

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND CATHOLIC SOCIAL PRINCIPLES
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF AUSTRALIA, ENGLAND AND WALES,
AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

by

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Abstract

This thesis questions to what extent Catholic schools in Australia, England and Wales, and the United States are being able to form their pupils in Catholic social principles today. Catholic schools, because of what they are and of what they purport to be, must always be open to questions of authenticity.

Over recent years there has been a steady and subtle, but very significant, increase in the role of governments in non-government education in Australia, England and Wales and the United States. There is concern that non-government schools, particularly Catholic schools, may be becoming unwitting and complacent vehicles of government policy, whether it be a Labour government in Australia, a Conservative government in England and Wales, or a Republican government in the United States.

The thesis examines the nature of this government intervention in Catholic schools in these countries over recent years, and considers whether such intervention has been antithetical to the school's capacity to develop the pupils in a sound understanding of Catholic social justice principles. It looks at reasons why Catholic schools in these countries today have difficulty reconciling their aims for social justice with prevailing government's economic and social policies. It is a comparative study, to see how an analysis of such developments in England, Wales and the United States can illuminate these issues in Australia.

The thesis attempts to locate, evaluate and synthesise evidence to give a much clearer picture of the difficulties Catholic schools have to face in their call to evangelise modern youth. The investigative method used is essentially a historical analysis of policy documents of the Catholic Church, of the popes, bishops and Catholic education bodies, of the governments and Courts of the countries concerned, of recent statistical data, and of a series of informal interviews. Visits were made to a number of Catholic tertiary institutions to estimate current input in terms of modern Catholic social teaching.

In the conclusion the thesis offers strategies to current Catholic educational administrators which may help improve the effectiveness of their Catholic social justice teaching.

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INTRODUCTION

Many difficulties over Catholic schools are being expressed today, both within and without the Catholic community. In the understanding of her mission of salvation, the Church considers that the Catholic school provides a special environment for the complete formation of her members, and that it also provides a highly important service to mankind. Yet the Church is aware of the many problems that exist and objections that are made against Catholic schools sometimes regarding the validity of their existence and their operation. The issue is part of a much wider problem facing religious groups in a society which is characterised by rapid and profound change.

In Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, the debate about Catholic schools identifies readily some central objections and difficulties. Many people, within and without the Church in a new sense of the lay role in secular society, attack Catholic schools as institutions. They are not convinced that, apart from their individual witness as members, the Church ought also offer witness by means of her institutions, e.g. those dedicated to the search for truth or to works of charity.

Others maintain that Catholic schools make use of a human institution for religious and confessional purposes. Catholic schools can run into the danger of imparting a one-sided outlook. This will only happen when Catholic educators misunderstand the nature and methods of christian

education, especially in areas of Catholic social teaching. Catholics believe that for education to be complete, a religious dimension ought to be included. Religion is a telling contribution to the development of other aspects of a personality in the way it is integrated into general education.

A number of Catholics, in the three countries mentioned above, feel that Catholic schools have outlived their time. They feel that there is no longer a need for these schools when civil authority assumes responsibility for education. Indeed, as the State increasingly takes control of education, establishes educational priorities and establishes its own so-called neutral and monolithic system, the survival of natural communities who base their living on a shared concept of life, is threatened. Faced with such a situation, the Catholic school offers an alternative which is in conformity with the wishes of the members of the community of the Church.

Unfortunately in some countries, for financial reasons, Catholic schools have been obliged to restrict their educational activities to wealthier social classes, thus giving an impression of social and economic discrimination in education. This occurs where the State has not valued the advantages of an alternative presence in its pluralistic society. As will be seen in this thesis, where this occurs, considerable difficulties have arisen for Catholic schools.

As well as the points mentioned already, objections are raised concerning the educational results of the Catholic schools. They are seen by some critics as not knowing how to form convinced, able Catholics ready to take their place in social and political life. Whilst it is true that some schools are more successful and competent in the formation of capable and articulate Catholics than others, it must be understood that every educational enterprise involves the risk of failure. As well, in the face of such apparent failure, it must be borne in mind that there are very many formative influences on young people and results often have to be calculated on a long-term basis.

Whilst acknowledging such concern for Catholic schools, and criticism of them, this thesis will look at the context in which contemporary work in the field of education is undertaken, particularly in the Church. The school problem in our rapidly changing society is equally a problem for citizens, the Church and the State. The Second Vatican Council has encouraged a more open minded approach which has sometimes been misrepresented in theory and practice. There has been a marked development in Catholic social teaching. There are difficulties in the provision of adequate staff and finance. In such a situation ought the Church move out of the apostolic mission in Catholic schools, as some members think she should, and put the energy and finance into other areas of her mission considered to be of greater priority, or should she make State schools the sole object of her pastoral activity? That kind of solution would be opposed

to the directives of the Vatican Council, would be alien to the Church's mission and to what is expected of her by Catholic people. What follows emphasises the fact.

Since it is motivated by the Christian ideal, the Catholic school is particularly sensitive to the call from every part of the world for a more just society, and it tries to make its own contribution towards it. It does not stop at the courageous teaching of the demands of justice even in the face of local opposition, but tries to put these demands into practice in its own community in the daily life of the school. First and foremost the Church offers ideally its educational service to the poor or those who are deprived of family help and affection or those who are far from the faith. Because education is a prime means of improving the social and economic condition of the individual and of peoples, should the Catholic school give its attention exclusively or predominantly to those from the wealthy classes, it could be contributing towards maintaining their privileged position, and could thereby continue to favour a society which is unjust.

Since what is perhaps fundamentally lacking among Catholics who work in a school (and even more among teachers who may not be Catholic) is a clear realisation of the identity of a Catholic school and the courage to follow all the consequences of its uniqueness. One must recognise that, more than even before, a Catholic school's job is infinitely more difficult, more complex, since this is a

time when Catholicism demands to be seen in fresh colours, when many changes have been introduced in the Church and in secular life, and, especially, when a pluralist outlook presides and the christian gospel is more and more pushed to the margin.

By their witness teachers are of prime importance to impart a distinctive character to Catholic schools. It is essential, therefore, to ensure their continuing formation in theology and Catholic social teaching. They need to be developed and renewed as witnesses of Christ in the classroom. They should feel confident of tackling the problems of their particular apostolate, especially regarding a christian vision of the world and of education, problems also connected with the art of teaching in accordance with the principles of the gospel.

The dangers that threaten the potential achievement of Catholic schools are sometimes very subtle. Some of these dangers come from within. Others are brought into play by government policy or from rapid societal change. What is important for Catholic schools is that they recognise the assumptions - underpinning the increasing involvement of governments in education, and that they strive continually to be free from a hedonistic mentality and from the efficiency productivity syndrome of modern consumer society.

Many of the problems Catholic schools face come from struggles and inadequacies of the past. They need to be recognised and understood. To a large extent, in each of the countries being considered, there seems to have been a

preoccupation with the maintenance and the economic survival of the Catholic schools, giving these priority over mission itself. The need for economic survival gave an impetus to the schooling in similar ways in the countries being considered. It helped towards a process of socio-economic assimilation, a desire to climb the hill of riches, to the extent that Catholics in Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom share in big measure the values and prejudices of their own societies. One wonders, given the ground already taken, to what extent Catholic education can mount a sustained attack on the weaknesses and injustices of the prevailing market-supply economies and their representative democracies.

Yet the Catholic teacher must not compare Catholic social teaching to a textbook on economics. There is no such thing as a Catholic national economy. At best, the Church can give guidance based on the socio-ethical principles of social teaching. The Church has only limited jurisdiction over economic questions. Its teaching authority is confined to matters of faith and morals. For that reason it cannot give binding and detailed prescriptions for an economic order - even to Christians.

The Church's task, based on the mission entrusted to it by Jesus Christ, is to lay down principles and socio-ethical standards for a social economy that respects human rights, prevents infringements of human dignity in economic life and co-operates in the progressive humanisation of the world of

work. It is unavoidable however, that tensions arise between what is needed from a socio-ethical point of view and what is economically effective. However regrettable, there are no absolute priorities here. When it comes down to it, what is desirable socio-ethically has to be weighed against what is possible economically: there would quickly be trouble if one discarded basic economic laws. Miracles, in the sense of simply ignoring natural laws, do not happen in economic life.

THE FOCUS OF THE THESIS

Catholic schools are called on to witness to Christ, above all, and share his work. Their potential achievement is great. The dangers that threaten this potential are sometimes very subtle. What is important for Catholic schools is that they recognise the assumptions underpinning the increasing involvement of governments in education.

Over recent years there has been a steady and subtle, but very significant, increase in the role of governments in non-government education in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States.

In this thesis I propose

- (a) To examine the nature of this intervention in Catholic schools in these countries over the past twenty years
- (b) To see whether this intervention has been antithetical to schools in their capacity to develop the pupils in a sound understanding of Catholic social justice principles
- (c) To look at reasons why Catholic schools in these countries today have difficulty reconciling their aims for social justice with prevailing governments' economic and social policies
- (d) To see to what extent an analysis of developments in this area of Church and State differences in the United Kingdom and the United States can illuminate these issues in Australia

- (e) As a result of this study to recommend strategies to current Catholic educational administrators which may help improve the effectiveness of their Catholic social justice teaching.

THE AUSTRALIAN SITUATION

The most obvious influence has occurred as a result of the funding of non-government schools by governments. In 1968 Australian funding levels were relatively low, and there was minimum involvement by government in the direction and management of the 2,400 non-government schools in Australia.

An examination of the Commonwealth programs in the years 1974-1988 reveals the extent of government involvement in non-government schools across Australia. Through injection of funds, the Commonwealth became involved in most aspects of education.

In more recent times the introduction of Resource Agreements between the Commonwealth and the systems authorities (1985) has increased the influence of the Commonwealth. In these Resource Agreements, systemic school authorities have to demonstrate that funds are being allocated according to priorities established by the Commonwealth. Non-systemic schools need to account for their Commonwealth funds according to Commonwealth priorities for the particular year. Progressively the Commonwealth is tying funds to objectives established by the

government.

In 1987 schools were further subjected to government influence when, in the National Interest, the Commonwealth announced the goal of a national retention rate of 65% of students (to Year 12) by 1992. This decision will have a major impact on the curriculum for schools with students in Years 11-12. Increased retention rates also have implications for capital and other resources.

In 1988, the Commonwealth Minister for Employment, Education and Training, John Dawkins, issued a statement Strengthening Australia's Schools: A consideration of the focus and content of schooling, indicating a desire for a national approach to schooling and a common curriculum framework. He said:

"What is required is the development of a common framework that sets out the major areas of knowledge and the most appropriate mix of skills and experience for students in all the years of schooling, but accommodates the different or specific curriculum needs of different parts of Australia" (page 4).

In his paper, Mr. Dawkins went further and called for the removal of unnecessary differences in schooling across the nation.

While it is not expected that Mr. Dawkins' quest for "agreed national objectives and priorities" will be enthusiastically taken up by government and non-government schools, it does indicate a line of argument that would impose, if at all possible, a government's educational agenda on Australian schools.

The establishment of new non-government schools, and the expansion of existing schools, are now firmly controlled by the Commonwealth Department of Employment, Education and Training. In 1988 a non-government school is not permitted to increase its enrolment without prior government approval. The loss of this freedom imposes real difficulties for schools faced with increased retention rates at the senior Secondary level.

Similar controls are being applied at the tertiary level. The Commonwealth White Paper on higher education (August 1988) details unprecedented government involvement in the future of universities and colleges. The future vitality and independence of these institutions is now being seriously questioned. Some will have to amalgamate, others will have to adjust to satisfy national objectives.

Increasing government involvement in the perceived outcomes of schools is not unique to Australia. In the face of economic difficulties, other governments are attracted to the arguments advanced by the economic rationalists who would have schools plan their curriculum to meet a country's requirement at a particular point in time.

Education. The New Challenge to the Church

Education reform in the United States, Britain and Australia, began in the late 1970s and early 1980s with a similar critique of the ailments of schools: that schools were in serious trouble (poor test results, poor reading,

high drop-outs, drugs, alcohol), that national security and competitiveness were threatened and that schools needed improvement. In the United States A Nation at Risk (1983) was followed by Action for Excellence (1983), Making the Grade (1983), Time for Results (1986), Educating Americans for the 21st Century (1984), and A Nation Prepared (1986). In Britain, the Black Papers, 1969-77 (Cox and Boyson, 1977), Fifteen Thousand Hours (Rutter et al, 1979), plus a number of other studies, all sought to document the seriousness of the problem. In Australia the heightened interest being taken by the Commonwealth Government may be associated with the dollars invested, but is also demonstrated by the various reports and documents produced in recent years, Quality Education Review Committee (1985), Quality and Equality (1985), Making the Future (1986), In the National Interest (1987), Skills for Australia (1987), Schooling in Rural Australia (1987) and Strengthening Australia's Schools (1988).

The basic concerns expressed by the education ministers or secretaries were identical for each country, i.e. the future of the nation depends on the quality of education provided for the children. If the countries were to be amongst the leading economic performers, they would need to reform the system of public education.

The shortcomings referred to above were seen by the administrations of Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and Bob Hawke as indicative of some basic problems with schooling,

its organisation and structure. In brief, the decline of achievement, morale, and student behaviour, and the inability of schools to reverse these difficulties were seen to rest with the monopolistic and bureaucratic nature of schools and the incapacity of families and local school teachers and administrators to control the education. As President Reagan observed in clear new Right language:

"American schools don't need vast new sums of money as much as they need a few fundamental reforms... We must restore parents and state and local governments to their rightful place in the educational process. Education begins at home, where it is a parental right and responsibility. Decisions about discipline, curriculum, and academic standards - factors that make a school good or bad - shouldn't be made by people in Washington. They should be made at the local level by parents, teachers, and administrators in their own communities".

As distinct from the Australian situation (with its new centralist developments in primary and secondary education, and in tertiary education as well), the revolution in the United Kingdom and the United States began with an abiding belief in private initiative, an open, de-regulated school market, and the currency of a new econo-political vocabulary. Words like 'privatisation', 're-structuring', 'parental choice', 'school competition', 'devolution, decentralisation', and 'the education market-place' become commonplace (see Reagan, 1984, pps. 14-15; Cox and Boyson, 1977), replacing older, 1960s and 1970s concepts of 'equity', 'compensatory education', and an activist role for the federal government.

The New Right critique in both nations rested on a

discomfort with relativism and permissiveness, with a clear preference for fixed, stable, and meritocratic values.

The Challenge of the 'New' Politics to the Churches

The new centralism in Federal Australian politics is emerging from a changing social context and the prominence of new right-wing thinking, both of which challenge Catholic social teaching and its influence on the relationship of the Church to contemporary political and economic affairs. As changing social context, the trend to more market-oriented economies has become particularly prominent since the late 1970s. In Western societies the drift has affected not only the United Kingdom and the United States under Conservative administrations, but also France, Spain, Australia and New Zealand under Socialist governments. What has been even more pronounced has been the conversion of Communist countries to market mechanisms, particularly in the Eastern bloc and China.

"It has become worldwide, uniting rich and poor, capitalist and socialist countries in a common language and the beginnings of a common practice".⁽²⁾

Widespread as these developments are, they have reached their sharpest and most unequivocal form in the emergence of Thatcherism in Britain and 'Reaganomics' in the United States. Often described as the New Right, they have been associated with the resurrection of free market economics, social policies and philosophies after a generation of Keynesian collectivism. They are a clear sign of a change

of direction in the governing of societies and economies.

New Factors in Operation

To what extent is this thesis an original contribution to knowledge? The question is a difficult one to answer as its central questions will always be ones for Catholic schools to face. Nevertheless it seems that three more recent factors have added complexity to the research.

There is the emergence of modern Catholicism in the post-Vatican church. Additionally, as changing social context, the trend to more market-oriented economies has become particularly prominent since the late 1970s. As well, much has been happening in the field of Catholic social teaching in the last few years as Pope John Paul II has got into his stride, reviving interest in the subject as he faced some of the basic questions that had led to its being overshadowed a while from the late 1960s. Lately, following the dramatic turn of events in Eastern Europe and Soviet Russia, the rejection of Marxism in these countries confirmed the Church's insistence from the beginning that Marxism was in error in its comprehension of humanity and its needs. The end of the 1980s into the 1990s, therefore, presents a very different picture of the Church's relationship with the world and consequently of the relevance of her social ethics, from the one presented in the early and middle 1980s.

In the post-Vatican church a new theological culture has emerged around the themes of collegiality, dialogue,

democratisation, pluralism in theology, free theological inquiry, and free speech in the church. New theologies of creation, salvation, and grace have undercut rigid nature-supernature distinctions or too-facile divisions between the sacred and the profane. These new theologies have implications for the way in which the roles of priest and laity are defined in the church, and the way in which they allow the appeal to experience as the basis for the church's understanding of its own symbols and 'the signs of the times'.

Clearly for Catholic schools in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States there are many questions about the interrelationships among Vatican teaching, government structures, values, policy choices, and culture that affect what occurs in education-policy making.

Another issue facing Catholic educational administrators today is that of the preparedness of its teaching force in the knowledge and understanding of the new theology, of the more developed Catholic social teaching, of the resurrection of free market economics, social policies and philosophies after a generation of Keynesian collectivism. The adequacy of, and participation in, courses dealing with Catholic social teaching issues in Catholic tertiary institutions which were visited (see appendix) is a cause of deep concern.

As the primary source documents listed in the appendix indicate, the Catholic bishops in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States have commented regularly on a

wide range of their particular government's policies on national health services, unemployment, the homeless, the elderly, education, the widening gap between rich and poor, pensions, housing and the economy. In each of the countries being considered in this research, the bishops, either through episcopal conferences, pastoral letters, or on public occasions, have responded to government policies in very similar fashion.

In each country they are particularly concerned for the growing numbers of poor people and families, and over the increasing divisions between people, communities and regions. Secondly, they question self-interest and economic materialism as moral preferences for the individual. Thirdly, they reflect unease with the tendency to elevate the free market into a hard determinist ideology. To begin to organise areas of human living like education, health, culture and religion by reference to such an ideology has met with widespread condemnation. Fourthly, they have expressed concern over the erosion of collective provision by the state in its local and national forms.

Some Possible Pitfalls in Comparative Analysis

Any analysis of this kind is beset with the problems of documentary research, viz., authenticity, availability of documents and data, inference and interpretation. The writer is aware of the possibility of poor logical analysis resulting from oversimplification, overgeneralisation,

excessive polemic, and the failure to interpret words and expression in the light of their accepted meaning in an earlier period. In the post-Vatican Catholic church it is not easy to be free of personal bias in assuming too generous or uncritical an attitude to a person or idea. As well there could be an excessive admiration for the past or an equally unrealistic admiration for the new.

