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Principles of Catholic Social Teaching, Critical Pedagogy, and the Theory of Intersectionality: An Integrated Framework to Examine the Roles of Social Status in the Formation of Catholic Teachers

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This article discusses the relevance of an analytic framework that integrates principles of Catholic Social Teaching, critical pedagogy, and the theory of intersectionality to explain attitudes toward marginalized youth held by Catholic students preparing to become teachers. The framework emerges from five years of action research data collected in Foundations of American Education classes in a teacher education program of a Mid-Atlantic Catholic Liberal Arts University. The authors propose new directions for research on Catholic schools and suggest that the gaps between espoused values and practices in Catholic schools as identified by researchers over the last decade might be more readily redressed in teacher education programs in Catholic universities and colleges, where the cycle of elitism may be recognized, taught, and transformed in the very formation of future teachers.

Keywords

Freire, Catholic Social Teaching, intersectionality, class, teacher education program, teacher reflection

How pre-service teachers conceive the causes of poverty and racial segregation is paramount to how effectively they will teach the ever more diverse student population of the 21st century (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Howard & Nieto, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Nieto, 1992). The fastest growing populations of young people in the United States, as in other advanced, post-industrial countries, are the children of immigrants from Asia, Latin America, Africa, the Caribbean basin, and the Middle East (Suárez-Orozco, 2005). Not only has the cultural landscape of U.S. K-12 public schools gained immeasurable complexity (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Rumbaut & Portes, 2001), but so has the cultural landscape of U.S. Catholic schools, which have seen

increases in non-Catholic and non-religious students, as well as an increase in enrollment of immigrant youth (McLaughlin, O'Keefe, & O'Keeffe, 1996; NCEA, 2014). In 2005, The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) reiterated its support and encouragement for the commitment of Catholic schools to serve students of diverse backgrounds, particularly those who have been socially marginalized (USCCB, 2005).

Although youth in the United States continue to become increasingly diverse, such diversity is not always reflected in the teaching staff of U.S. schools. Demographic information about teachers in U.S. K-12 schools indicates a largely homogenous group—85% of teachers identify as White and from middle class backgrounds (NCEI, 2005). Further, White youth continue to be the most segregated youth group. They attend schools, on average, where 80% of the student body is White. Whites attending private schools are even more segregated than their public school counterparts (NCEI, 2005).

At issue is not that White teachers of middle class backgrounds cannot effectively teach a diverse population of youth at a time of great transnational migrations and intercultural transactions. In fact, recent scholarship challenges the "conception that suggests that most White teacher candidates are deficient learners who lack resources for learning about diversity" (Lowenstein, 2009, p. 163). What is at issue is that White, middle-class, pre-service teachers need help to see their situated world views in action, support to understand the preconceived interpretations people bring to our interactions with others, and encouragement to develop the dispositions of responsive rather than reactive teachers—that is, teachers who take responsibilities for their roles in any given classroom event rather than shift responsibility on students or their parents through blame (Ford, 2013). The goals of teacher preparation programs are to enable future teachers to develop the competencies necessary to bridge differences (Banks, 2009; Cochran-Smith, 2004; Howard & Nieto, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Nieto, 1992) and to provide a formation that broadens and deepens the intellectual and emotional engagement of aspiring teachers with the peoples of the world—an engagement that hereto White privileged and/ or White segregated youth could avoid in the United States (Eick, 2010; Olneck, 2004; Olsen, 1997).

The challenge for teacher education programs at Catholic institutions is to help pre-service teachers to develop a critical social consciousness informed by Catholic Social Teaching (CST). The majority of pre-service teachers enrolled in education programs are White; many have grown up segregated from peers of racial, cultural, and socio-economic backgrounds different from

their own (Gentry, Lamb, Becker & Hall, 2012; LaDuke, 2009; Morrell, 2010; Sharma, Phillion & Malewski, 2011). As teacher educators, we (the authors) want our pre-service teachers to become fully aware of their socially situated positions and what these positions communicate to people of very different backgrounds. It is necessary for pre-service teachers to rethink learning and teaching from the perspectives of those who live at the periphery of mainstream school culture, so as to be more engaged, enlightened educators.

This work examines the relevance of an analytic framework that integrates principles of CST, critical pedagogy, and the theory of intersectionality to examine the attitudes toward marginalized and immigrant youth held by White, Catholic students preparing to become teachers in a teacher education program serving mainly White, middle-class students,. The framework emerged from action research data collected over a five-year period during an introductory undergraduate course called "Foundations of American Education," in which students are introduced to the work of Paulo Freire, one of the most influential educators of the latter part of the 20th century and the father of critical pedagogy. The action research took place between 2008 and 2013 and was documented through formal and informal interviews with students, course evaluations, field notes about class discussions and classroom observations, and written student reflections from their professional development portfolios. The project was originally prompted, on one hand, by some teacher candidates' strong reactions to Freire, both positive and negative, and on the other, by the recurring interpretation by some students of immigrant and/or minority youth's poor academic performances as the result of parental neglect. Some students' ready judgments of parents, expressed repeatedly across semesters and courses, were perplexing given the lack of firsthand knowledge of or interaction with parents.

The action research was undertaken to gain insight into (a) what might explain the differences in students' responses to Freire and critical pedagogy and (b) what might explain the tendency to blame parents rather than social inequities for immigrant and minority youth's difficulties in U.S. schools. The goal was to learn how to foster awareness of the need for culturally responsive teaching and to familiarize pre-service teachers in Foundations of American Education classes with practices associated with this pedagogical approach. The research was undertaken from a critical pedagogical perspective—whereby educational policies and practices are not merely described, but examined and questioned in light of the political, economic, and ideological forces that influence each other and, in turn, shape educational op-

portunities. The bias throughout the research was toward finding ways to help White, middle-class, future teachers to realize and assume responsibility for their privileged social positions and, as Catholic youth, to transform that privilege into socially just teaching grounded in Catholic Social Teaching.

Conceptual Framework

Catholic Social Teaching

Catholic Social Teaching refers to social principles and moral teachings of the Church related to protecting human life and dignity and promoting social justice. Since the late 19ᵗʰ century, these teachings have been issued through papal, conciliar, and other official documents from the Church (USCCB, 2014). Over the last two decades, scholars have brought to light the crucial role of CST in framing discussions about the role of Catholics and Catholic institutions in the social, political, and economic affairs of the secular world (DeBerri, Hug, Henriot & Schultheis, 2003; Dorr, 1992; McCormick, 1999; O'Keefe, 1996, 1999, 2000; O'Keefe & Evans, 2004; O'Keefe & Murphy, 2000). More recently, scholars have begun applying the principles of CST to gauge the justice of educational policies and overall ethos governing Catholic schools. These works have suggested that too many Catholic schools fail to practice what they preach, as the needs of students with special needs, those whose first language is not English, students of color and students living in poverty go unmet (Scanlan, 2008; Storz & Nestor, 2007). Recently too, scholarship has examined pre-service teachers' understandings and reactions to "teaching for social justice" within teacher education programs embedded in Catholic universities. This research identifies students' resistance to and struggles with the idea of socially just teaching (Chubbuck, 2007). To our knowledge, Chubbuck's research is the only published study to date examining pre-service teachers' introduction to socially just teaching from a CST perspective. Further, none of the existing scholarship integrating the principles of CST examines the role of social status in students' interpretations of the causes of marginalization.

