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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses a project that attempts to update what is known about Catholic schools, articulates the shape and direction that the Catholic high schools have taken, and clarifies certain myths and lores of Catholic education--specifically, that Catholic identity has a direct impact on student achievement, and that Catholic identity is maintained exclusively by religious leadership. The first part describes the history, governance, finance, and curriculum of Catholic education. The second part analyzes whether Catholic schools are doing what they say they are doing. It specifically attacks the position that Catholic schools do not need to bar the laity from leadership positions on the grounds that the presence of lay leaders compromise the Catholic identity of a school and therefore can affect students and outcomes. The third part explores a case study of Delbarton School, a Catholic high school, and its preparation of lay leaders. A survey elicited responses from 50 out of 71 faculty members and administrators and 11 out of 18 parents. The majority of the respondents expressed a strong sense of community and belief in the school's religious mission. However, there was disagreement about who should conduct and lead the school's practices. The paper argues that laity should be considered for leadership positions, given the increased percentage of lay teachers and administrators and the high staff turnover. A copy of the questionnaire, data analyses, and 42 endnotes are included. (Contains 29 references.) (LMI)

Catholic High Schools:

1. History, Governance, Finance and Curriculum
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CONTENTS

Why Catholic High Schools?

Catholic high schools are a significant force in American secondary education. According to the National Catholic Education Association[1] they enroll about two-thirds of all non-public high school students and about six percent of all high school students in the United States. Nearly fifteen hundred Catholic high schools are spread across the country, influencing the educational climate and curriculum in every state and inner city. Attention has been given to the deteriorating infrastructure of public schools, and reformers have turned to independent schools as models for school reform. There are literally thousands of programs and projects under way in the United States to improve one aspect or another of curriculum and the educational system. Some of the more prominent ideas, programs, and projects include the following: Demming's *Total Quality Management*, Edmonds' *Effective Schools*, Levin's *Accelerated Schools*, Sizer's *Coalition of Essential Schools*, the *Whole Language Movement*, Whittle's *Edison Project*, Gardner's *Multiple Intelligences*, Cormer's *School Development Program*, Chubb and Moe's *Markets and School Choice*, and Shanker's *National Curriculum*.

All these programs articulate a certain vision, find its basis on certain values, and have specific impact on the educational system. Many of the highlights in these programs are celebrated in the private and Catholic schools. According to Anthony Bryk[2], the Catholic school of today is a very different institution from the Catholic schools of thirty years ago. It is now informed by a vision, similar to that of John Dewey, of school as a community committed to a true democratic education and the common good of all students. It is generally agreed that students are better educated in Catholic high schools than in public high schools. Because of their prevalence and their influence on the

educational landscape, Catholic schools need to be known and understood by educators and people who care about education.

This project attempts to update what is known about Catholic schools, articulate the shape and direction that the Catholic high school has taken, and clarify certain myths and lores of Catholic education--specifically, that Catholic identity has a direct impact on student achievement and, that Catholic identity is maintained exclusively by religious leadership. It is meant for all educators interested in this topic, but has been targeted specifically to two types of audiences: first by educators who are unfamiliar with the Catholic high school and want to know more, and second by educators in Catholic high schools who sense that something is not quite right with the present state of their school. This project is composed of three parts, or journeys through the topography of Catholic schooling. The first part describes the history, governance, finance and curriculum of Catholic education. The second part analyzes whether Catholic schools are doing what they say they are doing. This section specifically attacks the position that Catholic schools do not need to bar the laity from leadership positions on the grounds that the presence of lay leaders compromise the Catholic identity of the school and therefore can affect students and outcomes. The third part explores a case study of a Catholic high school and its preparation of lay leaders. This section makes the argument that the value of Catholic identity is a matter of politics. Like all journeys, this one begins with very small steps. It is to be read as a work in progress.

PART I HISTORY, GOVERNANCE, FINANCE & CURRICULUM

Historical Overview: Catholic Identity and Faith Communities[3]

A brief review of the history of Catholic schools in this country will help us understand better the concept of Catholic identity and faith community in Catholic high schools. Catholic schools have existed in the United States as far back as the seventeenth century. These were mission schools and differed considerably in vision from the later Catholic schools. There were schools in Louisiana and Florida started by the Franciscans, Jesuits, and Capuchirs.[4] The schools were racially integrated, incorporating both Europeans and American Natives. Schools were also set up in other states including Connecticut, Indiana, Michigan, Maryland, Louisiana, New York, Pennsylvania, Maine, and California, usually under French and Spanish jurisdiction.[5] They were established with missionary zeal for the conversion of nations. It can be stated that the "curriculum" existed to shape the minds of learners to conform to the Catholic religious view and induct members into their religious community.

The next stage of Catholic schools grew under different circumstances. There always existed conflict and tension between church and society over control in schooling--society being Protestant England. In the 1830's Horace Mann began the state supported common school movement, which was really Protestant influenced, and represented a threat to the Catholics. The Catholic bishops responded by forming councils to discuss the issues. Basically these councils stated the importance of Catholic education as service to God and beneficial to the American Nation. In 1840, the Baltimore Council discussed

the specific problems of Catholics in public schools over issues related to the practice of Protestant influence in the curriculum.[6]

In New York City there were demonstrations of the conflicts between Catholics and Protestants. Diane Ravitch referred to this as "the Great School War."[7] Bishop John Hughes attempted to get funds from the government specifically for Catholic children.[8] He was denied that request. This resulted in the placement of a high priority on the establishment of a separate system of Catholic parochial schools to teach the Catholic faith in its entirety.

Immigration patterns dictated the need of Catholic schools for Catholic immigrants. In the 1800's, one percent of the immigrants was Catholic. By the 1840's that number increased substantially. In response, acts of anti-Catholicism were made against the immigrants and Nativism became influential. These hostilities were reflected in the schools. State governments became more active in the conduct of schooling under the common school movement. Catholic opposition to these schools likewise increased because they were seen as pro-Protestant. Living in the midst of a Protestant America, the bishops believed that they were faced with danger greater than any previously encountered.[9] The public schools had intimate links with the evangelical Protestantism which suffused the atmosphere. Many of them required that the students participate in daily readings from the King James Bible.

The first Plenary Council of Baltimore established and supported Catholic schools for Catholic children. This appealed to the German Catholics and other nationalities who wanted to preserve their culture. Over a million Irish came during the 1840's and were

unsatisfied with the so called religion neutrality in the schools. They took the counsel of the Bishops and erected the parish schools. It was declared a sin if local pastors did not establish Catholic schools. The main focus of the curriculum was survival, since schools could help preserve the religious and ethnic identity of its students and members.

In 1866 the second Plenary Council convened.[10] It reaffirmed the pre-eminence of religious teachings and reminded the parents of their educational duty to follow the Church in matters of schooling. Between 1851 and 1870, sixty-four percent of the immigrants were Catholic.[11] They continued to build schools. Northern-European Catholics became upwardly mobile and began participating in local government. Policy makers tried to raise tax money for Catholic schools. They argued that it was the parents' right to educate their children; therefore, the state must assist parents to fulfill their God-given duty. In 1875, the Congregation of the Propagation of Faith judged public schools as a source of evil.[12] They called on Catholic authority to build more schools. The Catholic opposition of public schools shifted from the Protestant issue to the secular and godless nature of the common schools. The purpose of the Catholic school and its curriculum began to evolve and focused on religious education.

The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore met in 1884.[13] The impetus and agenda of the Council were set by the Vatican which sought to control the growing church in the United States. The priority educational issue was stated that the survival of civilization depended on morality, which rested on religion. There were three agents to education. The home, the church, and the state all needed to have a role in order for there to be success. However, public policy in America to remove religion from school prevented

this. The Third Plenary Council proclaimed that every parish establish a school within two years, and that all Catholic parents were to send their children to Catholic schools.[14] The bishops at that time saw a fundamental split between the Catholic view of education and the secular view that dominated the common schools. The bishops were convinced of what they were about. The preservation of the faith was the key issue, and schools were the most important means to carry out their mission. The only point on which the bishops had trouble agreeing was whether or not to require Catholic parents to send their children to Catholic schools under the explicit threat of refusing them absolution and the sacrament of reconciliation. Those who supported the concept of "every Catholic child in a Catholic school" were pitted against those who supported Americanism and public schools. Pope Leo XIII ended the strife by allowing the local bishops to use their best judgment to determine if parents were fulfilling their obligations while "sedulously" promoting the Catholic schools.[15] This was to be done without exception unless approved by the Bishop, removing some of the power of both parents and local pastors with regard to the education of their children.

At about this time, two major decisions in Wisconsin helped to shape the modern Catholic schools. First, the Wisconsin Supreme Court made the Edgerton Bible decision.[16] It stated that devotional Bible reading accompanied by religious exercise violated the Wisconsin Constitution. It also repealed the Bennet Law stating that Catholic schools could exist without state support.[17] The 1890's also saw a series of Supreme Court rulings that also molded the modern Catholic schools. *Nebraska v. Meyer*[18] held that the State's right in curriculum matters was not unlimited. Local communities could

make curricular decisions. *Pierce v. the Society of Sisters*[19] held the right of private schools to exist. It stated that the 14th Amendment guaranteed that parents have the right to send their children to private and church related schools providing that the school had secular education, too. It concluded that "the child is not the mere creature of the State." Later, Pope Pius XI put forth a document that claimed that education belonged to three sectors: the family, the state, and the church, with the last one having God-given right[20] and the mission to educate.

At this time the Catholic secondary schools began to grow. Diocesan and central schools were formed as a cooperation among parishes, the diocesan office, and the religious order. Diocesan school boards were established. Questions were asked that reshaped the curriculum, such as what was the place of vocational education and should Catholic schools serve all youths or only those for college preparation. They also questioned the place of religion in the curriculum and the position of Catholics in progressive education. Enrollment increased during the period between the Depression and World War II.[21] New curricular questions were formulated. Thus, Catholic schools were seen by Catholics as a vehicle for social mobility and the curriculum reflected this by providing for education that prepared them for college or the work force.