The writer is especially concerned about any 'description in a vacuum' which fails to illustrate the relationship of the educational system to the structure of society. As a Catholic and a religious brother concerned with the vital question of schooling, the writer does so as an individual with no authority to speak for other Catholics, whether teachers, parents or administrators. The recommendations made in the conclusion are offered in this spirit. The writer has spent some forty years as a student, graduate teacher, religious brother, as a principal, lecturer, researcher in Catholic education within Australia. He writes, therefore, from within the Catholic experience, but hopefully, not so 'culturally conditioned' by that experience as to be incapable of either standing back from it in the best devil's advocate tradition or affirming the values and accomplishments of other schools. His educational experience outside of Catholic schools is confined to membership of a number of local, state and national education boards in Australia.

THE COMPARATIVE NATURE OF THE RESEARCH

This comparative study has sought to show a commonality of substantive problems for the Catholic schools in each of the countries concerned.

- . In each country the schools have struggled to develop from a minority position in terms of religion and societal status.
- . The maintenance of the schools has been fraught with economic problems, relieved somewhat by the 1944 Butler Education Act in England and Wales, as likewise by the 1967 Federal Government provision of science grants to private schools in Australia (heralding future substantial financial aid), which is still not available to Catholic schools in the United States.
- . Each country has witnessed a big inflow of Catholic immigrants from Ireland, Europe, and in the case of Australia and the United States, from South and Central America.
- . In each of the countries more market-oriented economies have featured since the late 1970s, situations where self-interest and economic materialism have prevailed as moral preferences for the individual.
- . In each of the countries, the Catholic schools are having difficulty with the current teaching force reaching a competent understanding and proficiency in recent Catholic social teaching.
- . In each of the countries Catholics are questioning

the heavy financial burden of the schools, in terms of alternate competing claims for the involvement of the Church in the spiritual and social needs of its members.

The Need to Confine the Research

In undertaking full and extensive systems of education in Australia, the U.K. and the United States, the church is aware of, and sensitive to, myriad factors of influence, both internal and external, on what it is attempting to do. Obviously each nation (and indeed, the states and counties within) has its own distinguishable political culture, developed from the influence of its history. Each nation differs in its overall and regional geography, migration problems and resultant demography, and value orientations towards the role of government. Political culture in each nation (and in the states and counties within) is a potent force shaping the institutions of government and bureaucracy, the meaning of politics, and the value of participation in government. The best education system for the Church in each country seems to be the very one which evolved as it was shaped by its own culture; and the best policies are those that fit its own value system and tradition. The tension for the Church in these pluralistic societies, is that if the system and policies do not serve the Catholic culture, they cannot, by definition, be the best.

Accordingly the thesis gives its attention to the way in which the education system for the Church in each of the countries evolved. It considers the Church's attitude and response to the educational policies formed in the national systems and traditions. It attempts to show the tensions Catholic education experiences and looks at circumstances and developments, which, while they may not be alien, can be limiting to the servicing of Catholic ideals in education.

The early part of the study is given to an understanding of the post-Vatican church, the vision the church of today holds for the Catholic school, and an overview of one hundred years of Catholic social teaching, particularly of the developed social teaching following the Second Vatican Council.

In this study, teachers' perspectives are set in the larger Catholic communities of the U.S.A., Australia and the United Kingdom. These communities are increasingly concerned about national questions of unity and diversity, fidelity and freedom, justice and peace, a fairer distribution of national wealth. To what extent do these values and commitments characterise today's teachers?

The thesis attempts to locate, evaluate and synthesise evidence to give a much clearer picture of the difficulties Catholic schools have to face in their call to evangelise modern youth. It makes use of the documents of the Second Vatican Council, the Encyclical Letters of the Popes, Vatican documents on Catholic education, documents from the

Pontifical Commission of Justice and Peace, pastoral letters from the Catholic Bishops' Conference of England and Wales, the Australian Bishops' conference and the Catholic Bishops Conference of the United States of America. As well it refers to documents from the Catholic Education Council for England and Wales, the Catholic Commission for Racial Equality (England and Wales), the Catholic Education Office, Sydney, the National Catholic Educational Association (U.S.A.), the Catholic Colleges of Higher Education (England and Australia). It refers also to policy statements from the Department of Education and Science (England and Wales), the Commonwealth Schools Commission (Australia), the Department of Employment, Education and Training (Australia), and recent studies on Catholic schools/youth which have been carried out in Australia, the United States and England and Wales. The writer has had a number of interviews with people suitably placed in the areas of Catholic educational policy and practice in each of the countries mentioned above. The thesis investigation was prompted by the author's concern that Catholic education may be losing its sense of identity in these Western nations.

In the conclusion the thesis offers strategies to current Catholic educational administrators which may help improve the effectiveness of their Catholic social justice teaching.

EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA

State and Commonwealth Government Responsibilities in Education

The governments of the six Australian States and the Northern Territory have the major responsibility for education, including the administration and substantial funding of primary, secondary and technical and further education. The State Governments administer their own systems of primary, secondary and technical and further education through government departments responsible to State Ministers. In Queensland, Tasmania and the Northern Territory a single Education Department is responsible for these three levels of education. In New South Wales, Victoria, Western Australia and South Australia, there is a separate body responsible for technical and further education.

Government provides supplementary finance to the States, and is responsible for the total funding of universities and colleges of advanced education. Apart from its financial role, the Commonwealth is involved in initiating and coordinating policy and in maintaining a national perspective.

Administrative Structure of Education at the National Level

As mentioned above, the Commonwealth Government has direct responsibility for education only in the Australian

Capital Territory and the external Territories under the auspices of the Minister for the Arts and Territories. The Commonwealth Government, however, has special responsibilities for Aboriginals and for migrants, as well as the power to provide assistance for students. Moreover, the Commonwealth Government is responsible for international relations in education. In July 1987 the Commonwealth Department of Education was merged with the Commonwealth Department of Employment and Industrial Relations, the Department of Science and the Office of Youth Affairs to become the Department of Employment, Education and Training. The education responsibilities entail grants to schools, student assistance, overseas students, awards and exchanges, tertiary education, language policy, educational research and statistics, publications, Aboriginal education and the arts.

The Australian Constitution empowers the Commonwealth Government to make grants to the States and to place conditions upon such grants.

The National Board of Employment, Education and Training (NBEET) was established under the Employment, Education and Training Act 1988. Proclaimed on 1 July 1988 it is the mechanism for providing coordinated and independent advice to the Government on employment, education, training and research in the context of the Government's broad social, economic and resource policies.

In establishing the Board the Government abolished the Commonwealth Schools Commission and the Commonwealth

Tertiary Education Commission and transferred responsibility for program delivery, previously undertaken by the Commissions, to the Department of Employment, Education and Training. The Board provides for input from providers of education and training, and from business, industry and union organisations, as well as interested bodies in the community.

Non-government schools

All children between the prescribed ages must attend either a government school or some other recognised educational institution. While the majority of Australian children attend government schools, about one in four attend non-government schools at some stage of their school life. In the last few years enrolments in the non-government sector have increased to 808,141 in 1987, i.e. 27 per cent of all school enrolments. Non-government schools operate under conditions determined by government authorities, usually registration boards, in each State and Territory. These conditions require that minimum education standards are met and that the schools have satisfactory premises. The majority of non-government schools are Catholic and there is a Catholic Education Commission in each State and at the national level. Most other non-government schools are under the auspices of, or run by, other religious denominations. The capacity of the Commonwealth Government to assist with the cost of educating children in

denominational schools throughout Australia was upheld by the High Court in 1981.

Major responsibility for funding government schools lies with State governments which provide about 90 per cent of schools' running costs. The Commonwealth contribution represents about 10 per cent. The Commonwealth is the major source of public funding for non-government schools, providing about 65 per cent against the States' 35 per cent.

In 1985 the Commonwealth introduced a funding plan which provides stability and long term security, by means of significant increases to both sectors, over an eight year period to 1992. Grants for the second four years 1989-1992, were included in legislation introduced at the end of 1988.

Following the introduction of the funding plan in 1985, the Commonwealth Government negotiated resource agreements with all State government and non-government school system authorities. These made available the increase in general recurrent grants and directed them to improving education outcomes within priority areas, by means of agreed projects.

According to the Australian Year Book (1989), the population of Australia at the 30th June, 1986 was 16,018,350. From the 1986 Census results we find that Australians were predominantly Christian. Catholics formed the largest group, representing 26 per cent of the total population, followed by Anglicans, 24 per cent. In 1986 there were 4,064,400 Catholics in Australia. In the same year 581, 023 students were attending Catholic schools. Approximately 14.3% of the whole Catholic population were in

Catholic schools. These figures do not allow for the students who were not Catholic.

All students in Catholic schools pay school fees. The Governments, Federal and State, provide approximately 85% of running costs and a similar figure for capital provision. In the case of the United States, practically all costs are provided by Catholic families and parishes.

EDUCATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Primary education consists mainly of infant schools for children up to age 7, first schools for children aged 5 to 10, junior schools for children aged 7 to 11 and middle schools for children variously aged 8 to 13. Some primary schools may be a combination of these categories.

The structure of secondary education may vary between one local education authority and another. Most local authority areas have comprehensive schools which cater for all children irrespective of ability, and in England and Wales over 90 per cent of secondary school pupils attend such schools. Other secondary schools (modern, grammar and technical) usually have selective entry.

A significant proportion of children now stay on at school beyond the compulsory school age, many of them working for the examination qualifications which are necessary for entry to higher education or which may improve their prospects in seeking employment on leaving school. After the age of 15 or 16 there is usually increased subject specialisation but the extent varies from school to school.

Special schools comprise both day and boarding schools and provide education for pupils with statements of special educational needs who cannot be educated satisfactorily in an ordinary school. All children attending special schools are offered a curriculum designed to overcome their learning difficulties and to enable them to become self-reliant.

Boarding special schools which constitute around 20 per cent of such schools cater mainly for pupils with severe learning difficulties.

Post-compulsory secondary education usually lasts for two years. No fees are payable at any primary or secondary school wholly maintained by the local education authorities but it is open to parents, if they choose, to pay for their children to attend other schools.

United Kingdom educational establishments are administered and financed in one of three ways:

- a. by local education authorities (LEAs), which form part of the structure of local government;
- b. by governing bodies, which have a substantial degree of autonomy from public authorities but which receive grants from central government sources.
- c. by the private sector, including individuals, companies and charitable institutions.

According to the Catholic Directory for 1990, there were 4,369,996 Catholics in the Dioceses of England and Wales in 1989. Unfortunately education statistics for England and Wales were not available for that year. The Directory for 1987 indicates that the Catholic population for 1986 was 4,196,037 and that the number of pupils in Catholic schools in 1986 was 767,432. Approximately 18.3% of the whole Catholic population were in Catholic schools. These figures do not allow for the proportion of the students who were not Catholic.

EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American elementary and secondary education has been generally education in public schools, supported by taxes and governed by local school boards. There have recently been changes in the structure of support and control, with state and federal governments playing increasingly important roles in both respects. But the public-school character of elementary and secondary education has remained largely unchanged. Currently and for many years, the percentage of American children in private schools has been about 10 per cent. About two-thirds of the students in private schools are found in Catholic schools.

The Catholic share of American secondary education ranges from a high of 10 per cent in the Middle Atlantic region to a low of 2 per cent in the Mountain region. Private education is strongest in Connecticut, where it enrolls nearly 17 per cent of all high school students. Wyoming, at the other extreme, has only slightly over 1.5 per cent of its students in private schools.

Within the private sector, the Catholic schools are, with few exceptions, strongest in the New England and Middle Atlantic states. Their share falls off dramatically, to under 1 per cent, in the Carolinas and in a few of the Western states. Other religious affiliations are generally strongest through the southern Atlantic seaboard, in Tennessee, and in the Midwestern states of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa. With respect to the locations of

schools and students in urban, suburban, and rural localities, it is apparent that the public and private sectors are distributed quite differently across these categories, in both schools and enrolments. Private schools tend to be substantially more concentrated in urban and suburban areas than do public schools, the majority of which are rural-based.

The funding of Catholic schools in the United States is almost completely private. This has caused limited access for many prospective pupils from Catholic families. These schools, quantitatively, reached their all-time high of 5.6 million pupils (elementary and secondary) in 1965-66, when they constituted 87 per cent of non public school enrolment. In the years following 1966 Catholic school enrolment fell considerably. In 1981-82 Catholic school population had declined to 3,094,000 accounting for 64 per cent of non public school enrolment. The U.S. Department of Commerce Statistical Abstract for 1988 (see appendix) indicates that there were 52,655,000 Catholics in the United States in 1985. With Catholic schools now showing signs of stability of numbers, approximately 5.7% of the whole Catholic population are in Catholic schools. These figures do not allow for the students who were not Catholic.

One must remember that the Catholic church is heavily involved in tertiary education in the United States with some 228 Universities and Colleges. Of these, 28 are conducted by the Jes^uits. In 1987, they graduated their one millionth graduate, since the foundation of Georgetown University in 1780.

INTERVIEWS AND VISITS

Whilst these were not seen as being central to the argument of the thesis, they were undertaken to ascertain whether the administrators and practitioners in Catholic education were aware and concerned about the same substantive issues. The writer did not wish to be riding some hobby horse nor to be the victim of his own mental constructs and fantasies.

The issues are of genuine and growing concern for all of the people interviewed. The visits highlighted, too, the need for all Catholic institutions training Catholic teachers, to upgrade and augment their programmes in recent Catholic social teaching.

ORDER OF THE THESIS.

The thesis overviews an understanding of contemporary Catholicism and the Catholic school. It considers the development of the theory of social justice as a constitutive element of the Church's mission. It looks at, in turn the issues the Church has had to face in the development of Catholic schools in Australia (where predominant focus is given), the United States, and England and Wales. It looks at the response Catholic educators are making (or not making) to the challenge of the 'new' politics. It considers the difficulties and complexities for the schools where the state level is acknowledged as the

focal point for education policy. It concludes by making recommendations to Catholic educational administrators in a tentative way acknowledging that many of these administrators may wish to draw their own conclusions.

1. Ronald Reagan, Excellence and opportunity: a program of support for American education, Phi Delta Kappan, 66, pps 13-15.
2. Robert Skidelsky, The Social Market Economy, The Social Market Foundation, 1989, p.4.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Contemporary Catholicism, The Catholic School

As necessary background for an understanding of the issues being proposed in this thesis, this chapter considers an outline of contemporary Catholicism (in which there has been considerable development, following the Second Vatican Council). Then it considers Catholic schools today, the vision of the Catholic school in the contemporary Church. This vision is crucial to an understanding of the thesis. Within this vision, it addresses the issue of the school as the centre of the education Christian community and the building of such a community. Such a perception of Christian community has implications for understanding the issue of authority in the Church and how all of this relates back to the school level. As well it helps in the understanding of how the hierarchy is able to formulate the Church's faith in an official way and how it is able to make judgements about the compatibility of current opinions with that faith.

FAITH AND RELIGION

Christianity, as understood in the Catholic tradition, is a way of life. The first Christians, in fact, were called followers of the 'Way', the manner of life lived and taught by Jesus in word and work. So, to be a Christian is to be a

follower of Jesus, a disciple - one who learns from a master. Those who put their faith in Christ in the beginning gathered together in a community to support one another in practising what he had preached, committed to handing on his revelation to the next generation. Christian education, then, may be described as being initiated into this way of life in a community of believers and helped to develop the capacity to understand it and persevere in it.

In contemporary Catholic circles, Christian education is generally understood to include such things as growth in faith, in moral maturity, in personal relationship with God, in knowledge of the Scriptures and of Church teaching, in commitment to Catholic tradition and practice. Though the individual Christian would experience these different elements of personal growth as facets of a single or closely integrated development, some important distinctions are implied: that, for instance, between faith and morality. Here we are concerned with another implied distinction, that between faith and religion, and with the relationship between them.

This distinction has a long history in the Church, from at least the time of Augustine onwards. The Catholic tradition holds that faith is both a gift of God and a human response to that gift. Putting it another way, faith in the God who reveals himself to us in Jesus is aroused in us by God himself, who enables and empowers us to respond to his invitation to communion with him. Faith, then, is about our

receptivity to and relationship with God. Religion, on the other hand, is about giving expression to that relationship in creeds, liturgy, ethics and the arts. Accordingly, faith is the root from which authentic religion draws its life.

Religion, however, like other human enterprises, is open to perversion. Biblical literature itself abounds in warnings against idolatry, superstition, hypocrisy: all degenerate forms of religion, modern versions of which inspired Barth's now classic criticism of religion, as distinct from faith. However, despite the risks of perversion, authentic religion, which gives expression to faith, is necessary to the full Christian life.

While Christian theologians are concerned with the precise nature of religion in relation to faith, sociologists are interested in the way religion as a cultural phenomenon works in human societies and in the life of the individual; psychologists are interested in the structure of faith and the way it works in the processes of personal development. Hence, when we come now to the tasks of religious education the resources available to us range from sophisticated biblical and theological scholarship to equally sophisticated theories of learning, of human development and socialisation.

An understanding of Catholicism itself is a necessary prerequisite to the development of this thesis.

2. An Understanding of Contemporary Catholicism

Any contemporary study of Catholic schools should be located in an understanding of contemporary Catholicism. When Pope John Paul II assumed leadership of the Catholic church he made reference to some of the complexities of modern Catholicism in an encyclical letter, *Redemptor Hominis*, which he gave at Rome, on the 4th March in 1979, the first year of his pontificate. The Pope saw the Church as not free of internal difficulties and tension. At the same time, the Church had become more strengthened internally against the excesses of self-criticism. His view was that the Church can be said to be more critical with regard to the various thoughtless criticisms, more resistant^a with respect to the various "novelties", more mature in her spirit of discerning, better able to bring out of her everlasting treasure "what is new and what is old",⁽¹⁾ more intent on her own mystery, and because of all that more serviceable for her mission of salvation for all: God "desires all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth".⁽²⁾ Accordingly, I would like to present a profile of the Catholic Church as it sees itself in the 1990s, and to follow this profile with some recent Church teaching concerning the Catholic school as an official ministry of the Church.

1. Matthew, 13:52

2. 1 Timothy, 2:4

3. Catholicism. A Profile. 1990

Catholicism is not a reality that stands by itself. The word Catholic is a qualification of the word Christian, and Christian is a qualification of religious, and religious is a qualification of human. Thus, the Catholic Church is a community of persons (the humans) which believes in the reality of God and shapes its life according to that belief (the religious).

But Catholicism is also more than a corporate understanding and affirmation of what it means to be human. Catholicism answers the question of meaning in terms of ultimacy. With Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Catholicism affirms that there is more to life than meets the eye, that there is "a beyond in our midst". With Paul Tillich, Catholicism affirms that there is a ground of all being which is Being itself. With Thomas Aquinas, Catholicism affirms that all reality is rooted in the creative, loving power of that which is most real. Catholicism answers the question of meaning in terms of the reality of God. In a word, Catholicism is a religious perspective, and not simply a philosophical or an anthropological one.