Critical Pedagogy & Critical Self-Reflection

"Three central tenets of CST are human dignity, the common good, and the preferential option for the marginalized" (Scanlan, 2008, p. 31). Of these three tenets, the preferential option for the marginalized was singled out

for the purposes of this study. According to Scanlan (2008), "this dimension critiques institutions, policies, and practices that allow or exacerbate poverty, inequality, and injustice" (p. 39). It is also through this tenet of preferential option for the marginalized that Freire's critical pedagogy and Catholic Social Teaching most strongly align. Critical pedagogy seeks to empower students to think critically about their own educational situations and the relations of power communicated and maintained by existing social/institutional arrangements. The aims are to raise consciousness about institutionalized inequities and to provide opportunities for students to participate in creating a more just, democratic society (Freire, 1970, 1998). Freire's works have shaped instruction in teacher education programs across nations and informed a cadre of critical/transformative pedagogues in the United States (Apple, 2010; Aronowitz, 1993; Giroux, 2009; Kincheloe, 2008; Shor, 1987). U.S. educators have borrowed from Freire to seek redress to the deplorable conditions of urban schools and the continued racial, ethnic, and economic marginalization of youth.

To develop the critical social consciousness of pre-service teachers, teacher education programs must facilitate a disposition of reflection through a variety of reflective processes integrated among coursework and supervised internship teaching. From a critical pedagogy stance, Smyth (1989) encouraged teachers to analyze their knowledge, beliefs, and practices through stages: "describing (What do I do?)"; "informing (What does this mean?)"; "confronting (How did I come to be like this?)"; and "reconstructing (How might I do things differently?)" (pp. 5-6). Cochran-Smith (1995) asserted that our reflections should acknowledge "our own cultural, racial, and linguistic backgrounds and our own experiences as raced, classed, and gendered children, parents, and teachers in the world" (as cited in Dome, Prado-Olmos, Ulanoff, Ramos, Vega-Castaneda, & Quiocho, 2005, p. 66). Similarly, Gay and Kirkland (2003) declared "[c]ritical racial and cultural consciousness should be coupled with self-reflection in both preservice teacher education and in-service staff development" (p. 181). Zeichner and Liston (1996) concluded that reflective teaching is "good teaching," if it supports democracy (p. 49). As all of these scholars have indicated, critical reflection brings new insights and deconstructs one's "constructed consciousness" through questioning taken-for-granted assumptions (Hinchey, 2005). Teachers can thus model for students lifelong learning and inquiry. Following St. Ignatius of Loyola's model of reflection through communal conversation could further advance teacher reflection beyond the technocratic (Connell, 2014). After

recognizing inequity and injustice through reflection, teachers and students are then called to be agents of change through action.

While the CST and critical pedagogy lenses served to situate Catholic students' responses in light of dispositions toward people who are socially marginalized, the lens of intersectionality served to situate students' backgrounds in relation to their responses to critical pedagogy.

Intersectionality

The intersectional analytic approach examines the ways in which social markers of difference (race, gender, ethnicity, generation, class, religion, sexuality, nationality) intersect to shape situated experiences (Collins, 1998; McCall, 2005). Intersectionality at once questions the homogenized renditions of group experiences according to race, gender, and other social categories of identity, and sensitizes the researcher to hierarchies of domination within and across intersecting markers of difference at various time periods and within different political contexts (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995). For example, being a young woman within a classist and racialized society makes for different educational opportunities and peer relationships in the experiences of White, Black, or Latina young women, and further, in the experiences of immigrant, native, middle class, or working class young women within those racial and ethnic categories. Fleras and Elliott (2007) described intersectional analysis as:

> …a theoretical approach to the study of inequality that incorporates the interplay of race, gender, ethnicity, and class in defining outcomes. For example, gender is superimposed on and intersects with race, ethnicity, and class to create overlapping and mutually intensifying patterns of domination and exploitation. (p. 360)

For the purposes of this study, intersections of race, class, and religion were examined in relation to students' responses to a survey adapted from the Boston College Teachers for a New Era Evidence Team survey (BC TNE Evidence Team, 2006). The survey was used to assess teacher candidates' characteristics and dispositions, thoughts and beliefs about the role of teachers in diverse classrooms.

Integrated Analytic Framework (IAF)

All three lenses—CST, critical pedagogy, and intersectionality--share an underlying paradigm of social justice. They are complementary frameworks that, when combined, create a powerful lens for examining and articulating interpretations about causes of poverty and marginalization as suggested by Catholic students preparing to become teachers. By extension, the integrated framework allows researchers to examine the roles of social status in the formation of Catholic teachers. CST is a religious response to social injustices. The U.S. bishops (National Conference of Catholic Bishops [NCCB], 1986) asserted that the "dignity of the human person, realized in community with others, is the criterion against which all aspects of economic life must be measured" (p. 28). Vallely (quoted in Scanlan, 2008), in addressing CST, underscored that inherent in CST is the idea that "no one should be excluded by the benefits of social development" (p. 31). Critical pedagogy is an educational response to social injustices. Freire suggested that authentic education is "the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world" (Freire, 2007a, p. 34). Finally, intersectionality is a sociological explanation of people's experiences of inequity that identifies uneven power relations as a result of differently intersecting social markers (race, ethnicity, class, nationality, gender, etc.). Originally developed by Patricia Hill Collins (1988), intersectionality theory arose from and refined critical social theory, which "aims to analyze a given social reality so as to disclose and name the sources of social inequality and injustice" (Mendieta, 2012, p. 459). Thus, integrating the three frameworks offers the possibility of identifying more precisely the role of social status in Catholic students' responses to pedagogy that interrogates inequities and evaluating these responses within the CST tradition.

Historical Overview

For the purposes of this study and its examination of Catholic teacher candidates' interpretations of the causes of marginalization, we include the following historical overview of the development of U.S. Catholic schools in relation to the evolving socio-economic status of Catholics as a group and their evolving "American" identity. An overview of the intersections of class, religion, and national identity as these have shaped the experiences of Catholic school goers provides a necessary context for the discussion of findings in this research.

In the mid-19th century, when unregulated industrial development pitted rich against poor, when Irish immigration awakened anti-Catholic sentiments amidst the ruling Anglo-Protestant elites, and when fundamentalist and liberal Protestant sects clashed, Horace Mann invented the "common school." The common school was designed to help ensure social harmony by teaching *all* children common Christian morals. As Mann envisioned, common schools would serve as the "balance-wheel of the social machinery" (Tozer, Senese, & Violas, 2009, p. 77). Rich and poor of all religious and ethnic backgrounds would learn to live together in harmony. Whatever Mann's noblest intentions (molded by the ideologies of his time), the result, as historians of education have suggested, was that the common school united future citizens through a set of pan-Protestant values that buttressed and sustained industrial development and the making of factory workers (Kaestle, 1983; Spring, 2007; Tyack & Hansot, 1982).