Support for the schools solidified until the 1950's when Catholics for the first time began to move into the "mainstream" of American culture. It was during the 1950's that liberal Catholics began to write about the necessity of leaving the "Catholic ghetto," of dropping the "siege mentality," and of becoming active participants in the dominant culture.[22]

Catholic school enrollment peaked in the 1960's with fifty-six million students; however, in the years following the mid sixties the enrollment began to plummet largely because Catholics were accepted into the public schools and no longer saw Catholic schools as a special place. In 1964, Mary Perkins Ryan brought the issue of the quality of Catholic schools to a new level of urgency by arguing in her book, *Are Parochial Schools the Answer?* that, apart from their other drawbacks, parochial schools were not even the best means of providing religious education, which is their fundamental reason for existence.[23] By attacking the *raison d'être* of Catholic schools she argued that Catholics should be formed by the liturgy and not by classroom teaching. Because the religious dimension of school curriculum was called into question, people began to wonder about the exact purpose of these schools.

Vatican II, of course, favored ecumenism: it called for collaboration with the laity and changes in the governance patterns of Catholic schools, underscored certain values of pluralism, developed a more positive view of the world, and put a greater emphasis on the individual.[24] Monsignor O'Neil C. D' Amour pointed out the difference between the realms of the "pastoral" and "professional," finding that the pastoral concern was an inadequate substitute for professional competence.[25] He termed "clerical-controlled" schools anachronistic. Andrew Greeley went as far as to suggest that the Catholic hierarchy get out of the school business and turn control over to the laity, who were able and willing to run the schools.[26] It could be said that Vatican II generated a prevalent feeling that the older institutional forms of the preconcilliar church needed root. The catechetical movement, which gained great momentum in this country in the 1950's, began

to explore ways of handing on the faith outside the school context. The declaration on Christian education of Vatican II stated explicitly: "Among all educational instruments, the school has a special importance. It is designed not only to develop with special care the intellectual faculties but also to form the ability to judge rightly, to hand on the cultural legacy of the previous generation, to foster a sense of values, and to prepare oneself for professional life."[27] The clergy who were opposed to relinquishing control of their schools began to look at ways to create new means for developing the kind of spiritual qualities in teachers and administrators called for by the Catholic leaders with the purpose of becoming "faith communities."[28] Therefore, many believed that Catholic schools were unique institutions with two purposes: quality human education and effective religious education. Coleman (1989) asserted, for example, that the positive effects of Catholic secondary schools can be traced to the "social capital" created by the overlapping nature of schools, parish and family, which enabled the schools to demand more from their students--and get what they demand.

Coleman concluded that the effectiveness of Catholic schools was due in large measure to the presence of "social capital," that support on which a student can draw in time of need.[29] This social capital arose from the existence of a "functional community," people held together by the church and by common participation within the community. Traditionally, the functional community had been the parish, dioceses, or religious congregation but has expanded to include the role of parents and the laity. If Coleman's conclusions are accurate, then all curriculum models must provide structures that explicitly

keep Catholic schools related to the Church. Thus, the concept of Catholic identity is supported and emphasized in the curriculum.

Teachers of Catholic schools were asked to "teach as Jesus did,"[30] which emphasized three distinctive dimensions of Catholic high schools: teaching the gospels of Christ; forming community, through which the presence of God is experienced in the midst of a faith filled people; and serving others after the example of Jesus. It was stated that these three constitute the essential institutional qualities of Catholic schools. Essential to the identity of the Catholic school is its involvement in the mission of the church, the religious formation of students, the inclusion of gospel values, the building of faith community, a distinctive climate, a commitment to service, and global concerns.

To summarize the historical development of Catholic education in this country, Catholic schools have existed in the United States for over three hundred years. The early Catholic schools were probably no more dissimilar in function to the missionaries. Their curriculum was designed to convert the heathens and deliver them to salvation. In the next stage, Catholic schools were built to serve the needs of a growing Catholic immigrant population whose identity was threatened in a pro-Protestant America. The curriculum reflected the goal to preserve not only religious identity but also culture and language. The drive to establish and maintain Catholic schools emanated from the desire of parents to preserve their ethnic heritage. Courses were often taught in their native tongue. By the turn of the century, Catholic schools evolved into an established system. Catholics began to enter the power structure. Rather than opposing the pro-Protestantism in public school, Catholics opposed the secularism in public schools. Several court decisions

separated religion from the public school curriculum and guaranteed the right for private schools to exist. The religious component of the Catholic school became their *raison d'être*. As the number of Catholic schools began to grow, their curriculum expanded to serve a clientele that was less homogeneous and more diverse in interests. For many Catholics, and later non-Catholics, Catholic schools became a means of social mobility and entrance into the middle class. Their curriculum reflected this. By the 1960's, however, their reason of existence was under attack. According to some scholars Catholic schools reflected many strengths, but religious education was not one of them. In response, Catholic schools began to re-emphasize their identity as a focal point. The concept of faith community was born in the seventies.

Any changes that an educator makes in a Catholic school must be cognizant of the governance structure, or know "Who runs the school?" A perspective about the governance structure of Catholic schools will give us a better understanding about the source of power and authority of the religious and possible roles for the lay in governance.

Governance in Catholic Schools[31]

Until the mid 1960's, Catholic school governance, including finances, was based on the ownership model. Parishes, dioceses, and religious congregations were the owners, and operators and therefore the recognized authority figures--the pastor, bishop, and elected congregational leaders--were the decision makers. Vatican Council II changed this. The educational board movement was born which involved more than just the clergy in running Catholic schools.

Some Catholic educators have suggested alternative governance models based on sponsorship, partnership, or colleagueship. For example, the question is not who owns the schools, but rather what is the church's understanding of decision making in the operation of schools? Recognizing the changing nature of parishes and religious congregations, how important is it to maintain or establish a formal relationship between the school and the institutional church? Who will exercise the leadership needed to solve the serious financial pressures on Catholic secondary schools?

From Vatican II until the mid 1980's there is an indication that a continuum of governance change has occurred. It demonstrates a gradual move from the traditional governance structures of cooperation of school boards with the authority of the bishops and religious communities, to nontraditional, transitional governance structures of collaboration with the laity.

As a result of some of these governance shifts during this period of transition, tensions arose that were, in part, a response to change. Those in power experienced a change in their influence. This was welcomed by some as a new possibility to share responsibility, and by others as a diminution of their lawful authority. The struggle appeared to be one of power sharing. In the past, the traditional and cooperative governance structures of the dioceses, religious communities, and parishes gave clear and definitive responsibilities to those in position of authority and to the followers. The hierarchical authorities set the goals and directives and the laity and religious followed in obedience to the lawful authority. Hierarchy and bureaucracy allowed for smooth functioning of the goals, roles, and functions of the dioceses, religious community, the

parish, and the schools. This was the accepted mode of operation. They had the final word. Thus changes in the accepted manner of governance caused tension between the traditional autonomy of hierarchical authority and the more collaborative governance structures that were called for by Vatican II.

The future offers the possibility that: Catholic schools will be administered and staffed totally by the Catholic laity and persons of other religious traditions, the school will be controlled by the local Catholic community through boards with local jurisdiction and accountability; and school community membership will be expanded to include an ever increasing number of persons who have an interest in and concern for quality education. These possibilities already exist on the Catholic college and university levels.

It is possible that the power sharing inherent in the transformational and codeterminative governance structure may be the conviction that challenges the laity to take the responsibility for the Catholic schools of the future? Will church authorities share their legitimate power through franchising Catholic schools to the laity who share in this vital mission of the church? In order for this to happen there is the need for broad based participation of the school community in sharing a school's understanding of itself. Clarity must evolve from the ambiguities about role relationships. There is the need for a study of shifting power and authority from religious to laity and a study about the role of the laity in governance of Catholic schools. This is very evident in school financing.

Financing in Catholic Schools[32]

Catholic schools have been financed in numerous ways by the Catholic community. These sources include: tuition, contribution of parishioners in parish schools, diocesan

funds, religious community funds, fundraising, development, business grants, and federal and state aid (in the form of transportation, special education, social and family service, and textbooks). The majority of Catholic schools charge tuition, a relatively new development over the past thirty years. The traditional means of financing will continue to fund the schools; however, escalating costs of supporting an entire or predominantly lay staff and increasing physical plant cost due to a long history of deferred maintenance have caused tuition to sky rocket. In order for schools to survive in their present form and maintain their capacity governance boards must play a crucial role, or else justice is not served to all students. Governing boards, which are becoming largely lay, must utilize their political and business savvy to gather the necessary resources for Catholic schools.

We now move the students and the part of schooling that has a direct impact on them: the curriculum. The present Catholic school curriculum can now be explained and articulated.

Curriculum in the Catholic School[33]

In examining the present Catholic school curriculum, we turn to the National Catholic Education Association. They articulated the curriculum of the Catholic school at an annual conference in Washington DC. The NCEA answers the following questions put forth before the educator who is considering her school's curriculum: How do people learn?; What is included in the school's curriculum?; What are the unique characteristic of a Catholic school?; How is a school program developed?; How is the written curriculum implemented in the classroom?; What are the of teachers as they implement the Catholic school curriculum?; and, Who will be the leader in this process?

How do children learn? Educational writers have divided learning into three areas: psychomotor, cognitive, and affective. A learning environment must provide for these three areas. If these are not addressed, the student's full potential will not be developed. A school has the responsibility to assist student's growth in all learning areas. These include the physical, the intellectual and the emotional. Affective learning helps students develop an awareness and power over their feelings, attitudes, values, appreciations, and prejudices.