Catholicism is not some undifferentiated religious view. Indeed, religion as such does not exist. There are particular religions. They share a belief in the Transcendent, but they "name" and "interpret" the Transcendent differently, and they shape their response to

the Transcendent (worship, moral behaviour, institutional expressions) in accord with those names and interpretations. For the Christian the ultimate dimension of human experience is a triune God: a God who creates and sustains us, a God who draws near to us and identifies with our historical condition, and a God who empowers us to live according to the vocation to which we have been called. More specifically, the God of Christians is the God of Jesus Christ.

The Body of Christ "subsists in" the Catholic Church (Second Vatican Council, Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, n.8), but it is not coextensive with it. There are other churches which have "a right to be honoured by the title Christian". Their members are "incorporated into Christ" through Baptism, and they are "properly regarded" as brothers and sisters" in the Lord "by the Catholic Church (Decree on Ecumenism, n.3).

The Catholic Church alone affirms that the Petrine ministry, or papacy, is an integral institutional element in the Body of Christ, and that without the papal office the universal Church lacks something essential to its wholeness. It is the one issue which finally divides the Catholic from all other Christians. But this may not always be so, as recent Lutheran-Roman Catholic consultation in the U.S.A. suggests. The distinctiveness of Catholicism, therefore, lies not simply in its affirmation of the Petrine office but in the unique configuration of characteristics which

Catholicism possesses and manifests as a Church and as a tradition within the Body of Christ and Christianity at large.

Catholicism is characterised by a radical openness to all truth and to every value. It is comprehensive and all-embracing towards the totality of Christian experience and tradition, in all the theological, doctrinal, spiritual, liturgical, canonical, institutional, and social richness and diversity of that experience and tradition. Catholicism is not a post-biblical phenomenon. It does not emerge from some historical moment and from particular historical (i.e. national, cultural, political) circumstances which are removed in time from Jesus proclamation of the Kingdom, his gathering of disciples, and the formation of the Church in the period encompassed by the New Testament. Catholicism does not begin as a distinctive expression of Christian faith in the sixteenth century, nor are its basic lines already fixed by the fourteenth. It is not itself a sect or a schismatic entity, although sectarianism and schism are not unknown to it. Nor is it inextricably linked with the culture of a particular nation or region of the world. Catholicism is, in principle, as Asian as it is European, as Slavic as it is Latin, as Mexican or Nigerian as it is Irish or Polish. It endorses no one school of theology or spirituality and no single interpretation of doctrine.

Catholicism is characterised by a both/and rather than either/or approach. It is not nature or grace, but graced

nature; not reason or faith, but reason illumined by faith; not law or Gospel, but law inspired by the Gospel; not Scripture or tradition, but normative tradition within Scripture; not faith or works but faith issuing in works and works as expressions of faith; not authority or freedom, but authority in the service of freedom; not the past versus the present, but the present in continuity with the past; not stability or change, but change in fidelity to stable principle, and principle fashioned and refined in response to change; not unity or diversity, but unity in diversity, and diversity which prevents uniformity, the antithesis of unity.

There have been many moments in the history of the Catholic Church when these delicate balances were disrupted, often through events beyond anyone's control and at other times through narrow-mindedness, blindness, stubbornness and malice. But the Church is at once holy and sinful, not in the sense that sin exists alongside grace, but in the sense that even graced existence is ambiguous, fragile, and subject to disintegration. The record is always mixed. The Kingdom of God is neither coextensive with the Church nor totally divorced from the Church.

When we look at the Church of Vatican II, we look at a pluralistic Church open to pluralism, a modern Church open to modernity, an ecumenical Church open to the whole wide world, a living Church open to new life and to the change it brings and requires, a catholic Church open in principle to all truth and to every value.

Lutheran Church historian Martin Marty writes:

"Catholicism is a family of apostolic churches, rich in regional, national, ethnic diversity; it is a faith that teaches me that because you have a core or center, you can make room for a variety of apparently competitive and interactive elements".⁽¹⁾

Catholicism is not bound to any one school of theology, although there is something particularly Catholic in the way the pluralism of theologies is integrated, systematised, and applied within the Catholic tradition. While it is not linked to any particular theology, nor is it linked to a particular philosophy: existentialist, process, phenomenological, even Thomistic. Yet it does have a distinctive focus in what Bernard Lonergan outlines as "Christian realism".⁽²⁾

Critical realism, or what Lonergan calls Christian realism, insists that experience itself is not enough. One can "take a look" but one cannot be sure that what one sees corresponds entirely to what is real. "Appearance can be deceiving", the old saying has it. Christian realism also rejects the notion that clear and distinct ideas (doctrines, dogmas, canonical directives) are equivalent to the real itself. Ideas are never formulated except in relation to other ideas, to events, to one's associates, to the problems and resources at hand, to the historical circumstances, to social, economic, and political conditions, to one's own background, age, sex, nationality, occupation, income level,

social status and the like. Just as Christian realism rejects biblicism and moralism in favour of a critical and systematic approach to reality, so Christian realism rejects dogmatism and legalism in favour of a critical and systematic approach to reality, an approach that goes beyond what seems to be there and that takes historicity into account in the use and interpretation of ideas and principles.

This critical realism carries over into everything the Church does. Thus, the Church's moral vision and its approach to the demands of Christian existence are qualified always by its confidence in the power of grace and by its readiness to expect and understand the weaknesses and failures rooted in Original Sin. And so Catholicism is a moral universe of laws but also of dispensations, of rules but also of exceptions, of respect for authority but also for freedom of conscience, of high ideals but also of minimal requirements, of censures but also of absolutions.

The theological foci of Catholicism include the principles of sacramentality, mediation, and communion. The principle of sacramentality means that God is present and operative in and through the visible, the concrete, the tangible, the finite, the historical: persons, communities, places, events, natural objects, the whole created order. The great sacrament of encounter with God is Christ, and the Church, in turn, is the sacrament of encounter with Christ, and the sacraments, in turn, are the signs and instruments by which that ecclesial encounter with Christ is expressed,

celebrated, and made effective for all.

The principle of mediation is a corollary of the principle of sacramentality. God uses signs and instruments to communicate grace - that is, to become present to the whole creation. Catholicism rejects naive realism, which holds to the immediacy of the experience of God as the normal or exclusive kind of encounter with God, and also idealism, which holds that the encounter with God occurs solely in the inwardness of conscience and consciousness.

The principle of communion means that our way to God and God's way to us is mediated through community: the human community at large and the Church in particular. Even when the divine-human encounter is most personal and individual, it is still communal in that the encounter is made possible by the mediation of the community. Thus, there is not simply an individual personal relationship with God or Jesus Christ that is established and sustained by mediative reflection or Sacred Scripture, for the Bible itself is the Church's book and is the testimony of the Church's original faith. The mystic (even in the narrow sense of the word) relies on language, ideas, concepts, presuppositions when he or she enters into, or reflects upon, an intimate, contemplative relationship with God. We are radically social beings; our use of language is clear evidence of that. There is no relationship with God, however intense, profound, and unique, that dispenses entirely with the communal context of every human relationship with God.

Baptist theologian Langdon Gilkey saw many of the same characteristics when he probed the reality of Catholicism in search of its distinctive identity. First, he concluded, there is Catholicism's "sense of reality, importance, and 'weight' of tradition and history in the formation of this people and so of her religious truths, religious experience, and human wisdom".

Secondly, there is, "especially to a Protestant, a remarkable sense of humanity and grace in the communal life of Catholics..... Consequently the love of life, the appreciation of the body and the senses, of joy and celebration, the tolerance of the sinner, these natural, worldly and 'human' virtues are far more clearly and universally embodied in Catholics and Catholic life than in Protestants and in Protestantism".

Thirdly, there is Catholicism's "continuing experience, unequalled in other forms of Western Christianity, of the presence of God and of grace mediated through symbols to the entire course of ordinary human life". For Gilkey, a symbol points to and communicates the reality of God which lies beyond it. A symbol can be viewed and appropriated "as relative, as a 'symbol' and not God, without sacrificing this relation to the absoluteness that makes it a vehicle of the sacred". The experience of the symbol can unite "sensual, aesthetic, and intellectual experience more readily than the experience of proclamation or of an ecstatic spiritual presence". The Catholic principle of symbol or sacramentality, according to Gilkey, "may provide

the best entrance into a new synthesis of the Christian tradition with the vitalities as well as the relativities of contemporary existence".

Finally, there has been "throughout Catholic history a drive towards rationality, the insistence that the divine mystery manifest in tradition and sacramental presence be insofar as possible penetrated, defended, and explicated by the most acute rational reflection".⁽³⁾

4. The School as Part of the Church's Mission

To carry out her saving mission, the Church uses, above all, the means which Jesus Christ has given her. She also uses other means which at different times and in different cultures have proved effective in achieving and promoting the development of the human person. She establishes her own schools because she considers them as a privileged means of promoting the formation of the whole person, since the school is a centre in which a specific concept of the world, of man and woman, and of history is developed and conveyed.

5. Catholic Schools

Catholic schools are spread throughout the world and enrol literally millions of students. According to the *Annuario Statistico della Chiesa* published by the Central Statistical Office of the Church, an office within the Secretariate of State for Vatican City, on December 31, 1985, there were 154,126 Catholic schools with 38,243,304 students. This huge undertaking absorbs immense manpower, expertise, finance and appropriation of assets. It must be seen to be effective in carrying out its basic mission to the students.

These students are children of their own race, nationality, traditions, and family. They are also the children of our age. Each student has a distinct origin and is a unique individual. A Catholic school is not simply a place where lessons are taught; it is a centre that has an operative educational philosophy, attentive to the needs of today's youth and illumined by the Gospel message. A thorough and exact knowledge of the real situation will suggest the best educational methods.

For some of today's youth, the years spent in a Catholic school seem to have scarcely any effect. They seem to have a negative attitude towards all the various ways in which a Christian life is expressed - prayer, participation in the Mass, or frequenting of the Sacraments. Some even reject these expressions outright, especially those associated with an institutional Church. If a school is

excellent as an academic institution, but does not witness to authentic values, then both good pedagogy and a concern for pastoral care make it obvious that renewal is called for - not only in the content and methodology of religious instruction, but in the overall school planning which governs the whole process of formation of the students.

All of those engaged in Catholic education need to have a clear vision of what the Catholic school is about. The responsibility of a Catholic school is enormous and complex. It must respect and obey the laws that define methods, programmes, structure etc., and at the same time it must fulfil its own educational goals by blending human culture with the message of salvation into a coordinated programme; it must help each of the students to actually become the "new creature" that each one is potentially, and at the same time prepare them for the responsibilities of an adult member of society. This means that a Catholic school needs to have a set of educational goals which are "distinctive" in the sense that the school has a specific objective in mind, and all of the goals are related to this objective.

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All of those engaged in Catholic education need to have a clear vision of what the Catholic school is about. The responsibility of a Catholic school is enormous and complex. It must respect and obey the laws that define methods, programmes, structure etc., and at the same time it must fulfil its own educational goals by blending human culture with the message of salvation into a coordinated programme; it must help each of the students to actually become the "new creature" that each one is potentially, and at the same time prepare them for the responsibilities of an adult member of society. This means that a Catholic school needs to have a set of educational goals which are "distinctive" in the sense that the school has a specific objective in mind, and all of the goals are related to this objective.

6. Vision of the Catholic School

The purpose of this section is to outline some recent Church teaching concerning the Catholic school as an official ministry of the Church.

It is noteworthy that the single place in the Vatican

II documents where the term 'ministry' is used to refer to work other than that done by ordained ministers is in the document on Christian Education:

"This holy Synod asserts that the ministry of such teachers is a true apostolate which our times makes extremely serviceable and necessary, and which simultaneously renders an authentic service to society". (4) (GE 8).

The profession of teaching in a Catholic school is referred to earlier as a "vocation" (GE 5). This Vatican II document elucidates some of the purposes of the Catholic school:

"It aims to create for the school community an atmosphere enlivened by the gospel spirit of freedom and charity. It aims to help the adolescent in such a way that the development of his (or her) own personality will be matched by the growth of that new creation which he (or she) became by Baptism. It strives to relate all human culture eventually to the news of salvation, so that the light of faith will illumine the knowledge which students gradually gain of the world, of life, and of (human) kind... So it is that while the Catholic school fittingly adjusts itself to the circumstances of advancing times, it is educating its students to promote effectively the welfare of the earthly city, and preparing them to serve the advancement of the reign of God. The purpose in view is that by living an exemplary and apostolic life, the Catholic graduate can become, as it were, the saving leaven of the human family"(5) (GE 8)

There is no doubt ~~that~~ even from such a brief indication as this that the Catholic school was seen as an aspect of Church ministry.

The 1977 Roman document, The Catholic School, speaks further of the school's aims in very challenging terms, to say the least:

"The Catholic school has as its specific duty the complete formation of its pupils, and this task is of

special significance today because of the inadequacy of the family and society... young people have to be taught to share their lives with God. They are to overcome their individualism and discover, in the light of faith, their specific vocation to live responsibly in a community with others".⁽⁶⁾

The American Bishops, in *To Teach As Jesus Did*, specified very clearly those central aspects of evangelisation and catechesis which are at the heart of the Catholic school's ministerial aims, since the school's thrust is to "make (people's) faith become living, conscious, and active through the light of instruction... It is the unique setting in which this ideal can be realised in the lives of Catholic children and young people"⁽⁷⁾.

A helpful summary of the essence of Catholic schooling is contained in the American Bishops' *Sharing The Light of Faith*. This document exhorts school principals to encourage faculty members to "deepen their faith and grow in the ability to integrate in their teaching the fourfold dimensions of Catholic education: Message, Community, Worship and Service".⁽⁸⁾ This succinct statement contains in fact the Church's very mission.

It is around the pivotal ministerial concerns, Message/Word, Worship/Sacrament, and Healing/Service that I will now move to a consideration of some practical implications for a vision of the Catholic school. The fourth ministerial goal mentioned above in *Sharing the Light of the Faith* "Community" is the source and goal of all official ministries, since ministries are from the community for the sake of its upbuilding and for the world. In the

schooling context, "education is one of the most important ways by which the Church fulfils its commitment to the dignity of the person and the building of community".⁽⁹⁾

7. Aspects of a Ministerial School

A "ministerial" school suggests two key aspects: firstly that those who work and teach in the school regard what they do as a "vocation", as more than a job, and as being broader than involvement in formal religious education; and secondly that there is created a ministerial community where staff⁽¹⁰⁾ minister to each other, to students and to some extent to parents. Students minister to each other, to some extent to their teachers, and are encouraged to reach out in formal and informal ways in ministry to the world.

In his work, *Ministries: Sharing God's Gifts*, James Dunning has some germane comments on education. He is worth quoting at some length:

"...physical sciences invite learners into the mystery of the universe; and gurus of history, the social sciences, literature and language arts invite them to enter the mystery of persons and of themselves. In their classrooms, these educators normally will not raise issues of explicit religious faith. At other times in the context of prayer or religious education, each person will discern whether or not he/she interprets these images as sacred places of God's presence. But if educators do not explore the images with us, we have little to interpret... This presumes a humanistic view of education which goes beyond the factual information level of meaning and value for human life... As a footnote, I might add that even theology has not been devoid of speculation that has little to do with human life. Therefore, we need more of what Karl Rahner calls "theological anthropology" -

talk of God (theos) ultimately should have something to do with talk of man (anthrops)".

James Empereur comments in a similar view:

"... educators are ministers of the Word in as much as they lead students to the mysteries of the world. The true educator helps the rest of us to experience wonder, whether over a piece of sculpture, the molecular energy fields which produce solidity, or the memory capabilities of the human brain. Those who do this well ought to be prized by the community".

Henri Nouwen also has some much quoted works on the ministry of teaching:

"The most universal and most appreciated role of the Christian ministry through the ages has been teaching. Wherever Christians went to be of service, they always considered teaching as one of the primary tasks because of their conviction that increasing insight into humankind and the world is the way to new freedom and new ways of life. And although Christian churches frequently failed to live up to this conviction, even prevented the free growth of science and limited the fearless search for new fields of knowledge, they have always read in the Gospel a call to develop the human potentialities to the fullest through ongoing education... The ministry of teaching has never limited itself therefore, to the teaching of religion, Education is not primarily ministry because of what is taught but because of the nature of the educational process itself. Perhaps we have paid too much attention to the content of teaching without realising that the teaching relationship is the most important factor in the ministry of teaching".

8. Critical nature of Teacher-Student Relationship

There are many writers who refer to the critical nature of this student-teacher relationship. Robert Yeager and his fellow researchers comment in the important 1985 survey of American Catholic high schools.

"Good teaching is essential to learning. However fine the facilities, however competent the administration, however eager the students, if the teacher does not successfully invite the students to the discipline and excitement of learning, the educational enterprise falters. No single task connected with Catholic secondary education is more important than the encounter of teacher and students in Catholic high school classrooms"

Yeager also indicates that "academic excellence"⁽¹⁵⁾ is a central goal of all the schools surveyed. This goal provides important credibility regarding the practical outcomes of any school, but it would seem that as far as the Catholic school goes, in the teaching relationship as well as in more formal catechesis, there is an explicit intention to achieve an integration: "a synthesis of culture and faith, and a synthesis of faith and life".⁽¹⁶⁾

"This integration of religious truth and values with the rest of life is brought about in the Catholic school not only by its unique curriculum but, more important, by the presence of teachers who express an integrated approach to learning and living in their private and professional lives".

Yeager's survey looks mainly at curriculum (programmes) which the schools have designed to meet academic, religious and community goals. He mentions particularly retreats and religious celebrations, which along with well-planned religious education programmes may indicate a "unique" curriculum and co-curriculum.

Since the Message/Word has a necessarily prophetic dimension, it is obvious that to be true to its mission the Catholic school must present values that are to some extent

counter-cultural. Virgil Elizondo states that "at the root of ministry is witness, the new lifestyle based on conversion from the way of the world to the way of the Lord"⁽¹⁸⁾. Working in a Catholic school "involves healing, sharing, consoling and working with others to make a new vision of life a reality for their students and for one another. This role belongs to all teachers and not only to those whose major role is in Religious Education".⁽¹⁹⁾

This new life or new vision calls into question the "debilitating influence of relativism" and "depersonalisation and a mass production society".⁽²⁰⁾ In the light of our serving the advancement of the Reign of God, modern understandings of the working for the vision urge justice and liberation, first of all within the school community, and then in society at large. Yeager indicates that many schools in his survey implement service programmes as a way of witnessing to the centrality of service and justice issues. It is also not uncommon for schools to examine their curriculum, especially Religious Education, Language Arts, Science and Social Sciences in order to coordinate the awareness of justice issues such as poverty, oppression, violence and structural injustice, and thereby develop a social justice filter across their curriculum. It is in this way that many Catholic High schools give a prophetic witness that questions the status quo.