The common school system would, of course, become the U.S. public school system. But no sooner had the common school been established than Irish Catholics resisted exposing their children to the Protestant values that dominated public schools. Through the commitment and appeal of the U.S. Catholic clergy and its pressing call for Catholics to educate their children *as* Catholics, parish schools emerged (Dolan, 2002; Veverka, 1988). Fearing the rise of papal influence, governing elites denied funding for the establishment of Catholic schools (Ravitch, 1974; Sanders, 1977). Thus a parallel private Catholic parish school system emerged—subsidized by parish churches. Moreover, by the turn of the 20th century, as new and larger waves of immigration brought Eastern and Southern Europeans, many of whom were Catholic, to the U.S., parishes and their schools took on distinctly ethnic characteristics (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Dolan, 2002; Greely & Rossi, 1966; Hunt & Walch, 2010; O'Toole, 2008; Walch, 1996).

Despite the assimilationist views dominating society at the time, the Catholic private school system, sustained by the contributions of its parishioners, became one of the first to experiment with bilingual education and to demonstrate peaceful pluralism in action (Bryk et al., 1993; Dolan, 2002; Greely & Rossi, 1966; Hunt & Walch, 2010; O'Toole, 2008; Walch, 1996). The myriad Polish, Italian, German, and other Catholic parishes showed what Horace Kallen (1970, 1924) urged his fellow citizens to consider in the dawning 20th century: that cultural diversity and national pride are compatible. Needless to say, Kallen's perspective did not prevail in his time. Of course too, African-American and Native American youth remained overwhelmingly

marginalized and segregated. But the presence of Catholic schools in the hearts of northeast cities, where poor and working class Catholics landed at the turn of the 20th century, would become a welcomed alternative for many neglected Black youth in public schools by the 1970s in the wake of White flight (Bryk et al., 1993).

Thus the ethnic Catholic parishes served as gentle way stations for the eventual integration of youth into the broader "American" culture, in direct opposition to the "hard-edged Americanizers" who "dominated the United States" in the 1920s (Zimmerman, 2002, p. 14). Nativists, among whom were many members of the Progressive Movement as well as members of the Ku Klux Klan, battled to remove foreign language instruction and whatever threats they perceived to Americanism. These early ethnic Catholic parish schools thus formed youth who integrated successfully while nurturing their unique differences (Fass, 1989).

At the turn of the 20th century, U.S. Catholic priests, brothers, and sisters witnessed daily the dehumanizing effects of unregulated industrialization on the lives of the urban poor and working class; they spoke out against the abuses of capitalism, as well as against the abuses of communism (Bryk et al., 1993). Their social justice advocacy preceded Vatican II in the mid-1960s, when the Catholic Church embraced an engagement with the modern world through deeds of social justice in the likeness of Jesus (Dolan, 2002; Kung, 1988). Within the broader struggles to appropriate the meanings of an "American" identity in the dawning 20th century, being a U.S. citizen and a Catholic meant primarily being "ethnic" and not 100% American given the dominant nativist perspective (Zimmerman, 2002). Ethnicity trumped citizenship.

As the 20th century progressed, the Catholic middle class grew (Dolan, 1985, 2002; Greeley, 1977), and with social mobility came new understandings of ethnicity. As Catholics struggled to assimilate into the broader Anglo-Protestant mainstream culture, they also fought to be White, particularly the Irish. To be White was also overwhelmingly, at the time, to be racist (Justice, 2005). Black and other non-White minority children were relegated to second-class citizenry in segregated schools, including Catholic segregated schools (Fass, 1989; Hunt & Walch, 2010). Thus, in 1965, just as Vatican II had expanded the mission of the Catholic Church to work actively on behalf of social justice in the world, White parishioners were swept in the White flight. A combination of new wealth, as well as school desegregation following *Brown v Board of Education,* resulted in the exodus from cities by many

White Catholics (Cibulka, O'Brien, & Zewe, 1982; Gramm, 2010; Mazzenga, 2010). Middle class Catholics had integrated so well that by 1960 the nation had elected its first Catholic president.

The general White exodus depleted city parishes of the human and financial resources that sustained the parish schools; the effect of White flight on these parishes was further compounded by the loss of religious men and women, who were not renewing their vows, and further by the significant dip in the number of youth seeking priesthood and commitments to religious life (Hunt, Ellis, & Nuzzi, 2000; McLellan, 2000). Just as resources were at their lowest, particularly for city parish schools, the call from the Vatican was for greater involvement with the world through deeds of social justice. Thus U.S. Catholic clergy, grounded in a uniquely U.S. history of Catholic engagement with the world, strove to keep city parish schools opened to serve the urban poor. Soon many of the city Catholic schools were teaching a much larger percentage of Black youth (Mazzenga, 2010; Skerrett, 2010).

Researchers too were suggesting that Catholic schools were more successfully fulfilling Horace Mann's common school ideal than were the public schools that emerged out of the common school movement (Coleman, Hoffer, & Kilgore, 1982; Greeley, 1982). Students graduating from Catholic schools shared a sense of pride in their intellectual patrimony and the integrated knowledge that their education was superior to that of students attending public schools (Bryk et al., 1993). But this pride in a shared ethos, shared curriculum, and shared school uniform did not necessarily translate among students across Catholic schools into a shared solidarity with the poor and disenfranchised. By the 1990s, one fifth of Catholic secondary students were from households with annual incomes of $75,000 or more and from parents who were not so much interested in the communal focus of Catholic schools, but rather in their academic investment (Baker & Riordan, 1998). Upper middle class parents could send their children to Catholic high schools for half or even one quarter of the tuition cost of an independent private school and receive the same college preparatory academic rigor (Baker & Riordan, 1998; Bryk et al., 1993). By the turn of the 21st century, as Riordan (2000) explains, "Catholic schools on average [had] become more selective and [were] no longer serving primarily the disadvantaged or even the working class, despite the fact that a goodly number of minority students now [attended] Catholic schools" (p. 40). Youniss (2000) further explains how "Catholic schools that charge high tuition, place academic achievement first, are staffed by lay teachers, and have significant non-Catholic enrollment

resemble only vaguely the system of Catholic schooling that developed over the last 150 years" (p. 9). Undoubtedly, the *eliting* of Catholic schools by the end of the 20th century and turn of the 21st century has implications for the social formation of Catholic students. Some Catholic students who come to teacher preparation programs from Catholic schools have been affected by the changes to their K-12 schools. In turn, they then bring their habits of mind and heart—for better or for worse--into teacher education programs in Catholic universities.

Methodology

Research Design

The challenges we experienced in our practice as education professors charged with helping teacher candidates reflect critically on teaching and learning led us to undertake a collaborative action research project. We wanted to identify instructional practices that would more effectively develop in our education majors and teacher candidates a critical awareness of the impacts of social factors on the lives of school children and youth as well as the implications of their [education majors'] own constructions of diverse students on their future clinical performance as teachers—that is, as instructors accountable for their students' academic successes, as colleagues responsible for communicating with honesty and clinical precision with all constituents within school bounds, and as professionals called to interface effectively and compassionately with parents and school community at large.