What is included in the school curriculum? The school's curriculum is the all encompassing plan or program of the school. This plan states the purpose of the school, which is found in its philosophy and goals. It gives direction, organization, and unity to its endeavor. The entire school community comes together to develop the school curriculum because it is visible and known to all in the community. It is also evolving to reflect the changes that regularly take place in today's society. While the plan is rooted in a philosophy of life that reflects universal principles, it also prepares students to live in the changing world of the 21st century. The school's curriculum is developed for a specific population that attends the school. The school's curriculum balances the needs of the student population with the requirements of the state, national, or archdioscesan accrediting agencies. The school's scope and sequence detail the learning objective. Since students learn in different ways, the learning experiences are presented developmentally and meet the individual needs of students.

What is special about curriculum development for a Catholic school? The Catholic school is sponsored and supported by the faith community. The local Catholic

school represents a concrete expression of the faith and hope of the community. The community believes that the passing on the Catholic faith and tradition in a complete and systematic manner is an essential part of its heritage. While the local community of faith and founders sustains the school, it is linked to the local church and the world church through its association with the archdiocese and or religious community, and its adherence to Catholic church teachings. The Catholic schools' philosophy reflects the gospel values. The goals of the Catholic school indicate the breadth of its program. The Catholic school's curriculum assists students to grow in all areas of life: academic, affective, social and physical. The Catholic schools give high priority to the religious development of students. A Catholic school provides an excellent academic education. The training of students in values and how to form values are central to the curriculum of a Catholic school. The final distinguishing characteristic of the Catholic school is the teacher. The teacher is not merely a teacher, but is a minister performing a sacred ministry of the church. Because teachers are conscious of their ministry, they actively become involved in all of the areas of service. Teachers view themselves as teaching ministers of the Catholic church.

How is the Catholic school curriculum developed? The school leadership establishes a school community curriculum committee. The school community curriculum committee formulates the school's philosophy, identifies the unique characteristics of the students, and develops the school goals. The faculty writes the specific learning objectives and determines the learning activities. A further aspect exists for Catholic schools. This involves the integration of Christian values into every curriculum area. The scope and

sequence for each subject area must list the gospel values to be acquired from the particular content. The National Catholic Educational Association has identified eight values: faith, hope, courage, reconciliation, community, service, justice, and love. The school community curriculum committee and the school faculty develop and implement an evaluation plan that asks: "Are the students learning?" The evaluation is an integral part of the developmental process. It looks to see that the purposes of the school are congruent with its mission and objectives.

How is the curriculum implemented in the classroom? The teaching minister adheres to the school's written curriculum, fosters values among students, and shows a deep concern for all students. The teacher is reminded to teach as Jesus did. Teachers are critical components in the implementation of the curriculum.

Who are the personnel needed to implement the Catholic school curriculum? The principal plays the decisive role in staff development at the local level. She is a pivotal player that exerts her influence by selecting the right teacher, providing cognitive information to that teacher, initiating occasions for the community to worship together, challenging the teachers to live a life reflective of the gospel values, discussing with teachers the meaning of faith in their lives as Catholics, assisting the minister to become an effective and competent teacher, reducing the amount of unnecessary work for the teacher, and supporting the teacher in times of trial and hardship.

After examining some Catholic schools, one wonders if this is reality or rhetoric. Does the research indicate that Catholic schools do indeed effectively fulfill their purpose? Does the Catholic school clearly assist the church in its mission? Does Catholic schooling

significantly impact the religious behavior of young people? Are Gospel values evident among Catholic school student, faculty, as well as on the curricular level? It is claimed that the community aspect of Catholic schools positively affects students, parents, and teachers. What is the evidence? The mission of the church and the religious formation of the students is central to the identity of the Catholic school--so goes the argument. Any future vision that attempts to break this connection would violate the school's basic identity. Important to the future of the Catholic school is that the typical Catholic clearly perceive that the Catholic school strengthens and serves the church. What follows is a critical analysis of the Catholic school curriculum.

PART II RHETORIC OR REALITY: Catholic Identity and Student Outcomes

Statement of the Issue

Supporters of Catholic school education would argue the advantages of looking at their schools as a model for educational reform. In *Of Singular Benefit*, Buetow has contributed a critical historical dimension to an understanding of Catholic education.[34] He states that ignoring the role of religion in schools denies beneficial outcomes to many students in our country. Greeley focused on the positive effects of Catholic education, especially on minorities.[35] Critics counter that schools based on curriculum ideologies exist to shape the view of learners to conform to religious view and induct members into their religious order. An inevitable tension is created that can be characterized as a tension between the sacred and the secular. Yet, in his famous study in 1983 that compared private and public schools, Coleman concluded that Catholic schools outperform public

schools, even when controls were made for differences in student background.[36] Accepting for a moment that this finding is true, a logical question that follows is, "Why?" Some educators claim that all areas of human experience are within the scope of religion. The religious perspective should be the ultimate concern for human beings. From birth to death, religion plays a role throughout human existence. Thus, there is a logical connection between religion and education, as there is in religion and work, or religion and life. Education should contain applications to current affairs, an acknowledgment of the problems confronting students, and a recognition of their view on the world. Can this be done without some sort of religious base? Some would say that there is no way to separate knowledge from the network of religious values.

Public schools face a problem in that their curriculum has repressed and ignored the importance of religion in education. The legal separation of church and state, the diversity of our population, and the interpretation of the First Amendment in our Constitution have contributed to making public schools non religious institutions. Public schools have made an attempt to integrate moral and spiritual values into the curriculum, but this has largely failed because religion has been removed and denied. The teaching of values is successful when religion is part of the curriculum as it is in some independent and Catholic schools. The infusion of religion in the curriculum gives the Catholic schools their unique Catholic identity.

Catholic schools have adopted a doctrine transmitted in a curriculum that may include evangelization, catechesis, religious education, theology, and philosophy with a strong emphasis on liberal arts. Many Catholic schools evoke a mission of educating the

total or whole child. Functional and supportive communities linked to the church as an extension of God give the Catholic school its Catholic identity. It is intertwined in the curriculum in such a way that it ensures the propagation of the faith and the faithful. All members in the school are considered members of a "faith community."

The preceding three paragraphs represent the common argument for explaining the success of Catholic schools and their unique Catholic identity that is incorporated and intertwined in the curriculum. But, *is the reason for the success of Catholic schools linked to its Catholic identity, or are there other curricular factors unlinked to and independent of the Catholic identity that better explain their success?* This section attempts to critically analyze and answer that question. I explore the reasons for the success of Catholic schools and determine the role of the Catholic identity and faith community in their curriculum by sharing views of other educational scholars. I conclude that other factors in the Catholic school curriculum have a greater impact on their success and that Catholic identity is more rhetoric than reality with respect to student outcomes. This has direct implications on lay teachers who have been denied access to leadership position in Catholic schools for fear that they would undermine the Catholic identity.

Critical Analysis of the Impact of Catholic Identity on Student Outcomes

The Catholic High School: a National Portrait[37]

One of the common concerns in recent studies of American education is the "softness" of the academic curriculum. The national Commission on the Excellence in Education, in *A Nation at Risk*, states: "Secondary school curricula have been homogenized, diluted, and diffused to the point that they no longer have a central purpose.

In effect, we have a cafeteria-style curriculum in which the appetizers and deserts can easily be mistaken for the main courses." The National Commission's report speaks essentially about public schools. Whether the trend away from academic rigor typifies the Catholic high school has not been adequately addressed in research, but it seems that Catholic schools have remained true to a central academic pursuit, but not necessarily a religious one.

A Gift to the Nation [38]

A paper by Lynne Cheney raises awareness of the accomplishments of Catholic schools and discusses the model of quality education Catholic schools represent. There are three areas in which Catholic schools serve as a model for the reforms happening in American public school systems. The first area is curriculum, which are humanities based and aimed at ethical as well as cultural literacy. The second area deals with teacher training and education. The third area is the administrative structure, which recognizes that the larger the administrative bureaucracy, the lower the quality of education.

Where education reform is most vital, one is likely to find efforts underway to increase requirements in history, literature, foreign languages, math and science. Statistics show that Catholic school students, for example, complete more semesters of course work in history, literature, foreign languages, mathematics and science than do students in public schools--more, in fact, than do students in other private schools. Seventy-two percent of Catholic school students are in the academic track, versus the general or vocational track; and those who are in general and vocational programs find that much is expected of them, too.

Cheney claims that Catholic schools have also long recognized the importance of moral education. One Catholic school principal remarked: "As Catholic schools, we believe we are here to teach the child to grow spiritually and academically." It is hard to find a more concise statement of ethical and cultural literacy. "Children . . . need a firm moral base for making decisions later in life." Increasing number of public educators are realizing that the schools have a role to play in building that base. It is our mission to foster excellence. Catholic education possesses much that is excellent to foster. Cheney concludes by describing Catholic schools as not only a gift to the Church, but a gift to the nation.

While Cheney lauds the accomplishment of Catholic schools, little is stated about why Catholic schools have made important strides. She mentions morality in education, but morality did not necessarily foster the excellence she speaks about--stringent requirements and the placement of most students into the academic track were more clearly linked to the curriculum. Entirely absent is any mention of Catholic identity or faith community. An analysis of Coleman's report bears this point further.

The Coleman Study[39]

In April 1981, a storm of controversy was unleashed with the publication of *Public and Private Schools* by James Coleman, Thomas Hoffer and Sally Klingore. There were two categories of private schools included in the study: Catholic and private schools, with private including other religious and independent schools. Catholic schools enroll about six percent of the total student population and average about five hundred students per school. Pupil-teacher ratios are similar between Catholic and public schools.

Their central conclusions are as follows: First, private schools are less racially segregated than public ones. Second, private sector attendance patterns do not contribute to the overall level of segregation in secondary education. Third, Catholic secondary achievement levels are significantly higher than public ones. Fourth, while attaining higher outcomes in achievement, Catholic schools lower achievement differences between children of varying socioeconomic backgrounds. Fifth, differences in achievement can be accounted for by differing academic demands and discipline.

