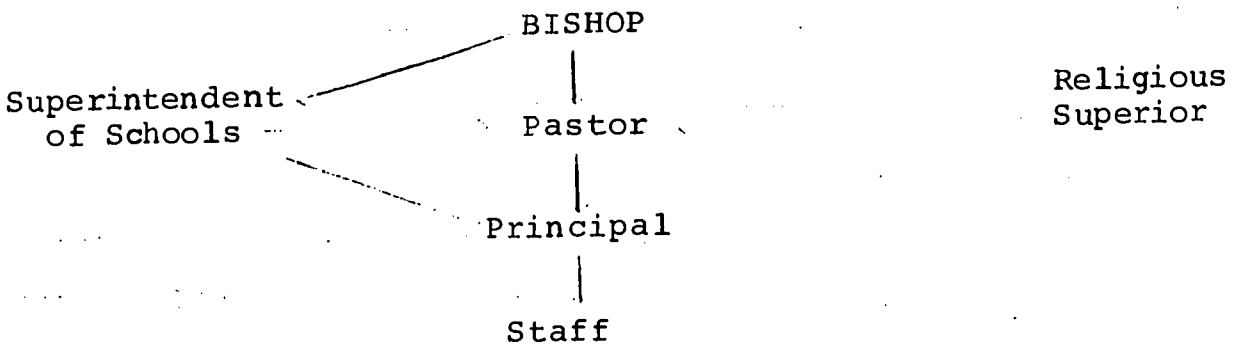
Table 4 shows in each instance the public school does serve a larger percentage of parents earning under $5,000 a year. However differences are not extremely large. It is indeed unfortunate that other national data on the socio-economic level of Catholic school parents is not available. Nonetheless, data from Massachusetts and Illinois reported in Table 4 and data from Michigan[7] and New York[8] do indicate that the Catholic schools are reaching children from the lower socio-economic strata.

The Traditional Policy and Administration Structures

The policy and administrative structures of Catholic schools within a diocesan unit are presently in a state of transition.[9] To understand the evolving policy and administrative structures one must have as a point of reference the older traditional structure shown in Figure 1.[10]

FIGURE 1

TRADITIONAL CATHOLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM STRUCTURE



In Figure 1 the Bishop is placed at the head of the diocesan system. There are a number of reasons for this positioning. First, not infrequently all Church properties in the diocese, including the schools, are, via the device of corporation sole, held in his name. Secondly, according to Canon Law (Canons 1381-1382)[11] the administration of Catholic schools is his responsibility. Thirdly, the Bishop alone has direct ecclesiastical authority over the pastor of the parish in which a school is located. For his part the pastor's position is clearly important because under present Canon Law he is responsible for the "cura animorum" (care of souls) resident in his parish, especially for the instruction of children in Christian doctrine (Canons 461, 476).

Historically we have seen that it fell upon the pastor to implement the Council of Baltimore's decree to build and maintain a parish school. In the traditional set-up the pastor, while responsible to the bishop, has considerable latitude in the actual administration of the school. Often he alone can decide on budgetary matters, and as Figure 1 clearly shows, it is his responsibility for negotiating with the Superior of the religious community relative to the sisters staffing his parish school. He also decides, sometimes with guidelines from the superintendent and/or consultation with the school principal, on the hiring of lay teachers. There was wide variation based on the personality and interest of the pastor from parish to parish on the degree to which the pastor controlled his schools. Many delegated much responsibility, even for policy, to the sister principal while others held a much tighter rein not only on policy, but even on the actual administration of the school. As McKenzie points out, "...the pastor is not always trained and experienced in school administration -- in fact, it is rarely that he is, and many local problems of the Roman Catholic system can be traced to this."[12] Several diocesan studies have revealed that while the average layman is unaware of this as a problem, it is a real issue to a majority of sisters and clergy.[13]

The superintendent, as shown in Figure 1, derived all his authority and hence most of whatever power he possessed from the Bishop. While there were exceptions, he stood in an advisory position to the pastor and had no control over either budget or hiring. The major exception here was diocesan schools which generally come under his direct policy control. Davies and Dineen describe the superintendent's role in the traditional structure as:

> ...that of educational persuader or pleader. Not infrequently superintendents with strong personalities and professional backgrounds developed rather sophisticated techniques of exercising power without possessing real authority. In many ways this type of influence can be more effective than structurally-conferred authority, but it conferred a burden that the superintendent's personality was not always capable of meeting--more so since the superintendent was sometimes selected by the bishop with little regard for his professional training or inclinations. Because his office did not enjoy great prestige among his clerical peers but did carry with it a high level of ambiguity, the superintendent's tenure in office tended to be brief, with incumbent moving as soon as decently possible into the less frustrating role of parish pastor.[14]

Several other points should be noted before moving to a description of the emerging structures for policy and administration. First, the private schools are separate entities apart from the structure described in Figure 1. This is still the case. Second, the power of the offices described in Figure 1 could vary from diocese to diocese, depending on the personality and local dynamics involved. Third, it should be noted that in the

traditional structure ultimate decisions concerning the allocations of religious staff resided (for the most part) in the religious superior. This person was often situated in a state other than that of the diocese and in fact was responsible for staffing Catholic schools in several states including private schools owned by the religious order. She was more or less free to move religious personnel around at will from school to school or from diocese to diocese.

The Emerging Policy and Administration Structure

The emergence of boards of education is in the process of altering the traditional organizational structure of the Catholic schools within a diocese as diagrammed in Figure 1. The last available data showed that in 1967 almost 80 percent of all diocesan systems had diocesan boards of education; 36 percent had area boards. By 1968 roughly 40 percent of all parishes with schools had boards of education.[15] Unquestionably these percentages have risen considerably during the ensuing years. The emergence of boards of education at the diocesan and parish levels is due in large part to the emphasis in Vatican II on greater lay participation in decision making. However practical reasons of community support and the complexity of the demands of educational policy also gave impetus to the board movement.[16]

Figure 2 is an attempt to diagram the evolving structure for policy and administration of Catholic schools that have developed as a result of the advent of school boards.

In Figure 2 the first level of policy is formulated in block 1. Here the diocesan board can function in one of several ways:[17]

1. Advisory. The board discusses school problems and offers advice or counsel to the bishop who formulates policy. The last available data in 1966 showed that of dioceses with boards of education, 25 percent were classified as advisory.[18]

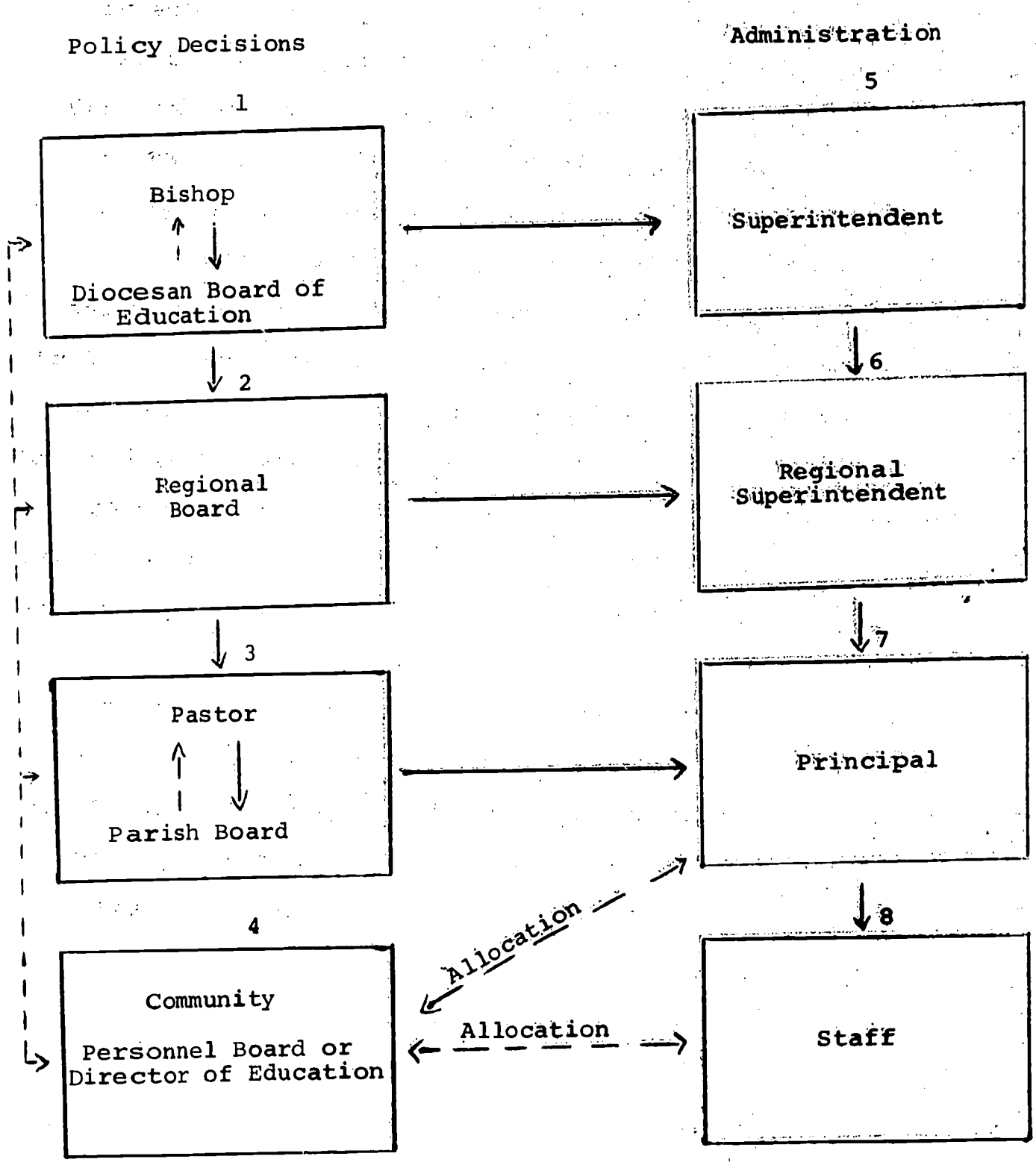
2. Legislative Subject to Approval. Here the board formulates policies which the bishop is free to approve or veto. In 1966 53 percent of diocesan boards reported this type of jurisdiction.

3. Legislative and Autonomous. In this arrangement the bishop agrees in advance that any decisions within its pre-defined limits of authority automatically bind the school system. In 1966 15 percent of the diocesan boards were so constituted.

The typical diocesan boards are for the most part appointed by the bishop. The composition of the board varies from diocese to diocese, but it generally includes laymen, clergy, and religious from congregations staffing a majority of the schools. An interesting contrast may be noted here: while religious teachers often

Figure 2

Evolving Structures for Policy and Administration of Catholic Schools



function on Catholic diocesan school boards, the presence of teachers or administrators is still relatively uncommon on public boards.

The areas of policy covered by the diocesan boards vary widely from diocese to diocese but primarily they involve setting personnel policies, diocesan-wide salary scales, and long-range planning. Increasingly one of the most important functions of diocesan boards is to set policy guidelines which parishes wishing to close or consolidate must meet.

The diocesan policy extends down to the regional boards (where they exist) and then down to the parish level. At both the regional and parish levels the boards can make policy appropriate for that level within the overall policies set by the diocesan board. Block 3, the parish level, mirrors in many respects the diocesan board. The parish board can be advisory, legislative with approval or legislative, depending on the particular diocese or the particular pastor.

The administrative chain of command appears clear in Figure 2. The administrators are pictured as the executive officers of the various boards but here again the power of the executive officers varies from diocese to diocese, depending on the bishop and from parish to parish, depending on the pastor.

Figure 2 appears at first glance to indicate that the boards, through their executive officers, control the schools and that the chain is strictly linear in nature. However, this is misleading on at least two counts. First, as we shall see in the next section, the financial responsibility for maintaining the vast majority of the elementary schools remains a parish rather than a diocesan obligation. Thus while the diocesan board might make policy concerning salaries, it is the parish that must find the money. Further, while the diocesan board is generally responsible for policy concerning diocesan schools, its budget for these schools often may be subject to the approval of either another diocesan board, e.g. the finance board, or by the bishop or his designated administrator.

Second, as was the case in the traditional structure, the religious communities still maintain control over the actual allocation of religious. This decision is now more often made by a personnel board rather than by a single superior, or increasingly by the individual religious herself. But the fact remains that the parish and diocese are subject to policy decisions over which they effectively have no control, concerning the allocation of a large number of personnel. It is hard for someone not familiar with the system to appreciate the fact that the superintendent cannot assign individual religious teachers regardless of their particular congregation to schools as the

need arises. Except in large diocesan high schools or in some of the newer inner city experiments, only one congregation staffs a particular school. Each community feels "that it has a peculiar spirit and a peculiar style which differentiates it from other groups..... Religious communities themselves are convinced that each of them has its corporate personality, and one who does not see it is kindly forgiven as not being very perceptive."[19] This attitude results in an inefficient allocation of human resources in the present system. Lay teachers can be hired by the diocese and allocated to parishes as needed. More commonly the local parish board or pastor hires lay teachers meeting educational requirements laid down by the diocesan board.

As far as the superintendent's office is concerned, there are marked differences between dioceses. In some cases, diocesan educational offices are so understaffed and under financed, their officials so poorly qualified, that parochial schools must proceed with little assistance from them. In other cases the dioceses exert a profound influence, offer a broad range of consultative services, and do much to keep the schools abreast of the times.

In summary, the evolving structures described in Figure 2 are not standardized. There is wide variation from diocese to diocese. Further, one is struck by the degree of decentralization

of the "system". The roles and powers within the various boards and their respective relationships to other boards and to administrators is in a process of being defined through a pragmatic baptism of fire. In some dioceses the results are encouraging; in others only a bare beginning has been made. Further the boards and administrators have little control over the allocation of the sisters who constitute a substantial key element of their faculty.