Action research is a systematic inquiry of practice from the inside with the purpose of "improving practice, improving one's understanding of practice, and improving the situation in which the practice takes place" (Waters-Adams, 2006, para. 8). It naturally lends itself to collaborative work, bringing together colleagues with shared professional concerns (Elliott, 1991). More importantly to us (authors), action research engages research-practitioners in a process of inquiry aimed toward professional and social change. While action research findings are not directly applicable beyond the confines of the research context, they often produce generalizations about our understanding of practice (Schön, 1983; Carr & Kemmis, 1986; McNiff, 1988). Thus, we undertook this action research because we judged it the best methodology to yield useful information about the practice of developing in future teachers critical awareness of the role of broader social structures in the educational opportunities of students in the United States.

The original guiding research questions were: (a) how do education majors understand and construct the economically and racially disenfranchised?; and (b) how do education majors understand the roles of teachers vis-à-vis students from different racial, ethnic, socio-economic and religious backgrounds? Action research is an iterative and cyclical process that often leads researchers to reframe their questions as they engage in the inquiry at hand. Thus, we reframed our second research question to ask: what might be the reasons that many of the education majors attributed the poor academic achievements and behavioral problems of students they observed during their field placements solely to parental neglect or personal deficiencies without reference to social background and cultural differences? Foregrounding the reasons of our students' attitudes led us to develop the integrated analytic framework described earlier. The framework was intended to help us identify more clearly the makings of some of our teacher candidates' pejorative attitudes. We hoped that by better understanding the "how come?," we might find more effective ways to help students gain a deeper and broader understanding of the struggles of children and youth at the margins of society. We discuss this framework in greater detail in the analysis.

Setting and Participants

The Catholic university at which the research was conducted is located in a predominantly rural area of a Mid-Atlantic state. It draws a little over half of its student population from the state in which it is located, and approximately 30% of students enrolled come from other Mid-Atlantic States. The remaining less than 20% include students from across 30 U.S. states and a dozen foreign countries. Recently, the population of ethnic minority students has grown to represent over 20% of the total student population. The Department of Education attracts primarily undergraduate women interested in elementary education certification and a smaller number of undergraduate students interested in secondary education certification. Most of the secondary education students are career-changing adults enrolled in the Master of Arts in Teaching (MAT) program. Overwhelmingly, the undergraduate students in the teacher education program are White middle- to upper-middle-class women interested in becoming elementary school teachers. In any given Foundations of American Education class, approximately half of the 20 to 25 students enrolled will identify themselves as Catholic. An estimated 70% of students at the University are Catholic, and the Catholic identity of the

University foregrounds a focus on service and social justice.

Sampling of students was a convenience sampling. All students identified for formal interviews and all students whose comments, reflections, and discussions were integrated into research notes were enrolled in our Foundations of American Education courses. Responses to the survey were collected from all education majors, both undergraduate and graduate. Students formally interviewed self reported their class backgrounds. They included three White women of working class backgrounds, two of whom have extended families who live in impoverished areas of the city, and two White women of upper middle class background.

Data Sources

Data included observations of classroom interactions and student levels of engagement, informal conversations with students, five formally recorded interviews, reflections in student professional development portfolios, and responses to a survey adapted from the Boston College Teachers for a New Era Evidence Team survey (BC TNE). The first set of data was collected in academic year 2007-2008 and included observational notes of classroom discussions and informal conversations with students. Formal interviews were conducted during academic year 2009-2010. In academic year 2012-2013, data from survey were collected. Collection of data from student reflections and informal conversations was ongoing. While we acknowledge that both non-Catholic and Catholic teacher candidates can enact Catholic Social Teachings, we focused on the views of Catholic teacher candidates.

Interviews

Formal interviews averaged one hour, were audio-taped, transcribed, and coded. Each interview began with an explanation of the purpose of the study and the nature of the interview questions. We then explained that all names would be kept confidential in the reporting of the data (pseudonyms would be used). Each participant signed a consent form agreeing to be interviewed.

Each formal interview began with an open-ended question that asked the student if he/she believed that all people have equal opportunities in the United States to acquire quality education and gain social mobility; more probing questions followed about student's understanding of the role of the teacher in a diverse democracy. The five teacher candidates invited to participate in the formal interviews were students who had been very engaged dur-

ing informal conversations and who regularly visited with one of us during office hours. A window of opportunity opened up to organize formal interviews with these teacher candidates during office hours when they usually visited. In addition to the formal interviews, many informal conversations were had with students (in the cafeteria and after class). Notes from these conversations were integrated into ongoing research notes in order to develop context in the qualitative action research process.

Student Professional Development Portfolios

Based upon five field placement visits to classrooms, students in the Foundations of American Education course develop a professional development portfolio, where they respond to questions about classroom climate and management, teacher instruction, student learning, and student diversity, and reflect upon how their own backgrounds impact their conceptions of schools and learning. Moreover, they articulate their own educational philosophies, which include considerations about teaching in a multicultural democracy. With field placement components attached to students' other educational courses and internships during two semesters, students will have had varied experiences at different grade levels throughout their teacher education program. At the conclusion of their second internship, these teacher candidates compile an online showcase portfolio demonstrating their pedagogical proficiency. This portfolio manifests how their educational philosophy has evolved and incorporates artifacts from their coursework and from their internship teaching. For the purposes of this research, the reflection components of the professional development portfolios served as a data source.

Survey

Our online survey "Teaching as Vocation," adapted from the Boston College Teachers for a New Era Evidence Team survey (BC TNE), included the following categories of questions: (a) information regarding students' and their parents' socio-economic, racial, and educational backgrounds; (b) reasons for wanting to teach; (c) experiences working with diverse populations; (d) philosophy of education; (e) the role of the teacher (within the classroom and broader community); and (f) ethical dispositions as Christians. Forty-two pre-service teacher candidates responded to our survey (18% response rate). Of these, 50% identified as Catholic, 19% identified as Christians of various Protestant denominations, and 26% did not identify their religious