When the Catholic school is considered from the dimension of Healing/Service one might well ask, how do the staff minister to the students?... since schools are

formally a youth/child ministry. Yet much of the literature on the Catholic school concerned with education as ministry suggests that the first question might be: how do the staff minister to each other? This is really a key concern which relates to the staff's shared vision and their professional, personal and spiritual support of one another. In the British educational tradition (and Australian) this issue is called the pastoral care of staff. Administrators share some responsibility for this pastoral care, but in the ministerial school it is paramount that staff minister to each other.⁽²¹⁾

9. Importance of Pastoral Care

In their service to students teachers exercise a kind of basic justice by the efficiency with which they are on time for classes, prepare their lessons carefully, engage students' interest, correct papers carefully and return them promptly etc. However, there is another dimension, the pastoral care of students, which in a Catholic school explicitly grows out of a real regard for students as created in the image of God, redeemed by Christ, and as members of the community of the disciples of Jesus. This pastoral care, which is one of the most attractive features of Catholic schools, involves a personal knowledge of and interest in the background and development of the individual student on the part of many members of staff. It is true that schools set up various procedures, such as career and

spiritual counselling services, to deal with this pastoral care aspect, but of particular importance is "the style that the teacher employs, which manifests itself in how the teacher deals with issues of control, structure, and interpersonal relations in managing instruction and interpersonal dynamics".⁽²²⁾

Another feature of pastoral care is revealed in the warmth of informal relationship between members of the whole staff and students. Further, the Bishops at Vatican II urged:

"... all the pastors of the Church and all the faithful to spare no sacrifice in helping Catholic schools... to show special concern for the needs of those who are poor in the goods of this world or who are deprived of the assistance and affection of a family or ⁽²³⁾ who are strangers to the gift of faith". (GE 118)

The way a Catholic school seeks out and cares for its poorest, most disadvantaged, and least attractive students is a strong indication of its commitment to do as Jesus did in his healing ministry to the poor.

There are four aspects of ministry that need attention in an ideal Catholic school. Firstly, students should minister to each other in ways that build on the natural peer group associations of adolescents. The school can also facilitate the ministry of "like towards like" in such areas as bereavement, divorce, and alcoholic families. Secondly, the Catholic school in an endeavour to educate students in the area of healing/service often sets up service programmes dealing with hands on experience in helping the sick and elderly, working in soup kitchens,

catechising or doing remedial work with younger children and so forth. As a follow up to such service there are often classes to enable students to reflect on their ministerial experience, and be led to a sense of structural injustice and possibilities of building a better society, for the sake of the Reign of God. Thirdly, although this is more difficult to facilitate in high schools, students can be encouraged to enter into service programmes that are often available in their parishes. Lastly, especially in relation to their lives in their families, through career education and religious education the students in a Catholic high school need to have constantly placed before them the notion of the Church with a ^lworldly vocation.

10. The School as the Centre of the Education Christian Community

The Catholic school is seen by the Church as a community whose aim is the transmission of values for living. Its work is seen as promoting a faith-relationship with Christ in whom all values find fulfilment. But faith is principally assimilated through contact with people whose daily life bears witness to it. Christian faith, in fact, is born and grows inside a community. So the school has, as a basic aim, the need to build community.

Such a sense of community building implies

understanding of the structure and decision-making processes within the school as a ministerial community. It also requires of teaching staff a fuller understanding of how authority and power are to be exercised in the Church.

The American Bishops in *To Teach as Jesus Did* stressed the importance of community in the educational endeavour:

"Community is central to educational ministry both as a necessary condition and an ardently desired goal. The educational efforts of the Church must therefore be directed to forming persons-in-community; for the education of the individual Christian is important not only to his (or her) solitary destiny, but also to the destiny of any community in which he (or she) lives.

It is perhaps with this issue of "community" and the kinds of images of Church evoked.... pilgrim people of God? ... two-tier caste systems?... authority over against... community of the disciples of Jesus? ... that the centrality of the reality of ministry in the Catholic school stands or falls. In the Catholic school all receive an experience of Church and the view of Church will be chiefly mediated through the attitudes, example and practice of the mature Christian members of the school community.

The formation of community has much to do with openness and sharing, especially on the level of values and faith.

As James Hawker writes:

"The success of the Catholic school is dependent, in no small part, upon the willingness of the adult participants to open their hearts to the gift of faith and to cultivate that gift day by day. At the same time they must share the ramifications of that faith

with one another and the students in their care... each is called to impart, the message, form community and inspire service.

In a similar vein the American Bishops taught:

"... community involves a sharing of beliefs, experiences, ideals and values. Christian community leads one to put aside selfish goals and private interests for the common good. It is based on the willingness of all community members, as good stewards, to accept responsibility, individually and corporately, for the way each lives, uses his or her time, talent, treasure, and responds to the needs and rights of others".

There are some implications here for the structure and decision-making processes within the school as a ministerial community. These issues are most sharply focused in the feminist critique, and a fuller understanding of how authority and power are to be exercised in the Church.

A school or university maintains the right to select professors, teachers or lecturers, who will impart the ideas and values that it regards as educational. Faculty members, on the other hand, insist on their right to communicate the convictions they have reached on the basis of serious research and reflection. To protect both sets of rights as far as possible, universities have adopted elaborate procedures for hiring, promotion, and dismissals. Sometimes respect for academic freedom compels them to retain faculty members of whose teaching they disapprove - a procedure that the academic world regards as preferable to giving the administration discretionary authority to dismiss otherwise competent professors whose ideas are deemed unacceptable.

11. Authority and the Church

The analogies between the church and institutions such as the secular state and the independent university are helpful only to a limited extent, because the church, while it has the features of a human society, is very different in its purpose, origins, and means. Neither the state nor the independent university, at least as conceived in the Anglo or American tradition, is committed to any substantive set of beliefs about the ultimate nature of reality. The state is a community of people willing to live together under the same laws, even though they may vehemently disagree in their philosophies and theologies. The academy is a community of scholars committed to adhere to certain methods of investigation and communication without necessarily sharing any common convictions about the way things are. The church, however, is by nature a society of faith and witness. It exists only to the extent that it continues to adhere to a specific vision of the world - one centred on Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour. Unlike any secular organisation, the church has a deposit of faith that must be maintained intact and transmitted to new members. Thus the church cannot accommodate the same kind of ideological pluralism that is acceptable in the secular state or university.

A second difference flows from the origin of the Church. Unlike the secular state, the university, or any other institution on the face of the earth, the church,

according to Christian belief, has been established by the action of God in Jesus Christ. The members of the church, including the highest officeholders, are not free to change in a substantive way the beliefs, structures, purposes and forms of worship of the church. They are trustees, obliged to safeguard the trust committed to them.

Thirdly, in the way it discharges its mission, the church differs from other societies. Unlike the secular state and many other organised groups, the church, at least in modern times, does not use physical coercion. It has no prisons and does not execute persons convicted of crimes such as heresy. It tries to work through love and persuasion and does not impose even spiritual penalties except in the hope of bringing about repentance and reform. The Declaration on Religious Freedom adopted at Vatican II, in asserting these principles, cautiously admitted that in the history of the church "there have at times appeared ways of acting which were less in accord with the spirit of the gospel and even opposed to it".⁽²⁷⁾

The church also has at its disposal special aids not available to other societies. It has received from apostolic times inspired Scriptures and inspired traditions as expressions of its faith and guideposts for future development. Christ, moreover, has promised to remain with the community and its official leaders to the end of time.

"Behold, I am with you always, until the end of time" (Mt. 28:20). In the Catholic tradition the hierarchy is considered to be included in the promises originally

directed by Christ to the apostles, such as "Whoever hears you hears me" (Lk 10:16) and "As the Father has sent me, I send you" (Jn 20:21). This confidence in the continuing presence of Christ in the church and its hierarchy profoundly affects the attitudes of believing Catholics towards ecclesiastical authority. They are convinced that in submitting to popes and bishops as teachers and rulers, they are submitting to Christ and to God.

12. Consulting the faithful

When we think of authority in the Church, apart from the considerations above, the system is in fact much more complex and extensive than explained so far. As the Second Vatican Council clearly taught, Scripture and tradition were committed not only to the hierarchy, but also to the church as a whole.⁽²⁸⁾ All the members of the church share in the priestly, prophetic and royal offices of Christ and therefore have their own part to play in the mission of the Church.⁽²⁹⁾ Thanks to a supernatural sense of the faith that characterises the People of God as a whole⁽³⁰⁾, believers can find reliable guidance in turning to the community of faith. As Cardinal Newman pointed in his celebrated article On Consulting the Faithful, even popes have been accustomed to seek out the opinions of the Christian people before they define matters of doctrine.⁽³¹⁾ Quoting Hilary of Poitiers as a witness, Newman maintained that at times the ears of the faithful have been holier than

the hearts of their bishops.⁽³²⁾ Thus, when we consider the authorities available to the Catholic Christian, we should not overlook the consensus of the faithful themselves.

Still another source of authority in Catholicism is that of theologians. The Catholic Church has always had a deep respect for learning and intelligence. It has conferred on outstanding theologians the titles of father or doctor of the Church. John Wycliff in the fourteenth century and Martin Luther in the sixteenth were censured because, among other things, they failed to respect the authority of the theological schools. In the late Middle Ages and in early modern times university faculties of theology exercised a true magisterium, rendering ecclesiastically recognised judgements as to the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of new opinions. Although theological faculties no longer exercise such an independent magisterium, they have continued to collaborate very closely with popes and bishops in making judgements about heresy and in drawing up official doctrinal formulations.

The relationship between the hierarchy and the theologians, at least as it stands in modern times, can be clarified by a distinction between official and personal authority. The popes and bishops, as members of the hierarchy enjoy authority by virtue of their status or their position in the church. Their statements have authority not so much because of their personal wisdom and prudence as because of their sacramental ordination and the office they hold. With theologians the reverse is true. Whatever

authority they enjoy accrues to them not primarily because of their position but rather because of their reputation for learning and acumen. Even their scholarly degrees and academic appointments are significant merely as presumptive signs of personal ability.

Accordingly the theologians are used as consultants by popes and bishops. The authority of office does not simply take the place of personal authority. Rather, it requires for its proper exercise that the officeholder either be a personal authority or make use of others who have personal authority. Otherwise the authority of office will be brought into discredit, to the great detriment of the Church. The authority of office is a kind of gift or charism that, if used well, enables the officeholder to draw upon the knowledge and wisdom that is present in the whole community, including the scholars, and brings this to a focus. In so doing the hierarchy is able to formulate the church's faith in an official way and to make judgements about the compatibility of current opinions with that faith.

In its official statements the hierarchical magisterium sometimes imposes a given formulation as an apt expression of the truth of the gospel. Sometimes it condemns a misleading formulation as contrary to that truth. And sometimes it makes judgements of a permissive character - stating not that a given opinion is true but that it may be held and is not to be condemned as heretical. Thus the magisterium serves as an agency for protecting the

legitimate freedom of theologians to speculate about the truth without harassment from rival theological schools.

13. Understanding of Authority at the School Level

When we take this understanding back to the school level and to the sense of community desired in a Catholic school, there should be no one who lords it over others; where mutuality, participation, empowerment and shared decision-making are values for the Kingdom; where there is no sexism in a community dedicated to liberation and justice at all levels... it would seem that there must be certain practical outcomes, for example in relation to enrolment and expulsion procedures, styles of discipline and sanctions with the school, and the place of competition.

Focusing back again on the ministerial community of the school, Bryk advances the notion of "colleagueship" into the discussion:

"The combination of human and fiscal constraint and the changing perceptions about the purposes and nature of Catholic schools dictate a move towards colleagueship as the organising principle for Catholic schools"

Bryk is referring here not only to colleagueship among a total school lay staff in forging a vision and making decisions, but also the cooperation of lay and clerical/religious people within a school, and the colleagueship with clerical and lay educational authorities outside the school. It is to be hoped that the word colleagueship carries some sense of the equality of

ministers rather than merely an appropriate professional relationship between educators.

So "building and living community must be prime, explicit goals of the contemporary school".⁽³⁴⁾ But because schools, and high schools especially, are quite capable of developing an independent life of their own, the National Catechetical Directory urges that they work in close collaboration with neighbouring parishes. Furthermore, there is envisaged a very wide level of participation. Through a carefully planned process, the entire school community... parents, students, staff, administrators, pastors and others... needs to be involved in the development of its goals, philosophy, and programmes.⁽³⁵⁾

It is important also to mention the fact that while teachers in their many hours at the chalkface have most direct contact and influence on students, all school personnel are involved in ministry... from receptionists and secretaries to cleaners and groundkeepers. All by reason of their belonging to the Catholic school community can minister to each other and to students. All should be included in programmes and celebrations to raise the ministerial awareness of the whole school community.

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CHAPTER TWO
SOCIAL JUSTICE
A Constitutive Element of the Church's Mission

A concern for social justice is now an essential part of authentic religious education because increasingly in recent decades, this concern has been seen as essential to the mission of the church. This chapter will trace how the church over the last century has come to a keen awareness of its social responsibilities. It is hoped that such a focus on Catholicism will in no way give the impression that the Catholic church stands alone among the Christian demoninations in its commitment to justice. If anything, Catholics have come on the scene later than some other Christian groups.

If ever there was a fascinating example of the development of church teaching, it would be in the area of social justice over the last century. The process began in 1891, with Leo XIII speaking as a papal "voice in the wilderness" that emanated from a Vatican distanced from the modern world. This harsh prophetic tone continued in varying degrees until John XXIII came to the world as an elder brother and spoke the message of Christ as fellow "worldling." Vatican Council II changed the consciousness of the church from an institution set apart to a people committed to serving the world as Jesus did, with a compassionate message of peace and justice. Today the church sees the cause of justice as central to its mission, and it speaks in solidarity with marginalized people

everywhere.

What follows is an overview of the development of the official church's views on social justice, highlighting some of the key stages in this evolution.

1. An Option for the Poor.

Over the past one hundred years the Church has committed itself strongly to being on the side of those who are poor or oppressed. Hence the title option for the poor. There are many in the Church today who believe that the Church needs to make an 'option for the poor' not merely in Latin America but everywhere else as well.

Many earnest Christians, in recent years, who have been trying 'to discern the signs of the times' in renewal courses and assemblies have come to believe that they are called to make this 'option for the poor'. At the same time many people who feel called to make such a commitment do not really know what it involves. Many people in the Western world find the term 'option for the poor' both confusing and threatening.

Since it is only recently that the term 'option for the poor' has come into common usage, it would have been pointless to expect to find in Vatican documents of even twenty years ago any formal or explicit treatment of the topic. I would like to survey what the Church has had to say over the last 90 years or so to those (or about those) who are the victims of a society that is structurally unjust.

An 'option for the poor' involves a response to the structural injustice that characterises our world. We live in a stratified society where certain economic, political, cultural, and religious structures maintain and promote the dominance of the rich and powerful over the mass of ordinary people and peoples. These structures operate through agencies and institutions that are staffed mainly by middle-class people - those who provide the professional and commercial services of society. Whatever their private loyalties and values, these service people contribute to structural injustice through the kind of work they are doing. The possibility of making an 'option for the poor' arises for such people and it is mainly to them that the challenge is issued. Some of the services provided by the churches are an integral part of the institutions of society - for instance of the educational or medical system of the country. Those who are working in, or responsible for, Church services of this kind are asking themselves whether their work, however good it may be in itself, is an adequate embodiment of the Church's commitment to justice in society.

An 'option for the poor' in the sense it is intended here, means a series of choices, personal or communal, made by individuals, by communities or even by corporate entities such as a religious congregation, a diocese, or a Church (as represented by its central administration, and in varying degrees, by its ordinary members). It is the choice to disentangle themselves from serving the interests of those

at the 'top' of society and to begin instead to come into solidarity with those at or near the bottom. Such solidarity means commitment to working and living within structures and agencies that promote the interests of the less favoured sectors of society. These would include those who are economically poor, the groups that are politically marginalised or oppressed, people discriminated against on sexual grounds, peoples that have been culturally silenced or oppressed, and those who have been religiously disinherited or deprived.

But what needs to be done cannot in fact be done successfully unless there is a prior, and continuing, attempt to find solidarity with 'the poor' in a more experiential way - by sharing their lives, sorrows, joys, hopes and fears.

2. The Biblical Concept of Poverty

In the Old Testament the term 'the poor' refers especially to those groups of people who are economically deprived, who have no social status, who are treated unjustly by foreign rulers or by the authorities in their own land. These people are oppressed because they are poor, and are therefore at the mercy of the unscrupulous. Furthermore, they are poor because they are oppressed: they have been further impoverished by being cheated and deprived of their rights. Some groups of 'the poor' are doubly oppressed. They are the people who are at risk not only because they are economically poor but also because they

happen to be widows, orphans, or resident aliens - categories of people who have nobody to defend them against exploitation. The Old Testament leaves us in no doubt that God has a special care for the poor. The oppression of his people in Egypt moved him to save them, as the Book of Exodus recounts. After the Israelites had settled in 'the Promised Land' the poor among them found themselves oppressed by the wealthy and powerful of their own people. Time after time God sent the prophets to protest against this injustice and to proclaim his care for the poor.

The New Testament deepens our understanding of what it means to be poor. In some important respects, Jesus himself should be seen as one of the 'poor'. Having 'emptied himself' to share our humanity (Phil.2:7), he became a native of a despised village (John 1:46) and was known as a carpenter's son (Matt. 13:55). He resisted the temptation to carry out his mission through the use of glory and power (Matt. 4:5-10). He was the innocent victim of persecution and was executed as a criminal after an unjust trial.

Some religious people today hold that the Bible - especially the New Testament - is more concerned about 'poverty of spirit' than about material poverty. However, a study of the theme of poverty in the Bible suggests that it is not helpful to make too sharp a distinction between 'the poor' and those who are 'poor in spirit'. The Scriptures indicate that those who are poor and defenceless have nobody to turn to but God. He has a special care for the victims

of injustice and those who are poor; and they in turn can more easily accept his care and protection.

These brief points from Scripture go some way towards clarifying what an 'option for the poor' means - and what it does not mean. Such an option, seen in a biblical perspective, would mean some special care or preference for people or groups who are marginalised in human society. It is quite true that there is a sense in which everybody is 'poor before God'. But this idea can be invoked as a way of evading the central thrust of the biblical teaching about poverty. The meaning of the word 'poor' can be extended and redefined to a point where the challenge of the scriptural position gets lost.