Finances

There are four basic sources of income presently employed by the Catholic school system to finance parochial and diocesan schools. Table 5 lists these four sources as a percentage of the total income reported by a sample of Catholic elementary and secondary schools for the academic year 1969-70.[20]

TABLE 5

SOURCES OF INCOME AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL INCOME
(1969-70 BASED ON 65 PERCENT OF SCHOOLS)

	Elementary	Secondary
Tuition	21.8	59.4
Fees	5.0	5.2
Subsidy by Parish or Diocese	64.4	21.0
Other	8.8	14.4

It will be noted from the above table that at the secondary level tuition accounts for the largest percentage of income. Tuition, however, is not enough to cover operating expenses and, on the average, 21 percent of the annual income must be drawn from general parish or diocesan funds in order to maintain secondary schools. Although the data was not available by type of school, the percentage of income from tuition and fees for private schools probably approaches 80 to 90 percent where diocesan subsidies are not available.

Diocesan subsidies of schools generally are drawn from general diocesan funds. In most dioceses the principal sources of this diocesan fund are individual parish assessments or special collections taken up in each parish. The formula for arriving at the amount of a parish's assessment to the diocesan fund varies from diocese to diocese.[21] In such event, the individual parish is an important source of diocesan funds that go to subsidize the diocesan school.

At the elementary level Table 5 indicates that the individual parish provides, on the average, 64 percent of the income needed to maintain the school. While the percentage varies from parish to parish, even within a given diocese, the percentage in Table 5 is probably a conservative estimate.[22] Thus, for the vast majority of elementary schools, it is the local unit, i.e., the parish, that is responsible for finding the funds necessary to operate

the school. It is estimated that between 40 and 60 percent of a parish's total income goes to the school.[23] A dramatic example of this is provided by the New York Archdiocese Financial Study. This study reports that in 1967 all 400 parishes in the Archdiocese had a regular Church income of $39,627,000. Of this $28,337,000 went for ordinary Church expenses while $20,102,000 or 50 percent went for school expenses leaving a deficit of $8,812,000 which was made up out of auxilliary income (tuition, bazaars, bingo, etc.). The percentage that went to school expenses is an underestimate since 87 of the 400 parishes did not have a school.[24]

The principal source of revenue at the parish level is the weekly collection taken up at all the Masses. This revenue source has been repeatedly shown to be regressive since when contributions are calculated as a percent of income they are inversely related to income.[25] Proportionately the poorer parishioners contribute more than do their wealthier co-religionists.[26] As a corollary, expenditures on parochial schools as a percent of income are also regressive; that is, while wealthier parishes spend more in terms of absolute dollars on the schools, the poorer parishes spend a larger percentage of their income on the schools.[27] Despite the regressive nature of the parish tax base, the demand for educational and social welfare services in poorer parishes is often greater than in more

affluent parishes. The Sunday collection not only is regressive, its voluntary aspects make it a particularly weak tax base. In the Archdiocese of New York, for example, per capita giving at Sunday Mass rose 45 percent between 1958 and 1964.[28] These it might be remembered were the peak years of Church attendance and religious involvement that began after the war. However, per capita giving only rose 6.9 percent between 1964 and 1967. Interestingly the new study from which these data were taken goes on to point out:

> "Fundamental to the revenue analyses must be a recognition of the changes occurring within the Church itself since 1964 in the wake of Vatican II. The discipline, the dogma, and the ritual of the Church have all been changed materially. A measure of confusion among the laity can be expected when a highly traditional religion introduces sweeping revisions.
>
> "The implementation of these changes in discipline and dogma upon the Church's traditional revenue raising mechanisms - and upon the entire rationale of a parochial school system - are most serious."[29]

Thus it has been pointed out that in the present Catholic system of financing, sound intra- and inter-parish fiscal policies are in short supply. This is not only because the weekly collections are an inadequate and unequal tax base but also because transfer mechanisms that could improve parish equities have not been developed.[30]

Table 5 shows that approximately one dollar out of five at the elementary level and three out of five at the secondary level are raised through tuition charges. Table 6 shows the distribution of tuition charges by base unit at both elementary and secondary level for the academic year 1969-70.[31]

The figures in Table 6 show that 43 percent of all parochial elementary schools assess a tuition charge under fifty dollars a year, and 95 percent charge under $200 per year. These figures apply to the rates for the first pupil in a family. Generally the rate declines for each additional member of the family. Overall parish elementary schools have lower tuition rates than either their diocesan or private counterparts. This also holds true at the secondary level where 88 percent of parish high schools charge $300 per year or less as compared to 45 percent of the diocesan and private schools.

While the tuition rates for the vast majority of parish schools do not appear to be high, a fair evaluation of the impact of these tuition rates on the clients of the schools would require an analysis of these data in conjunction with several other variables, such as: the ability to pay of the parish; the income of the parents; the number of children in the family enrolled in the school; the amount of property taxes paid by the parents.

Another extremely important, but hidden and indirect, source of revenue (or subsidy) available to the Catholic school system

TABLE 6

TUITION CHARGES FOR CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS
(1969-70)

	ELEMENTARY				SECONDARY			
	Parochial and Inter-Parochial		Diocesan and Private		Parochial and Inter-Parochial		Diocesan and Private	
	Schools	%	Schools	%	Schools	%		
$0-49	2,663	42.8	52	22.9	38	8.5	43	5.0
50-99	1,337	21.5	27	11.9	36	8.1	13	1.5
100-199	1,962	31.4	37	16.3	181	40.6	81	9.5
200-299	241	3.8	30	13.2	136	30.5	250	29.2
300-399	24	0.3	32	14.1	45	10.1	247	28.8
400-499	5	0.1	15	6.6	6	1.3	112	13.0
Over 500	8	0.1	34	15.0	4	0.9	111	13.0
Schools Reported	6,240	100.0	227	100.0	446	100.0	857	100.0
Total Schools	9,313		382		732		1,344	
Percent Reported	67.0		59.4		60.9		63.7	

is the contributed services of the religious and lay teachers. The dollar value of these contributed services is the excess of the actual market value in the public sector of teachers' salaries over the total payment in terms of salaries and living expenses by parishes or dioceses of their religious teachers. In many dioceses lay teachers are paid below public scale and this difference can also be considered a "contributed service."[32] The contributed services of religious for the academic year 1969-70 was estimated by the NCEA to amount to $225 million at the elementary level and $240 million at the secondary level. There are no national data available on the contributed services of lay teachers.[33]

Another form of contributed revenues is that from physical plant and equipment (schools and convents) that could be expected from commercial investment property of a similar kind.[34] There are no national data available on this type of contributed revenue or opportunity cost.

To give a concrete example of the value of the contributed revenue of personnel and property, in the Archdiocese of Denver, the "real resource" cost of Catholic schools was $359 per pupil, more than twice the cash operating costs recorded in school accounts.[35]

Professional Staff

The full time staff of Catholic schools is comprised of religious (sisters and brothers) and laymen and women. Table 7 presents the breakdown of the number of full time Catholic school teachers for the academic year 1969-70.[36]

TABLE 7

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF RELIGIOUS AND LAY TEACHERS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF SCHOOL FOR THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1969-70 (91 PERCENT OF SCHOOLS REFLECTED)

	Elementary School		Secondary School	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Sisters	56,157	50.5	19,285	37.2
Lay Teachers	53,843	48.4	23,110	44.6
Priests	NA	----	5,693	11.0
Brothers	NA	----	3,728	7.2
Other	1,274	1.1	NA	---
Total Full Time	111,274	100.0	51,816	100.0

NA: Not available. However Brothers and Parish Priests comprise a very small percentage of the elementary staff.

Table 7 shows that the national ratio of religious to lay teachers at the elementary level is very close to one to one. The principal regional variations are in New England where the religious/lay ratio is two to one, offset by a ratio of one to two in the Southeast. At the secondary level the national ratio is 55/45 with again a higher proportion of religious to lay in the New England states.[37]

Nationally the pupil-teacher ratio for the academic year 1969-70 was 29.2/1 at the elementary level and 18.0/1 at the secondary.[38]

As far as academic preparation is concerned, 80 percent of the religious and 60 percent of the lay teachers in the elementary schools have at least a bachelor's degree. At the secondary level 98 percent of the religious and 96 percent of the lay teachers have at least a B.A.[38] In regard to academic preparation it is interesting to note that in the 1962 Notre Dame Study of Catholic Education, only 57 percent of the sisters possessed a college degree.[40] This sharp rise in the number of religious with degrees is directly attributable to the fruits of the Sister Formation Movement mentioned previously.

PART III

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS: THE CRISIS IN STATISTICAL PERSPECTIVE

Having sketched the historical development of Catholic schools and having outlined the present Catholic school "system", its administrative and policy structures, financing and staffing, we turn now to the facts of the contemporary crisis in Catholic schools.

Until 1967 when the National Catholic Educational Association (NCEA) began to systematically gather basic statistics the best source of data on the number of Catholic schools and pupils was the Official Catholic Directory.[1] According to the Directory Catholic elementary school enrollment peaked in 1963 at 4,546,360 while 1965 was the peak for the secondary schools with a total enrollment of 1,081,703. For these same years elementary schools (1963) numbered 10,775 with 77,113 religious and 38,355 lay teachers, while secondary schools (1965) numbered 2,413 with 37,600 religious and 19,413 lay teachers.

Schools and School Closings

Interestingly the number of Catholic elementary schools continued to grow after the peak enrollment year of 1963 until 1965 when there were 10,879 Catholic elementary schools listed. On the other hand, 1962 saw the largest number of Catholic secondary schools, 2,502.

Table 8 using the most recent NCEA data, shows the number of Catholic elementary and secondary schools for the academic years 1967-68 to 1970-71. Table 8 shows that in this four year period 1101 elementary schools and 32[illegible] secondary schools have closed their doors.

Enrollment

In a recent article in the Christian Century, Swomley argues on the basis of fragmentary news reports that most of these closings have been the result of attempts at consolidation and the elimination of small inefficient units.[2] There simply are no accurate statistics available to validate Swomley's assertion. However, enrollment decline shown in Table 9 simply cannot be accounted for by the elimination of marginal schools. Table 9 shows that elementary school enrollment has declined at the rate of about 6 percent a year. If 1967-68 is considered the base year, then there has been an 18 percent decline amounting to 726,344 pupils over the last four years. A decline of this proportion involving this many students cannot be optimistically viewed as reflecting consolidation processes and the elimination of less efficient units. It is a portent of a crisis in fact and a potentially deeper crisis in the making.

This latter interpretation of these statistics is reinforced by the projection data of Table 10. The projections contained in Table 10 are very simple linear projections: the percentage declines were added, the last year weighted twice, and a simple arithmetic mean was computed for the projected decline. This was repeated for

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS 1967-68 to 1970-71

ELEMENTARY			SECONDARY		
Year	Number	Decrease	Year	Number	Decrease
1967-68	10,478		1967-68	2,312	
1968-69	10,231	-247	1968-69	2,226	-86
1969-70	9,804	-427	1969-70	2,109	-117
*1970-71	9,377	-427	1970-71	1,986	-123
		-1,101			-326

Source: NCEA - A Statistical Report on Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools for the Years 1967-68 to 1969-70, p. 7.

*Supplied by NCEA, unpublished data, in press.

TABLE 9

ACTUAL AND PROJECTIONED ENROLLMENT DECLINES IN CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS FROM 1967-68 to 1970-71[3]

	ELEMENTARY					SECONDARY				
Year	Student	Decrease Over Previous Year	Percent Decrease Over Previous Year	Decrease Over Base Year	% Decrease over Base Year	Student	Decrease Over Previous Year	Percent Decrease Over Previous Year	Decrease Over Base Year	Percent Decrease Over Base Year
67-68	4,105,805					1,092,521				
68-69	3,859,709	-246,096	.060	-246,096	.060	1,060,891	11,630	.011	11,630	011
69-70	3,607,168	252,541	.065	-498,637	.121	1,050,930	29,961	.027	41,591	.038
70-71	3,379,461	-227,707	.063	-726,344	.177	987,573	63,357	.060	104,948	.096
71-72	3,166,555	-212,906	.063	-939,250	.229	948,070	39,503	.040	144,451	.132
72-74	2,967,063	-199,492	.063	-1138,742	.277	913,940	34,130	.036	178,581	.163
74-75	2,780,139	-186,924	.063	-1325,666	.323	881,953	31,987	.035	210,568	.193
75-76	2,604,990	-175,149	.063	-1500,815	.366	878,085	30,868	.035	241,436	.220

each year of the next four academic years, 1971-72 through 1974-5. If enrollments continue to decline at the same rate, Table 9 shows that at the end of these four years elementary school enrollment will be down 1,500,815 or 37 percent over the base year 1967-68.

At the secondary level the percentage decline has been less marked until this academic year when it reached 6 percent. Since 1967 there has been a 9.6 percent or 104,948 pupil decline. Projected four years hence to 1975 this decline will amount to 241,436 or 22 percent. The secondary school projections contained in Table 9 are very conservative since they do not attempt to take into account the decreasing enrollments in the elementary schools that eventually are bound to have an impact at the secondary level.

The losses in the elementary schools which have been "feeders" to the Catholic high schools may be expected to speed up the projected decline of students enrolled in these latter schools.