faith. Overwhelming majority (85%) of respondents were upperclassmen. Ninety-five percent were female, 93% were White, 36% reported graduating from suburban Catholic high schools and 50% did not identify whether their high school was urban, suburban or rural. Approximately 66% of respondents are first generation college students.
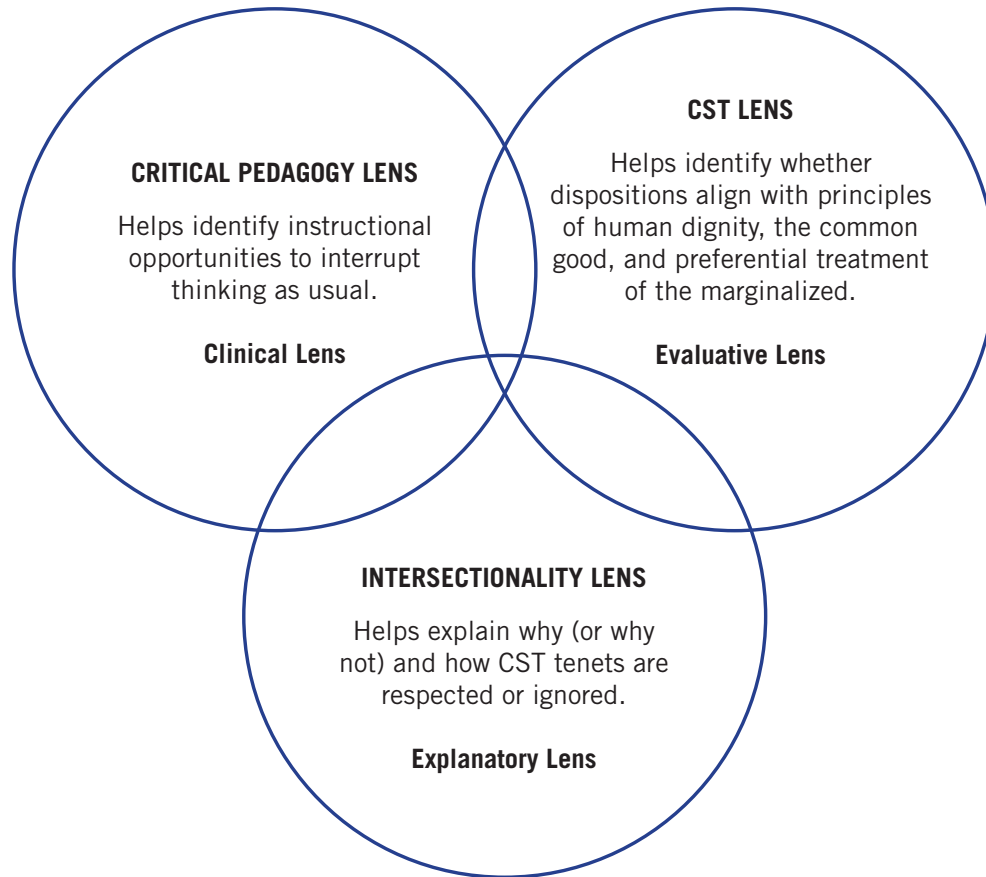
Analysis

In this action research, the coding process of data was iterative, informed and guided by our research interests (Erickson, 1986). Data sources were continually triangulated (Creswell, 1998; Eisner & Peshkin, 1990; Noblit, Flores & Murillo, 2004) to confirm or challenge findings. The integrated analytic framework that we developed while conducting the action research helped organize the relationships across themes that emerged from our data analysis. Thus, the principles of Catholic Social Teaching were used to evaluate whether Catholic pre-service teachers espoused the dispositions asked of Catholics with regards to social responsibility. The lens of intersectionality added explanatory power by helping to explain the reasons for why and how teacher candidates might espouse or not the dispositions that Catholics are called to practice. The critical pedagogy lens further helped identify the available instructional spaces that might help interrupt thinking as usual and lead teacher candidates toward greater self-awareness and empathy for all school stakeholders.

The following provides a visual representation of the mutually informing dimensions of the integrated analytic framework:

Figure 1. Integrated Analytic Framework.

Five themes were identified across data strands: (a) endorsing progressive methods but not the goal of social improvement for democracy; (b)

CRITICAL PEDAGOGY LENS

Helps identify instructional
opportunities to interrupt
thinking as usual.

Clinical Lens

CST LENS

Helps identify whether
dispositions align with principles
of human dignity, the common
good, and preferential treatment
of the marginalized.

Evaluative Lens

INTERSECTIONALITY LENS

Helps explain why (or why
not) and how CST tenets are
respected or ignored.

Explanatory Lens

constructing meritocracy; (c) secularizing teaching; (d) retreating into a safe cultural space; and (e) constructing self as culturally sufficient. In what follows, we first summarize findings for the first three themes, which connect to two of the three dimensions of the integrated analytic framework (CST and critical pedagogy). We focus more deeply on the last two themes, which demonstrate the linkage to all three dimensions of the integrated analytic framework (IAF).

Endorsing Progressive Methods but Not the Goal of Social Improvement for Democracy

Teacher candidates valued the student-centered instructional methods, such as kinesthetic learning, cooperative learning, validation of students'

interests, but without connecting these methods to long-term goals for students, such as preparing them to be active, responsible citizens in a democracy for social improvement. For Dewey (1954), such student interactions are intended to advance "the fundamental principle of the school as a form of community life" (p. 632). While 81% felt it was important for the teacher to "examine personal attitudes about race, class, gender, disabilities and sexual orientation," a lesser percent (73%) endorsed having issues regarding race and inequity be discussed in the classroom with a significant 25% either opposing such efforts or being uncertain about taking a stance. Progressive methods were endorsed rhetorically, but teacher candidates were less inclined to embrace either the achievability of equity in the classroom or the means. Thirty percent did not think that it was a "teacher's job to change society."

The CST prong of the IAF brought into focus students' disengagement from social responsibility. Pope Paul VI, in *Populorum Progression* (1967) stated that "only with an accompanying theological reflection on liberation from injustice…can there be true development towards a more human condition" (CST, 2011); and the Critical Pedagogy prong of the IAF brought to view teacher candidates' mostly technical and neutral rather than relational and empowering understanding of the act of teaching: "Washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral" (Freire, 1985, p.122).

Constructing Meritocracy

Responses to a survey item regarding student success were evenly split, with 43% agreeing and 40% disagreeing with the statement "students' success in school depends on their work ethic." These responses could indicate a belief in equality of opportunity in a meritocracy, but perhaps too an acknowledgement that certain strictures (ability, class, race, gender, etc.) may inhibit advancement no matter the level of personal effort. In fact, teacher candidates may see a certain inevitable future for students based upon their backgrounds, as 63% assented that "the job of a teacher is to prepare students for the lives they are likely to lead." The CST and critical pedagogy prongs of the IAF brought into focus students' tendencies toward status quo and social reproduction instead of the more radical transformative action recommended in some Church teachings and in Freire's notion of critical pedagogy. For example, in *Justicia in Mundo*, the World Synod of Catholic Bishops (1971) declared that "participation in the transformation of the world fully appear to us as a constitutive dimension of the preaching of the Gospel" (no. 6). Simi-

larly, critical pedagogy emphasizes that education should be "the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world" (Freire, 2007a, p. 34).

Secularizing Teaching

While the majority of the teacher candidates advocated for teachers modeling Christian values and morals, a substantial 31% said that it is not very important or not important at all to integrate one's spiritual identity into work as a teacher. Observational notes further suggested that a substantial number of teacher candidates in our teacher education program, nestled within a Catholic university, constructed teaching as a technical act rather than a deeply human or, from a Catholic perspective, deeply spiritual endeavor. There seemed to be a tendency on part of the teacher candidates to disassociate a teacher's belief system from the act of teaching. The critical pedagogy prong of the IAF brought to light teacher candidates' technocratic constructions of teaching.