On matters of discipline, there appears to be more rules and awareness of them in private schools. Catholic schools appear to have the greatest number of formal rules. On measurers by students of interest in schools, enjoyment in working hard in school, self-esteem, sense of fate control, concern for social welfare, sophomores across the three sectors were similar. These similarities are important findings, given the argument that public and private school students differ considerably in motivation, interest, and values. There are other significant differences, however. Private sector students are much more likely to report that school discipline is effective and fair. Teacher interest in students was perceived highest by students in the private sector. Student behavior differences also exist. Catholic school students are much less likely to be absent or cut classes than those in public schools. In terms of curriculum related behavior, students take more academic course work in English, math, and science. Among those who anticipate completing four years of college, there are substantial differences in enrollment in advanced math courses like algebra, geometry and calculus. Finally, Catholic school students do fifty percent more homework than public school students.

Coleman, Hoffer, and Klingore attempted to answer three achievement questions by comparing standardized test scores. First, are there differences among the sectors over and above family background differences? Second, are they comparable for various subgroups within each sector? Finally, what school factors account for them?

Students in Catholic schools score one to two grades above their public school counterparts. Family backgrounds make less difference for achievement in Catholic schools. Black student achievement is closer to that of whites. It seems as if the amount of homework, attendance, and discipline climate bring about significant increases in achievement. Students with comparable background characteristics attending Catholic schools are much more likely to be enrolled in academic programs. Achievement differences for Catholic school students are greater due to greater demands on work and more rigorous courses. Further, there seems to be no conclusive evidence that involved parents or a special student body composition to account for the increased achievement. Most notably absent in their analysis is the lack of any mention of Catholic identity, faith community, and a unique Catholic curriculum that accounts for high achievement scores. In fairness, Coleman did not explore these factors and later explained these successes as linked to functional communities, but clearly other factors independent of the unique Catholic identity account for success and achievement by students. What about the other advantages of Catholic school education, specifically equality? Our next section critically analyzes this question.

Hierarchical Multi-Level Causal Models for Student Achievement[40]

Ideally, the institution of schooling should encourage academic progress in students regardless of their family background or their race or ethnicity. However, the positive relationship between social class and achievement have been documented. Interestingly, this relationship is less strong among students who attend Catholic secondary schools. This finding forms the basis of Coleman's often cited claim that today's Catholic schools more closely resemble the traditional American concept of "the common school" than do contemporary schools in the private sector. Valerie Lee studies this further. Although the fact that Catholic high schools seem to induce high academic outcomes among a broader social and racial distribution of students is an interesting phenomenon in itself, by far the more compelling educational puzzle involves discovering exactly why this seems to be the case. Precisely what is it about the characteristics and practices of schools in the Catholic sector that enables them to foster academic achievement in a manner which is relatively unrelated to the social stratification of their students? Of course, investigation of this question falls into a broader category of educational inquiry that could be summarized by asking, "How do schools affect their students?" A specific investigation of some characteristics and practices of Catholic and public schools which relate to sector differences in the social distribution of academic achievement was undertaken.

Lee uses hierarchical linear modeling that allowed the identification of specific school characteristics and policies which help explain the relationship between social class

and minority status with mathematics achievement, the relationship between social class and minority status with math course enrollment, and school means for achievement and for course enrollment. Major explanatory variables that emerged from Lee's analysis as predictors of all the relationships of interest, fall into a small number of categories.

Results indicated that there were considerable differences between Catholic and public schools on these outcomes, differences which favor Catholic schools. Previous research results concluded that Catholic schools induced consistently higher mean achievement and mean course enrollment. The Catholic school's advantage in mean school math achievement and the more equitable distribution of that achievement appears to be explainable by the school related factors described above. Lee's claim that the fact that these Catholic sector advantages are explainable by a reasonably modest set of school characteristics and policies is noteworthy.

Lee found Catholic schools more democratic than the public schools. What are the specific features of Catholic schools that make them more egalitarian? From these analyses, a set of tentative conclusions may be drawn. Specifically, school social context, school climate factors, positive academic climate, and variation in school curricular offerings led to higher achievement.

School social context is an important factor in explaining achievement and educational equity in both sectors. Although we know that affluent students as well as poor or minority students tend to be unequally grouped in schools and are more likely to be grouped with students like themselves, we know that this is less the case in Catholic than in public high schools. This would indicate that a broader distribution of social class

and minority mix in schools should contribute to a more socially equitable distribution of educational outcomes.

School climate factors act as important determinants of both high achievement and equity. In particular and not surprisingly, a positive disciplinary climate, where fewer students are involved in incidents of disciplinary nature, induces high average achievement for all students, and a more equitable distribution across different racial and ethnic groups. A positive academic climate is likewise a strong determinant of high average achievement. That sort of climate within a school is characterized by a high average math course enrollment among students and by students who believe their schools are not under-emphasizing academic subjects like math, science, or English.

Variations in school curricular offerings have some effect on student outcomes. Not only are schools where students take more math classes higher achieving schools, but schools that offer a more restricted set of math courses seem to promote a more equitable distribution of achievement across students from different socioeconomic status levels. This might indicate that less choice was related to both higher achievement and more equitably distributed outcomes. Moreover, there is some evidence that schools which show more variability in the number of math courses students take promote less equality in the relationship between students' academic background when they come to high school.

These analyses have presented some hopeful empirical evidence about the ability to assess the effects of school curriculum on students in several respects, according to Lee. These analyses have been able to isolate certain school characteristics that seem to make a real difference in both student achievement and the relationship between achievement and

social characteristics of the students. On the basis of the results, Lee presents a list of important school factors that seem to make a difference: a less stratified distribution of students into schools; a positive disciplinary climate; and a climate where students really care about academic courses in schools.

Again, we have encountered hard evidence about advantages in the Catholic school curriculum that increases outcomes, in this case equality and achievement. Treating students equally, a positive disciplinary climate, a positive academic climate, and variation in offerings while maintaining rigor are cited as the curricular factors to explain this success. Yet, one is hard pressed to find the direct connection of these factors with a specific Catholic identity. We will conclude our critical analysis, and second part of our journey, by traveling to Australia to consider a case of a Catholic school--Christian Brothers College--to dig deeper into this topic.

Religion and Curriculum in an Australian Catholic School[41]

The essential role of Catholic schools has been to maintain and develop a sense of Catholic identity, both social and religious. In spite of the changes in society, in education, and within the Church itself during the past century, the official Catholic position is still that such and identity can best be maintained by isolating Catholic children in separate schools in which a totally Catholic environment facilitates Catholic socialization.

There is agreement amongst Catholic educators that Catholic schools should be different from their public school counterparts. The essence of that difference, according to the argument, is that in Catholic schools there is no clear division between religious and

secular knowledge. Instead, the teachings of the Church should infuse all lessons of the school day, and prayer and religious symbolism should permeate the consciousness of teachers and pupils.

Lawrence Angus performs an ethnographic study of a primary and secondary Australian Catholic boys school--the Christian Brothers College (CBC). He examined the historical relationship between Catholic schools, Catholic religious formation, and social mobility in Australia.

The data indicate that the treatment of religion at CBC is extremely variable and that CBC's religious purpose has been diffused into individual classrooms, or, more accurately, into individual religious education classes. There is no evidence of an overall policy regarding religion. Instead, religion is seen as an individual enterprise rather than as one that pervades the curriculum. When it comes to religion being incorporated into other subjects, some teachers have experienced difficulties. In the uncertainty that is associated with influx of lay teachers into CBC and the aftermath of Vatican II, and in the absence of any apparent school focus, religious education has become a matter for individual teachers in their own classrooms rather than an institutional theme.

A decline in membership of the Christian Brothers, the increase in number and proportion of lay teachers--including non-Catholics--in Catholic schools, the transformation of Catholicism and the shattering of the old religious certainties by the second Vatican Council, have all deeply affected religious education at CBC. No longer is religious education wholly the concern of Brothers. No longer is there consensus about what counts as "a good Catholic education." The reproduction of old style religion at

CBC through catechism based rote-learning and drill in ritual responses backed up by threats of retribution now appears to have given way to a degree of ambiguity and uncertainty.

This ambiguity and uncertainty, and even frustration, is in no way more apparent than in the absence of critical and open debate regarding Catholicism. CBC does not openly and directly address the current controversies within the Church. In fact, coordination of religious education is purposely vague and remote so as to enable teachers with very different approaches to religious education to operate in an unthreatened and unquestioned manner. Thus religious education has become largely a series of separate, individual undertakings as some teachers pursue their own religious efforts from within their own classrooms.

Both the treatment of religion as the concern of individual teachers within their own classrooms and its reduction to a discrete subject within the curriculum limit the extent to which Catholicism pervades the school. Moreover, the overwhelming academic emphasis of CBC, coupled with a restrictive entrance policy and the historical emphasis upon social mobility, denies an absolute priority for religious formation. Thus, not only is the traditional justification for separate Catholic schools questionable in the case of CBC, but also the establishment of a post-Vatican "faith community" becomes increasingly difficult and unlikely.

Despite the pervasiveness of religious images and artifacts at CBC the place of religion is problematic. The promise of a deeply felt religious unity that is held out by the surface symbolism not only camouflages the fragmentation and contestation of what

counts as religious education, but also belies a tentativeness in confronting any religious controversies.

When the Christian Brothers and other Religious Orders established secondary schools in Australia in the early twentieth century, they were satisfying a genuine need for Catholic schools at that time. Public secondary education was still virtually non-existent at the time of CBC's foundation, and Catholics were excluded from the independent Protestant schools. Catholics felt that they were victims of prejudice and exclusion and sought to compete equally with advantaged groups, similar to their American counterparts.