3. Social Mission and the Identity of the Church

The early social encyclicals issued by the popes from Leo XIII to John XXIII were almost exclusively framed in concepts and language of the natural-law ethic of scholastic philosophy. Since Vatican 1 these encyclicals have had very much more reliance on biblical and theological categories rather than philosophical ones. According to the notion of natural law, the Catholic tradition had given a high estimate to the power of human reason to discover the broad outlines of God's design for social life through reflection on human experience. Vatican Council (1869-70) had strongly affirmed the full compatibility of faith and reason.

In seeing this complementarity of faith and reason, the church was in a position to declare that anyone who rejected

the pope's conclusions about the proper ordering of society was not only unfaithful but unreasonable. In the words of Johann Baptist Metz, nineteenth and early twentieth-century Catholic social teaching did not seek to mediate between faith and society but rather to defend Christian tradition against the corrosive currents of modernity. This defence "was carried on just in front of the fortress Church, on the territory of pure social ethics"⁽¹⁾ (i.e. strictly natural-law ethics).

In the years leading up to the Second Vatican Council, it became increasingly clear that this solution to the problem of the relation of the church and the modern world was both historically anachronistic and theologically unsatisfactory. On the historical level, the early social encyclicals had Western Europe implicitly in mind as the "world" to which the church's mission was to be directed. Also, they assumed that this world shared a unified intellectual heritage in which Christianity and culture had been harmonously synthesised. Therefore new secular movements such as liberal democracy in the eighteenth century and socialisms of various brands in the nineteenth century were regarded not only as betrayals of faith but as cultural heresies as well. In the twentieth century, differences of class, race, economic status, and political tradition have made the West a far from unified society with a happily integrated culture. Cultural pluralism and social conflict are more adequate descriptions of the context of

the church's social mission than the organic model of society assumed earlier.

Vatican Council 2 recognised this. In *Gaudium et Spes* (Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World) we read:

"Although the world of today has a very vivid sense of its unity and how one person depends on another in needful solidarity, it is most grievously torn into opposing camps by conflicting forces. For political, social, economic, racial, and ideological disputes still continue bitterly, and with them the peril of a war which would reduce everything to ashes. True, there is a growing exchange of ideas, but the very words by which key concepts are expressed take on quite different meanings in diverse ideological systems".

The Council recognised that there was much specialisation in modern intellectual life and that this has led to competing conceptions of the human person. So if the Church wishes to make a contribution to debates about social, political, and economic life, it must state strongly and publicly its own most basic convictions about the nature and destiny of human beings. It must respond to the most basic questions about the meaning of human life in its social teaching as well as in doctrinal theology. The Council tabled some of these questions:

"What is the human person? What is the sense of sorrow, of evil, of death, which continues to exist despite so much progress? What is the purpose of these victories? What can human beings offer to society? What can they expect from it? What follows this earthly life?...

What recommendations seem needful for the upbuilding of contemporary society?

What is the ultimate significance of human activity throughout the world?"

In the decades leading up to Vatican 2 theologians sought to mediate the meaning of Christianity to a modern pluralistic and often conflictive society and to appropriate the positive values of this society into the life and thought of the church. For example, thinkers such as John Henry Newman, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and Karl Rahner (each in a different way) argued that God's grace is not outside of human experience, understanding, society, or culture. Grace is immanent within history, calling it to transformation and redemption. Leading up to the Council important theologians had been giving thought to this: Gustave Thils (The Theology of Earthly Realities), Henri de Lubac (Catholicism: A Study of Dogma in Relation to the Corporate Destiny of Mankind), M.D. Chenu (The Theology of Work).

For the Council, the "social question" became a properly theological question. Because at the Council the church's social mission was more tightly linked to the Bible, to Christology, eschatology (concerned with the end of the world), ecclesiology, and other central doctrinal perspectives than at any time in recent centuries. In a passage that has become a keystone in John Paul II's writings, the council went on to provide a Christological basis for the Church's defence of the dignity of man.

"Christ the Lord, Christ the final Adam, by the revelation of the mystery of the Father and His love, fully reveals human beings to themselves and makes their supreme

calling clear".⁽⁴⁾ In defending and promoting human dignity the church sees itself as engaged in a properly religious task. Social mission is part of the religious mission of the church.

Likewise Vatican Council 2 put forward specifically theological arguments for the church's mission to build up the bonds of community and mutual interdependence among all people. This mission is founded on the command to love God and all one's neighbours. It reflects the Christian faith in God as a trinity of persons in unity, so implying that personality is essentially relational.⁽⁵⁾

The church, the council maintains, is a sacrament, a sign and instrument, of "intimate union with God, and of the unity of all (mankind) humankind". Therefore participation in efforts to promote "an evolution towards unity, a process of wholesome socialisation and of association in civic and economic realms..... belong to the innermost nature of the Church".⁽⁶⁾

The religious significance of all human endeavour was likewise affirmed, however secular it may seem to be regarded. Even daily work, when it is properly ordered, can be understood "as unfolding the Creator's work" and as contributing "to the realisation in history of the divine plan"⁽⁷⁾ The hope for a future life does not play down the importance of engagement in the world of today.

There is this constant problem of how to distinguish social mission from religious imperialism or theological

triumphalism. It is obvious that the world is religiously diverse and that the Christian church is itself internally divided. One asks how, then, is the Catholic community to seek to influence the public life of a local community, a nation, or the global economic and political order without imposing its theological vision through brute power? The tension between a theologically rooted social mission and the respect due to the religious freedom of our fellow citizens has brought this problem into highlight, sometimes in very concrete and painful conflicts. If we try to say that all knowledge can be reduced to theology or that all social institutions ought to be extensions of the church, we could be led to a way of thinking which simply assumes, in Karl Rahner's words, "that human life can be unambiguously mapped out and manipulated in accord with certain universal principles proclaimed by the church and watched over by her in the manner in which they are developed and applied".⁽⁸⁾

The complementarity of religious fidelity and public civility is the deeper meaning of the Catholic understanding of the relation of faith and reason that is particularly relevant in a pluralistic and conflicted world. The two recent pastoral letters from the U.S. Bishops Conference on nuclear weapons and the U.S. economy insist that the church's involvement in these social questions is not an unjustified meddling in politics. The bishops speak on these issues because it is part of their religious mission to do so. Also, the perspectives on peace and economic justice in the pastoral letters are firmly rooted in

biblical sources and in the call of the kingdom of God. At the same time both letters seek to mediate these religious themes to a pluralistic society through reasoned reflection on fundamental moral norms.

4. Recent Social Teaching of the Church.

The encyclical Rerum Novarum (an encyclical is a document in the form of a letter sent by the Pope to the Bishops of the entire world: encyclical means circular) was written by Pope Leo XIII in 1889 and was published in 1891, the year the Italian Socialist Party was formally constituted. In it the Pope protested strongly against the harsh conditions which industrial workers had to endure. It is sometimes said that Leo was inspired to write his encyclical more by the loss of the working classes to the Church than by their plight. No doubt he was anxious to ensure that the Church should not be rejected by the mass of the new urban poor. But that is no reason to cast doubt on the genuineness of his protest about their treatment. Leo's intervention, in 1891, meant that the Church could not be taken to be indifferent to the injustices of the time. Rather, the Church was seen to be taking a stand on behalf of the poor.

Leo solemnly and firmly proposed his teaching as a remedy for the social problems of the time, the core of which was the misery and wretchedness pressing so unjustly

on the majority of the working class. He saw such an intervention as necessary in view of the fact that 'a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the labouring poor a yoke little better than that of slavery itself'.⁽⁹⁾ In fact the encyclical was at first largely ignored by many of the people with whom it was most directly concerned - employers, industrial workers, and even some Churchmen. In some places, such as Latin America, it was scarcely read at all. Where it was read it was not always accepted.

The reason for this shocked reaction and the resistance that accompanied it was not so much any specific course of action proposed by the pope. It was rather the much more fundamental point that he challenged the current assumption that the 'laws' of economics should be treated as though they were laws of nature, and therefore the basis for morality. Pope Leo rejected the assumption that the employer's obligations in justice can be taken to have been fulfilled once the agreed wage has been paid. Leo insisted that "there underlies a dictate of natural justice more imperious and ancient than any bargain between man and man, namely that wages ought not to be insufficient to support a frugal and well-behaved wage earner".⁽¹⁰⁾ He drew the conclusion that if, "through necessity or fear of a worse evil" the worker accepts a wage less than that required for frugal living then "he is made the victim of force and injustice".⁽¹¹⁾ The basic principle behind Leo's stance is that human labour cannot be treated simply as a commodity

because to do so is a denial of human dignity and the reduction of the worker to the status of the thing.

A fairly lengthy section is devoted to a treatment of socialism. In *Rerum Novarum*, he set out not merely to reject it but also to refute it. This formal rejection of socialism also served a wider purpose. It gave Leo the freedom to condemn the abuses within the existing capitalist system without leaving himself open to the accusation that he was encouraging those who advocated a socialist alternative. The encyclical did not attempt to put the Church on the side of the working class against another class. What it was against was not a group or class but simply the fact of exploitation. So it did not represent a 'class option' in the usual sense of the term. In fact its whole thrust was to lessen the barriers between the classes of society. Nevertheless, this in no way detracts from the fact that in the encyclical Leo XIII took a firm stand on the side of the mass of exploited workers in the society of the time. It would be overstating the case to claim that *Rerum Novarum* represents or calls for 'an option for the poor' in the sense in which that term is generally understood today; but it indicates a particular concern for the poor and it can now be seen as a major step on the road which eventually led to such an option.

Forty years later, in 1931, Pope Pius XI published the encyclical Quadragesimo Anno. It was a statement on

reconstructing the social order. He pointed to the dangers of over stressing either individualism or collectivism. He quoted St. Paul to those who refused to work, yet were capable of work

"If an man refuses to work, neither let him eat" (2 Thess. 3:10). Pius was concerned for the uplifting of the proletariat. He put forward the concept of the just wage. The just wage should support a man and his family. Yet it would be unjust to demand a wage which would ruin a business. The wage scale should be regulated with a view to the economic welfare of the whole people. The aim of individuals could be to acquire a modest fortune. It is the primary duty both of the state and of the individual to abolish conflict between classes. Nor should free competition become an absolute. Since the publication of Rerum Novarum much domination has emerged from the system of free competition. Also economic dictatorship has, in part, taken over from free competition. The Pope saw, as emerging dangers, nationalism and/or economic imperialism and internationalism and/or international imperialism.

If society is to be healed, it can only be healed by a return to Christian life. Moderate socialism is acceptable but not extreme socialism. Extreme socialism encourages class warfare and desires the abolition of private ownership. The Pope saw it as urgent that the laity be trained in social issues. Likewise all candidates for the

priesthood must be adequately prepared by intense study of social matters. On the other hand, "let them not urge their own ideas with undue persistence".

In 1961, Pope John XXIII, published the encyclical, Mater et Magistra. This letter reaffirmed principles of subsidiarity and shed new light on social problems. Christianity is the meeting place between heaven and earth. Work is not a commodity but a specifically human activity. The Marxist creed of class warfare is unacceptable. We are witnessing the breakdown of colonialism. Those governments providing for health, education and housing were to be supported and encouraged. Many people live in situations which are inadequate, and yet all are conscious of the privileged few.

More consideration ought to be given to the demands of international cooperatives. Workers should be given an active share in the firm's organisation. Likewise the workers should be allowed time in their lives for cultural, moral and religious pursuits. Whilst work should call for high proficiency, the work should be the immediate expression of the human personality. The worker is more than a mere instrument or cog in a machine. We are all equally responsible for the under nourished peoples. He quotes from St. John:

"This has taught us to love - that He gave His life up for us; and we too ought to give up our lives for our brothers. If a man rich in this world's goods saw that one of his brothers was in need, but closed his heart to him,

how could the love of God be living in him?" (1 John 3:16-17).

Quoting Psalm 126, "Unless the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it", he urged a re-building of the social order based on truth, justice and love. He gave a fair amount of discussion to the keeping of the Sabbath day. Sunday was a time to lift up the mind to God. Man has a right to rest. Sunday is a day for the family to come together at meals, a day especially for the nurturing of peace, a time of growing together.

Pacem in Terris, appeared from Pope John XXIII in 1963. The Pope was appealing for peace on earth. Every person has the right to life, to bodily integrity, to the means of maintaining a decent standard of living, the right to be looked after in old age, the right to a good name, the right to study. All possessed rights to emigrate ~~or immigrate~~. As he had pointed out in *Mater et Magistra*, the economic prosperity of a nation is measured not by the sum total of its goods and wealth but by a just distribution of its goods and a just tax system based on the ability to pay. He wrote of the relations which should exist between states and the problems of political refugees. He was quite emphatic on the issue of disarmament. The arms race should cease and nuclear weapons should be banned. The world will never be a dwelling place of peace until peace resides in men's hearts.

A very important addition to these documents on social life come from the Bishops gathered together at the Second

Vatican Council in 1965. This declaration was titled Gaudium et Spes, The Church in the Modern World. ("The joys and hopes, the grief and anxieties of the men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted"). It was a message to all people of good will. It spoke strongly of the dignity of man/woman. It called for an attitude of reconciliation towards atheists and encouraged dialogue with them. It considered the role of the Church in the modern world. Problems of special urgency were fostering the nobility of marriage and the family, the proper development of culture, economic life, investment and money, ownership and property, politics and the Church.

Pope Paul VI published the encyclical Populorum Progressio (The development of peoples) in 1967. Some suggest that this is the most important social encyclical of this century. The world was seen as a global village. There was much discussion about colonisation and colonialisation, about the work of missionaries and about property and revenue. The Church ought to examine the signs of the times and interpret them in the light of the gospel. Created goods should flow fairly to all, regulated by justice and accompanied by charity. The right of private property must never be exercised to the detriment of the common good. Ownership carries corresponding social responsibilities. Beware of the temptation to violence. Pascal is quoted "Man infinitely surpasses man." There is much said on the war against hunger. The use of superfluous wealth;; parable of the rich man:

"God said, 'You fool this very night you must render an account of your own soul'" (Luke 12:20).

The Pope speaks of a world fund to help the needy, and of our duty of hospitality. The world is sick and we cannot insist too much on the duty of welcoming others, especially providing hostels for the youth.

In 1971, on the eightieth anniversary of Rerum Novarum, Pope Paul VI published the encyclical, Octogesima Adveniens. In this letter he considered problems of modern youth. He spoke of the role of woman, recognising her independence as a person and her equal rights to participate in cultural, economic, social and political life. The victims of change, the new 'poor', the handicapped, the maladjusted, the old, those on the fringe of society - need our help to defend their place and dignity in society. Discrimination, the environment and ecology, the historical evolution of Marxism, Christian discernment, all of these issues were touched upon. Attention was given to the human sciences and the ambiguous nature of progress. The dynamism of Christian teaching, "to take politics seriously at its different levels - local, regional, national and world-wide, so as to affirm the duty of every person". Preferential treatment of the poor is a gospel imperative. The most fortunate should renounce some of their rights and place their goods more generously at the service of others.

In 1971, also, a statement to the world Church, Justice in the World was issued by the Synod of Bishops

meeting in Rome. They pointed out that preaching was to be accompanied by appropriate action. Social justice is central and not peripheral in our proclamation of the Gospel. Why is it that 80 years after Rerum Novarum and 2,000 years of the Gospel of love the Church has to admit her inability to make more impact upon the conscience of her people? Because the faithful, especially the wealthy among them, simply do not see structural social injustice as a sin. Therefore they feel no personal responsibility for it and simply feel no obligation to do anything about it.

Pope Paul VI published, Evangelii Nuntiandi (The primary proclamation is the Good News of the Kingdom of God.) in 1975. Evangelisation must include action for social justice. "The spirit of the Lord has been given to me. He has sent me to bring the good news to the poor/" (Luke 4:18 referring back to Is. 61:1). Going from town to town, preaching to the poorest - and frequently the most receptive - is the mission for what Jesus declares that He is sent by the Father. The Church has a message of liberation. The words of the Gospel are liberating. We must liberate people from famine, chronic disease, illiteracy, poverty, injustices, neo-colonialism. The Church cannot accept violence, especially the force of arms. "We exhort you not to place your trust in violence and revolution; that is contrary to the Christian Spirit, and it can also delay instead of advancing that social uplifting to which you lawfully aspire."

On his Papal Visit to Ireland in 1979, Pope John Paul II spoke at length on the tension between violence and peace/reconciliation. The tragic events in Northern Ireland do not have their sources in the fact of belonging to different churches and confessions. On the contrary Catholics and Protestants... are seeking to draw closer to one another in unity and peace. When they recall the greatest commandment of Christ, they cannot do otherwise. Christianity forbids us to seek solutions to these situations by the ways of hatred, by the murdering of defenceless people, by the methods of terrorism. Peace cannot be established by violence, peace can never flourish in a climate of terror, intimidation and death. It is Jesus himself who said, "All who take the sword will perish by the sword". (Matt. 26:52). Reconciliation is part of the vocabulary of every Christian, "If you are offering your gift at the altar....." (Matt 5: 23-24). The Address at Drogheda was most moving "to all men and women engaged in violence..... on my knees I beg you to turn away from the paths of violence. You may claim to seek justice, but violence only delays the day of justice. I appeal to young people..... do not follow any leaders who train you in the ways of inflicting death. I speak to all the peoples in a position of leadership..... you will serve your own tradition best by working for reconciliation with others".

Pope John Paul II published the encyclical Redemptor Hominis (The Redeemer of Man, Jesus Christ is the centre of the universe and history) in 1979. As in Gaudium et Spes,

the dignity of man is stressed. Nations must be prepared to criticise their internal processes. The scandal ~~posed~~ by rich consumer societies ^{POSE} when so many others are dying of starvation and malnutrition. The fever of inflation and the plague of unemployment is discussed at length. The violation of human rights; concentration camps, violence, torture, terrorism, racial discrimination and all other forms of discrimination are given attention. The role of the Holy Spirit in mankind's destiny is developed. Grass-root communities have their place in the Church but must not jeopardise hierarchical unity. Political violence in furtherance of rights is again rejected along with 'class struggle'.

In 1981 the encyclical Laborem Exercens (On Human Work) was published by Pope John Paul II following recommendations received from the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace. The letter was given to a consideration of work. Christ devoted most of His life on earth to manual work. The basis for determining the value of human work is not primarily the nature of the work being done, but the fact that the one doing it is a person. The primary basis of the value of work is man himself, who is its subject. Work is for man, not man for work. Man is not a special kind of participant, distant from others. There must be worker solidarity. Work and personal dignity are written about. There is the biblical call to subdue the earth and have dominion over the earth. God was originally at work

creating the earth and the universe. Man is called to share in the responsibility of creation. Work and society, family and nation are discussed. The history of the conflict between labour and capital in the present phase of history is investigated. A purely materialist philosophy is unacceptable to Catholic beliefs i.e. Marxist dialectical materialism. Catholic teaching differs both from the Marxist collectivism and capitalism as practised by liberalism. The right to private property is subordinate to the right to common use. Thus rigid capitalism remains unacceptable. The "personalist" argument, the principle of the priority of labour over capital is a postulate of the order of social morality. Rights of workers are considered and affirmed.