Reasons for this decline will be discussed in detail in the next section. Suffice it to say at this point that they are a result of the interaction of the following factors:

a) a declining birth rate which has caused a drop in the available number of six year olds;

b) migration of Catholic families from the central city to suburban areas;

c) a changing attitude on the part of Catholic parents toward the desirability of Catholic schools;

d) administrative decisions to close schools, not to build new schools in new parishes, or to reduce class size.[3]

Staffing Patterns

The impact of a sharp decline in enrollment, while serious enough in itself, is compounded by striking statistics in the changing staffing patterns in Catholic schools. The Official Catholic Directory shows that the number of sisters in the United States peaked in 1966 at 181,421. This was the result of the large influx into religious orders during the 1950's and early 1960's noted earlier. However by 1970 this figure had declined by 20,490 to 160,931.

Tables 10 and 11 and Figures 3 and 4 present the NCEA data on elementary and secondary school staffing both statistically and graphically. From Table 10 and Figure 3 we see that there are 12,040 fewer full time sisters teaching in Catholic elementary schools in 1971 than there were in 1967. This represents a decline of about 19 percent. At the same time the number of full time lay teachers has risen by 14,374 or 32 percent. Thus despite an enrollment decline of over 700,000, and disappearance of 12,000 sisters, there are nonetheless 9,254 more full time teachers in Catholic elementary schools this academic year than there were in 1967-68.

TABLE 10

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF INCREASE OR DECREASE OF FULL TIME SISTERS
AND LAY TEACHERS IN CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS FROM 1967-68 -- 1975-76

	Religious					Lay Teachers				
Year	Actual Number	Decrease Over Previous Year	Percent Decrease Over Previous Year	Decrease Over Base Year	Percent Decrease Over Base Year	Actual Number	Increase over Previous Year	Percent Increase Over Previous Year	Increase Over Base Year	Percent Increase Over Base Year
67-68	64,230					45,344				
68-69	60,739	-3491	.054	- 3,491	.054	49,087	+3743	.083	3,743	.083
69-70	56,157	-4582	.075	- 8,073	.126	53,843	+4756	.097	8,499	.187
70-71	52,190	-3967	.070	-12,040	.187	59,718	+5875	.109	14,374	.317
		Projected					Projected			
71-72	48,693	-3497	.067	-15,537	.242	65,630	+5912	.099	20,286	.447
73-74	45,431	-3262	.067	-18,799	.293	71,996	+6366	.097	26.652	.588
73-75	42,387	-3044	.067	-21,843	.340	78,908	+6912	.096	33,564	.740
75-76	39,547	-2840	.067	-24,683	.384	86,562	+7654	.097	41,218	.909

TABLE 11

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF INCREASE OR DECREASE OF FULL TIME SISTERS AND LAY TEACHERS IN CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS FROM 1967-68 -- 1975-76

	Religious					Lay Teachers				
Year	Actual Number	Decrease Over Previous Year	Percent Decrease Over Previous Year	Decrease Over Base Year	Percent Decrease Over Base Year	Actual Number	Increase Over Previous Year	Percent Increase Over Previous Year	Increase Over Base Year	Percent Increase Over Base Year
67-68	19,837					17,948				
68-69	19,386	-451	-023	-451	.023	20,324	+2376	.132	2,376	.132
69-70	19,285	-101	.005	-552	.028	23,110	+2786	.137	5,162	.298
*70-71	18,852	-433	.022	-985	.050	26,155	+3045	.132	8,207	.457
			Projected					Projected		
71-72	18,513	-339	.018	-1,324	.067	29,634	+3479	.133	11,686	.651
73-74	18,198	-315	.017	-1,639	.083	33,575	+3941	.133	15,627	.8706
74-75	17,889	-309	.017	-1,948	.098	38,040	+4465	.133	20,092	1.119
75-76	17,585	-304	.017	-2,252	.113	43,099	+5099	.133	25,151	1.401

Source: NCEA - A Statistical Report on Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools for the Years 1967-68 to 1969-70, p. 13.

*Supplied by NCEA, unpublished data, in press.

Figure 3

Full Time Sisters and Lay Teachers in Catholic Elementary Schools

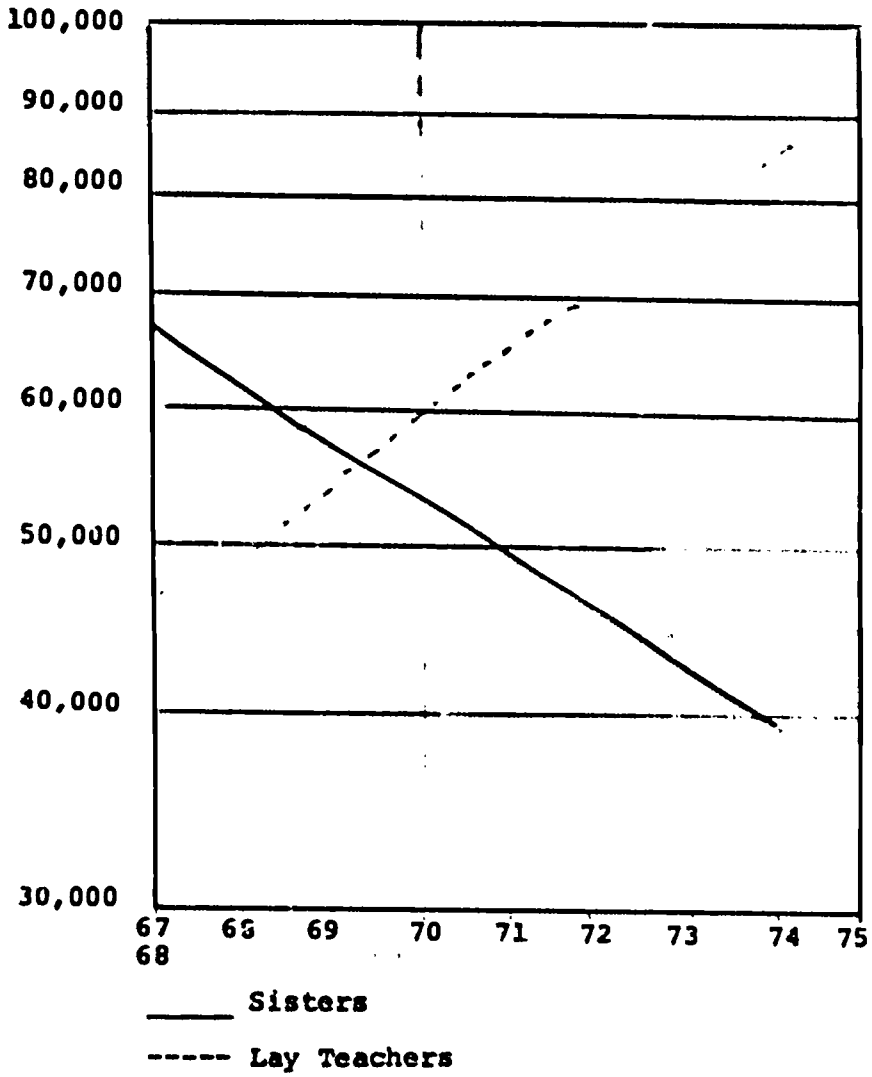


Figure 4

Full Time Sisters and Lay Teachers in Catholic Secondary Schools.

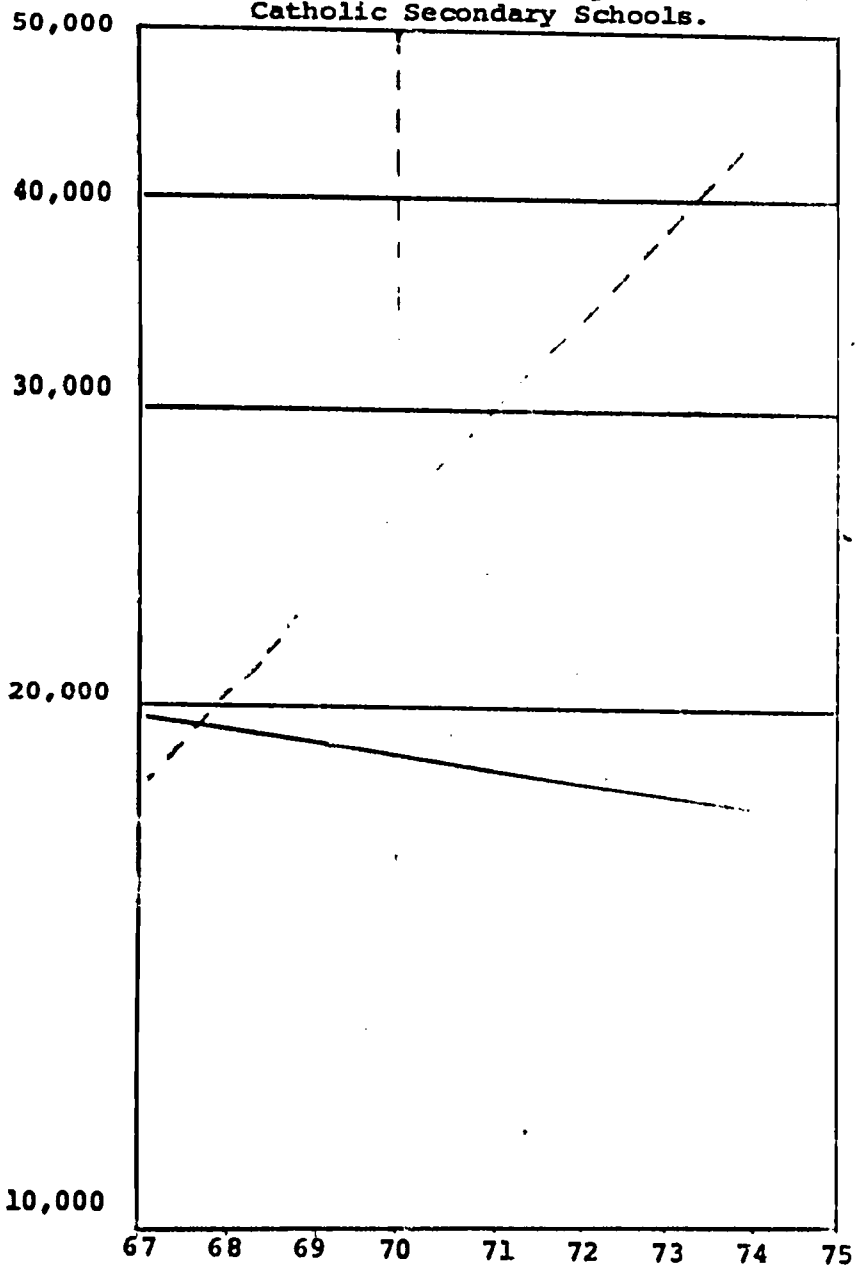


Table 11 and Figure 4 show that at the secondary level the loss of full time sisters is not yet as severe as at the elementary level; however, there has been a sharper percentage increase (46 percent) in the number of lay teachers at the secondary level than at the elementary level. Thus the number of full time secondary teachers between 1967 and 1970 has risen by 2,334 despite a decline in enrollment of 109,948.

The rise in the number of lay teachers at the elementary level is the result of a combination of the decreasing number of religious available and administrative decisions to reduce class size in order to remain competitive with public schools. At the secondary level the increase in the number of lay teachers can be attributed to these same two factors, but an additional factor is also at work. The trend in staffing at the secondary level is compounded by a decreasing number of teaching brothers and priests, who must be replaced by laymen.[4]

Another interesting phenomenon is also at work at the secondary level. Since 39 percent of all secondary schools are owned and operated by religious communities, it may be that sisters are being withdrawn from parochial and diocesan schools to staff private schools owned by the Order. Statistics are not available to confirm this hypothesis but the authors' experiences tend to suggest its validity. If this is the case, then a larger number of lay teachers would be needed in the cioceses and parochial schools. This in turn increases the deficits of these types of schools at a faster rate than in private schools.

Whatever the case, the decrease in the number of religious coupled with an increase in the number of lay teachers has adversely affected the financing of Catholic schools. We saw earlier that the most important subsidy to the Catholic schools from sources outside the parish or diocese has always been the contributed services of the sisters, brothers and priests. The dollar value of these contributed services is the excess of their actual market value in the community over the total payment by parishes or dioceses to religious teachers. The traditional subsidy to Catholic schools from contributed services has, therefore, been reduced in direct proportion to the number of "high-cost" lay teachers that must be hired to fill positions previously staffed by "low-cost" religious. For example, in 1969 in the fourteen diocesan high schools of the Archdiocese of Boston, there were two-and-a-half times more religious than there were lay teachers, but the total amount of annual salaries for the lay teachers is roughly twice the amount paid to the more numerous religious.[5]

The projections on the number of available full time religious contained in Tables 10 and 11 and Figures 3 and 4 are most likely conservative. First, they do not take into account the dramatic decrease in the number of entrants to religious communities. A 1969 study by the Congregation of Major Superiors of Women surveyed 90 percent of all religious communities in

the United States.[6] It found that the number of applicants to religious communities decreased 64.5 percent between 1964 and 1968. preliminary results of a follow-up study still in progress indicated that between 1968 and 1970 this figure had risen to between 75 and 80 percent.[7]

Second, the projection failed to take into account the increasing number of sisters choosing apostolates other than the schools.[8] Third, the projections do not adequately account for the continuing number of sisters leaving religious life. The withdrawal of religious with temporary vows rose 202 percent between 1964 and 1969; for sisters under perpetual vows the percent rose 267 percent.[9] (The numbers on which these percentages were based are, unfortunately, not available). Finally, the projections do not take into account the increasing number of aged and dependent sisters.[10] Another trend on the horizon is the interest of large groups of sisters to break off from established orders in order to form new congregations or lay institutes with apostolates other than Catholic schools.

Thus the outlook in statistical terms is not good. The number of available religious will continue to decline and will have to be replaced by "high-cost" lay teachers. At the same time enrollments may be expected to continue to decline further reducing income from tuition and accelerating the financial crisis. The next section of the report shall discuss the causes for this profound crisis.