Through critical pedagogy, teacher and learner engage in a mutually empowering and consciousness-raising encounter by which both are called to become more fully human. From a Catholic faith perspective, one can experience full humanity by embracing one's spiritual identification with Jesus Christ. For Freire, these processes were inextricably linked. As Vidovic (2010) described, "Paulo Freire's ideas of critical pedagogy…are deeply rooted in Freire's strong Catholic beliefs… By excluding this part of Freire's ideas…we cannot fully understand his concept of critical pedagogy" (p. xx).

Retreating into a Safe Cultural Catholic Space

Enacting one's beliefs involves risk in facing resistance, rejection, and possible failure. Our findings revealed that rather than incorporating their religious faith into their educational philosophies as a call to social action, teacher candidates tended to retreat into a safe cultural space, not taking a risk to engage actively with diversity as Catholics. One student wrote in her professional development portfolio (based upon her field placement visits) that she would prefer to teach in the kind of Catholic schools she attended rather than in larger, more diverse public schools, because she was not used to diversity:

> I have attended Catholic private school my entire life and as a result I have been in a predominately White culture my entire life. I have

> not been exposed to much diversity, not only in regards to ethnicity but also in regards to learning styles. In my private schooling the class sizes have always been small and students have received much one-on-one attention from the teacher…. This has also affected my notions of teaching because I wish to teach in a Catholic school…. It is my desire to not only teach in a Catholic school but also to be a theology teacher. My cultural background shaped what I observed in my journal because one of the first things I observed was the large diversity of the classroom. This stuck out to me so much because I have never been in a similar situation.

As a future theology teacher, she hoped to express her Catholic faith, but in a comfortable, familiar setting, looking back to past circumstances rather than embracing new opportunities.

Another student, who observed a classroom in the Catholic elementary school he formerly attended, declared in his portfolio:

> Throughout my school career, I have not been exposed to very much diversity. My graduating class in high school was predominantly white. I feel like my lack of exposure to diversity has affected my learning patterns and notions of teaching. I have always lived in a small town, and I am somewhat unaware of what the world has to offer. I have not been able to experience the challenges and rewards of diversity.

In these illustrative reflections, the three prongs of IAF intersect to bring to view a private construction of the Catholic faith and a discomfort with diversity grounded in a White, segregated Catholic upbringing. The CST component of the IAF brings to light Catholic teacher candidates' lack of engagement with the broader political and social realities of the world. In *Octogesima Adveniens*, Pope Paul VI (1971) calls upon Christians to live up to the duty of participation in social and political reform as a way of discovering the truth and living out the Gospel. The intersectionality component of IAF starkly brings into view how whiteness, middle class status, and Catholicism intersect to encourage a type of Catholic isolationism. As one of the teacher candidates suggested: "I am somewhat unaware of what the world has to offer;" and as the other reported: "I have been in a predominately White culture my entire life." While the Critical Pedagogy prong of IAF helped identify the propensity toward status quo, it also brought to light the possibility for

openness to change. The fact that one of the students identified her isolation, and more importantly, identified diversity as possibly holding rewards to be experienced ("I have not been able to experience the challenges and rewards of diversity") alerted to the opportunities to engage in an emancipatory pedagogy within the teacher education program. Freire underscores how education should "become[s] the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world" (Freire, 2007a, p. 34). As critical transformative pedagogues, we identified in this student a flicker of curiosity and wonder about the possibilities of encounters with difference.

Constructing Self as Culturally Sufficient

In the Foundations of American Education courses, students completed two critical reflections: a reflection about their classroom roles and a reflection about their personal cultural background. These reflections revealed several layers of distance and disconnect between teacher candidates' own school experiences and cultural backgrounds and those of the students they observed in field placement classrooms. The quotations that follow were chosen because they are illustrative of recurring testimonies across portfolios and across classroom discussions. The first layer of disconnect that emerged in the analysis intersects dimensions of religion and race/ethnicity.

> My cultural background is very influenced by the Irish Catholic culture…There were definitely things in this classroom that I was not used to seeing when I grew up. First off, I am not used to diversity in the classroom. This really made me look harder to see how each of the students dealt with each other, especially those who were from different ethnic groups.

Here Catholicism and whiteness were confounded and whiteness was not understood as a constituent part of diversity. The student expressed looking harder and "especially" at those who were from different ethnic groups. Of note is how this teacher candidate did not consider being Irish as being part of an "ethnic" group, which was the case at the turn of the twentieth century. The implication here is that being Catholic Irish *is* being White, in sharp contrast to the attribution of blackness to nineteenth-century Irish immigrants (Justice, 2005). For this student, diversity applied to those who

were not like him, to those he observed with curiosity from a removed point of reference. Here too Catholicism was equated with culture rather than the religious practice of faith. The student did not see himself as a person of Irish descent, who practiced the Catholic religion among a mosaic of people of various racial/ethnic backgrounds who practiced and professed the Catholic or other faiths. Instead, "Irish Catholic" became a culture "not used to diversity."

In the following quotation, religion, race and class intersect to create distance:

> I attended Catholic and Private school for my entire life…I lived in a wealthier neighborhood with a majority of upper class residents. I was raised as a Catholic. As a result of where I grew up I have not been as exposed to cultural diversity…My mom grew up exactly like I did, even better off. She lived in the area we live in now and was also not as exposed to diversity as others. My mom then went on to be an elementary teacher at a small Catholic school... She told me that the school was more diverse than what she had also been accustomed too but that was not a problem for her…Good teachers will learn to adjust and do what they do best, teach. As I was observing I paid attention to the students clothing to try to get an estimate on their socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds. I also took notice to different types of behavior dependent on their race or culture.

In this testimony, there is an assumption that encountering diversity risks turning problematic. The subtext suggests that encountering non-White and poorer students may perhaps be disturbing, even as it was not a problem for the mother ("but that was not a problem for her"). Again, in this testimony as in the previous, whiteness is not part of the diversity. Whiteness observes diversity but does not see itself in it. Of particular note and relevance to our research is that the act of teaching is dissociated from any cultural, racial, or class implications. The student shared how "Good teachers will learn to adjust and do what they do best, teach." The testimony implies that once adjusted to the reality of diversity, and having by-passed its potential problem, one can then go about teaching. Teaching was constructed as a primarily technical endeavor, devoid of cultural involvement or interaction.

This third quotation most sharply captures many of our teacher candidates' understandings of the teacher's role as an objective administrator of equality.

They often assume that because legal segregation has been abolished, racial inequities no longer exist:

> I have less experience with diversity in the classroom because I grew up in a predominantly White neighborhood…If I lived in a multi-cultural community I do not think I would change much as a person… Race, in my opinion is just a word to me. We are in the year 2012 and I believe in equal opportunities for all races, as do many people in this world. There is no more legal segregation of schools, so why would I teach them any differently? If I were to teach in a multi-cultural school, I would treat all students equally and work to the best of my ability to prepare them for the next level of school and their lives.