Health care should be made available to workers - cheaply or even freely. The right to rest, the right to a pension, the importance of unions, are all treated. Unions are a mouthpiece in the struggle for social justice, but it is not a struggle against others. Unions should not have the character of political parties struggling for power otherwise they become an instrument used for other purposes. The dignity of agricultural work is considered. The disabled person and work, work and the question of emigration, elements for a spirituality of work, work as a sharing in the activity of the creator - all of these are considered.

In Sollicitudo Rei Socialis, Pope John Paul II (1987) examines the virtue he calls solidarity. He finds it linked

with the supreme virtue of love. In paragraphs 37 and 42, the Pope considers the right of economic initiative, and the matter of profit. In 1988 the Pope referred again to economic initiative and profit, when addressing management and labour at Verona: "..... The sole criterion of profit is insufficient, especially when raised to the level of the absolute.... A business cannot do without profit. Reasonable endeavour to make a profit is connected with the right of economic initiative. But in order to be just, profit must be regulated by moral criteria, in particular by those of solidarity."

Then in 1989: "The human right of economic initiative should be exercised within a social system which sees all citizens involved, in co-responsibility and participation." (L'Osservatore Romano, English weekly edition, 2nd May 1988).

Finally, in Centesimus Annus (1991), he invites Catholics to look back at the text of Rerum Novarum (1891), to discover anew the richness of the fundamental principles which it formulated for dealing with the question of the condition of workers, to look around for what is "new" on this issue, and to "look to the future" at a time when people can already glimpse the third Millennium of the Christian era, so filled with uncertainties but also with promises - uncertainties and promises which appeal to our imagination and creativity, and which reawaken our responsibility, as disciples of the "one teacher" (cf Mt

23:8), to show the way, to proclaim the truth and to communicate the life which is Christ (cf Jn 14:6).

5. Proclaiming the Message

Although Jesus sought a real conversion and radical change in those who followed him, over the centuries very many of his followers remained to a large extent untransformed. Ever since its inception the church has been a "mixed bunch", a net full of fish, good and bad, a field sown with good grain and darnel. The separation of the good from the evil will not occur until the parousia. Till then the church must continue with its task. While counting sinners in its midst, it keeps striving to purify itself.

Christians constantly face the problem of how to relate the two realms in which they live. By faith they belong in the kingdom to come, but by experience they are involved in the transitory scene of the world. They have involvements with their fellow men and women that do not allow them, except in rare instances, to live consistently by the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:3-16). So, life for all Christians in the here and now calls for the exercise of worldly prudence. They must constantly take thought for the morrow, have recourse to law courts, defend their property rights, seek police protection, and at times employ military might. They cannot normally give up their possessions to those who want to rob them nor always turn the other cheek to people who attack them.

The church faces as its main task to preserve the

message of the gospel in all its novelty and strength. Neither the personal sinfulness of Christians nor the ambiguities of worldly living can deflect the church from this demanding mission. The church cannot pretend to bring about the final kingdom, which God will accomplish when and as he chooses. The promise of the kingdom rests on God's word, which is absolutely reliable, and not on human efforts, which are forever bound by limited possibilities. The church, then, must urge its members to put their trust in the power and goodness of God rather than in any created agency, including even the church. God alone can save.

Since the church faces as its primary task the call to evangelise, need it go further than holding aloft the transcendent vision posed by Jesus and confirmed by his resurrection from the dead? It seems that the church has another added responsibility from which it may not exempt itself. And this applies especially in the agencies of evangelisation like schooling. This is to guide its members and all who wish to submit to its influence in behaving according to the gospel.

In Rerum Novarum (1891), as we have seen, Pope Leo XIII initiated what has developed into a long series of social encyclicals issued by a succession of popes. These letters, addressing urgent problems of the political and economic order, propound a social philosophy grounded in universal ethical principles that are deemed consonant with, though not directly derivable from, revelation. This social

philosophy is in many respects an updating of Thomas Aquinas and other medieval theologians.

Through this body of official social teaching, Catholics are generally convinced that there can be no divorce between the moral and the political spheres. The church has to consider the moral aspects of practices such as slavery, torture, genocide, concentration camps, and gas chambers, not to mention more ambiguous phenomena such as war, penal legislation and divorce. On occasion popes and bishops will find it necessary to condemn certain policies and laws as being incompatible with a correct understanding of the gospel. Through its proclamation of Christ and the kingdom, the church holds up a vision of ultimate religious meaning, and those who accept this vision take a distinctive attitude towards life and death, pleasure and pain, truth and falsehood, wealth and poverty, power and weakness. In a Christianised culture, institutions such as schools and hospitals, prisons, slavery, and even war are progressively infused with a spirit of mercy and with loving esteem for each individual. Christian faith, it is sometimes contended, has "helped to supply the ideas through which democratic capitalism has emerged in history".⁽¹²⁾

The church has never been able to do away with sin and faithlessness in its own members, let alone in society at large. The growing secularisation in society since the Enlightenment has put additional barriers in the path of Christianisation. Governments can well provide some of these barriers. But obstacles such as these do not absolve

the church, or its agencies, from the task of striving to accomplish the evangelisation of social institutions.

6. Education for Justice

Both the active courage of assertiveness and the patient courage of endurance are needed if Catholic schools, their staffs and pupils, are to develop the staying power needed in the quest for justice today. For these two things to operate we need to consider some resources that may make courageous staying power more likely in the pursuit of justice.

Some immediate experience of the suffering of the victims of injustice seems important if one's heart is to remain sensitive to the continuing need for action. The effective agent of social justice needs to feel and taste the reality of injustice.

Also, courage will depend on what might be called knowledgeability or practical wisdom. This would mean helping pupils and staffs to put together some protracted analysis of complex issues without jumping to a premature division of the world into groups of villains and groups of victims. Ability to recognise the reality and the complexity of issues will be a necessary condition for sustained and courageous action. Much of this could be very painful. What religious education and teachers must resist is the frequently strong impulse to reduce the complexity to simple, clear-cut interpretations of injustice.

Another important means to assist in the development of courage and staying power in the quest for justice is involvement in a supportive community of peers and co-workers. I have referred to this, at some length, elsewhere. Education for justice thus should be education for collaboration, cooperation and community. It should include collaboration and cooperation between the students themselves in their activities and assignments. Collaboration between students and those outside the classroom who are involved in similar concerns may also be a useful way to foster this goal. And a cooperative relationship between teacher and student will be of great educational benefit as well.

If those involved in the pursuit of justice can taste some success in the struggle, it will help reinforce the courage called for. From an educational point of view, this suggests that attention to achievements in the history of the struggle for justice is as important as focusing on the most oppressive and violent injustice in the world today. The theological principle that we can only experience conversion because of the presence of grace makes good educational sense as well. We can develop the courage to dare great things only by experiencing the possibility of achievement in our lives and the lives of others.

Again we will need a confident and serene understanding of the limits of our capabilities, energy, time, and wisdom. Magnanimity is not the same as the effort to ape God by becoming responsible for everything that happens on the face

of the earth. Educationally this implies that education for justice needs to be education in self-knowledge as well. The final goal of education for justice is not to indoctrinate students with the appropriate ideology or to form in them the appropriate instincts. Its ultimate goal is to introduce them to the reality of the God who is revealed in Jesus Christ and whose Spirit is present working for justice in the world today.

1. Johann Baptist Metz, Faith in History and Society, trans. David Smith, Seabury, New York, 1980, pps 18-19.
2. Gaudium et Spes (Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World), The Documents of Vatican 2, ed. Abbott, S.J., pps 202-203, Par.4.
3. *ibid.* pps. 208-210. Pars. 10 and 11.
4. *ibid.* p.239. Par. 40.
5. *ibid.* p. 231. Par. 32.
6. *ibid.* p. 242. Par. 42.
7. *ibid.* p. 232. Par. 34.
8. Karl Rahner, "Theological Reflections on the Problem of Secularisation", Theological Investigations, Vol. 10, Herder and Herder, New York, 1973, p.322.
9. Rerum Novarum (The Workers' Charter, On the Condition of the Working Classes), Catholic Truth Society, London, 1960, Par.2.
10. *ibid.*, Par. 34.
11. *ibid.*, Par. 34.
12. Michael Novak, The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1982, p.334.

CHAPTER THREE

CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA

Catholic education in Australia has been heavily influenced by state and federal requirements - and has been accountable to state education inspectors and registration boards over many years. This external influence on the schools, what they taught, how they are organised, has been affected further since the 1960s by heavy injections of state and federal finance. This chapter, considering the evolution of the Catholic schools' sector, illustrates that government and social pressure has basically determined the structure and content of instruction. As stated elsewhere, increased government involvement in the perceived outcomes of schools is not unique to Australia. Nevertheless, the economic effect necessary for survival has encouraged a materialistic spirit - the worry being that the schools may become mere replicas of state schools in the same areas.

Pre-occupation with the implementation of state and federal grants, the huge problems of coping with a heavy Catholic immigrant body, the diminution of religious brothers and sisters, industrial pressures, the ballooning of Catholic educational bureaucracies (due to government policies of centralisation) - all of these factors have distracted Catholic education administrators and parents from the task of ensuring that the schools remain distinctly Catholic. Such an approach to externally generated

initiatives demands an acute awareness of the philosophy and mission of any Catholic school or system at this time.

Otherwise the goals of the government, and more locally, the goals of individual staff and their departments can readily become more important than the goals of the school as a whole.

1. Schools born to withstand Secularism

In considerations of the situation of Catholic schools in Australia, it must be borne in mind that they were fully self-sufficient from the 1880s until 1964. Through the 1830s, the 1840s and the 1850s secularism was a growing powerful force in Eastern Australia.

The secular movement gained strength from several sources. Religious division, the lack of one dominant Church, weakened the Churches' educational efforts. The pioneering, undeveloped nature of society in a 'new land', and the thinly-populated hinterland of what was primarily a pastoral, rather than a farming country, together with religious division, made it difficult for the Churches to maintain schools in rural areas. State initiative was needed. Only in the cities were rival denominational schools economically feasible.

The scarcity of clergy in rural areas encouraged a secular outlook. The economic effect necessary for survival encouraged a materialistic spirit. Moreover the middle classes, a strong support of religion in Britain, were weak

in Australia. The country had not yet experienced an industrial revolution. Only in Victoria was there anything like an industrial middle-class. The weakness of the Australian middle class weakened the Churches and hence their educational efforts. Nor was there any strong, leisured and educated upper class to support the social and educational position of the Churches.

The strong role of the Churches in English education became an increasingly irrelevant model as secularism developed in Australia. The weakness of the Australian middle and upper classes, their practical outlook and their busy working life explain their lack of interest in education and also the slow development of secondary and higher education. Education was relatively unimportant for social or economic advancement in a young, pioneering society.

In 1864 Pope Pius IX published the encyclical *Quanta Cura* with its attached *Syllabus of Errors*. This confronted the Australian hierarchy with a critical situation. The encyclical condemned liberalism in general; the appended "syllabus of the principal errors of our time" categorically condemned eighty manifestations of liberalism, including the belief that education should be "subjected to the civil and political power", and the belief that Catholics could "approve of the system of educating youth unconnected with Catholic faith and the power of the Church".⁽¹⁾

This encyclical pointed the way for the Bishops. But

there were difficult problems to face. The Catholic Church in Australia had relied for so long on State aid, and had entered into so many compromises with the State, that it was doubtful, by 1869, whether the laity (or the clergy) had any real appreciation of what was meant by Catholic education, any grasp of its essential role in Catholic life, or any will to provide it by sacrifice and effort. So efficiently had the general boards done their work that in name,⁽²⁾ curriculum, methods of teaching, textbooks and tone, there was little to distinguish one type of school from another, and the ignorant and the simple among the bishops' flocks could well be forgiven for failing to see the difference between the government-assisted Catholic schools and any other government school.

2. The Catholic Response to Prevailing Liberalism

The bishops decided on three main lines of action. They must instruct both laity and clergy of the danger in which they stood, and lead them to safer ground; they must set up schools in which there would be freedom for full denominational action; they must advise, warn, and if necessary punish, to establish a sense of Catholic unity on the education issue. Such an intention was likely to be dismissed as an idle threat unless the bishops could translate their words into bricks and mortar. Fortunately for them and their ideas, by the time they met in Melbourne in 1869, the diocese of South Australia had provided them with a pattern of independent schools which they could all

follow. To a large extent, the growth of religious orders of Sisters (Josephites, Mercies, Good Samaritans, Charities) and the influx and growth of the religious orders of Brothers (Marists, Christians, De La Salles, Patricians) saved the day. They provided a competent, dedicated and cheap teaching force to get this Catholic pattern of independent schools set up across the nation.

3. The Period of Reform 1902-1916

Between 1902 and 1916 a wide range of reforms improved the quantity and quality of education throughout Australia. These reforms related not so much to religion as to political and social democracy and to the quality of education. They provided greater equality of opportunity in education and sought to develop attitudes appropriate to democratic citizenship. There had been a growth of a 'new' professional middle class, prepared in the universities. This increased the importance of the universities and hence of secondary schools as a means of access to the universities or teachers' colleges. An expanding democracy gave children from lower-class and lower middle-class families (and here the Catholics were mainly grouped) much greater opportunity to rise socially by progressing through the educational system. The 'new professions' strengthened the middle classes and encouraged the liberal-humanist curriculum.

The movement for reform was part of that general movement for national improvement which produced federation,

child endowment, the arbitration system and votes for women. "In every department of human activity", said Peter Board, New South Wales Director of Education, in 1909, "there is a deep consciousness that there is something better to be gained, and that every step onward is a step upward".⁽³⁾ Whilst Catholic schools stood apart from the State systems they joined this reform movement. After all they lived in the same society and the boys and girls attending Catholic schools sat for the same major examinations as non-Catholic pupils. This was because there were no Catholic universities in Australia (as there were in U.S.A.). The examinations were the gates into the universities and the professions.

A common examination system meant a curriculum similar to that in State schools. The Marist Brothers in New South Wales told the Catholic authorities in 1905 that any syllabus for Catholic schools should be based on the State syllabus. This would make it easy to enrol pupils coming from State schools and meant that a supply of cheap textbooks could be used.⁽⁴⁾

The Catholic teaching orders also took on board some of the new methods of teacher training. Following the recommendations of the Knibbs-Turner Commission in New South Wales that State schools abandon the pupil-teacher system, the Marist Brothers acted immediately, anticipating the State Education Department by two years, and in 1903-4 ended the pupil-teacher system. The Christian Brothers had done the same by 1906. But other teaching orders continued to

retain this system for a while.⁽⁵⁾

Generally speaking, classes in Catholic primary schools remained larger than in State schools and hence rote learning and old-fashioned teaching methods persisted. Catholic secondary schools for girls grew remarkably. By 1910 there were thirty-three Catholic secondary schools for boys in Australia and 212 for girls.⁽⁶⁾

4. The War a Cause for Change

The Second World War contributed indirectly to educational change in Australia. Economic prosperity was encouraged and State intervention in university and technical education, together with the aroused interest in a better social order, helped towards an improved educational system.

Some of the reforms had a political sense to them, notably the further democratisation of education through extension of opportunities and the involvement of the Commonwealth government in post-secondary education. Specifically educational issues included the raising of the minimum leaving age and a relaxation in the intensity of the examination system. These, in turn, made secondary education more accessible to pupils of lower academic ability. Changes in the leaving age, examination system, and ability of pupils encouraged revision of the secondary school curriculum. The Catholic schools could not escape some involvement, through such matters as changes in the minimum

leaving age or examination reform. The Church private schools were hardly affected. A high percentage of their pupils already stayed on beyond the minimum leaving age and their pupils were, and remained, more uniform socially and educationally than those in State schools.

In 1939 approximately 200,000 children throughout Australia were being educated in Roman Catholic schools. This made the Roman Catholic system quite as important as any State system. Nearly all teachers in Catholic schools were members of religious orders. They constituted a cheap and dedicated teaching service and explains the ability of the Church, aided by school fees and the voluntary contributions of the laity, to sustain an extensive school system. The teaching Brothers maintained schools. These were nearly all secondary schools, educating 29,478 boys. Seventy-eight of these schools were under the control of the Christian Brothers. The teaching nuns comprised twenty-three different orders, with 8470 Sisters in charge of 914 primary and convent schools accommodating 165,915 pupils.⁽⁷⁾ Despite these impressive figures, however, about one-third of Catholic children of school age were attending State schools.⁽⁸⁾

5. Post-War Problems for Catholic Schools

During the 1950s Catholic education shared similar problems to those of the State schools. The retention rate of pupils throughout the school course tended to rise.

There were increasing enrolments because of higher birthrates amongst the Catholics then and because of the high proportion of migrants who were Catholics. Enrolments in Catholic schools throughout Australia rose by 98 per cent between 1946 and 1960. In South Australia the increase was 171 per cent, though the numerical growth was moderate, from 9,600 to 26,000. In Victoria, the increase was also above average, 145 per cent.⁽⁹⁾ Queensland and New South Wales were the states with the highest proportion of Catholics, but in Queensland the Scholarship Examination at the end of the Primary school acted as a form of State aid to Catholic secondary schools which were, as a result, much better off than their counterparts in the Southern states.

The effects of this explosion on Catholic school numbers were felt more keenly in New South Wales. Between 1946 and 1961 the increase of pupils attending Catholic primary schools in New South Wales was 81 per cent, but the numbers attending at Catholic secondary schools had been rising steadily over the previous 20 years. The trend reached its climax in 1958, when 73 per cent of Catholic children in New South Wales were in Catholic schools. By 1963 the proportion of Catholic children in New South Wales at Catholic schools had dropped to 68 per cent.

The huge numbers made it impossible for the religious orders of sisters, brothers and priests to sustain the Catholic education system, and the pattern which had been built up since the 1870s now began to fall apart. Many more lay teachers had to be employed. In the Archdiocese of

Sydney the proportion of lay teachers in Catholic schools rose from 15 per cent in 1958 to 25 per cent in 1960. In the Melbourne Archdiocese the proportion rose from 19 per cent in 1950 to 35 per cent in 1960.⁽¹⁰⁾ The need to pay lay teachers' salaries reasonably comparable with those available in non-Catholic schools sharpened up the financial problems of Catholic schools. Apart from this huge salary increase faced by the schools, the financial problem was exacerbated by the longer secondary course resulting from the introduction of the Wyndham System in 1962. Greater calls for equipment for science courses and the need to provide additional buildings and facilities, were other sources of expense. Most Catholics saw disaster ahead for the system without State help.

6. State Aid Reintroduced, 1963

In the immediate, post-war period secular education was a firmly established tradition in Australia. Secular, here, refers to the fact that State aid to Catholic or Church schools was denied them.