CBC, along with other Catholic schools, is also facing a crisis of identity that is veiled by the school's superficial stability and uniformity. This crisis has risen ironically, because Catholic schools no longer face hostility to their existence but are now socially accepted. The virtual disappearance of the prejudice and discrimination of which Catholics were victims has removed the oppositional rationale upon which the foundation of CBC was based!

The existence of independent Catholic schools has always been justified on the grounds that religious knowledge pervaded the entire curriculum and, indeed, the entire life of the school. It is their *raison d'être*. Post Vatican teachers, mainly young, lay teachers have embraced more liberal approaches to religious education and connect it particularly with theme of social justice. This is a theme that a number of reformist teachers seem to resonate, and it clearly has implications for a number of curriculum issues. Indeed, it is through curriculum reform in keeping with the notion of social justice

that transformation at CBC is most likely to occur, for such curriculum consideration will confront and force critical reflection upon the most cherished and long held traditions of Christian Brothers schools, including those of order, academic emphasis, and service.

Though an Australian Catholic school, CBC is parallel to the United States' Catholic schools in areas of historical growth, mission, and future challenges. If CBC is facing questions regarding their Catholic identity and curricular mission, then so likely are their American counterparts.

Discussion and Implications

For some readers, this journey may have taken an uncomfortable turn. My purpose is to knock off-center the inaccurate lores and myths of Catholic education that are considered sacred. Only in that terrain can we re-center ourselves and move on. I conclude that other factors in the Catholic school curriculum have a greater impact on their successes and that Catholic identity is more rhetoric than reality. There is no question, however, of the powerful impact that symbols have for Catholic schools. While this paper criticizes the positive impact of Catholic identity and the concept of faith community on student outcomes and curriculum in Catholic schools, it in no way reduces the importance of Catholic schools in our educational landscape. There is more consistency with what happens in the classroom and the stated curriculum in Catholic schools than in most others. Through the many layers of the curriculum in Catholic schools there is coherence. If life is ecology, than the Catholic schools serve to maintain a healthy ecology for Catholics. It maintains a pre-scientific philosophy--educating the mind, body and spirit. It ensures the development of a cognitive process through its hard

academic core. It ensures the development of self-actualization by driving ideas into action. It empowers its students. It serves a social reconstruction purpose by giving its students the skills to adapt in a changing world. There is no doubt that Catholic education is value laden. Yet, if knowledge is derived from experience, then we cannot separate the culture and value from it. Unlike the public schools, Catholic schools do not attempt to do this.

My initial hypothesis was focused on the reality or myth of the importance of the Catholic identity and faith community on school curriculum and student outcomes. This section found that Catholic identity, singularily, does not determine the positive outcomes of its students. I do not argue that if a school is Catholic it must be seen and it must see itself to be an integral part of the church's mission. Yet, these schools do not need to bar the laity from leadership positions on the grounds that the presence of lay leaders compromise the Catholic identity of the school and therefore can affect students and outcomes. This section raised questions about the validity of such a myth.

In the next section, I challenge the myth that only religious leaders can maintain and ensure the Catholic identity in Catholic schools.

PART III CASE STUDY: Catholic Identity and Politics

Statement of the Issue

According to the NCEA report, The Catholic High School: A National Portrait[42], the religious numbers teaching in Catholic schools have been decreasing dramatically over the past thirty years. In 1962, the numbers of religious personnel (priests, brothers or

sisters) constituted sixty-nine percent of the teaching force in Catholic high schools. By 1983 their numbers dwindled to thirty-one percent of the teaching force. In 1988, a span of twenty-five years, religious numbers constituted only twenty-three percent of the faculty in Catholic high schools. Conversely, the number of lay teachers has increased over that span of time. By the turn of the century it has been said that the laity will constitutes ninety-eight percent of the staff in Catholic schools. While there has been a big shift in the instructional staff from religious to lay, Catholic schools are primarily run by the religious. In 1988, seventy-three percent of the principals or heads of school were priests or religious brothers or sisters. The recent changes in the make up of the teaching force and the large number of lay teachers led by a religious principal poses some natural stresses and tensions.

Literature concerning these two groups claims that the tension between the religious and the laity can be characterized as a tension between the sacred and the secular. Both see Catholic schools as a faith community that consists of students, faculty, administrators, parents, boards and clergy. In a school environment, all strive to educate children and prepare them for life as good Catholics. Both see Catholic schools primarily as an educational institution, but also as a religious institution that supports a Catholic identity. Literature on the subject emphasizes the importance that the principal and other religious leaders work hard so that everyone sees their work as tied to the teaching apostolate of the Church. It is believed that schools with a high proportion of lay teachers place less emphasis on a student's religious development than schools with greater number of religious teachers, and that in such situations Catholic identity and the climate of

Catholic schools are threatened. Religious personnel must lead Catholic school in order to maintain Catholic identity.

I disagree. I believe that the question of whether lay persons can be leaders of a faith community is not a question of values or beliefs but of politics. I believe that the laity can be adequately prepared to be leaders of Catholic high schools. Power distribution, values allocation, constituency building, manipulation of symbols, conflicting ideology, and "fight over turf" characterize politics in schools. Rather than asking whether an increase in the number of the laity in schools changes the climate of Catholic schools, I would ask whether lay people can be the leaders of faith communities. What are the politics involved?

The mission of the church and the religious formation of the students is central to the identity of the Catholic school--so goes the argument. Any future vision that attempts to break this connection would violate the school's basic identity. Important to the future of the Catholic school is that the typical Catholic clearly perceive that the Catholic school strengthens and serves the church. Does the presence of lay leadership drastically affect and compromise the Catholic identity? I do not want to generalize from the specific, but it may be helpful to begin to look at individual schools.

The Study: Research Methods

The research on which this paper is based was conducted at Delbarton School. The purposes of the research were to identify the beliefs, values, and community norms with respect to the attitudes and practice of lay leadership in a Catholic high school. The views of faculty and administration, lay or religious, were probed in a survey questionnaire

where respondents had to answer, "agree, neutral, or disagree," to a series of statements. The questionnaires were sent out late October and lasted for one month.

Data Collection

All faculty and administrators were asked to participate. Fifty out of seventy-one completed the questionnaire in a usable form. This gives us a response rate of seventy percent. In addition, three families, who had a son at Delbarton, were selected at random from each of the six grades to complete the questionnaire. Eleven out of eighteen parents responded, three from the seventh, eighth, and ninth, two from the twelfth, and none from the tenth and eleventh grades. In total, sixty-one members of the Delbarton community participated in this study. The sample of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1 and the letter can be found in Appendix 2 of this paper.

Comprehensive: St. Mary's Abbey/Delbarton School

St. Mary's Abbey is a not-for-profit religious corporation run by the monks of the Order of St. Benedict. One of its missions is the running of an all boy, Catholic high school, grades seven to twelve. This school is called Delbarton School. It was founded on the hunting estate of Luther Kountze by the Benedictine Fathers. Delbarton School offers a strict academic curriculum integrated with religious study in the Benedictine tradition. In its faculty of seventy-one full time and part-time teachers, fifty-nine are lay and twelve are religious. All administrators teach so their numbers are also represented in these numbers.

Delbarton provides a good case study for this research topic. In a twenty-five year period, Delbarton has seen its religious numbers drop on the teaching staff from forty-two

to twelve. The number of religious now constitutes seventeen percent of the school staff. In its ten member administrative team, seventy percent are religious. Sixty-four percent of all administrators are from the clergy. The headmaster is religious. The lay members of the administrative team include two assistant headmasters (the building principal and the athletic director) and the dean of faculty. They are responsible for the day to day operations of the school, athletics and activities, and curriculum, respectively.

Delbarton headmasters hold their position for five year terms. In 1995 Delbarton will choose a new headmaster. All headmasters are chosen from within the monastic community. The next headmaster will probably not be selected from the two assistant headmasters or dean of faculty. The present headmaster's most previous position was art teacher and department chair. These facts indicate the presence of politics at Delbarton School.

Data Analysis and Findings

In Appendix 3. Data Analysis, data from the survey questionnaire was tabulated by using the spreadsheet, Excel for Windows. In addition to quantifying the attitudes of the respondents towards the lay religious questions, the raw data was broken down to determine whether lay or religious respondents had differing views. It is noteworthy that over eighty percent of the members of the Delbarton community would rather avoid conflict (Q28) and that conflicts make the school less efficient (Q15).

A. Faith Community and Catholic Identity

The data indicate that the members of the Delbarton community feel that there is a strong sense of community and that the school's day to day practice is consistent with the

school's mission, which includes a statement about the religious component of the students' education (Q1 and Q2). Two thirds of the respondents believe that the unique element of the school is the religious component of the mission (Q24). Seventy-nine percent of the community are satisfied with the religious requirement at school (Q26). It is interesting, however, that while there is agreement about how the religious component of the students' education should manifest itself, there is less agreement over who should conduct and lead these practices (Q4 to Q8). For example, about fifty-five percent of the lay faculty do not believe that the campus minister need be a religious!

About twenty percent of the student population is non Catholic. They gain from and give back to the Delbarton community. Speaking anecdotally, many felt that they had benefited from the Delbarton experience. They are successful by most of society's standards; yet, they were exempt from a "major" component of their education--non Catholic students are not required to participate in Catholic services or take religion classes. A third of the Delbarton community feels that students should take religion courses even if they are not Catholic (Q33). Most community members are aware of the religious requirements of the school (Q35, Q36). In a true faith community, teachers should consider their work as a genuine ministry of the church. In fact, only thirteen percent of the faculty believe this to be true (Q16). It is noteworthy that high faculty turnover can account for the fact that some teachers have not been initiated into the traditions and practices of the school. A little more than a third of the community feels that faculty turnover is high (Q17), and only ten percent feel that faculty turnover is a problem at the school (Q27).