Cultural self-sufficiency most starkly comes to light here as the student affirms that she would not change as a person were she to live in a multi-cultural community. Implicit in such a statement is that personhood is not affected or shaped by community. The further implication is that growing up in a White neighborhood has no effect on the development of one's values and perspectives. It is this disconnect of person from social/cultural environment that allowed the student to understand "race as just a word." The student was myopic to the role that whiteness has played in her life. As a White person living in a White dominated society, she did not personally experience the social forces that restrict the movement or opportunities of people of color and of poor people in the United States. De jure desegregation was understood as de facto integration, the end of a racialized society. Yet, research has shown that legally desegregated schools continue to be places where students across racial and ethnic backgrounds are de facto segregated (Olsen, 1997; Weiss & Fine, 2000; Eick, 2010).

Cultural self-sufficiency also came to view in how some teacher candidates were more likely to attribute school children's poor academic performances or untidy appearances to neglectful parents rather than unequal social circumstances. Several teacher candidates who had attended expensive Catholic preparatory schools suggested that some parents, and particularly immigrant parents, whose children did not come prepared to school and did not do well academically, were parents who did not care about their children's education. One Catholic young woman, who had attended an all-girls elite suburban Catholic high school in a major city within the state, wrote in her

portfolio reflections that public school parents should sacrifice as Catholic parents do by doing with less and sending their children to Catholic high schools.

The following quotations show how teacher candidates used Catholic primacy put on parents as first educators to frame judgments about parents of children who did not succeed in school. From CST and critical pedagogy perspectives, respecting that parents are the first and foremost educators, teachers are called to further the role of parents by helping their children identify and develop the strengths that will allow them to participate fully in the life of the nation and of the human family. Thus, by not acknowledging the social inequities that constrain the possibilities of some parents from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, some teacher candidates absolved the teacher from the responsibility of engaging in the lives of others, again betraying cultural self-sufficiency.

> While I think that the after school programs and the classroom initiatives are great, an additional problem that we face is the struggle against the parents. Parents are children's first teachers, and when they notice that their parents aren't reading or aren't working, they lose any motivation they have to do so. I understand that it is not our job to step in and force the parents to do anything, but is there any way that we can help motivate the parents to read at all? I think that students would improve in their literacy if they were modeling after such a major influence in their lives.

> The diverse backgrounds of the students may also affect their learning experiences in the classroom depending on the involvement of the families. If a student comes from a bad family life where the parents are not involved and willing to help the student, they may not succeed in the classroom.

Throughout the Foundations of American Education courses, we clarified and elaborated upon the differences between equality and equity in a variety of contexts, and yet students' reflections at the end of the courses revealed a denial of marginalization. The lens of Catholic Social Teaching, which emphasizes the moral imperative for the preferential treatment of the marginal-

ized, the lens of Critical Pedagogy, which foregrounds the emancipatory and empowering role of education, and the lens of intersectionality, which identifies the interplay between social markers of difference (in this case class, race and religion) served to deconstruct the White self as culturally self-sufficient.

Teacher candidates' comments suggested that these privileged Catholic youth may have integrated the turn of the twentieth-century Protestant ethos, which attributed worldly success solely to frugality and disciplined hard work, dissociating personal effort from inequities in social structures. Some research has suggested that Catholics are becoming more socially and politically conformist (Abramowitz & Saunders, 2006; Penning, 1986). This has been our experience in listening to many of the students in our teacher education program.

Sociologist Max Weber first coined the notion of the Protestant work ethos and its religious justification for capitalism. "In Weber's thesis, religious individualism is one of the important aspects of the Protestant work ethic and 'the spirit of capitalism'"(Arslan, 2001, p. 321). Turner (1994) further suggested that the foundations of secular individualism can be traced to the notion of religious individualism which Weber identified in Calvinism and more broadly, Protestantism. "Weber stated that Protestants tended to give more importance to economic rationality…. [which] is based on rational long-term calculation of economic gain and depersonalisation of economic activities…" (Arslan, 2001, p. 321). In Weber's thesis regarding the Protestant work ethic, economic ambition and success become evidence of God's favor.

Teacher candidates often suggested that parents who truly cared about their children should sacrifice to send them to private schools. More research is needed to understand to what extent upper middle class Catholic families apply the notion of "sacrifice" to consumer power—for example, owning an economy car rather than a more luxurious model in order to send one's children to Catholic schools. If the notion of sacrifice leaves one still owning a very usable and good car, it may prove more difficult to understand the kind of sacrifices that poorer families might have to make—and by extension, proportionately easier to construct not sending one's children to private Catholic schools as a lack of sacrifice.

Discrepant Voices

Some students' testimonies provided discrepant voices that challenged the self-sufficiency paradigm. For example, those who embraced Freire's teaching

were eager to break cycles of bigotry and to help children question taken-for-granted ideas. One such student expressed how critical literacy would empower school children "to change the world." Another student suggested that while perhaps "on a national level [given civil rights laws] we're not oppressed, on an individual level we still have people who are being oppressed." She spoke of having "seen some things that I would consider an injustice." Another student also shared how she knows, through her sister's work in the "inner city" that "there are teachers who are always teaching what to learn but not how to learn." She considers this kind of teaching an injustice, because the youth never acquire the skills to articulate new possibilities for themselves. She further shared: "Everyone deserves to have an education. That's critical. If there's a language barrier or other barriers, as teachers, we should learn." This kind of Catholic student preparing to become a teacher assumes a future in which teachers are called to continue to learn, even to learn a second language if necessary, to stretch on behalf of their students, regardless of their students' origins. In considering the place of the United States in the world, one student said: "Things are happening….Here in the U.S. things are getting worse with lower-socio-economic levels." She and others expressed keen awareness of escalating inequalities in our country. To them, Freire's idea that one learns to read the word in order to read the world is obvious and necessary at a time when many people live with, as another student put it: the real "oppress[ion] of gangs, violence, and teachers not showing up." To which she added: "to think if students were given the power to be excited about learning, how they would change the world."

Another discrepant voice connected teaching to cultural awareness, yet again challenging the self-sufficiency paradigm. For example, we are encouraged by the self-awareness demonstrated in the following reflection.

> I was raised in a White majority, suburban area. I was raised Catholic, and went to public school. My cultural background has provided me with numerous opportunities to learn. Because of where I grew up, I had access to very good education and therefore was able to learn a lot….I also feel that I may not fully understand a student who comes from a low-income background, or is of a different race simply because I did not grow up in a very culturally diverse area. As I continue my studies, I hope to become more culturally aware so that I can be a better teacher….I found myself critically analyzing why the classroom was in a trailer. I had never experienced schools that were overpopulated, nor

had I been in a school that was in a low-income area. Because of this, most of my observations revolved around this new exposure to diversity and low-income schools. I found myself wishing the students could have attended my school. But then I found myself recognizing that I could be a teacher that gives students a wonderful education, even though the school is in a poor area.

Another teacher candidate's testimony, this time an "outsider's perspective," harmonizes the meritocratic American ethos, the Catholic message of parental sacrifice, and solidarity with the marginalized. The following quotation shows how the student embraced home culture in a progressive way. In this quotation, the values of democracy infuse the role of education in the United States.