PART IV

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS: PERSPECTIVES ON THE CAUSES OF THE CRISIS

The foregoing ABCs of the Catholic school situation provide perspectives preliminary and essential to any attempt to analyze the social and religious dynamics of the contemporary crisis. They set the stage by describing the background, the structure of action and the theme but they do not permit more than speculation as to the plots and sub-plots which give meaning to the drama. The control question remains: Why are Catholic schools so crisis-ridden?

Many pages back we typified as naive and simplistic the dollars and cents answer to this question, that is, the answer which highlighted the crisis as exclusively financial in its source and in its solution. Here we reaffirm our view that this interpretation is shortsighted in its preoccupation with what are facts, to be sure, but facts of a symptomatic rather than a diagnostic order. The more important questions are two: (1) Why is Catholic education now experiencing this financial crisis? (2) What connections, if any, exist between the sources of the financial crisis and a financial solution?

Here it will be argued that the financial crisis of American Catholic schools is the inevitable consequences of profound and extensive social and religious changes, changes which have been revolutionary in character, extremely rapid in tempo, and unforeseen.

It will be further argued that the concatenation of the social and religious changes which produce the crises, financial and non-financial, can only be partially relieved by financial solutions.

From American Catholics to Catholic Americans

The title of this sub-section is the master-key to opening the doors of social and religious change behind which the crisis of Catholic education has evolved. It expresses one concise fact: The American Catholics of yesterday are Catholic Americans today. What was a noun has become an adjective; what was an adjective has become a noun. And this dramatic and rapid change-over has put us into a new ball game.

The evidence is complex and many-sided. It begins, however, with the clear-cut fact that yesterday's American Catholics -- the uneducated, economically deprived, socially isolated, and politically powerless immigrants from Ireland, Italy, Poland, and Germany -- have been acculturated and assimilated into the mainstream of American society and American life. This is not a simple fact nor have the processes behind the American Catholic's assimilation been uncomplicated and uncontested. But it is a fact, and its social and religious consequences everywhere influence and color the crisis of Catholic schools.

Today as Catholic Americans, yesterday's immigrant Catholics are no longer uneducated. They have shared in the "explosive" increase in the amount of education young Americans have received in the past thirty years.[1] Indeed, given their base point, they have advanced more rapidly than their non-Catholic white fellow-citizens. And, ironically enough, no small credit for their educational escalation must be given to the Catholic elementary and secondary schools from which many now turn away. These schools served American Catholics well and contributed, sometimes in spite of themselves, toward the metamorphosis of their students into Catholic Americans.[2] Indeed their success has contributed to their undoing. The more educated Catholic Americans became the more liberated they were from the vulnerability to anti-religious or Protestant influences which had inspired the establishment of the Catholic school system. As an educated parent he felt much less the need to "protect the faith of his children" by sending them to Catholic schools.[3] Values other than religious achieved an independence not previously possible, and for the realization of these values the public school route often seemed to be more fruitful. The Catholic school still had its friends but among the more educated it only merited financial support and the enrollment of their children if it passed the test of educational quality.[4] They valued the importance of religious formation but they valued more the importance of acquiring the tools necessary

for realizing the American dream. The priority was on becoming fully American rather than remaining fully Catholic.

This upswing in the educational profile of Catholic Americans is, however, only one indication of the mobility processes they were experiencing. As they became more educated the Catholic American children of the immigrants gradually moved onto the occupational escalator and moved out of the urban ghetto. Socially and geographically they constituted a sizable portion of the mobility patterns that have so clearly marked the twentieth century picture of American life. The unskilled manual workers became technicians, the children of trade unionists became white-collar workers, and the more ambitious and the more talented became teachers, lawyers, doctors, government officials, corporation managers, etc.[5] As Figure 5 indicates, the transition from American Catholics to Catholic Americans is seen in their heavy representation in the middle class and working class segments of American society.[6]

Nor was this all. The assimilation process changed the ecological map of American Catholicism. The children and grandchildren of the immigrants, now educated and economically and occupationally mobile, no longer needed the cultural and religious insulation provided by the urban ghetto. Their achievements as

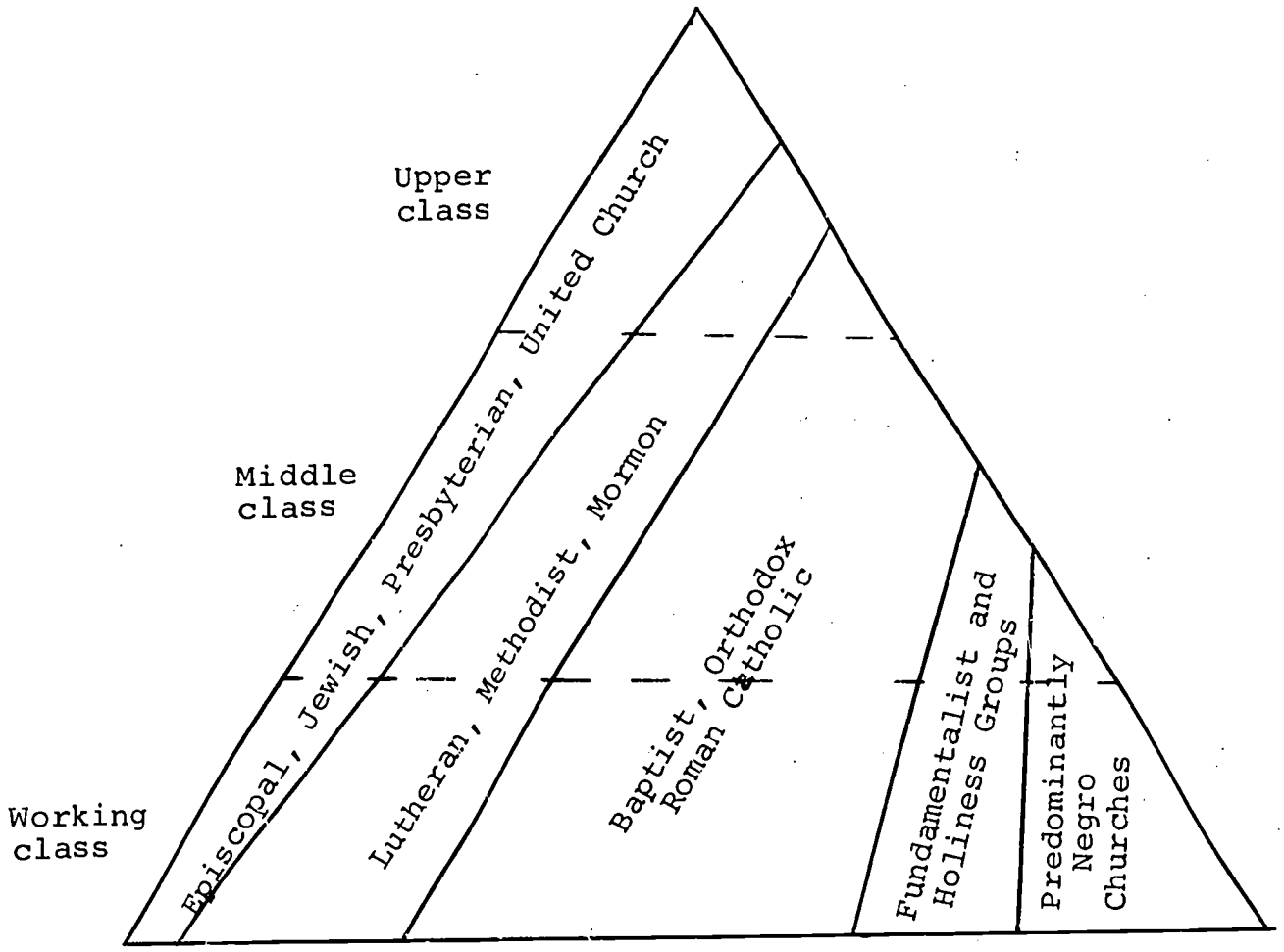


Figure 5. Class and religion in the United States. (The areas are roughly proportional to membership. The pyramidal shape may misrepresent the American class distribution which, by many criteria, approximates a diamond shape, with largest numbers in the lower-middle and upper working classes.)

Source: Yinger, J. Milton. The Scientific Study of Religion. New York: Macmillan, 1970, p. 299.

Americans called for the "better life", for an escape from the urban tenement and the crowded city streets to the mortgaged house and the "clear air" of suburbia.[7] Nor should it be forgotten that this social and geographic mobility of yesterday's Catholics was in no small part the result of the invasion of their urban "turf" by Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and the new immigrants. Their "climb" out of the urban ghetto was helped along by the "push" from below.[8] In any event, like millions of other Americans they "moved" and their moving broke the bonds that identified them as noun-Catholics and adjective-Americans.

The evidence for this is again many-sided. It appears in the statistical evidence of the Census Bureau up to 1936 and in the demographic studies of sociologists and economists since that period.[9] It appears, too, in the gradual decline of the national parishes (parishes that served Italians, Poles, Germans in their urban ghettos),[10] in the depopulation of down-town churches of all denominations, and in the rapid growth of new Catholic churches and schools all over the suburban landscape.[11] One of the initially important, unstated goals of Catholic schools, the preservation and transmission of a national culture, language and value system became an increasingly less viable and less important educational concern of second and third generation Americans. These experiences were, of course, not universal

phenomena. Some members of the Church by preference or by default, remained American Catholics, some in the city and some in suburbia. But for the majority assimilation had "worked".[12] They were in fact or in process middle-class Catholic Americans.

The significance of this transition is perhaps best symbolized by the political coming of age of Catholics as Americans. Their numbers had long made them a powerful political force in American life but they had been a force suspect because they had seen, and because they saw themselves as American Catholics.[13] John F. Kennedy's election as President of the United States dramatically ended this era. In his Houston speech he expressed what was to become the political motto of Catholic Americans. What matters, he said, was "not what kind of Church I believe in, for that should be important only to me, but what kind of America I believe in."[14] His election and the subsequent political history of the United States are living proof of the general acceptance of Catholics as Americans.

But the political coming of age of Catholic Americans was paralleled by changes in their political orientations. The "Catholic vote", if it ever existed, disappeared. Its demise was the price paid for social and economic mobility. Catholics were no longer a homogeneous, uneducated, lower-class urban mass but

a heterogeneous, educated, socially mobile, dispersed population. It was a growing population, to be sure, because Catholic birth rates until very recently remained higher than those of non-Catholic Americans. But the fracturing of ethnic and religious loyalties and the pursuit of new self-interests opened the doors of political change. The cradle Catholic was once a cradle Democrat but his sons and grandsons were more ready and willing to accommodate to other political, economic, and social philosophies.[15] Here, as in other areas, the ongoing character of the mobility process does not yet signal any massive rejection of earlier political identifications. What is clear, however, is that on the political level, too, American Catholics are as Catholic Americans becoming more diversified.

Additional points must here be made. It must be kept in mind that the identity shift from American Catholics to Catholic Americans is a multi-dimensional process which is still becoming. Moreover, it is an uneven process because the values which it involves and the opportunities which it assumes have neither been uniformly assimilated nor available. There are still a considerable number of American Catholics whose primary self-identifications are religious rather than national.[16] There are others, too, who are American Catholics on one or more dimensions and Catholic

Americans on other levels. And there are those, the younger and the more educated for the most part, whose assimilation is near complete. Like John F. Kennedy, they are noun-Americans and adjective-Catholics.

Here, relative to the crisis in Catholic education, this latter population is crucially important. They are the parents and parents to-be of the children who will tomorrow populate America's elementary and secondary schools. Their transition, to be sure, is not complete but the demographic reality is that the decisions of this younger population, their decisions as parents, as Catholics, and as citizens, will be less those of American Catholics and more those of Catholic Americans.[17] The implications of this identification shift for the crisis in America's Catholic schools will be developed in subsequent sections of this paper.

From a Closed to an Open Church

The ongoing Americanization of Catholics described in the preceding section of this report provides only a partial and incomplete framework for understanding the crisis of Catholic schools. These long-term processes have been paralleled by an equally revolutionary series of changes in the religious definitions of what it means to be a Catholic. The Catholic American of today and tomorrow, therefore, is not only a new and different

American, he is also a new and different Catholic.[18]

The evidences of this religious revolution-in-process within American Catholicism cannot be adequately detailed here. In macroscopic terms, however, the new and different Catholic American is variously experiencing and responding to changes in religious meanings, and in Church goals and structures. These in turn are forcing personal redefinitions of his religious identity. He is no longer sure what it means to be Catholic. He only knows that he is not the same kind of Catholic that his father was and this knowledge directly or indirectly affects his perceptions and commitments to Catholic schools. These education-related consequences will be described in the following section. Here, at least grossly, we will attempt to provide perspectives that will explain his crisis of religious identity.

Vatican Council II (1961-1965) marks the official enactment of religious and ecclesiastical renewals and reforms which have begun to change American Catholicism and Catholic Americans.[19] Prior to this period the seeds of change had been planted and had commenced to grow but few recognized their importance or anticipated their formal endorsement by a Vatican Council.[20] However, American Catholicism was still clearly dominated by the religious value residues of medieval Europe. The Church was primarily sacral and other-worldly in its primary orientation. It conceded little or nothing to the importunities of the human condition or

to the secular orders in which man and society were embedded. God was in His heaven, the Pope was in Rome; and Catholics earned their personal salvation by adhering to the Word of God as this was authoritatively interpreted by His Church. Salvation, it is true, was not ruled out for non-Catholics but the odds against them were long because they were officially outside the one, true, holy and apostolic Church and were less likely to be able to use the channels of salvation. Moreover, non-Catholics constituted a threat to the salvation goals of the true-believers. Their "heresies" were so tempting and their secularities so catching that the Church turned in on itself as a protective mechanism. It was a closed Church out of touch with the world and indifferent or fearful of its secular values, structures, and institutions.[21]

On the American scene these traditional perspectives clearly dominated the lives of yesterday's American Catholics and are, indeed, still powerful forces of religious identification. The evidences of this are well-known. Throughout the 19th century and, indeed, well into the 20th century, liberal Catholicism was hardly able to emerge.[22] America was a White, Anglo Saxon, Protestant society and its values and institutions were seen as threats to the authority structure of the Church and to the salvation of its members. So much was this the case, indeed, that in 1895 the "heresy" of Americanism was officially condemned by

Pope Leo XIII.[23] This condemnation was reinforced by the even more significant anathemization of Modernism as a heresy a condemnation which intensified the conservatism of the ecclesiastical leadership and reinforced the authoritarian structures of the Church.[24] An anti-ecumenical spirit prevailed, liberal social and economic causes were suspect, and clerical domination of the life of the Church in all its parts remained largely untouched. The Church possessed the "unchanging" truth and this truth, authoritatively taught by the episcopal and clerical leaders, denigrated the secular order and through the parish system sought to protect the faith of the laity from the threat of a dangerous world. Thus, science remained suspect, priests remained celibate, nuns remained cloistered, the laity remained passive, and the Church grew in numbers and in strength.