B. Power Distribution

The Benedictine monks of St. Mary's Abbey run the show. The members of the monastic community hold the most powerful positions at school. Although their relative number is quite small in the Delbarton community, their numbers are disproportionately high in the administration. Their power is based in a multiple of areas. They possess position power, control rewards, constrain or punish, and control meanings and symbols. For example, forty percent of the lay faculty believe that the monks should have the most say about decision making concerning the school simply because they own it (Q13)! This section takes a closer look at power distribution in terms of "leaders and power," "role of the principal," "lay preparation," and "governance."

C. Leaders and Power

In the previous section it was mentioned that most of the power of the monks is derived from position power. They can be characterized as those who preside rather than lead. Another way in which the priests keep control is by not preparing its faculty to assume leadership positions. Teachers are rarely given opportunities to participate in decisions to affect change at school (Q34). They have not been given opportunities to practice their leadership at school (Q30). Ironically, they say that they belong to groups that participate in decision making (Q29). The politics of education is about power relationships and is a power event. Only those given the opportunity to lead have easy access to power. The Benedictines at Delbarton must endeavor to make their role as religious leaders attainable and manageable to others. They must train the lay teachers to be religious leaders. Given that close to ninety percent of the lay faculty feel unqualified

to assume a leadership position with respect to the religious mission of the school (Q23), the religious component of the mission is important at Delbarton, and the number of religious is declining, those in power must begin to consider training the lay faculty for leadership positions. A Catholic leader must form a unified corps of educators where personal strength and common vision mold together into a family that can accomplish the mission of Catholic schools.

D. Role of the Principal

Principals must be active in the religious program to give credibility to the fact that religion is the unique value in the program. He is the primary spokesperson for the Catholic school. He is responsible for the direction and image of the educational program. He sells the strength of the program. The faith dimension is important. The data indicates that only half of the teachers feel it necessary that the headmaster be actively involved with the religious program at school (Q8). In addition, less than half of the people feels comfortable enough to discuss their faith with the headmaster (Q22). Almost the entire Delbarton community believes that the success or failure of a school is closely linked to its leadership (Q11). The three questions together indicate that many faculty believe that the principal as a religious leader is not necessarily that important!

E. Governance

About half of the members of the Delbarton community feel that the present administrative structure allows for the smooth operation of the school (Q14), and almost a third of the Delbarton community is confused about who runs the school (Q31). The confusion occurs because Delbarton has two boards of trustees: the monastic board of

trustees, that oversees the entire operation of the corporation, and the lay board of trustees, that serves as an advisory board to the monastic board of trustees on issues specifically concerning Delbarton School. Only half of the respondents know that the monastic board of trustees has more influence in policy formulation than the lay board of trustee (Q12).

F. Lay Preparation

The argument for keeping the laity out of positions of power follows a simple line. Teachers and administrators who elect to become part of the Catholic school apostolate should do so with the clear recognition that they become part of the religious enterprise, and, therefore, are subject to the authorities who are responsible for it.

The essentially hierarchical nature of the Catholic Church places the final authority in its leaders who are to exercise the power guided by the Spirit of Christ and with concern for the sensitivity to the best interest of the church and all its members.

Catholic schools have evolved in recent years into institutions that are managed according to two important principles stressed by the Vatican II Council: subsidiarity, which encourages Church authorities to permit decisions to be made as much as possible in collaboration with those affected by these decisions, and collegiality, where all members of the church, as People of God, share in appropriate ways in the decision making process in the church and, therefore, in Catholic schools. Eighty-six percent of the lay faculty feel that lay persons can assume leadership positions in the school, but a little more than half of the religious agree (Q10). Only half of the faculty feels that they have been adequately prepared for their role in school (Q32).

G. Values Allocation

Politics are about values. When beliefs, attitudes and values are shared no conflict exists. Yet in the same way that markets discover prices, politics discover values. Politics change values. Politics distribute values. The politics of a system will deliver the values of the system. This is probably the reason why religion is important in Catholic schools. Once you set standards and make decisions you have committed a political act.

A value added school is one that exceeds the expectations given knowledge of families. Catholic parents have the mandate to use Catholic schools wherever available to fulfill obligations regarding Christian upbringing. All this being true, Catholic schools have felt it necessary to have in place a persuasive campaign to convince parents of the value of its institution. They define their values and a value added education in this way. A quality education involves people of faith. Faith is an important element but does not replace professional competency. Teachers and staff must be professional and must be competent. The center of curriculum is religion with a strong campus ministry program to help students learn in the classroom. Catholic schools have a unique advantage in that they can address educational needs of the total person: spiritual, intellectual, and personal. The rhetoric is strong, the standards have been set, and the values have been allocated in Catholic schools. The clergy believe that values are shared among all members of the community, but the data indicate that only half of the lay teachers believe this idea to be true (Q18).

H. Constituency Building

The data indicate that on the whole, members of the community are aligned somewhat with those in power. They achieve this by building constituency. By selecting some lay faculty members for positions of authority they are controlling rewards and ensuring support from top lay administrators. They communicate often with their constituencies. The majority of parents, teachers, and administrators feel that communication between the constituencies is not a problem at Delbarton (Q 38). The monks are effective at involving constituency members in the school. Parents are actively involved with the school (Q37). Yet, while the monks are good at building their constituency, they do not involve the lay faculty. Sixty percent of the lay faculty are not given the opportunity to interact with major constituencies at school (Q25). This seems contradictory with the idea of shared ministry. Presumably, lay teachers must have something to offer that benefits the program; but, their exclusion is indicative of something else--politics.

Not everyone believes in good schools; the elites want it that way. They are interested in preserving the status quo. Some people like authority. This ultimately means that the priests will continue to do everything in their power to maintain their influence and control.

I. Manipulation of Symbols

To better understand the manipulation of symbols I will briefly discuss the differences between public and Catholic schools and the circumstances with which they

use symbols to derive their authority. Symbolically, the display of the American flag around the school buildings and the picture of George Washington in classrooms point to the fact that our American public schools are governed as part of our democratic process. Ultimately policy decisions are made by elected school boards or by state and federal government. School boards can levy taxes for support of the school and have legal authority over schools. Administrators are appointed by boards and are accountable to them. Thus, public schools draw authority from the people through the democratic process. In Catholic schools, we have a different scene. Evidence of American heritage and loyalty are also visible since Catholic schools do conform to government regulations. Catholic schools are recognized as legitimate means for fulfilling the compulsory education requirements; but in every classroom there is a crucifix, a cross is displayed on the building, and the name of the school will be a saint, mystery of faith, or a religious order. The major policy decisions and administrative appointments are made by groups or individuals who derive their authority from the church: bishop, pastors, or religious orders. Although God is not principal of every Catholic school, God's church has delegated pastors for dioceses and parishes, has empowered religious orders to act in its name, and has encouraged a collaborative approach to pastoral and educative governance. Ultimately, if a school is Catholic it must be seen and it must see itself to be an integral part of the church's mission to spread God's word and bring all peoples to Christ, helping them to grow in faith and love.

The control and manipulation of symbols are therefore a tremendous source of power. Three quarters of the Delbarton community believe that the traditions, history,

routines, and practice are important for conveying the message about the school, and that the use of symbols is an effective way to convey the mission of the school to the parents (Q19 and Q20). Parents believe strongly that the headmaster's authority is based in his role as a religious leader and are comfortable with a priest as the headmaster (Q40 and Q21). Since the religious members of the community control the symbols of the school and how they are used they have power within the institution and are likely to use it to their advantage.

J. Conflicting Ideology

When values, ideology, and goal are consistent, there is no political event. The lay and religious differ in there view about the purpose of the school in one major area. While they may agree the importance of high academic standards and providing a religious instruction, they differ over which is more important. Eighty percent of the lay teachers and administrators consider the traditional qualities of academic excellence to be the most important mission of the school, whereas sixty-six percent of the clergy believe that the influence of school life with an emphasis on religious attitudes and activities to be the most important mission of the school (Q39). Also, almost forty percent of the lay faculty were neutral about whether students and staff should be predominantly Catholic (Q3). The difference in ideology will be a source of conflict at some point in the future. To highlight this source of potential conflict, remember that eighty-five percent of the Delbarton community believe that the day to day practice of the school is consistent with its mission (Q2). It is obvious that different members of the Delbarton community cannot even agree on what the school mission says!

K. Fight Over Turf

Sixty percent of the faculty believe that there is a struggle over "turf" at Delbarton school (Q9). This takes the form of turf battles between academic departments, between administrators and faculty, between teachers and coaches, and between the religious and the laity. The presence of turf battles signifies that resources are scarce. Politics come into play because decisions have to be made concerning the allocation of these resources. It is a simple question over who gets what.

Discussion and Implications

One dimension that contributes to the Catholic school situation is that there is a lack of leadership, both in numbers and quality, in Catholic education and the prospect of having strong leaders for the future seems dim unless action is taken. The potential for leadership is affected by socio-political factors in the United States and within the church itself. The church is both an organization and a belief system. There is a very clear way to belong and act. Those who make decisions in Catholic schools should see the leader standing at the center of a dynamic system. This new system is circular, not hierarchical. Leaders should see themselves not at the top, but in the center connected to those around them; not reaching down, but reaching out. Developing leaders who understand and deal with new situations will build a stronger infrastructure than relying on traditional hierarchies and bureaucracies--but, this will require momentous effort to lead far in a church that is decidedly hierarchical.

It is possible to prepare lay people for leadership. It is impossible, however, to teach people how to act in every contingency. Therefore, well-educated people are

needed, who are well grounded in the liberal arts, who can think and make decisions, people who have vision and can align others and motivate them to action. Catholic education needs leaders who know education and work in the service of education, who know the church, who understand the connection, who have new ideas, and who know what it means to lead. Particular effort should be given to the education and development of lay leaders for Catholic schools. Participation and training should help lay leaders acquire a thoughtful view of the broader context in which Catholic education happens.