The issue simmered strongly in the post-war years, for many reasons, some of which have been mentioned above. In 1955 the Australian Labor Party was split when its Federal leader, H.V. Evatt, denounced the activities within the Party of the Catholic Action movement. At that period, a big proportion of the Party was Catholic. A breakaway group, many of them Catholics, established the Democratic Labor Party.

As Alan Barcan points out in *A History of Australian Education*,

"The existence of this party, the growing needs of Catholic schools, and the growth of a new Catholic middle class, itself evidence of the success of the Catholic school system, meant that for the first time in nearly fifty years a sizeable Roman Catholic vote was available to non-Labor parties if they were prepared to pay the price."

In July 1962 the 'Goulburn Crisis' brought matters to a head. A Catholic school in Goulburn was threatened by the New South Wales Department of Education (through a report from a School Inspector) with loss of its Certificate of Efficiency unless its toilet facilities were improved. A meeting of Catholic parents expressed 'bitter disappointment' at the failure of State government to recognise "the justice of the claims of Catholics to a fair share of the public purse for its education system and wishes to draw public attention to the almost insurmountable plight in which Catholics find themselves".⁽¹²⁾

All Catholic schools in Goulburn closed in protest and 640 of Goulburn's 2070 Catholic pupils enrolled in State schools. If this was to become State-wide there would have been chaos. After a week the Catholic schools reopened.

The politicians responded to the stirred-up public opinion. In September 1963 the New South Wales Labor Government introduced State-aid to non-State schools by providing scholarships for pupils in the last four years of non-State secondary schools and for pupils in State secondary schools who were living away from home. The money

was to be paid to the parents, not to the school. While this was most welcome to Catholics, it did not meet their real needs, the major problem being one of capital expenditure for school extensions and facilities.⁽¹³⁾

The Liberal Party Prime Minister, Mr. R.G. Menzies, well aware of the high feeling about the issue amongst Catholic parents, promised Commonwealth scholarships for pupils in both State and non-State secondary schools, prior to the November 1963 federal elections. Additionally in his election policy speech he promised £5 million a year to provide buildings and facilities for science teaching in all secondary schools, State and non-State. The government was reelected with a significant majority. It had a majority of two prior to the elections and one of twenty four seats after the elections. The promise was carried out from May 1964. The Commonwealth went further than New South Wales by providing direct grants as well as indirect ones. There was a mixed reception to the federal grants amongst the non-Catholic churches. The Church of England synods in Armidale and Sydney opposed acceptance of the science grant, whilst the Victorian and Tasmanian Methodist Conference decided to investigate the question of State aid and instructed Methodist schools in these two states not to accept aid, for the moment. The Queensland and New South Wales Methodist Conferences allowed their schools to accept aid. It was not long before all schools were accepting aid.⁽¹⁴⁾

The other State parliaments quickly followed the lead

given by the New South Wales and Federal parliaments. It was quite remarkable how quickly and how easily the State aid was introduced. There had been much heated debate when it had been abolished in 1870s and 1880s. It was, at heart, very much a religious matter. The vast majority of non-State schools were associated with particular Churches. In 1961, 1752 of the 2128 non-government schools of Australia were Catholic.⁽¹⁵⁾

Non-State Schools in Australia, 1961.

Roman Catholic	1752
Church of England	122
Seventh-Day Adventist	41
Presbyterian	36
Methodist	24
Lutheran	22
Hebrew	9
Other denominations	8
Non-denominational	114

The increasingly secular nature of society and the diminished ideological vigour since the 1950s (added to the much more cosmopolitan nature of the population) had lessened anti-Catholic feeling and had taken the heat out of sectarianism. Twenty years of prosperity and full employment had weakened class and sectarian rivalry, and had also made State aid economically feasible. As well, it was costing much more to provide pupil places in State schools.

Political changes were also important. The Catholic section of the population was now a larger minority than ever before, one that could not be ignored. The fact that after 1956 a sizeable Catholic vote had become detached from its traditional allegiance to Labor encouraged politicians to bargain about State aid. As well, because of stronger schooling, many Catholics had moved into the middle, professional and white collar classes. The close association of religion, race, education and social class was passing. Public opinion was more muted and even apathetic about these previous sources of tension within the nation.

7. Catholic Schools After Vatican 2

Changes in the Catholic Church, following the Vatican Council of 1962-65 liberalised Catholic practices in a variety of areas and complicated matters for Catholic teachers. The pressures of societal change had rather similar effects in the Catholic system as those in the State system. Too, problems, associated with a shortage of qualified teachers, the continuing problem of large classes, and the increasing numbers of lower-ability pupils carrying on into Years 11 and 12, all made for difficulties. Although enrolments in Catholic schools had grown from 486,758 in 1967 to 494,055 in 1974, ground was being lost percentage wise. More significantly, the proportion of Catholics attending Catholic schools was falling.

From figures gathered by the National Catholic Education Commission in 1972, the proportion of Catholic children not attending Catholic schools was as follows:

	1965(%)	1970(%) ⁽¹⁶⁾
New South Wales	29.3	39.1
Victoria	29.4	39.1
Queensland	25.5	31.6
South Australia	49.9	61.1
Western Australia	35.7	46.4
Tasmania	42.0	49.1
A.C.T.	25.4	28.2

Whilst State aid had brought benefits to the Catholic schools, classes in these schools were still larger than in State schools though the situation was steadily improving.

The Catholic teaching orders had set up excellent training facilities for their young scholastics, but the proportion of staffs who were religious was dwindling rapidly. In March 1969 the proportion of lay teachers in Catholic schools was:

New South Wales	44.4%
Victoria	46.3%
Queensland	38.1%
South Australia	35.5%
Western Australia	30.5%
Tasmania	36.5%
A.C.T.	58.9%

The movement towards fuller lay staffing has continued. In New South Wales in 1965, 30.9 per cent of teachers in Catholic primary schools were lay teachers and 22.6 per cent in secondary schools. By 1971 the proportion was 53.0 per cent in primary and 50.8 per cent in secondary.

When the non-systemic schools are included, the figures of pupils at Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of Sydney in 1985 became 73,815 in Primary schools and 59,720 in Secondary, giving an overall total of 133,535. In the same schools the percentage of lay teachers moved from 90.5% to 92.7% in the Primary schools from 1983 to 1985, whilst in the same period the percentage of lay teachers moved from 89.5% to 92.5%⁽¹⁷⁾ in the secondary schools. It must be borne in mind that religious Brothers, Sisters and Priests were working for an annual stipend of approximately \$12,000 per annum at the same time as lay staff were receiving an arbitrated wage of (averaging across the range) about \$24,000 per annum. For each Religious leaving the system, the quantum of wage replacement was doubled.

8. New Problems Determined New Initiatives

Also, Catholic secondary schools, like State ones, had the problem of 'youthful pensioners', as a Marist Brothers' principal called them - pupils who stayed on into the senior years with no particular interest in studying.⁽¹⁸⁾ Another Marist Brothers' principal suggested that some parents might be placing undue strain on their children by insisting that

they continue their schooling when they lacked the necessary capacity.⁽¹⁹⁾

The problems facing Catholic schools brought about new initiatives. In New South Wales a number of Catholic senior high schools opened. At the beginning of 1973 there were 189 Catholic secondary schools in New South Wales and the A.C.T. Some eight of these were senior high schools, catering for Forms 5 and 6. Eleven Catholic senior high schools existed in Victoria in 1977.⁽²⁰⁾ In the other States, where the secondary course lasted only five years, few such schools existed.

Co-education was another innovation at this time. Traditionally Catholics in Australia had opposed co-education, believing that it violated a natural difference between the two sexes and that it exposed pupils (and even teachers) to unnecessary dangers. But, especially in secondary schools and in country districts, the demands of a diverse curriculum on a limited supply of qualified staff and the economic advantages of combining small but separate classes of boys and girls, were strong arguments for co-education. A papal document of 1957 conceded that 'in certain cases the practical necessity of educating boys and girls together cannot be avoided'. In New South Wales some Catholic schools became co-educational in 1966 and after.⁽²¹⁾

The inroads of State capitalism and widened secularism were providing some sense of crisis in ethical and moral

ways. Two teaching Brothers told an Australian Catholic Episcopal conference in 1973 that adolescents faced 'a crisis of faith caused by the impact of secularist society on Christian ideals. The impact through the communications media is stronger than 20 years ago'.⁽²²⁾

The extension of State aid to Catholic and other church schools was the forerunner of a stronger concern from the late 1960s onwards for minorities. The climate of opinion in corporate State capitalism favoured extension of the welfare and humanitarian policies which had developed in the 1940s and 1950s. More attention was given to the education of less forceful minorities such as migrant children, Aboriginal children, mentally and physically handicapped children, and children in distant rural areas. There were some, indeed, who wished to include girls amongst the neglected minorities.

The growing responsibility of the State in a widening range of educational activities was paralleled by a decline not only in the role of the Churches in education but also in the role of the family. The changing role of the family had its effect in a wide range of educational areas. "The voluntary withdrawal of some parents from their traditional role in the control of child behaviour", remarked the Director of Secondary Education in Victoria in 1971, "has to an increasing extent transferred this problem to the classroom".⁽²³⁾

In many cases, the family was no longer a strong support of the church. On the other hand, children who came

from homes with fixed values, homes in which an interest in education existed, were inevitably advantaged in their school careers. But for many, the television set or the peer group provided a more potent source of values than parents.

The changing vocational activities of women produced a new phenomenon in education - a denunciation of 'sexism' in the school curriculum. This was closely linked with an anxiety to revise the traditional vocational aspiration of girls.

9. Karmel Report - A Watershed

In December 1972, immediately after his election, new prime minister Gough Whit^lham appointed an Interim Committee for the Australian Schools commission.⁽²⁴⁾ This Report, Schools in Australia, also known as the Karmel Report (1973), recommended seven programmes of Commonwealth expenditure on education - general purpose grants to State departments; to Catholic primary schools; to other non-State schools; building grants for libraries; grants for special education; grants for teacher development; and grants for educational innovation. The Report was generally acclaimed, especially because of this great grant of Commonwealth funds. For 1974, general recurrent grants of \$55.6 million were offered to State primary and secondary schools (these schools get the bulk of their operating money from State governments), \$26.2 million for Catholic schools and \$31.1

million for other schools.⁽²⁵⁾

Apart from the financial provisions of the Report, much interest was evoked in the doubts expressed of the efficacy of some of the recommended reforms, e.g equality of opportunity. The Report claimed, and Catholic school people would challenge this, that in Australia the concept of equality of opportunity had been confined to public schooling. The Report was disturbed to find that a higher proportion of children went to university from professional and wealthier groups than from the industrial working class (para. 3.6); it noted that length of school was greater amongst children from higher socio-economic groups than for children from lower socio-economic groups (para.3.14). Instead of equality of opportunity, the objective should be equality of outcomes.

With some ambivalence the Committee presented the new objective:

"The doctrinaire pursuit of equal average outcomes for all social groups could become so expensive as to be unacceptable in terms of alternatives foregone. It could also have undesirable aspects of its own; it admits only one criterion of excellence - an academic one - and assumes that everyone should value the same thing. A further danger is that outcomes might be obtained by retarding the most "academically able in order to reduce the range of difference".

To a limited extent the Committee accepts the goal of equal outcomes... It supports the more intensive and varied efforts which will be required in some schools and for some children to enable them to acquire the basic skills

necessary to participate in the society to re-enter formal education at a later stage if they do not desire to proceed immediately to it".⁽²⁶⁾

The intent of the Report had been to bring a higher proportion to advanced education. It concluded by seeking to bring all children up to a basic level of skills.

The Committee recommended a high increase in Government spending by the Commonwealth on education, yet it had its doubts about the effectiveness of this. The Committee recognised that 'schools can influence, but cannot alone determine, educational outcomes'. (3.24). The Committee provided funds to reduce the size of classes but commented that 'there is no evidence to show that smaller classes generally facilitate learning' (6.22). It recognised the vital role of able and dedicated teachers in bringing educational improvement. Ancillary staff, more and better equipment, a reduced teaching load, more study leave, would reduce pressure on teachers and improve their morale and skill (6.23).⁽²⁷⁾

There were some real doubts in the community as to whether school performance would justify the extra investment in education. As in other Western countries at this time, some citizens were beginning to lose faith. As Professor P.W. Musgrave of Monash University put it:

"The excuse formerly available to those working in education that resources are scarce will no longer be

possible. Unless major differences in the schools are visible to all, the conclusion of the public, those who pay and whose children are our students, must be that teachers, those who train teachers, and administrators, are unimaginative and/or inefficient".⁽²⁸⁾

These initiatives on the part of the federal Labor government were the climax of a reform movement, following the demise of the Liberal-Country Party Coalition Government which had been in office for 23 years. A tremendous growth of the educational bureaucracy had occurred. Most of the innovations survived. The Fraser Liberal Country Party government which followed in 1976 sought to reduce the financial expenditure in education. But it was not prepared to take the electoral risk. Studies in tertiary institutions remained free, means-tested educational allowances continued, as did post-graduate awards. The Schools commission was maintained, as were the programme for innovations in education and the central funding of research.⁽²⁹⁾

10. Rapid Social Change - Implications for Schools

While it is difficult to describe and put Australia of the seventies into perspective in a world setting, it is apposite to consider what issues in society affected Australian education.

In the Western world, particularly in the three countries being considered, the seventies were not simply a continuation of the revolution (in education settings) of

the sixties but, rather, a peaking of, and a reaction from that process. The Club of Rome's Limits of Growth in 1973, quickly followed by the OPEC induced "oil-shock" put an end to the prospect of endless expansion and environmental exploitation. The American withdrawal, in defeat, from Vietnam (together with the Australian support force); Russian advances in the arms race and her invasion of Afghanistan; the downfall of the Shah and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism; all these seriously undermined the confidence of the West. Abortion and divorce rates spiralled, as did drug addiction, consumerism generally and the inflation rate. Birth rates - in the West - declined, as did prospects of youth employment and of youthful idealism. Radicalism lived on in the Women's Movement and in the Gay Liberation movement and in the growth of the Environmental or Green lobby; but the rise of the Conservative tide was signalled by the election of Pope John Paul II in 1978, Margaret Thatcher in 1979 and Ronald Reagan in 1980.

Although Australia was to experience its share of economic recession and, from 1976 onwards, of conservative government under Malcolm Fraser, for most Australians of whatever political hue, the seventies were the era of Gough Whitlam and the Labor Party. The ALP's winning 1972 election slogan "It's Time" signalled the arrival of the revolution that Australia's sixties had refused to countenance. Whitlam withdrew from Vietnam, abolished

conscription, recognised Red China (before Nixon did), instituted Medibank, launched the Schools Commission, encouraged the women's movement, embraced the notions of a more Asian and multi-cultural Australia, and, with the help of Lionel Murphy, the reform of Family Law which was to see ⁿan _Aupsurge of divorce. As this last example illustrates, not everything that the Labor Party did was genuinely constructive, nor did it win universal acceptance. But even when the Whitlam era ended - through economic recession, internal dissension and administrative incompetence - the ^wnew, more self confident, even strident sense of being Australian, which it had aroused, lived on.

11. Turmoil in the Church - Breakdown of Conformism

Again, if it is difficult to characterise the world scene in the seventies, to attempt something similar for the Catholic Church is positively dangerous - it is to court accusations of presumption and partisanship. After the Council and, even more, after the reaction to Pope Paul's encyclical *Humanae Vitae*, the Church was rather like that Stephen Leacock character who leapt onto his horse and rode off in all directions. Spectacular growth of the traditional kind was accomplished in post-colonial Africa; the Latin American Church developed a whole new theology and made great strides in reaching out to the oppressed; but the Church in North America and the first world was not a pretty sight. Church attendance plummeted, especially among the adolescent and young adult groups. Birth rates fell and

divorce rates rose to near par with the non-Catholic population, indicating a growing disregard for the Church's traditional teaching on family life. Those who remained active tended to fragment into: the politically and theologically avant garde; the local parish enthusiasts; the passively but positively confused; the charismatics; the Right to Lifers; Catholics Concerned for...; and the Latin Mass-ers. Alongside, or caught right in the middle of all this were the clergy and religious: the exodus from their ranks grew, vocations almost disappeared and those who remained agonised over their role and their identity. What did it mean to be a priest? a Jesuit, a Sister of Mercy? a Marist Brother? The election of Pope John Paul II may well have been a movement of the Spirit; it was also an aspiration towards the certainty and security of the past.

While not entirely untouched by the Social Justice implications of the Latin American experience, the Australian Church naturally had much more in common with the affluent churches of Europe and North America. Yet while there was a good deal of controversy in the Australian Church, echoing the issues being debated overseas, the Australian agenda was in some ways focussed by developments in Catholic schools. From 1870s onwards, Catholic schools had been more central to the life of the Australian Church than perhaps any other Church of the English speaking world. And despite the efforts of Fr. Brian Crittenden and Fr. Patrick Crudden the American critique of Catholic

schools did not establish strong roots here. The Whitlam Government's Karmel Report, which targeted poorly resourced schools, not only enabled Catholic schools to survive financially but to expand and develop into a genuine system. Many, perhaps most, Catholic families, many of them now solidly middle class, were prepared to live with all sorts of problems in the Church, provided they could get their children into the familiar security of a Catholic school. But these schools were now very different from the traditional Australian model. By the end of the seventies they were overwhelmingly staffed by lay teachers and administered by increasingly centralised and powerful diocesan bureaucracies.

12. Increasing Conservative Influence

The conservative tide discerned in the mid-to-late seventies has continued to flow into the eighties. In the Western world economic rationalism is everywhere triumphant over Keynesism pump priming, to say nothing of socialist dogmatism. With Milton Friedman at her back and Rupert Murdoch on her flank, Margaret Thatcher had smashed the power of the unions and put the middle class of the English home counties back into power. In America, by directing money away from social services and towards large-scale military contracts, by bombing Libya and backing the Mujahadeen, Ronald Reagan had restored American self-confidence after the debacles of Vietnam and Iran. He has also - with the help of the Japanese miracle - made his

country the greatest debtor nation in the world.

In both countries, the blacks, the unskilled, the illegal immigrants, the unemployed and all but middle class youth have become not just disenfranchised and marginalised but positively alienated. Thomas Kenneally recently estimated that there are more street people in the United States than there are citizens in New Zealand or the Republic of Ireland. As the nouveau riche proliferate, so too does the new underclass and, even within these wealthy countries, the gap between the rich and the poor widens. All of which says nothing about the plight of the Third World, especially African, or the distortions inflicted on the off-shore economies such as Mexico or Brazil; Singapore, Korea or Thailand.