The latter fact should not be overlooked or minimized. Prior to 1960 most of the statistical indices of organizational strength were positive. Church membership was increasing, vocations to the priesthood and to religious life flourished, Churches and schools were being built, enrollments grew, and the collection boxes readily provided the cash necessary not only for local operations but for mission activity in under-developed countries.[25] Moreover, there were some signs that more liberal Catholic postures might emerge. The Sister Formation Movement was educating young

nuns in collegiate settings more intellectually sophisticated than any they had known before.[26] Catholic colleges and universities were broadening their programs and recruiting more lay Catholic and non-Catholic scholars.[27] And, increasingly, contact and communication with more change-oriented European Catholic societies provoked enquiry about scriptural interpretation, liturgical reform, and the role of the laity. But overall the American Catholic Church was secure in its conservatism, secure enough, in fact, to depreciate the first sounds and signs of changes which were soon to have profound and pervasive consequences.

Over the past ten years, however, the sounds and the signs of change have so grown in volume and in visibility that no one can now ignore them. The religious and ecclesiastical scenes are different now and these differences, rooted in new values and attitudes, have influenced beliefs, perceptions, and practices as varied as the concept of God, the infallibility of the Pope, and fish on Friday. Suddenly, or so it seems, Catholic Americans are surrounded by ideas which openly question the meaning of religion and the goals and structures of the Church, and this questioning posture is in some quarters condoned and even at times encouraged.

Again the spectrum of change is too broad for detailed description. In dramatic form, however, it is highlighted by a decline in theological dogmatism and ecclesiastical

authoritarianism, by an increase in the authority of individual conscience, by an acceptance of the values of the secular as secular, by an openness to other religions, and by a democratization of ecclesiastical structures.[28] Yesterday's "heresy" is often today's "in thing" as the closed Church of American Catholics slowly and unevenly moves toward the open Church of the new Catholic Americans.

The Changing Catholic and Catholic Schools

Needless to say, no organizational or institutional part of American Catholicism has escaped the impact of such system shattering fundamental changes. And Catholic education is no exception. On the contrary, the size, the visibility, and the historical significance of the American Catholic school system have made it especially vulnerable at many different points. Here, in concise fashion we will be concerned with describing the consequences of religious changes on three distinct but related areas of vital importance to the contemporary school crisis. Specifically, these are,

1. the functional values of Catholic schools,
2. the viability of the parish structures within which they operate, and
3. the changing vocational orientations of their teaching staffs.

1. The Functional Values of Catholic Schools

The central point here is that the social and religious situations which justified and legitimized the establishment and the development of Catholic schools no longer pertain. What has been described as the siege mentality of American Catholics, a mentality which defensively sought to protect the Catholic child from Protestant and secular education, has seen the enemy disappear or take on a friendly coloration. The siege, if you will, has been lifted and the raison d'etre for Catholic schools in this historic perspective has been defused. This is not to say that the religious instruction of their children no longer concerns Catholic parents. There is abundant research evidence to the contrary.[29] What it does say very simply is that the Americanization process and the Christianization process have deflated the necessity and the importance of the Catholic school system as the primary agency for religious education. These schools realized their initial goals, i.e., they protected the faith of the young and they socialized millions of American Catholics. Moreover, these goals could, and did claim the financial support of American Catholics for generations. But these claims have lost their priority position. The high Catholic birth rate simply surpassed the capabilities of the Church to provide schools for the parochial education of all. Accordingly,

the rationale which had legitimized the establishment of parochial schools could not be internally defended when about 60 percent of the Catholic children, preferences aside, had to seek other schooling in public educational facilities. The question becomes one of ordering priorities, here specifically educational priorities. Over against the parochial schooling of a minority stood the problem of the religious education of the majority. Not surprisingly, the parents of the latter population experienced more and more difficulty in accepting the system's raison d'etre. Their children were not its direct beneficiaries even though their dollars were helping to maintain it. And the allocation of monies to the parochial school sacrificed not only the quality of religious education of Catholic children attending public schools and of adults but it diverted funds from other non-educational apostolates which increasingly pressed for support. Mary Kavanaugh described this priority dilemma as follows:

> Last year...$111 of parish funds were spent on each St. Anne's School child, while $7.45 was spent on the CCD [Confraternity of Christian Doctrine or Sunday School] student. The latter figure would increase if building costs were included, but the rise would be a very slight increase because some CCD classes meet in private homes, and the rest use the school building for only one and a half hours every two weeks. There are 500-plus parochial school students...and 1300 plus CCD students, the former receiving one-half to three-quarters of an hour instruction in religion each day and the latter receiving an hour and a half every other week...if I correctly understand the nature of the parish, the parish has a moral responsibility to give the best religious education possible to each member.30

The value system of the Council of Baltimore was no longer either religiously acceptable or practically feasible. And the tradition which had justified the construction of a parochial school as prior in importance to the construction of a Church could find little support. Moreover, the long-time suspicion of many Catholic Americans that the means were not justified by the end products of Catholic schools seemed more and more credible. Indeed, Greeley and Rossi's research clearly indicated that only very slight differences could be identified in the comparison of the Catholic products of parochial and public schools.[31] For more and more young well-educated, post Vatican Council II Catholic Americans the parochial school system was an anachronism which serviced only a select minority and which could no longer assert, even on religious grounds a top priority claim on their moral, much less financial support. They acknowledged the historical values and functions of such Catholic schools; they conceded the moral and educational advantages still present in many of the parochial schools; they admitted that they would take advantage of these qualities and enroll their own children where the public schools were inferior; but the traditional social and religious priorities could not claim their allegiance.[32] As Catholic Americans and as members of an "open" church, they had responsibilities to

human society which claimed precedent over the Catholic school. And it is this new religious view which undergirds a significant part of the withdrawal of financial support and which explains too, the friend of the court role chosen by the National Association of Catholic Laymen in order to express their opposition to the Pennsylvania legislation supportive of non-public schools.[33]

One caveat should have been entered. The rejection of the traditional functions of Catholic schools is a reaction of what has been called "new breed" Catholics. Their members are not insignificant and, indeed, appear to be increasing. But there is another group of Catholics who have on less ideological grounds withdrawn their support. These include the poor who cannot pay and the not-so-poor who are experiencing the trauma of a crisis in confidence.[34] These points are developed at a later point in this report.

2. The Viability of the Parish Structure

On the organizational level other Post Vatican Council II changes have similarly served to withdraw support from Catholic schools. Specifically, the reconceptualization of the Christian community as the social or group locus of a religiously meaningful life has raised questions about the viability of the parish structure in which Catholic schools were entrusted by the Council of Baltimore. The point is that the traditional parish structure is seen by many persons as an organizational anachronism relative to the social and religious needs of Catholic Americans.[35] Its

geographical boundaries and its organizational structure restrict and limit the composition of the Christian community and the expression of its religious values.

This is particularly true in the increasingly urbanized situation. The lives of parish members simply cannot and will not be contained within the strict boundaries of a parish map. Their families, their work, their recreation, their interests, etc., are extra-parochial. The result is that for most Catholics the parish is the Church building in which they worship[36] or the parochial school which some of their children attend. It is an organization turned in on itself, an organization often fractured by a division between parochial-school-Catholics and the other-Catholics and seldom inclusive of non-Catholics resident within the territorial boundaries. It is an organization whose geography and structure are out of joint with the new religious ideal of a Christian community.[37]

This line of analysis has recently been related to the crisis of Catholic schools in a number of hypotheses suggested by George Elford, Director of Research for the National Catholic Educational Association.[38] He points out that in the theological construct reaffirmed by Vatican Council II the model of the parish identifies it as a believing, learning, serving, and celebrating community of adults as well as children. Operationally, however, the parish school is often the only major program in operation. And while

this program may serve a public purpose, "the self-interest motive which accounts for the existence of the parish school prevents it from being taken as a sign (witness) of the parish's concern for the community at large". As for the other functions of the parish as a Christian community, the impressionistic evidence is that the typical parish fares badly.

Elford's most telling point, however, is that to the point a parish approximates the theological ideal of a Christian community to that point Catholic school problems do not take on dramatic overtones. They can remain viable with or without a parochial school. Indeed, those without such a responsibility could experiment and explore opportunities for greater and wider religious fulfillment. Contrariwise, the situation in which the school is all but equated with the parish, the school centered and the school dependent parish, is not only incompletely a Christian community but it is vulnerable to destruction when the school is threatened. He suggests that "this rigid parochialism will prove the undoing of many a parochial school." The crisis of Catholic schools is at its roots a crisis in Catholic parishes. And this crisis in Catholic parishes has its historical roots in the Council of Baltimore as these have been confronted by the renewals and reforms of Vatican Council II.

One final point remains. This disjunction between the ideal and the typical parish finds much of its grounding in the social and religious differences among pastors on the one hand and the younger, more educated laity and clergy on the other hand.[39]

The typical pastor is an American Catholic conditioned to a pre-Vatican Council II pastoral theology which sacralized his authority and which defined the parish community in school-centered, non-adult terms. The young and educated lay Catholic, on the other hand, is a Catholic American whose religious horizons outreach territorial boundaries and a school-parish-mentality. Doris Grumbach describes this polarization in the following words:

> Young college-trained persons are, at this moment, suffering under the stolid hands and deaf ears of pastors in the parishes in which they have settled, pastors who are, on the whole, indifferent to, or indignant at, their intellectual needs, their demands, their "new" approaches. Despite all that has been said about advance, fresh air and change into twentieth-century modes, all that has been taught to them during their college years, all the possibilities for a meaningful, rich spiritual life they have been invited to explore, there is very little or no sign of change or genuine renewal at the parish level (once the altar was turned around it was "done") and only stirrings of discontent among their fellow parishioners, a few of them, like themselves, aware, and like them rendered impotent by the resistant institutional Church. This is especially true in suburban, small-city and country parishes where the values of permanence, homeyness, "family feeling" and togetherness have traditionally been integral to the very basis of parish life, where the rectory, the school, the parish hall, the convent and the new church (constructed usually in that order) snuggle together in geographical closeness, and contact with the rest of the community is established through Wednesday night BINGO. "ALL ARE WELCOME," the sign outside the parish hall proclaims.[40]

There are, of course, other points that might well be made. The central fact, however, should even now be clear. The crisis of Catholic education is in substantial part, an expression of a crisis in the parish structure which constitutes its operational base. The majority of these parishes are still a long way from knowing or caring about the operational implications of their new mission to be a living Christian community. These religious changes in the concept of the parish have identified the Cathclic school not as the center of the parish life but as only one of its multiple dimensions. Pastors and older or less educated lay persons are, perhaps understandably, less open to the new theology and the new ecclesiology. In their more traditional views the parish is school-centered and even school-dependent. They see the loss of the Catholic schools as the end of the parish. Conversely, the young and the educated laity and the younger clergy accept the Vatican Council II larger concepts of the Christian community and resist the equation of the parish with the school. They are the Catholic Americans who are not enrolling their children in Catholic schools and who are not contributing to the financial support of the school system. The crisis of Catholic schools only minimally concerns them because it is a crisis which they see as rooted in the traditional rather than in the new theology of the parish. The parish as a learning Christian community is simply too broad and

too profound a concept to be equated with the parish school. They see themselves as liberal turned-on Christians unhappily located in traditional turned-in parishes.

3. The Old and the New Religious Vocation

The foregoing religiously-inspired changes in the functional values of Catholic schools and in their structural or organizational bases do not yet adequately describe the crisis in Catholic education. Values and structures have a quality of endurance which often neutralizes the impact of change and forestalls its consequences. But when these changes redefine the identity of persons strategically important to the functioning of Catholic schools, the consequences are direct and immediate. And this is precisely what happened to the vocation identities of the thousands of nuns, priests, and brothers who, as teachers, have staffed Catholic schools. In their religiously-oriented identity crises we have a major source of the crisis in Catholic education.

More simply expressed, the statistical fact is that over 12,000 nuns have left their convents and their classrooms during the past four years. Their withdrawals from the teaching staffs of Catholic schools have inevitably created personnel shortages which have changed the face, the faculty, and the finances of Catholic schools.