My cultural background would be very different than most education majors here... I am a first generation American. Both of my parents are from El Salvador and came to the United States because of war. All my life, I've only lived with my mother and noticing the everyday struggle my mom had as an immigrant with no papers, and taking care of two children really affected my learning patterns. My background has taught me that even though a lot of students are underprivileged, the dedication and hard work of individuals that come from a background like me will pay off. I would want to teach my future students to really work hard because no one will feed you food on a silver spoon. I have learned to really appreciate education as I know that a lot others do not have the opportunity as I. My culture background might shape how and what I report observing by probably giving a biased observation of why I thought all the minorities sit with only their [sic] race. Being a minority, I can fully understand to always stick with each other.

The integrated analytic framework applied to this rich reflection reveals a social consciousness of justice, supported and promoted by CST and critical pedagogy, developed through the intersection of immigrant/refugee status and Latina background, and brought to light by intersectionality.

Conclusion

While scholars have indeed identified student self-segregation within schools along divides of class, gender, race, religion and nationality, as well as

within intersections of those social categories (Eick, 2010; Olsen, 1997; Wells, Holme, Revilla, & Atanda, 2004), they have not, to our knowledge, examined the implications of intersecting social categories in Catholic high schools in the development of dispositions of Catholic youth toward the marginalized, and have not considered the possible implications for the formation of Catholic teachers. This research suggests the possible role of class and race in shaping the dispositions toward the poor of some wealthier Catholics attending elite suburban schools.

Although traditionally Catholic education has stressed the formation of the whole person and of all persons, it is important to ask the critical questions about imported dispositions from elite spaces into Catholic university teacher education programs. Who are the future Catholic lay teachers? Do they know about Catholic Social Teaching? How do their particular class backgrounds intersect with their Catholic identity, their gender, race, and nationality to shape their dispositions toward marginalized youth and their constructions of the role of teachers?

A framework that integrates principles of Catholic Social Teaching, critical pedagogy, and the theory of intersectionality not only identifies such questions but also provides teacher education programs a narrative for helping teacher candidates to ground their reflections in a critical Catholic pedagogy. Findings in this exploratory research suggest that the social category of class intersects with race/ethnicity and Catholicism to situate some Catholic youth either in solidarity with the marginalized, or in moral judgment of the marginalized.

We offer the following suggestions as beginning steps in helping education majors within teacher education programs nestled in Catholic liberal arts universities and who come from predominantly White Catholic segregated spaces to develop a social consciousness that aligns with Catholic Social Teaching and the call to engage in the world justly and in the service of others, particularly those who are vulnerable.

We suggest that by designing syllabi that incorporate the integrated analytic framework, we can help students move from an instrumental/technical construction of teaching to a coherent Catholic vision of teacher-student relations; and from cultural self-sufficiency to multicultural interconnectedness. In turn, teacher-candidates can be empowered to own their participation in diversity and model, for their future students, compassionate engagement that respects the dignity of all persons. We have done so in our own syllabi whereby we connect components of content to tenets of Catholic Social

Teaching, we integrate activities that require students to consider the emancipatory possibilities of teaching and learning, and we model, through our own experiences and case studies, awareness of the role played by intersecting markers of difference in shaping understandings of social relationships.

We also offer the following table (Table 1), to be expanded and refined according to course content. This table organizes some of the most salient convergences between CST and Freire's critical pedagogy. These themes could be used as prompts for class discussions, written reflections, or other class activities and assignments in teacher preparation courses.

We also suggest translating Catholic Social Teaching tenets into teacher dispositions to complement and supplement the state required evaluations of teacher candidate dispositions for national certification purposes. Table 2 illustrates parallels we have identified between secular dispositions and Catholic Social Teaching tenets.

Table 1

Comparison of themes in Church declarations on Catholic Social Teaching and Freire's writings on critical pedagogy

Theme	Example from CST	Example from Freire
Human dignity	"What are truly human conditions? The rise from poverty to the acquisition of life's necessities; the elimination of social ills; broadening the horizons of knowledge; acquiring refinement and culture. **From there one can go on to acquire a growing awareness of other people's dignity**, a taste for the spirit of poverty… an active interest in the common good, and a desire for peace" (Paul VI, 1967, no. 21)	**"I never understood how to reconcile fellowship with Christ with the exploitation of other human beings**, or to reconcile a love for Christ with racial, gender and class discrimination. By the same token, I could never reconcile the Left's liberating discourse with the Left's discriminatory practice along the lines of race, gender, and class" (Freire, 1996, p. 86-87).

Table 1 (cont.)

Theme	Example from CST	Example from Freire
Justice	"It is to all Christians that we address a fresh and insistent call to action…**It is not enough to recall principles, state intentions, point to crying injustice and utter prophetic denunciations; these words will lack real weight unless they are accompanied for each individual by a livelier awareness of personal responsibility and by effective action.** It is too easy to throw back on others responsibility for injustice, if at the same time one does not realize how each one shares in it personally, and how personal conversion is needed first… For beneath an outward appearance of indifference, in the heart of every man there is a will to live in brotherhood and a thirst for justice and peace, which is to be expanded" (Paul VI, 1971,	**"Washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral"** (Freire, 1985, p.122).
Transformation	"**Action on behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world fully appear to us as a constitutive dimension of the preaching of the Gospel**, or, in other words, of the Church's mission for the redemption of the human race and its liberation from every oppressive situation" (World Synod of Catholic Bishops, 1971, no. 6).	"**Education** either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity or it becomes **the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world"** (Freire, 2007a, p.34).
Equality and equity	"**It is right to struggle against an unjust economic system** that does not uphold the priority of the human being over capital and land" (John Paul II, 1995, no. 35).	"**It is necessary that the weakness of the powerless is transformed into a force capable of announcing justice.** For this to happen, a total denouncement of fatalism is necessary. We are transformative beings and not beings for accommodation" (Freire, 2007b, p. 36).

Table 2

Comparison of dispositions in teacher education to principles of CST and critical pedagogy

Dispositions developed by Education department	CST	Critical Pedagogy
Proficient (demonstrate the content and pedagogical knowledge, skills and dispositions to effect student learning)	Teaching as a spiritual act with a moral responsibility to promote equity	Critical awareness of role of personal beliefs and biases in the act of teaching
Reflective (examine learning and teaching to shape practice)	Awareness of how instructional practices might contribute to student marginalization	Critical racial and cultural consciousness coupled with self-reflection
Ethical (demonstrate commitment to the diversity, dignity, equality and rights of the individuals)	Life and Dignity of the Human Person Rights and Responsibilities	After recognition of structures that perpetuate injustice, acting to liberate the individual towards fulfillment
Leading (demonstrate leadership as active participants in the education community)	Call to family, community and participation	Raising of consciousness
Adaptive (respond to the demands of an increasingly diverse, technological and global society)	Solidarity	Solidarity

Finally, more research is needed to tease out with greater refinement the weight of class and race in Catholic students' dispositions toward disenfranchised people. In addition, more research is needed that helps identify conceptual and affective bridges that connect the privileged to others (and "the other") in more compassionate and authentic ways, particularly in the preparation of future teachers. We believe that the integrated analytic framework may help to shape more effectively the parameters of future investigations and contribute to positively shaping instruction in teacher education programs.

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