Admittedly the factors that contribute to the future uncertainty of Catholic schools are several, but the single most powerful factor calling for a renewed focus on strengthening the preparation and support for persons in leadership roles is the increasing percentage of lay teachers and administrators who staff the school. Byrk, Holland, and Lee capture the present state well in noting: "The Catholic school community has been experiencing a quiet transformation form some time. The percentage of lay faculty has increased steadily each year over the last two decades. Lay persons now constitute seventy-eight percent of the teachers. Our projections indicate that by 1995 most Catholic school faculties will be entirely lay."

The effects of this shift are dramatic. In earlier days, one could assume that those who taught in Catholic schools, primarily religious sisters and priests, were well grounded in the study of theology, scripture, church teachings, and the role of the school in the church's educational mission, one can no longer make such an assumption. Few lay persons who teach in Catholic schools have a solid background in all of these areas. If prepared in Catholic colleges or universities, they likely posses a knowledge base in

religion and philosophy, but seldom is that base centered on theology, scripture, and the role of the Catholic school within the church. For this reason, unless Catholic schools are effective in developing this background among their teachers, they run the risk over the long term of losing their Catholic identity. The backgrounds of lay persons who are now coming to teaching and administrative roles in Catholic schools are substantially different from those of the religious, who staffed the schools historically. These differences have strong implications for training as well as for the support of these in administrative roles.

Related to the increase in the number of lay persons teaching within and administering the schools is another factor warranting scrutiny. There is a high degree of staff turnover in many Catholic schools, partially due to dissatisfaction by lay teachers about their ability to improve the quality of education when barred from leadership roles. Additionally, these data indicate that many teachers who begin their professional lives in Catholic schools find that they cannot afford to remain in Catholic school teaching. As they move to other positions, principals are faced with the challenge of filling the vacuum created by their movement. They must not only hire replacements, but also spend substantial energy inducting new faculty to the profession and to the school community. Energy spent on induction is energy that cannot be focused on questions of program quality that should be addressed. Perhaps even the possibility of enhancement and promotion for faculty into leadership roles would keep many talented faculty in Catholic schools. The concept "leadership" and the implications of the research on leader behavior for program action should be reviewed. The school related groups from whom leadership of and on behalf of Catholic schools can be expected should be identified, and not merely

limited to the religious. In addressing these two tasks, a conceptual framework can be developed for use in action plans to benefit Delbarton and other Catholic schools in similar circumstances. What needs to be changed are people's behavior and attitudes.

Most individuals tend to run their lives to avoid conflict. Schools are run to be consensus building. We sell our institutions short because we deny the political process in education. The problem is that we have systematically taught ourselves to be apolitical, "make nice", avoid conflict, and be consensus building. We should radically alter our way of thinking and accept that systems and organizations change only when there is conflict. If there is no conflict there is no change. Conflict is the engine of social change.

Conflict resolution must be built upon the total respect for the dignity and worth of every human person. Disputes must be settled with the spirit and principle of the Christian community to which Catholic schools aspire. Catholic schools commonly provide informal and formal methods of conflict resolution. Education is fundamentally a power event and thus a political event. Schools are political arenas. Members of a school community (teachers, administrators, parents, and trustees) are political actors. Political actors act for their own self interest. Self interest governs. One can predict this to motivate people. Good leadership recognizes that everyone is self interested and can limit that drive for the pursuit of a single, larger interest--or his interest. The politics at Delbarton stresses the school's Catholic identity.

Joseph Blase studies the politics of schools. Leaders will use power and influence in the process of decision making. Politics creates cooperation. There is a distinction between cooperation that is freely given and cooperation that is force by politics. The

evolution of politics of education is the evolution of leadership and politics. Delbarton is an institution whose power elites have for some time controlled the views of the opposition by hiding behind the rhetoric of Catholic identity and faith community. They must shift gears and begin training the laity or face real loss of the Catholic schools.

These changes cannot occur gradually. Jennifer Hochschild criticizes incrementalism for being too slow and too small. Incrementalism is conservative, does not stray far from the status quo, and affects only a small portion of the needy population, is not equitable for everyone, and by its nature chokes the mobility of the positive impacts of change. Hochschild also criticizes popular control as "useless at best and harmful at worst." Popular control supports those in power at the expense of minorities when the goals of the majority and minority conflict. The normal citizenry tends to lack sufficient information and knowledge to enact equitable outcomes. Delbarton's case mirrors the problems of incrementalism and popular control. The strong holds of the religious in power distribution, symbol manipulation, and values' allocation make it difficult for the lay to find a voice in Catholic schools. Popular control will not trigger the needed change necessary to prepare Delbarton for the future without a substantially large religious presence. Slow or incremental change will also be useless if within ten years there will be no religious to fill the leadership positions in the school.

Different actors in the school system are motivated by self interest, educational ideals, and beliefs about educational practice. They are in constant turmoil and subject to change due to the tensions, conflicts, and ambitions of the differing constituencies in school. This is also true of Delbarton which pits the religious against the lay. The

Benedictine monks, who are in power, use knowledge as an instrument of power and use Catholic schools to enhance their political power. Similar to public schools that experience conflict at local, state, federal and legal arenas, so do Catholic schools that experience conflict at the local, parish, and diocesan levels. Conflict occurs during the adaptation period to change. Properly managed conflicts are catalysts for improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the school. Educational leaders must be able to identify types of conflict. With this in mind, I will now make some conclusions regarding the laity as leaders of Catholic schools.

Summary and Conclusion

On the basis of the findings of this project there seems to be no reason why the lay teachers and administrators should not be prepared for leadership positions at Delbarton School. If Catholic schools are described as a community of overlapping relationships, which reinforce and assist parents in the education of their children, then the development of human and social capital in Catholic schools should enable members of the school community to build relationships that encourage trust and sharing. If the school's distinctive mission is to promote among student learners a synthesis of faith and culture and faith and life, the direction for school leaders is evident--Catholic principals must provide both academic and religious leadership in order to run an effective Catholic school. Their task is political--to turn individual goals to school goals. Adequate development of the laity to assume a leadership role in the school in both academic and religious areas is necessary to ensure that despite the changes in staff, there is no significant dilution in the mission of the Catholic schools. The data indicate that most

believe that lay can assume leadership positions in the school, but without some form of religious training their authority can never be legitimate.

On the other hand, if the concept of faith community and Catholic identity are important aspects of the Catholic school education, but not central to its mission, then to keep the lay out of positions of power is simply a political act by those in power to maintain their control. Lay teachers must demand that they be given opportunities to lead. The Benedictine monks must consider the needs of their clients--the students, and their colleagues--the lay faculty.

Catholic schools may have escaped the direct impact of the worst problems that affect the young in our society in pubic schools; but, when we look at ourselves realistically, we know that we have to be proactive in combating the trends occurring in our schools or potentially suffer the same fate as our public school counterparts. We claim to educate and graduate students who care about those values that used to be taught in families, in religious institutions, and communities. We must be prepared to deliver on that promise. We stand at a vantage point that allows us to determine what course of action to undertake. There is no doubt that this project has raised some uncomfortable suggestions; but it has raised our consciousness to a degree. And, in our raised consciousness we can engage in effective conversation. Our journey has ended for now but it is not over--we shall traverse the new terrain and forge new roads.

Appendix 1. Questionnaire

Who are you?

Check one letter and one number which best describes you and your primary role at school.

1. faculty
2. administration
3. headmaster
4. parent

A. lay
B. religious

The School

Circle the response which best fits the statement.

1. There is a strong sense of community at my school.
   Agree Neutral Disagree

2. My school's day to day practice is consistent with the school's mission.
   Agree Neutral Disagree

3. The students and staff in my school should be predominantly Catholic.
   Agree Neutral Disagree

4. The head of the religious department should be a member of the clergy.
   Agree Neutral Disagree

5. The campus minister should be a member of the clergy.
   Agree Neutral Disagree

6. Classes should begin with a prayer.
   Agree Neutral Disagree

7. There is ample opportunity for religious service at my school.
   Agree Neutral Disagree

8. It is necessary that the principal be actively involved with the religious program at my school.
   Agree Neutral Disagree

9. Generally speaking, my colleagues battle for "turf" at my school.
Agree Neutral Disagree

10. Lay persons can and should assume leadership positions in the school.
Agree Neutral Disagree

11. The success or failure of a school is closely linked to its leadership.
Agree Neutral Disagree

12. The monastic board of trustees has more influence in policy formulation than the lay board of trustees.
Agree Neutral Disagree

13. Because the Benedictines own the school, they should have the most say about decisions made concerning the school.
Agree Neutral Disagree

14. The present administrative structure allows for the smooth operation of the school.
Agree Neutral Disagree

15. Antagonisms and conflict makes our school less efficient.
Agree Neutral Disagree

16. Teachers in this school regard their work as a genuine ministry of the church.
Agree Neutral Disagree

17. Faculty turnover is high in my school.
Agree Neutral Disagree

18. Values are shared among all members of the community.
Agree Neutral Disagree

19. The traditions, history, routines, and practices at my school are important for conveying the message about who we are.
Agree Neutral Disagree

20. The use of symbols is an effective way to convey our mission to parents.
Agree Neutral Disagree

21. I believe that the headmaster of a Catholic school, all things being equal should be a priest.
Agree Neutral Disagree

22. I feel comfortable to discuss my faith with the headmaster.
Agree Neutral Disagree

23. I am qualified to assume a leadership position with respect to the religious mission of the school.
Agree Neutral Disagree

24. I believe that the unique element of my school is the religious component of our mission.
Agree Neutral Disagree

25. Other than students, I am given the opportunity to interact with the major constituencies at my school.
Agree Neutral Disagree

26. I am satisfied with the religious requirement at my school.
Agree Neutral Disagree

27. I feel faculty turnover diminishes my ability to get things done.
Agree Neutral Disagree

28. I prefer to avoid conflict at my school
Agree Neutral Disagree

29. I belong to groups that participates in decision making in my school.
Agree Neutral Disagree

30. I have been given opportunities to practice my leadership in school.
Agree Neutral Disagree

31. Sometimes I am confused about who runs the school.
Agree Neutral Disagree

32. The administration has prepared me well for my role in school.
Agree Neutral Disagree

33. I think that all students should take religion courses even if they are not Catholic.
Agree Neutral Disagree

34. Other than decisions concerning my class I rarely participate in decisions to effect change at my school.
Agree Neutral Disagree

35. Catholic students are required to attend liturgical services at my school.
Agree Neutral Disagree

36. Non Catholic student are required to attend liturgical services at my school.
Agree Neutral Disagree

37. Parents are actively involved with the school
Agree Neutral Disagree

38. Communication between constituencies is not a problem at my school.
Agree Neutral Disagree

Rank the choices pertaining to the following statement by placing a number in the blank space provided:

39. Parents choose to send their children to my school because of:
___ traditional qualities and a commitment to academic excellence.
___ building a sense of community.
___ influence of school life with an emphasis on religious attitudes and activity.