It will hardly be necessary here to detail the vocation identity of the pre-Vatican Council II nuns who staffed America's Catholic schools. They conceived of themselves and were conceived of by others as the obedient servants of an authoritarian Church

whose dimensions were narrowly sacral and historically fixed. Each of them had been divinely called to be a "bride of Christ" and to live and work in a communal or family setting in which her identity as a person was submerged to the point of invisibility. They were "Sisters" to one another and "Mothers" to their students and heaven was their destination. Obedience provided them a warranty on this heaven to come, but here on earth they were to be humble, submissive, spiritual women, and they were, the majority of them, the dedicated teachers of the children of the Catholic community in the parish school. Their "contributed services" were the fiscal foundations on which the Catholic school system was largely built. They were respected and loved for their selfless services and for their spiritual witness, but they seldom emerged as persons or personalities. The convent culture isolated them from the larger society and this isolation involved inevitably psychological and intellectual consequences. In a stable religious and social world these consequences were for the most part both personally and institutionally tolerable. In the dynamic worlds of Post Vatican Council II they were clearly intolerable for an increasing number. They opted out. And the staffing and the image problems of Catholic schools and their attendant financial crisis are substantially caused by this dramatic religious change.

According to Sister Marie Augusta Neal the Sister Formation Program which got underway in the 1950's may be identified as the American beginning of what has become a revolution in the convent world.[41] But, as noted earlier, this was not its anticipated or intended consequence. Its original purpose was, it will be remembered, limited to the upgrading of the professionalization of congregations active in educational health and welfare services and to the updating too, of their theological training. To these ends hundreds of young religious were sent to Catholic and non-Catholic institutions of higher learning where they experienced for the first time personal encounters not only with intellectual freedom but with the meaning of the evolving new theology. Now literally outside of the cloister "the sisters began to experience in a very short time the cultural relativity of so many of their assumed absolutes, e.g., the sacredness of the Great Silence, the necessity of religious garb, the rightness of unquestioning obedience to 'Superior' and the primacy of the daily order of exercises."[42] The fact that these sisters were young was of course of special significance. The new knowledge they acquired, the criticisms of the Church and of its neglect of the human condition which they heard, the questioning spirit which everywhere surrounded them were able to take root in the minds and hearts of the young sisters. Still uncommitted and only partially conditioned to

the existing patterns of convent life, they "had not yet developed the repertoire of defenses necessary to prevent hearing the voices of the critics to whom they were exposed during their training."[43] The Sister Formation Program thus developed a "new breed" of sisters and sent them back to the convent and to the parish school. With the advantage of hindsight the then unintended consequences are now seen as predictable, especially since Vatican Council II mandated the renewal of religious life.

Briefly put, the confrontation between the older religious order members unexposed to the Sister Formation program and their younger co-religionists trained in it has been the decisive element in the response to change of the religious orders of the United States. For many of the former the Church was a source of solidarity and security in a world threatened by technological and military self-destruction. And this search for security in both a religious and a social sense encouraged a turning in on self and a turning away from the multiple and manifest human problems "out there". They did not see, as the young sisters did, the massive irrelevance of religion to a suffering humanity nor were they aware of the reluctance of the Church leadership to address itself directly to these human needs. It was in large part the young sisters, products of the Sister Formation movement, who proclaimed the need for updating religious life and for an encounter with the world to insure survival.[44]

Predictably, this confrontation and its consequences varied by religious orders. In most, if not all, there was variation on the old-young continuum but awareness and unawareness varied too on other continua. Thus sisters for whom service was a central concern felt freer to criticize the relevance of their communal life because they were less dependent on the need for community for security. For those, on the other hand, who saw community living as the central concern, criticism came less easily. Similarly, differences in the responses of congregations varied with (1) the degree to which a congregation had in the years preceding Vatican Council II achieved a readiness state for changes; (2) the external pressures of decreasing recruitment rates and the internal pressures of increasing member dissatisfaction and departures; (3) the geographic and intellectual proximity of congregations to change-oriented students, parishioners, and professional colleagues; (4) the change orientation bias of leaders of the congregation; (5) the type of person whom the present role models of the congregation attracted by their witness.[45] As Sister Marie Augusta Neal's research studies attest the responses of each order to the Vatican Council pressures to change is directly related to the percentage of sisters holding a post-Vatican Council belief orientation affirming the holiness of human efforts to transfer the world in justice, as distinct from a pre-Vatican belief

orientation affirming the goodness of withdrawal from involvement in a world defined as evil.[46]

Relating to those congregations primarily dedicated to teaching in parochial schools, the full spectrum of differences in response is to be found. The significant point is that the problems of change have so far proved more decisive than have the opportunities of change.

As a consequence thousands of sisters have left the convent and have left parochial school teaching. This withdrawal decision has been made for the most part by sisters between the ages of 22 and 37 and this fact has significant projection consequences for parochial school staffing not only now but in the future.[47] These consequences, it should be pointed out, refer not only to staffing but to educational problems. To the extent that the sisters staying in religious life are older, the generation gap between the religious teacher and the pupils in Catholic schools is bound to widen considerably.

For the majority of these ex-sisters, the parochial school apostolate did not provide religiously meaningful careers despite the recent humanization of much of their congregation's structure. Indeed, even among those who have opted to remain, the preference for other than parochial school apostolates is increasingly expressed.[48] The "inner city" poor, or the Peace Corps, and Vista programs, or catechetical work, all have seemed to provide more

opportunity for personal Christian service than the parish school. This does not deny the Christian service opportunities provided in Catholic schools but only calls attention to the differences of opinion held by individuals relative to priorities. However, the new vocation of the religious is less apt to be fulfilled as a parochial school teacher. And this change is directly related not only to the financial crisis of Catholic schools but to their potential for survival regardless of finances. For over a hundred years the image of the Catholic school has been the image dominated by the visible presence of a dedicated nun dressed in her religious habit. The parochial schools in the minds of Catholics and non-Catholics was identified by her presence. Other considerations aside then, the religious changes which have withdrawn the nuns from the Catholic schools or put them in secular garb have seriously disturbed this image and have substantially contributed to the crisis of Catholic education.[49]

PART V

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS: CULTURES, CLIENTELES, AND CASH

The foregoing social and religious sources of the crisis in Catholic education do not, however, tell the whole story. They identify some of the more significant factors in the development of the crisis but at a level which is relevant mainly to its fundamental rather than immediate etiology and to its long-term rather than short-term consequences. They undergird the crisis and they probe its depth but by themselves they do not explain why or how the crisis erupted so quickly and spread so widely. One could indeed make a plausible case for the view that the Catholic educational system in the United States could have absorbed the consequences of these social and religious changes and could have escaped their more destructive costs if no other factors had intervened. But the reality was and is otherwise. Other factors, factors more proximate and efficient and inescapable did intervene and their presence deprived the Catholic schools of the time and of the resources which survival adjustments required. These other factors triggered the crisis potential provided by the social and religious changes. They are an important part of the problem and of the search for its resolution.

The specification of these many other factors is not easy because their complexity and their relative importance defy consensus. Here time and space considerations recommend that they be collapsed into three (3) sectors. Stated briefly the following pages will investigate the degrees to which the social and religious changes were activated to crisis proportions by forces and factors related to (a) longer cultural and educational problems of American society; (b) demographic changes within the Catholic population, and (c) new economic and financial considerations.

The Cultural Nexus

The central fact here is that of change. During the past twenty years American society and all of its institutions have been experiencing a tempo of change unparalleled in our national history.[1] Almost daily it seems the labels of our cultural age have been changed by technological revolutions. The electronic age, the atomic age, the nuclear age, the sub-nuclear age, the inter-planetary age -- one label gave away to another with startling speed. And this was true also in areas other than the technological. Values which had perdured largely unchanged for generations came almost daily under challenge. Political values, religious

values, family values, economic values, educational values, values related to age and sex, none escaped criticism and none remained unchanged. Change was "natural" and persons and institutions that did not shape up to its demands became quickly obsolete. Moreover, time was such a premium commodity that tomorrow was always too late. If something of value was lost, that was, of course, too bad but...change, rapid change was in.

This climate of and for change was and is the immediate cultural context of the crisis of Catholic schools in the United States. Its detailed implications cannot here be spelled out but its significance to the crisis can hardly be questioned. The transition from American Catholics to Catholic Americans and from a closed to an open Church involved profound and extensive personal and institutional adjustments. Under even the most favorable conditions these change-overs could be expected to provoke crisis situations. The context of the contemporary American scene, the climate of change, as it were, pumped oxygen onto a lighted fire. This fact intensified and spread the crisis of the schools and strained the resources of the Church in their attempts to contain it. Moreover, because there were innumerable other change-related crises and because crises had become normal, neither the resources nor the interests of the larger society were promptly directed to it. In an immediate sense, the crisis of Catholic schools is, therefore, a cultural product of American social change.

On a more concrete level the tempo of change which has marked the American educational scene has also fed the crisis of Catholic schools. Already caught up in the problems of social and religious change, the Catholic school was at a serious disadvantage when the tempo of educational change speeded up. Suddenly more and more people wanted more and more education. They wanted education that was relevant, technologically up-dated, responsive to their needs and to their goals - and they wanted it <u>today</u> for themselves and for their children. New buildings, new curricula, reduced class size, educational TV, teaching machines and other educational hardware, experimental programs - these and other innovations were only a part of the response of the public schools and it still goes on. For their part the Catholic schools made heroic efforts to keep abreast with public education. However their historical functions were now obsolete, they had preserved the faith and ethnic identity of yesterday's American Catholics. But they still had not been blessed with a new <u>raison d'etre</u>. Their institutional matrix, the Church, was caught up in the crisis of its own self-definition and until this was resolved the goals and the functions of the Catholic school must remain ambiguous. Thus, the tempo of educational change and the unequal response position of the Catholic and public schools served to deepen the crisis of Catholic education. In a

more stable cultural and educational situation the crisis of Catholic schools would have still been a crisis. In the dynamic setting of the 1960's and 1970's it became a crisis that threatens survival.

The Clientele Nexus

The simple fact here is that schools are populated by people and need people to support them. At the elementary and secondary school level this school population is composed of children and their teachers supported directly or indirectly by parents and other adults. The school that has a continuing supply of children, teachers, and adult supporters does not have a demographic crisis. The school that does not have such a supply is in serious trouble.

Relative to the crisis of Catholic schools this demographic or clientele nexus is of immediate and direct importance. It cuts across the social and religious roots of the school crisis in a variety of ways and it is related also to the cultural context of change. But it has its own unique terms. Simply expressed it relates the crisis of Catholic schools to such demographic variables as the size, composition, and distribution of the Catholic population in the United States now and in the immediate future.

The historic demographic facts are quite clear. The Catholic population in the United States has been marked by a steady growth, a growth, indeed, relatively greater than that of any other major

religious grouping.[2] Characteristically, Catholics have had a birth rate higher than non-Catholics, they have been concentrated in urban, industrial areas as working-class people, and they have only recently experienced an increase in the median level of their education. In demographic terms, their fertility, their location, and their level of schooling guaranteed a potential student population for yesterday's Catholic schools. Moreover, given the American Catholic syndrome, this population even surpassed the school resources available.[3] The children and the teachers were present and other adults were committed to the values of Catholic schools. The classrooms were full.

Today, the demographic picture is more complicated and this makes more hazardous any evaluation of its present and future relationship to the school crisis. This is especially true because numbers, composition, and distribution data can only identify the market. Decisions on buying and not buying depend on an infinite number of other considerations. During the past decade, for example, Catholic fertility did decline and this meant that the number of potential school enrollers decreased. This is dramatically indicated in the decline over the past decade in infant baptisms reported in the Catholic Directory.[4] But the numbers born even though lower, were still more than enough to fill every classroom. In part, it is true, the abandonment of the central city for suburbia by the more mobile Catholics did substantially reduce

the school age population in these areas[5] but the fact remains that many of those who stayed in the city did not choose to attend parish schools. All this means that demographic changes are only grossly related to the school crisis situation. They describe a potential which is variously activated by other factors.

These caveats aside, the decline in the fertility of Catholic Americans, their movement to the suburbs, their higher median education, their progressive loss of ethnic identities, and their increasing rates of inter-religious marriages, all have made a difference in the Catholic school situation. The effects of the fertility decline are already apparent in the student data presented previously, which indicates that the enrollment decline has been greater and quicker in elementary than in secondary schools. It appears, too, in the evidence that school closings have been more frequent in Central City areas than in the suburbs. Indeed, for John Swomley, the Catholic school crisis is not really a crisis since the schools that have closed are the inefficient units deprived of a population by mobility and since the decline in enrollment reflects the consequences of a falling birth rate.[6] Would that the analysis could be so simple! It is not, and such data by themselves provide no sound basis for either denying or affirming a school crisis. The more important but generally unavailable data would be that which described the religious orientations of those Catholics who are still bringing children

into the world. Such evidence as we have on this point indicates that the younger Catholics, the parents and the parents to-be, have more negative points of view with regard to Catholic schools than do their parents.[7] The present crisis, therefore, is not unaffected by the demographic changes but the effect depends more on affect and on other considerations than may be appreciated.

But what of the future? Demographers project a continuation of the fertility decline through most of the 70's on assumptions related to age distribution and to the influence of the pill, abortion, Women's Liberation, etc. But a second baby boom is in the offing because those who were a part of the high birth rate of the early and mid 1950's will come of marriageable age. Philip Hauser, indeed, records evidence of such an increase in the birth rate already.[8] Here the forecast is noted only to indicate that if the baby boom develops, the school population potential for Catholic and for public schools will change substantially. Further long-range speculation would be futile. The present crisis of Catholic schools and the resolution of this crisis must be recognized as having an important demographic dimension.

The Cash Nexus

The dollars and cents aspects of the Catholic school crisis have been selected for final consideration. This placement is

deliberate because the crisis is publicized as essentially financial in its source and in its solution. This interpretation we have earlier labeled as simplistic and naive. What we have identified as the social, religious, and "other" sources of the crisis have, we trust, clearly vindicated this view. Still the cash nexus of the Catholic school crisis is real and is unquestionably important. It does not equal the crisis nor does it equal the solution but it is a part of both because it is a significant dimension of the causes and of the nexi thus far identified.