40. Rank the following statements:
___ The main source of my headmaster's authority comes from his role as the religious leader.
___ The main source of my headmaster's authority comes from his role as the academic leader.
___ The main source of my headmaster's authority comes from his personality.

Appendix 2. Letter

Delbarton School
270 Mendham Road
Morristown, NJ 07960

October 31, 1993

Dear colleagues,

I have been asked to conduct and organize a research initiative for Teachers College. My objective is to explore aspects of the shared ministry between the laity and religious who teach at Catholic high schools. I am particularly interested in the challenges facing Catholic schools as the proportion of lay and religious staff shift.

I understand that this is a busy time for most of you, but I would greatly appreciate the half hour or so it will take to complete the enclosed survey. I have chosen to study our school first because I believe that Delbarton School will provide important information that can be used as a basis for further study. Since you are a member of the Delbarton community, your insights are a great resource for me.

Answer the questions on this survey at your own leisure, but complete it no later that November 15. When you have completed the survey, please seal it in the envelope provided and drop it in my mailbox as I will be dropping by throughout the semester.

Your time and immediate attention to this questionnaire are well appreciated. Thanks a bunch and good luck!

Respectfully,

Edward Kim

Appendix 3. Data Analysis

Q	Group	A	N	D	
1	1A	34	2	2	38
	2A	2	1		3
	4A	10	1		11
	1B	2			2
	2B	5	1		6
	3B	1			1
	T	54	5	2	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
5	1A	15	2	21	38
	2A	1	1	1	3
	4A	8	2	1	11
	1B	2			2
	2B	6			6
	3B	1			1
	T	33	5	23	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
9	1A	29	5	4	38
	2A	3			3
	4A	2	4	5	11
	1B		2		2
	2B	2	3	1	6
	3B	1			1
	T	37	14	10	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
13	1A	22	4	12	38
	2A	1	1	1	3
	4A	7		4	11
	1B	1	1		2
	2B	5		1	6
	3B		1		1
	T	36	7	18	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
17	1A	14	2	22	38
	2A	2		1	3
	4A	2		9	11
	1B	2			2
	2B	2		4	6
	3B			1	1
	T	22	2	37	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
2	1A	32	5	1	38
	2A	1	2		3
	4A	11			11
	1B	2			2
	2B	5	1		6
	3B	1			1
	T	52	8	1	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
6	1A	25	3	10	38
	2A	3			3
	4A	9	2		11
	1B	2			2
	2B	6			6
	3B	1			1
	T	46	5	10	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
10	1A	33	4	1	38
	2A	3			3
	4A	6	4	1	11
	1B	2			2
	2B	2	3	1	6
	3B	1			1
	T	47	11	3	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
14	1A	19	4	15	38
	2A	1	1	1	3
	4A	9	2		11
	1B		2		2
	2B	3	1	2	6
	3B			1	1
	T	32	10	19	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
18	1A	16	2	20	38
	2A	1	1	1	3
	4A	7	2	2	11
	1B	2			2
	2B	5		1	6
	3B	1			1
	T	32	5	24	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
3	1A	8	20	10	38
	2A	2	1		3
	4A	7	3	1	11
	1B	2			2
	2B	5	1		6
	3B	1			1
	T	25	25	11	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
7	1A	34	1	3	38
	2A	3			3
	4A	10		1	11
	1B	1		1	2
	2B	6			6
	3B	1			1
	T	55	1	5	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
11	1A	36	0	2	38
	2A	3			3
	4A	10	1		11
	1B	2			2
	2B	6			6
	3B	1			1
	T	58	1	2	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
15	1A	30		8	38
	2A	2		1	3
	4A	9		2	11
	1B	1		1	2
	2B	5		1	6
	3B			1	1
	T	47	0	14	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
19	1A	29	4	5	38
	2A	3			3
	4A	6	5		11
	1B	2			2
	2B	5		1	6
	3B	1			1
	T	46	9	6	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
4	1A	8	14	16	38
	2A	1	1	1	3
	4A	8	3		11
	1B	2			2
	2B	6			6
	3B	1			1
	T	26	18	17	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
8	1A	16	4	18	38
	2A	1	1	1	3
	4A	8	1	2	11
	1B	2			2
	2B	5		1	6
	3B		1		1
	T	32	7	22	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
12	1A	16	21	1	38
	2A	3			3
	4A	6	5		11
	1B	2			2
	2B	5	1		6
	3B		1		1
	T	32	28	1	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
16	1A	5	4	29	38
	2A			3	3
	4A	7	3	1	11
	1B	2		2	
	2B	5		1	6
	3B	1		1	
	T	20	7	34	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
20	1A	28	4	6	38
	2A	2		1	3
	4A	8	3		11
	1B	1		1	2
	2B	5		1	6
	3B	1			1
	T	45	7	9	61

Appendix 3. Data Analysis

Q	Group	A	N	D	
21	1A	28	2	8	38
	2A	2		1	3
	4A	10		1	11
	1B	2			2
	2B	6			6
	3B	1			1
	T	49	2	10	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
25	1A	11	4	23	38
	2A	3			3
	4A	2	9		11
	1B	2			2
	2B	6			6
	3B	1			1
	T	25	13	23	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
29	1A	23	2	13	38
	2A	3			3
	4A	1	1	9	11
	1B			2	2
	2B	5		1	6
	3B	1			1
	T	33	3	25	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
33	1A	10	10	18	38
	2A		1	2	3
	4A	5	4	2	11
	1B	2			2
	2B	3	2	1	6
	3B	1			1
	T	21	17	23	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
37	1A	25	3	10	38
	2A	3			3
	4A	10		1	11
	1B	2			2
	2B	5	1		6
	3B	1			1
	T	46	4	11	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
22	1A	10	16	12	38
	2A	2	1		3
	4A	10	1		11
	1B	1	1		2
	2B	5	1		6
	3B		1		1
	T	28	21	12	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
26	1A	29	3	6	38
	2A	2	1		3
	4A	10		1	11
	1B	1	1		2
	2B	5		1	6
	3B	1			1
	T	48	5	8	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
30	1A	10	2	26	38
	2A	2		1	3
	4A	1	9	1	11
	1B	2			2
	2B	2		4	6
	3B	1			1
	T	18	11	32	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
34	1A	17	2	19	38
	2A			3	3
	4A		11		11
	1B			2	2
	2B			6	6
	3B			1	1
	T	17	13	31	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
38	1A	22	4	12	38
	2A	2		1	3
	4A	8	3		11
	1B	2			2
	2B	6			6
	3B		1		1
	T	40	8	13	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
23	1A	3	1	34	38
	2A			3	3
	4A		1	10	11
	1B	2			2
	2B	5	1		6
	3B	1			1
	T	11	3	47	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
27	1A	5		33	38
	2A			3	3
	4A		2	9	11
	1B			2	2
	2B	1		5	6
	3B		1		1
	T	6	3	52	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
31	1A	16	4	18	38
	2A	1		2	3
	4A	1		10	11
	1B		2		2
	2B	2		4	6
	3B			1	1
	T	20	6	35	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
35	1A	28		10	38
	2A	3			3
	4A	10		1	11
	1B	2			2
	2B	6			6
	3B	1			1
		50	0	11	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
24	1A	19	4	15	38
	2A	3			3
	4A	11			11
	1B	1		1	2
	2B	6			6
	3B	1			1
	T	41	4	16	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
28	1A	31	2	5	38
	2A	2		1	3
	4A	11			11
	1B	2			2
	2B	3	1	2	6
	3B	1			1
	T	50	3	8	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
32	1A	19	2	17	38
	2A	2	1		3
	4A	9	1	1	11
	1B	1		1	2
	2B	4		2	6
	3B	1			1
	T	36	4	21	61

Q	Group	A	N	D	
36	1A	3	2	33	38
	2A			3	3
	4A	1		10	11
	1B			2	2
	2B			6	6
	3B			1	1
	T	4	2	55	61

Appendix 3. Data Analysis

RANK

Q	Group	123	132	213	231	312	321	
39	**1A**	17	13	1	1	6		38
	2A	2	1					3
	4A	8	3					11
	1B					2		2
	2B		2			4		6
	3B			1				1
	T	27	19	2	1	12	0	61

Q	Group	123	132	213	231	312	321	
40	**1A**	9	3	6	6	12	2	38
	2A	1	1			1		3
	4A	6	3			1	1	11
	1B	1	1					2
	2B	3	3					6
	3B			1				1
	T	20	11	7	6	14	3	61

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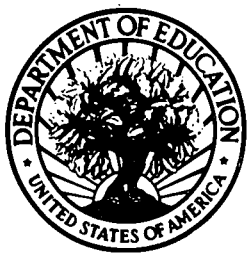

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