Perhaps the most important single point to be made about the financial resources of Catholic schools is that they are voluntary contributions.[9] There is no law which can effectively require persons to contribute funds and there are no sanctions which can be visited upon the non-donors. This fact is, of course, not unique but its specification highlights the vulnerability of the school's resources to the personal disposition of each individual as well as to the institutional priorities structure of the church officialdom. In effect, the financial survival of the school depends on the decisions of the members of the Church.

Traditionally, the income available to the Catholic school has, as indicated earlier, three main sources, (a) tuition fees, (b) unrestricted parish funds, (c) diocesan grants or loans.[10] As in

all other non-public educational systems, tuition income, especially in parish-based schools, has paid only a small fraction of the school expenses. The parish and the diocese have, therefore, borne the brunt of the financial load out of funds contributed to Sunday collections and to special fund-raising campaigns. The pennies, nickels, and dimes of children and the quarters, half-dollars, and dollars of adults, contributed according to their means and their dispositions, have made up the unstable school bank of Catholic education. Just how much this capital totaled on the parish and on the diocesan levels has been a closely guarded secret and, with some notable exceptions, remains so today. The more significant point, as we have seen, is that especially at the elementary level, the parish school's expenses were mostly paid for out of Sunday's income and constituted the largest single budgetary item. What happened in the parish, therefore, has been crucial to the crisis of Catholic schools since it is at this level that the closings, the enrollment declines, and the financial problems first surface and develop.

Clearly, many things have happened. Perhaps the most significant event, however, was the migration of Catholics from urban to suburban areas. This, it should be recalled, was more than a physical move. It symbolized a social transition from the status of American Catholic to Catholic American and it involved the development of new values, attitudes, and patterns of behavior.

And these did not except or ignore education. As poorer, working class, urban parishioners, American Catholics were largely indifferent to or incapable of evaluating education on qualitative grounds. The parochial school would preserve the faith of their children and develop their moral characters in a setting of discipline. Large class sizes, untrained teachers, primitive facilities and equipment were tolerable. And, important to note, they were less expensive. Indeed, 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 could provide more physical security, moral safety, and challenging instruction.[11] Yet, it was precisely these areas, where Catholic schools were a vital option and where the financial crunch was least, that mobile Catholic Americans were leaving. And the schools in these areas deprived of Catholic pupils and of the necessary parish incomes are the ones most represented in the statistics of school shut-downs.

In suburbia the expectations of middle-class Catholic Americans were both socially and educationally different, and the alternative public school system was a vastly different referrent for comparison.[12] Mainstream Americans now, they were liberated from the siege mentality of the ghetto and they were more motivated and better equipped to evaluate their schools on academic grounds. What they saw, particularly compared to suburbia's public schools, did not impress them. They wanted religious instruction and discipline for their children but they wanted, too, educational quality as this has been popularly indexed. Demands, therefore, followed for smaller classes, better buildings, more qualified teachers, modern equipment, etc. These requirements so increased costs that the poor were priced out of the school but the middle-class parents' pressure for more "improvements" continued unabated. Inevitably the strain began to tell. Parishioners without school-age children and those with children in public schools could hardly be faulted for their reluctance to contribute more to meet the greater expenses. Their mobility and their self-interest placed other priorities on the allocation of their dollars. In addition, other non-school related parish costs did not escape the national escalation in prices. And all the while, the expenditures for public education which their tax dollars paid for continued to soar. Parochial schools for an increasing number of Catholic Americans became a luxury they could not or would not afford.

These social sources of the financial crisis were paralleled by equally decisive changes in the Catholic American's religious situation. Social mobility and higher education were accompanied by either a decline in the importance of religion or in the perception of its values and functions in terms of Vatican Council II. Either option involved a decline or a loss of a parish mentality. The former, in effect, opted out of the system. The latter, the post-Vatican Council II Catholics, remained in the Church but their view of the Christian community and of the Church's priorities was out of joint with the traditional parish and the equation of the parish and the parochial school. Typically, this group was disturbed by the clerical domination of the structure, by its inward turning character, and by the second-class citizen status of non-Catholic school parishioners. Some, indeed, argued that parochial schools were not only religiously ineffective but were communally divisive and were inhibiting a constructive Christian witness to the world. They wanted their dollars to go to other non-school programs which would more broadly provide for religious formation and religious witness.[13] On religious grounds, therefore, such Catholics did not enroll their children in parochial schools and did not dig deeper into their pockets to pay for the increased school costs.

This religious source of withdrawal of financial support was compounded by the revolution in the convent. As noted earlier,

the "contributed services" of nuns had been a fiscal cornerstone of the Catholic school "system". The convent exodus during the 1960's severely weakened the total structure. Moreover, vocation declines meant that the ex-sisters and those who changed to other apostolates could not be replaced. Lay teachers, often three times as costly or more, were hired to replace them. But the cost increase spiral did not stop them. Quality education demands meant that the training of nuns was longer, more intensified, and more expensive. Not surprisingly, therefore, the religious congregations that supplied sisters to the parish schools and that had their own outstanding fiscal obligations (the care of an increasing number of aged and infirm sisters, the subsidization of other religious endeavors, the higher cost of living), started to demand more cash remuneration from the parishes in which they taught.[14] Dollars on earth, not rewards in heaven became the necessary and appropriate currency. This was also true for the lay teacher. They demanded pay equal to that of the public school teacher and organized into collective bargaining agencies to get it.[15] As their numbers increased, so did the dollar outflow but, in the Catholic parish, income still depended on good will rather than the law.

As corollaries to these religious sources of fiscal problems, the regressive character of the parochial school's income base became more sharply defined when parish collections began to decline. This forced tuitions up and further strained the middle-

class parish's resources. Moreover, the conspicuous advent of more and more lay teachers in the classroom, the conspicuous secularization of much of the instruction in order to remove complaints about religious permeation which could endanger the limited government money available, and the adoption of less nun-like habits by the sisters, these developments raised questions about the uniqueness of Catholic schools.[16] Catholic schools looked more and more like public schools, so much so that even the more traditionally-minded parent was hard put to defend them. The social and religious changes of little more than a decade, changes and threats from every direction, seemed to conspire against the survival of Catholic schools.

No single factor mentioned here could have brought Catholic schools so quickly to their knees - especially if introduced singly and gradually... But when these forces struck the Catholic system, they came in rapid sequence, potently juxtaposed. Moreover, one crisis seemed to spawn others. Church leaders often reacted to the closing of even marginal schools with bleak word-pictures of the difficult road ahead. These words may have been addressed to the political power centers from which aid was sought, but they were words heard, too, by the parents of Catholic school and pre-school children. As a consequence, the Bishop's prophecies became self-fulfilling. Even when they tried to direct

reassuring words to the Catholic community, the effect can be compared to the situation of where a doctor comes into a sick room and says, "We are not going to let the patient die!" It doesn't help the patient to direct his attention to the fact that his mortality is indeed in question. The crisis in fact and the crisis in prospect combined to create a crisis in confidence. The defenses which the social and religious changes and the "other" factors had failed to penetrate now became vulnerable to doubts and fears. Any solution to the crisis must take into account not only the many sided social, religious, and economic facts but must also include the doubt structure created by this crisis in confidence.

CONCLUSIONS

This report has attempted to identify and to order the more important factors responsible for the contemporary crisis in Catholic schools throughout the United States. It was motivated by the belief that such a description would provide both background and perspectives useful and helpful to the President's Commission on School Finance. The hope of the authors is that it has adequately achieved this goal

It was not our task and it is not our intention to propose solutions to this crisis situation. We are convinced that it is a real crisis but we fully appreciate that the President's Commission on School Finance has a responsibility which extends beyond the Catholic school situation and must include as well other non-public schools and the public school system. We are conscious too, of the fact that governmental responses to such crisis situations involve profound Constitutional, political, social, economic, and educational issues of both short-range and long-range significance. Relative to these considerations the materials of this report have significant but indirect relevance.

The roots of the Catholic school crisis are deep and numerous and intertwined with a complex array of other factors both historically and contemporaneously vital to American society. No

simple solution is likely to be either feasible enough or durable enough to serve well the values and interests of American education and American society.

FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION: Footnotes

1. Illinois Report, Chapters 6 and 7
   Erickson, D. Crisis in Illinois Nonpublic Schools Research Report to Elementary and Secondary Nonpublic School Study Commission. State of Illinois. State of Illinois, 1971.

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 percent from 4,295,000 live births to 3,467,000. During the same period the number of child baptisms reported by Missouri Synod congregations declined 23 percent 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. Martin 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.).

PART I

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Footnotes

1. "The historical development of pluralism in education: will be treated in a position paper by Professor Steeman.
   For a history of Catholic education in the United States see Buetow, Harold A. Of Singular Benefit: The Story of the U. S. Catholic Education. London: Macmillan, 1970.

2. Ibid., p. 96.

3. For a more complete history of Catholic schools in Massachusetts see Ball and Skelly, "State aid to education in religiously affiliated schools in Massachusetts: Constitutional considerations, recommendations for Legislation," New England Catholic Education Center, 1969.
   For a detailed treatment of the historical development of Catholic schools in Chicago, see Sanders, J.W., "History of the Catholic Schools in Chicago," in D. Erickson, Crisis in Illinois Nonpublic Schools, Chap. 10, 1971.

4. Journal of the Convention for Framing a Constitution of Government for the State of Massachusetts Bay, 223-224 (1832).

5. Ball and Skelly, op. cit., p. 6.

6. Buetow points out that "established religious schools also existed in the Southern Colonies, other New England Colonies and the Middle Atlantic Colonies, pp. 96-104.
   For a description of the sectarian textbooks used in these established schools, see Hillel Black, The American Schoolbook, New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1967.

7. Ball and Skelly, op. cit., p. 17.

8. Ibid., p. 9.

9. Ibid. The following quotes taken from pp. 9-11.

10. Buetow, op. cit., particularly Chapter 3.

11. The recognition of the need for a separate Catholic school was not unanimous by any means. For a treatment of the controversy within the Catholic community, see Greeley, Andrew, The Catholic Experience: An Interpretation of the History of American Catholicism. New York: Image Books, 1967.

12. Sanders, op. cit., 10-16.

13. Buetow, op. cit., p. 170.

14. Ibid., p. 152.

15. Sullivan, John P. "The Growth of Catholic Schools," America Nov. 1967, p. 202.

16. McKenzie, John. The Roman Catholic Church. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1969, p. 237. The book provides an excellent view of (1) The Structure of Roman Catholicism; (2) Worship; (3) The Beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church; (4) The Works of the Church; and (5) New Directions in the Church.

17. Buetow, op. cit., p. 214.

18. NCEA, op. cit., p. 5.

19. Neuwien, R. A. Catholic Schools in Action: The Notre Dame Study of Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools in the United States. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966, p. 33.

20. Ibid.

21. This figure is a national figure and will vary widely from diocese to diocese; for example in the Archdiocese of New York 66 percent of all children of "practicing" Catholics were enrolled in Catholic schools in 1967-68. The term "practicing" Catholic is not defined but is distinguished from the term "nominal" Catholic. See A Financial Study: The Catholic School System of the Archdiocese of New York. Secretary of Education, 31 East 51st Street, New York, N.Y., 1969.

22. Neal, Sister Marie Augusta. "A Theoretical Analysis of Research in Religious Orders in the United States." Social Compass, Vol. 1, 1971, in press.

23. See Herberg, Will. Protestant, Catholic and Jew. New York: Doubleday, 1955, for an in-depth analysis of this phenomenon.

24. Neal, op. cit.

25. See Madaus, G. & Linnan, R., "Research on Catholic Schools: The Learned Ignorance of Learned Research," A paper presented at meeting of The Academy for Studies in Church-Related Education, New York, Feb. 3, 1971 (mimeographed).

26. See the review of this program written by one of the original founders of the Movement, Sister Bertrande Mayers, in Sisters for the Twenty-First Century. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1965.

27. Statistics on the effectiveness of the Sister Formation Movement are presented in the next section under staffing.

PART II

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS: A SYSTEM PERSPECTIVE

1. NCEA, op. cit., pp. 7, 8.

2. Loc. cit.

3. Ibid., p. 7.
Definitions of community are as follows:
Urban but not inner city: a school located within the limits of a major city but not within an area designated as the inner city.
Inner City: An area within a major city generally located within the central portion and having large concentrations of low income inhabitation.
Suburban: Located outside limits of a major city but within a Metropolitan Statistical Area
Small Town or Rural. Located in country, not part of a Metropolitan Statistical Area.

4. The degree to which nonpublic schools service minority groups will be the subject of another paper and therefore will not be treated here.

5. Greeley, Andrew M. & Rossi, Peter H. The Education of Catholic Americans. Chicago: Aldine Publ. Co., 1966.

6. Havighurst, Robert J. "Social Functions of Catholic Education" in Sheridan, Michael P. & Shaw, Russell (eds.), Catholic Education Today and Tomorrow: Proceedings of the Washington Symposium on Catholic Education. Washington: National Catholic Education Association, 1967, p. 3.

7. See Erickson, Donald A. "Nonpublic Schools in Michigan" Chapter 8 in Alan, Thomas J. Michigan School Finance Study. Lansing, Michigan: Michigan Dept. of Education, 1967, p. 10.

8. Kelly, George A. "The 'Nearly Poor Catholic' In New York City" St. John's University, New York Research Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1, Jan. 1971. On the basis of a 1967 study in New York City, Richmond, Manhattan, Brooklyn, Bronx) in which about half of all Catholic school parents returned a questionnaire, Rev. George A. Kelly concludes that the same proportion of poor -- under $5,000 a year -- can be found among Catholic school parents as in the general population. However, the income of the non-respondents is unknown and therefore these figures are suspect. New York City, op. cit., pp. 11, 12.

8. cont'd.
A Financial Study: The Catholic School System of the Archdiocese of New York, using the same data concludes:

> Thus, the profile which emerges of the New York City Catholic father shows him generally to be a man who did not finish high school. He is a wage earner, skilled or unskilled, and there is a 50 percent chance that he belongs to a union. He works full-time for less than $150 per week with which he supports four to six people in a high-cost urban economy during a period of general inflation and high taxation. He pays on the order of $200 per year for Catholic education and he voluntarily donates another $50 to $150 per year to his parish Church.

Interestingly though it appears to be the same data as Kelly employed. This study reports a return rate of 85 percent. This discrepancy may be due to a low response rate in Brooklyn which is not part of the Archdiocese of New York. Kelly's total response rate was 52.04 percent, but was not broken down by the different boroughs. For the overall source of the data used by Kelly and the New York Study, see "Survey of New York Catholic School Families," New York City: A Preliminary Report, copyright 1967 by Louis Gary.

9. For a discussion of this transition see Davies, Daniel R. and James R. Deneen. New Patterns for Catholic Education: The Broad Movement in Theory and Practice. New London: Conn.: Croft Educational Series, 1968.

10. Ibid., p. 2.

11. McKenzie, op. cit., p. 236.

12. McKenzie, Ibid., p. 256.

13. In the Archdiocese of Indianapolis and Louisville, and in the diocese of Evansville, as a part of an attitudinal survey, over 51,000 respondents replied to the statement, "Too often in Catholic schools, pastors without formal training in education tell the principal how to run the school." Fifty percent of the lay respondents expressed no opinion. The remaining lay respondents divided equally between agreement and disagreement. Thirty-nine percent of the pastors agreed, 37 percent disagreed. However, 71 percent of the assistant pastors and 57 percent of the sisters agreed. See Elford, George. Alternatives in Catholic Education: A Midwestern Study of the Church's Teaching Mission. Superintendent of Schools Office, Archdiocese of

Indianapolis, 1968. In studies of the clergy and sisters in the dioceses of Fall River and Springfield similar results were obtained in response to the same question. See Linnan, R. J. & Madaus, G.F., Catholic Education Study of the Priests and Sisters of the Diocese of Fall River (New England Catholic Education Center, Boston, 1969. Also Linnan, R.J. & Madaus, G. F., Catholic Education Study of the Priests and Sisters of the Diocese of Springfield, New England Catholic Education Center, Boston, 1969.

14. Davies & Deneen, op. cit., p. 13

15. Ibid., p. 32

16. Ibid.,

17. Ibid., p. 35.

18. Deneen, James R. Status of System-wide School Boards in Catholic Dioceses in the United States. (Doctoral Dissertation, Indiana University, 1968, 123 pp.) While the figures weren't exactly comparable, Davies & Deneen report on an NCEA survey in 1966 that 82 dioceses of 141 (58 percent) had diocesan boards. Percentages under each type do not add to 100 since 7 percent of the respondents failed to supply information on its jurisdiction.

19. McKenzie, op. cit., p. 102

20. NCEA, op. cit., p. 21

21. For a discussion of the assessment procedures used in the Archdiocese of St. Louis, see Bartell, et al., op. cit., pp. 84-100.

22. NCEA, op. cit., p. 21

23. Elford, George. "School Crisis or Parish Crisis?" Commonweal. Vol. XCII, No. 17, pp. 418-420, Jan. 29, 1970.

24. New York, op. cit., p. 111-119.

25. This phenomenon has been repeatedly documented by Bartell in Studies in the Dioceses of Denver, Saginaw, St. Louis, Savannah and Youngstown. The references for these are:

Denver Metropolitan Area Catholic Schools. Notre Dame, Indiana: Office of Educational Research, University of Notre Dame, 1968.

Saginaw Area Catholic Schools. Notre Dame, Indiana: Office of Educational Research, University of Notre Dame, 1968.

Catholic Education in the Archdiocese of St. Louis. Notre Dame, Indiana: Office of Educational Research, University of Notre Dame, 1970.

Chatham County Catholic Schools of the Diocese of Savannah. Notre Dame, Indiana. Office of Educational Research, 1969.

26. Bartell further points out that these figures underestimate the degree of regressivity since they do not indicate allowable deductions for federal income.

27. St. Louis, op. cit., passim.

28. New York, op. cit.

29. Ibid.

30. Denver, op. cit.

31. NCEA, op. cit., p. 21

32. Denver, op. cit., p. 149.

33. NCEA, op. cit., p. 20.

34. Denver, op. cit., p. 148.

35. Ibid., p. 148

36. NCEA, op. cit., p. 15

37. Ibid., p. 68

38. Ibid., p. 14

39. Ibid., p. 15

40. Neuwien, op. cit., passim.

PART III

THE CRISIS IN STATISTICAL PERSPECTIVES - Footnotes

1. Official Catholic Directory, New York: P.J. Kenedy, 1970.

2. Swomley, J.M., Jr. "Are Parochial Schools Imperiled?" Christian Century, January 13, 1971, pp. 40-43.

3. Erickson, op. cit. Refer to Chapter Six.

4. see NCEA, op. cit., p. 13.

   In a recent article, the decline in the number of religious Order priests from 1967-1970 was recorded as 1,101; the decrease in the number of seminarians during the decade 1964-74 was 23,169. See Joseph Healy and John O'Neil, "Priesthood-Crisis of Faith and Crisis of the Church," Pastoral Life, March, 1971, p. 1420.

5. The Pilot, March 8, 1961

6. Trends in Religious Vocations. Congregation of Major Superiors of Women. Vocation Committee in Collaboration with the National Sisters Vocation Conference, 1969.

   For an example of the decrease in the numbers entering religious communities staffing schools in one large State see Erickson, op. cit., pp. 7-35. For a picture of the decreased number of vocations to the largest male teaching Order, the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits, see Mehox, S.J., Jesuit Annual Life Cycle, Cambridge Center for Social Studies, Cambridge, Mass., 1969. Also see U.S. Catholic Institutions for the Training of Candidates for the Priesthood, Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate, Washington, D.C., 1971.

7. Personal communication with Sister Margaret Mary Modde, O.S.F., of the National Sisters Vocation Conference, 1307 So. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

8. Neal, Sister Marie Augusta, "The Relation Between Religious Belief and Structural Change in Religious Orders: Some Evidence." Journal of Religious Research, Spring, 1971. in press. Also see Erickson, op. cit., pp. 7-35.

9. Congregation of Superiors of Women, op. cit.

10. Erickson, op. cit., pp. 7-35.

PART IV

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS: PERSPECTIVES ON THE CAUSES OF THE CRISIS

1. Population Characteristics: Educational Attainment. March 1970. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. Series P-20, No. 207, November 30, 1970.

2. See for example, Ellis, John T. American Catholicism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, (Rev. Edit. 1969).

3. Donovan, J. & Madaus, G.F., op. cit., p. 223.

4. Donovan, J. & Madaus, G.F., op. cit., p. 223.

5. Milton, Gordon M., Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race Religion and National Origins. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1964, pp. 208-210.

6. Yinger, J. Milton. The Scientific Study of Religion. London: Macmillan, 1970, p. 299. Also see Havighurst, R.J., "Social Functions of Catholic Education" in Sheridan & Shaw, eds., Catholic Education Today and Tomorrow: Proceedings of the Washington Symposium on Catholic Education, Nov. 3-10, 1967. NCEA, pp. 1-24.

7. Lenski, G. The Religious Factor. A Sociological Study of Religious Impact in Politics, Economics, and Family Life. Garden City: Anchor Books, 1963.

8. As an example of this phenomena operating in Cleveland see Wilkes, Paul, "As the Blacks Move in the Ethnics Move out." New York Times Magazine, Jan. 24, 1971.

9. Lenski, op. cit. Also see Greeley, A., Religion and Career: A Study of College Graduates. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1963.

10. Nuesse, C. J. & Harte, T. (eds) Sociology of the Parish. Milwaukee: Bruce Publ. Co., 1951.

11. See Erickson, op. cit., Chapter Ten.

12. Wills, Garry. "A Farewell Quite Fondly to the Catholic Liberal," The Critic. January-February, 1971, pp. 15-22.

13. Two excellent discussions of this area are contained in Moore, Edmund A. A Catholic Runs for President. New York: Ronald Press, 1956, and Fuchs, Lawrence H. John F. Kennedy and American Catholicism. New York: Meredith Press, 1967.

14. Wills, op. cit., p. 22.

15. Fuchs, op. cit.

16. Donovan & Madaus, op. cit., see Chapter 1.

17. Ibid., also see Greeley A. & Rossi, P., Education of Catholic Americans. Garden City: Anchor Books, 1966. See also Elford, G. Catholic Education Study, op. cit., p. 10.

18. Thorman, D. J. The Emerging Layman. Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday & Co., 1962. Also Callahan, Daniel J., The Mind of the Catholic Layman. New York: Chas. Scribner Sons, 1963; Callahan, Daniel J., The New Church: Essays in Catholic Reform. New York: Chas. Scribner Sons, 1966.

19. Abbot, Walter M., S.J. General Editor, and Gallagher, Joseph, Translation Editor. The Documents of Vatican Council II. N.y.: Guild Press, Inc., American Press, Association Press, 1966.

20. O'Dea, Thomas F. The Catholic Crisis. Boston: Beacon Press, 1968, see Chapter 4.

21. Ibid.

22. See Cross, Robert. The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958.

23. McAvoy, Thomas. The Americanist Heresy in Roman Catholicism, 1895-1900. Notre Dame: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1963.

24. O'Dea, op. cit.

25. See Herberg, Will, op. cit.

26. Meyers, Sister Bertrande, op. cit.

27. Donovan, J. The Academic Man in the Catholic College. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1964.

28. Donovan, J. & Madaus, G., op. cit., See Chapters One and Two; also see Neal, Marie Augusta, Values and Interests in Social Change. New York: Prentice Hall, 1965.

29. For example see Donovan & Madaus, op. cit. See particularly Chapter 4; Elford, op. cit, pp. 15ff.

30. Kavanaugh, Mary "Who Killed Parochial Education? America, Nov. 16, 1968, p. 472.

31. Greeley, A. & Rossi, P., op. cit., see Chapter 10. For a more detailed analysis of the results of Catholic schools see Madaus, G.F. & Linnan, Roger, op. cit.

32. Donovan & Madaus, op. cit., Chapters 4 and 5.

33. "NAL Urges High Court to Reject State Aid" The National Catholic Reporter, Vol. 7, No. 17, Feb. 26, 1971, p. 1.

34. Donovan & Madaus, op. cit., p. 147ff.

35. McKenzie, op. cit., p. 253.

36. Ibid., p. 253.

37. Ibid, p. 257.

38. Elford, George. Commonweal, op. cit.

39. The most dramatic evidence of this appears in the religious and ecclesiastical orientations of priest and laity over 40 years of age and compared to those under 40 years of age. cf. Donovan & Madaus, op. cit., Appendix C.

40. Grumbach, Doris. "The Silent Singers", Commonweal, Vol. LXXXVII No. 15, Jan. 19, 1968, pp. 468-470.

41. This section draws heavily on the work of Sister Marie Augusta Neal. Several other notable references on the development of religious communities are:

Muckenhern, Sr. Charles M. (Ed.) The Changing Sister. Notre Dame, Ind.: Fides Publ., Inc., 1965.

Muckenhern, Sr. Charles M. (Ed.) The New Nuns, New York: The New American Library, 1967.

Grollmes, Eugene (Ed.) Vows But No Walls: An Analysis of Religious Life. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1967.

Moran, Gabriel. The New Community: Religious Life in an Era of Change. New York: Herder & Herder, 1970.

42. Ibid., p. 6

43. Ibid., p. 7.

44. Ibid. passim

45. Ibid., passim

46. Neal, Marie Augusta. Journal of Religious Research, op. cit.

47. cf. Part III on projections of full time religious staff.

48. Neal, Marie Augusta. Journal of Religious Research, op. cit., passim.

49. This possibility was broached, though apparently not investigated, in the Rhode Island study. See Rhode Island Report, p. 98.

In St. Louis, 62 percent 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 percent of parents with children in Catholic senior high schools, 20 percent with children in Catholic junior high schools, and 8 percent 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 percent of all Catholics felt that fewer parents would patronize Catholic schools staffed primarily by lay teachers, and 41 percent felt that contributions to the schools would decline. Donovan and Madaus, op. cit., pp. 176, 273.

PART V

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS: THE OTHER CRISIS FACTOR: CULTURES, CLIENTELES AND CASH

Footnotes

1. For a discussion of the phenomena, particularly as it affects religion, see Chapter IV of Berger, Peter L., The Noise of Solemn Assemblies: Christian Commitment and the Religious Establishment in America. Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, 1961.

2. The higher Catholic birth rate and higher immigration rates from Catholic countries prior to 1924 have been the bases of this steady and rapid growth. Conversions have also constituted a source of Catholic population increase.

3. See previous discussion concerning the percent of total Catholic children educated in Catholic schools.

4. Erickson, op. cit., pp. 6-16.

5. Havighurst, op. cit.

6. Swomley, op. cit., passim.

7. See Donovan & Madaus, op. cit., Chapters 4 and 5. Elford, Alternatives in Catholic Education, op. cit.

8. Hauser, P. New York Times, Feb. 28, 1971, p. 1.

9. Cf. financial section of Part II.

10. Ibid.

11. In the Illinois study, principals of a stratified random sample of nonpublic 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 percent 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 percent 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, op. cit., pp. 159.

In the St. Louis study, Catholic enrollment per family was highest in the city. Enrollment per baptisms 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.

12. On 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" op. cit., 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.

13. Donovan and Madaus, op. cit., Chapter 4.

14. The 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 percent 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.

Whereas 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.

15. "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.

16. Donovan and Madaus, op. cit., p. 288.

17. In 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, op. cit., pp. 198, 203.