In Australia, as in the sixties, we have tended to experience delayed and diluted versions of overseas trends. The Hawke-Keating government, a Labor government - and with some social successes to its credit - has been as hard line, economically rationalist as the left wing and the larger unions will allow. It has been strongly pro-American and favourable to the mining lobby against anti-uranium protestors or Aborigines. There has been a drop in unemployment and some praise for the recently introduced Family Allowance Supplement; but there is a growing perception of how many homeless people and, particularly, homeless teenagers we now have. In what was formerly called the Lucky Country and the land of the "fair go", the big

banks, the media companies, the tourist operators, the yuppies seem to prosper, whilst the number of disadvantaged grows. Australians are taking the environmental issue more seriously too.

In the Church, likewise, we have had a full ten years of conservative leadership. Dissenting theologians from Hans Kung to Leonardo Boff have been silenced. Whole hierarchies - like the Dutch - and whole Religious orders - like the Jesuits - have been disciplined. Highly conservative bodies such as Opus Dei, Community and Liberation, even the Lefebvrists have been either encouraged or shown more tolerance than their liberal antagonists could ever expect. From Munich to Dublin, from Sao Polo to Chur bishops are appointed - regardless of local opinion - on the basis of their doctrinal orthodoxy rather than their pastoral experience. Dispensations from the priesthood and annulments of marriages have been tightened and slowed. The Church in the Western world is certainly better disciplined than it was ten years ago; but is it any stronger, livelier, happier? There is no doubting the personal popularity of Pope John Paul with ordinary Catholics around the world; but there is not much sign of a conservative renaissance, much less a conservative pentecost.

Despite some marginal commentators, the Australia Church in the Seventies was never quite as traumatised as the European or American and the swing back to the right has, consequently, not been so severe. The decline in

church attendance and vocations may have bottomed out; but the Church is left with smaller and older congregations served by fewer and older priests. This will eventually lead to the laity assuming as much responsibility for parishes as they now do for Catholic schools. A consequence of this laicisation of the schools is that they have become much more expensive to run. The recent Catholic Bishops enquiry into the distribution of wealth in Australia¹ surfaced quite strong perceptions among parents that Catholic schools were "too expensive". This means, on the one hand, that some, perhaps many, of the poorer Catholic families will no longer send their children to Catholic schools; and, on the other, that those who can afford to do so tend to expect value for money in terms of discipline, uniform, facilities, results, and career prospects. This latter group is reinforced by that percentage of non-Catholic parents who have turned to Catholic Schools to provide a cheaper version of Independent school education. Again, while this does not mean that we cannot guarantee the Catholicity of our schools it does make the exercise demonstrably more difficult: especially if we see Catholic education as incorporating a counter-cultural and evangelical critique of society's consumerist values.

13. Increasing Government Involvement.

During the past 20 years there has been a steady and subtle, but very significant, increase in the role of Commonwealth and State Governments in non-Government education in Australia.

The most obvious influence has occurred as a result of the funding of non-government schools by governments. In 1968 funding levels were relatively low, and there was minimum involvement by governments in the direction and management of the 2,400 non-government schools in Australia. But with the coming of the Commonwealth Schools' Commission in 1974 - and a rapid rise in funding levels - independent schools witnessed increased involvement by the Commonwealth, and to a lesser extent by the States and Territories.

An examination of the Commonwealth programs in the years 1974-1988 below, reveals the extent of Government involvement in non-government schools across Australia. Through injection of funds, the Commonwealth became involved in most aspects of education.

Sector/Program	Total Years of Operation	Expenditure \$'000
Government Schools		
General Recurrent	1974-1988	5,661,733
Primary Basic Learning	1985-1987	18,276
Participation and Equity	1984-1987	139,692
Computer Education	1984-1988	7,295
English as a Second Language		
- General	1976-1988	536,839
- Language Teaching	1987-1988	8,204
- New Arrivals	1982-1988	91,448
Disadvantaged Schools	1974-1988	504,838
Special Education		
- General	1974-1988	315,216
- Integration	1981-1988	11,832
Early Special Education	1985-1988	3,662
Capital	1974-1988	3,496,242
Non-Government Schools		
General Recurrent	1974-1988	8,241,178
Emergency Assistance	1977-1988	10,944
Primary Basic Learning	1985-1987	4,827
Participation and Equity	1984-1987	16,336
Computer Education	1984-1988	4,461
English as a Second Language		
- General	1976-1988	216,619
- New Arrivals	1982-1988	12,754
Disadvantaged Schools	1974-1988	85,662
Special Education		
- General	1974-1988	88,026
- Integration	1981-1988	3,392
- Support Services	1986-1988	40,506
Early Special Education	1985-1988	966
Capital	1974-1988	936,871
Joint Programs		
Participation and Equity	1984-1987	4,460
Early Special Education	1985-1988	12,804
Multicultural Education	1979-1986	36,632
Ethnic Schools	1981-1988	45,576
Country Areas	1977-1988	124,896
Residential Institutions	1977-1988	30,755
Severely Handicapped	1981-1988	32,176
Professional Development	1974-1988	323,321
Education Centres	1974-1988	40,957
Project of National Significance	1974-1988	76,346
Curriculum Development	1975-1988	38,332

* This table appeared as Appendix B to the "Strengthening Australia's Schools" statement of The Hon. J.S. Dawkins, M.P. dated 23 May, 1988.

In more recent times the introduction of Resource Agreements between the Commonwealth and the systems authorities has increased the influence of the Commonwealth. In the first half of 1986, the Commonwealth Minister for Education announced, state to state and system by system,

"resource agreements" to "produce improved educational outcomes for all Australian students". These resource agreements derive from the federal government's productivity audit conducted in 1985 by means of QERC, the Quality of Education Review Committee, chaired by Australia's leading educational economist (Professor Peter Karmel).

During 1985 also, the Commonwealth Schools Commission lost to the Commonwealth Department of Education the power to run its own programs; indeed, the Division responsible for program administration was transferred in its entirety from the Schools Commission to the Department. This change is more than cosmetic, for the Commission is a free-standing, statutory authority with significant powers of independent action, whereas the Department is part of the fabric of the federal bureaucracy and therefore bound to observe the structures of Treasury, the Department of Finance and the Auditor-General. Programs mounted within a department, then, come under tight economic scrutiny. The change is concerned with economic and political controls.

The Schools Commission had, over the previous decade, set up several special purpose programs, providing earmarked finance for innovations, the arts in education, school improvement, disadvantaged schools, teacher development, and, most recently, "participation and equity". At least initially, the national government's role was seen as subsidising the best endeavours of others rather than as imposing national priorities upon schools and school

systems. The States were happy "to take the money and run" (as one observer has put it) and spend the money in ways that suited them, leaving the Commonwealth government without the guarantee that the money was producing returns satisfactory to them, the donors.

14. Resource Agreements

"Resource agreements" are a different ball-game altogether, especially when they apply to recurrent expenditure and not merely to special purpose programs, and when they are departmentally administered. In the new format, the two parties negotiate where the money will be spent; in a majority of cases actual schools and projects are targetted. The program or intervention is clearly labelled, with a timetable for seeing achievement, with objectives explicitly stated, with "performance indicators" also specified so that the Commonwealth will have documented evidence of the effects its grants are having. It is the classic program budgeting approach.

One of the most powerful reasons for using this approach is that education can thereby be controlled and made to observe the donor's objectives or priorities. Is it any surprise, then, to find the national Minister making just this point? In an address delivered at Griffith University (Queensland) on April 18, 1986, Senator Ryan declared that "education and the world of work" are at "the heart of our Government's economic strategy... and our national objectives".

"Efficiency and equity are the key defining terms for this government's achievements", she went on to say. "Getting the education system right is essential for our plans", because it was "the most efficient and the most equitable instrument which a national government has to push along change, reform and growth". The constitution and the State's residual powers for education notwithstanding, education is now overtly being used as an instrument for achieving national, economic priorities.

In 1987 schools were further subjected to government influence when, in The National Interest, the Commonwealth announced the goal of a national retention rate of 65% of students (to Year 12) by 1992. This decision will have a major impact on the curriculum for schools with students in Year 11-12. Increased retention rates also have implications for capital and other resources.

15. Call for a National Focus

Early in 1988, the Commonwealth Minister for Employment, Education and Training, John Dawkins, issued a statement Strengthening Australia's Schools: A consideration of the focus and content of schooling, indicating a desire for a national approach to school and a common curriculum framework. He said:

"What is required is the development of a common framework that sets out the major areas of knowledge and the most appropriate mix of skills and experience for students in all the years of schooling, but accommodates the

different or specific curriculum needs of different parts of Australia".(p.4).

"This has become more pressing with the growing interstate mobility of the workforce which obliges more and more families to move through several education systems. They find inconsistencies in school curricula which create impediments to the education of their children. We must find ways to remove such barriers to successful learning". (p.4).

Mr. Dawkins continued:

"A common curriculum framework should be complemented by a common national approach to assessment. We need to examine how schools can report to parents and the community on their aims and achievements; how school systems can report on broader objectives, strategies and educational outcomes; and we need to develop a method of reporting to the nation on how well our schools are performing against established goals".(p.5).

In his paper, Mr. Dawkins went further, and called for the removal of unnecessary differences in schooling across the nation.

While it seems that Mr. Dawkins' quest for "agreed national objectives and priorities" has not been enthusiastically taken up by government and non-government schools, it does indicate a line of argument that would impose, if at all possible, a government's education agenda on Australian schools.

The establishment of new non-government schools, and the expansion of existing schools, is now firmly controlled by the Commonwealth Department of Employment, Education and Training. Now, non-government schools may not increase their enrolments without prior government approval. The

loss of this freedom imposes real difficulties for schools faced with increased retention rates at the senior Secondary level.

14. Examinations Influence Direction

In New South Wales, 1988 will be remembered as the year when a new government sought to change the direction of Secondary education. Governments use Higher School Certificates to control effectively what is taught in both government and non-government Secondary schools, and to regulate entry to Tertiary institutions. Recent decisions by the N.S.W. Government impact very directly on what is taught in many independent schools. The decision not to include "Other Approved Studies" in the calculation of the "Tertiary Entrance Score" has effectively downgraded these alternative school-generated programs at a time when governments are pressing schools to increase their retention rates.

In N.S.W. the government requirements for continuing assessment of students in Years 11 and 12 have influenced the teaching/learning process. Students are subject to continuous performance ranking, and teachers have come to be perceived more strongly as examiners. The assessment procedures have the potential to change the student/teacher relationship. This relationship is seen as a special feature of Catholic schools in Australia.

At the Primary school level, this same N.S.W. Government is committed to centralised achievement testing

of students in Years 3 and 6. . Non-government schools in N.S.W. have to decide their attitude to this government initiative. The introduction of the tests could be expected to influence what is taught in Primary schools in N.S.W.

Another example of government involvement in independent schools in N.S.W. (other states, too, have evolving plans) is the Working Party on the State Language Policy. According to its terms of reference the Working Party was to "collect data on existing language provision in government and non-government schools and relevant statistics on students of non-English speaking backgrounds" and make recommendations to the Minister on language education in N.S.W..

These 1988 changes need to be examined against the background of The McGowan Report (1981) on the School Certificate and the Future Directions of Secondary Education (1985) prepared by Swan and McKinnon. One could conclude that Secondary education in the 1980s has been characterised by change and uncertainty.

State government registration requirements also influence the type of education provided by non-government schools. In New South Wales, for instance, there are minimum requirements pertaining to the number of hours to be allocated to particular Secondary school subjects. At the Primary school level the Inspector of Schools is responsible for ascertaining "that the instruction provided is regular and efficient and in accordance with the term of its current certificate of registration, and that the educational

facilities at the school are adequate for the courses of instruction provided..." (N.S.W. Education and Public Instruction Act 1987, No. 62, p.10). The interpretation of "efficient" instruction in Primary schools by government inspectors varies widely.

Increasing government involvement in the perceived outcomes of schools is not unique to Australia as I point out elsewhere in this thesis. In the face of economic difficulties, other governments are attracted to the arguments advanced by the economic rationalists who would have schools plan their curriculum to meet a country's requirement at a particular point in time. What is important for independent schools is that they recognise the assumptions underpinning the increasing involvement of governments in education.

17. Schooling Closely Linked To Economic Needs

In calling on Australian schools to transform themselves and adopt "national objectives" Commonwealth and State Governments are arguing that schooling must be tightly linked to the current economic needs of Australia. We are being told that schools must restructure their curriculum to enhance the economic self-interest of Australia. Clearly all schools have a responsibility to prepare students who will contribute to the continuing development of our country. Schools have always done this; but today we are being asked, some might say forced, to make economic considerations the major goal of education. The purpose of

education, of course, is much wider than changing economic requirements. "The school must begin from the principle that its educational program is intentionally directed to the growth of the whole person".⁽³¹⁾

My concern is that independent schools may not take the time to examine the implied assumptions in the government initiated demand for change. Because of the considerable support for these government proposals from the media and employer organisations, the moves from government to change significantly the purpose and goals of all schools may succeed by default. The challenge to the leaders of independent schools is clear - to re-examine their mission or goal statements and to clarify the purpose and desired outcomes of their schools. If this is not done, independent schools in Australia could be swept up with the changes that will be imposed on government schools. In a debate such as this, non-government schools are in a unique position to exercise their independence and contribute to the debate in a way that could eventually influence the education of all Australians. Independent schools ought take the initiative in the debate on falling standards. Their leaders should analyse the basis of the claims about the falling standards and respond accordingly. Those making the allegations should be pressed to produce the evidence, and data to show that achievement levels are in fact improving should be more widely circulated.

18. Inherent Problems Of Bureaucracy

Elsewhere in this thesis I have referred to bureaucracy and the study of administration in schooling. The growth of Catholic educational bureaucracies in Australia has facilitated government involvement in non-government education. With about 73% of all non-government students attending Catholic schools, the various departments of Commonwealth and State governments utilise the structures that are in place at diocesan, State and national levels. Today, a single letter or telephone call from the Department of Employment, Education and Training to the National Catholic Education Commission (NCEC) can be^{gin}~~ing~~ a process of involvement with every Catholic school in the country. The same situation exists at State level, and in N.S.W. the availability of a Catholic Education Commission (CEC) to speak on behalf of all 608 Catholic schools has been of significant assistance to a government that recently introduced changes to Secondary education and to the School Transport Scheme. As mentioned earlier, the presence of the NCEC and the CEC, I believe, greatly simplifies the process of government involvement in Catholic schools.

I believe that governments would be more restrained in their involvement in independent schools if they were faced with the prospect of consulting with each of the 240 non-government schools in the country. Perhaps unwittingly Catholic Commissions and to a lesser extent other

Associations have made it relatively easy for governments to effect their educational policies and influence the directions and operation of independent schools. Without these organisations, governments would find it much more difficult to market their educational policies to the wider community. In 1987, for example, the NSW government made excellent use of a consultation with the Catholic Education Commission to reassure the non-government school community about its controversial Education and Public Instruction Act, 1987. On the other hand, this same Catholic Education Commission as well as the Association of Independent Schools undoubtedly possess the profile and capacity to take action in cases where schools might need protection from governments.

The issues here are much wider than simply power and influence and the current processes of decision-making. The key concerns must be the students, the total educational outcomes and the degree to which all non-government schools wish to preserve their independence. Increasing government involvement must be resisted if independent schools are to retain their independence.

19. Systemisation and Co-ordination

Another significant change in non-government schools has been the development of systems and associations of schools. These have developed over the last twenty years and, I believe, are largely a response to government

involvement in independent schools. Catholic, Seventh Day Adventist and Lutheran Schools have formed themselves into networks or systems. The most obvious symbols of these new systems are the Catholic Education Offices and the offices of the Association of Independent Schools (AIS) that have come into prominence in recent years.

My contention is that, in direct response to increasing government influence and other external pressures, non-government schools in Australia are grouping together and becoming more like each other. In 1989 the non-government sector is characterised by system and associations, and very few non-government schools are truly independent in the sense that they can stand alone and pursue their own courses of action. The leaders of all independent schools are experiencing a steady decrease in their freedom to exercise genuine educational leadership.

Before the 1960s Catholic schools throughout Australia were relatively independent and were the responsibility of the parish priests and the religious congregations. These schools were financed by fee-paying parents, and contact with diocesan education authorities was minimal. But all this was to change in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when many Bishops, faced with increasing enrolments and enormous financial difficulties, took decisions to centralise the finances of the parish and regional schools. Throughout the 1970s we witnessed the beginnings of a process that has continued and has resulted in a transfer of authority and

responsibility from priests and religious to diocesan Catholic Education Offices (CEOs).

20. Centralisation Induced by Government

The centralisation movement in Catholic education was assisted by the decision in 1973 of the recently established Commonwealth Schools Commission, to support Catholic schools financially by way of grants channeled through the CEOs. The Commonwealth declined to deal with separate schools, and looked to the various diocesan education authorities to co-ordinate the distribution of government funds to schools, to implement their programs, and to be accountable for the expenditure of funds. These arrangements, while restricting the direct involvement of the Commonwealth government in individual Catholic schools, were to increase significantly the responsibilities and spheres of influence of the Catholic Education Offices.

In 1965 the Sydney CEO, for example, had a total staff of about twelve people, mainly priests, religious and laymen. By 1985 the combined staff employed had grown to about 200 women and men, most of whom were lay people. In 1988 this same geographic area is served by three dioceses, which employ more than 220 persons in their education offices. The CEO offered a restricted range of services to schools in 1965; the principals were autonomous and administered their schools with limited intervention or control from the CEO. Today, however, the CEOs are influencing most aspects of Catholic schooling, ranging from

the employment and assessment of principals and teachers to the development of curriculum and the implementation of programs to meet particular pupil needs.

The size and structure of the various Catholic Education Offices are determined in large measure by the Commonwealth. The programs the Commonwealth makes available to Catholic schools, the funding of these programs, and the associated accountability requirements, place significant responsibility on Catholic authorities, who respond by building the administrative structures that are recommended implicitly by the Commonwealth. An examination of the Guide to Central and Regional Services 1985 reveals that the Sydney Catholic Education Office (CEO) had departments corresponding to nine of the twelve programs operated by the Schools Commission and listed in Program Guidelines 1985. The remaining three Commission programs were not applicable to the Archdiocese of Sydney.

By providing salaries for CEO staff working in most of their programs, the Commonwealth exercises a major influence on the staffing patterns of CEOs and on the services they offer to Catholic schools in a particular year. In effect, the Commonwealth authorities use the CEOs to achieve their objectives - objectives that have been determined by the Government.

21. Concerns About Centralisation

Increasing enrolments and shortage of funds for operating Catholic schools were the immediate catalyst for the initial move to begin centralising what had been loose

networks of schools. A conference on the administration of national Catholic education held in Armidale (N.S.W.) in 1972 had recommended that appropriate structures be developed at diocesan, State and national levels. The leaders of Catholic education were anxious to put in place improved administrative arrangements and to hasten the development of a suitable organisational framework. Interestingly enough, the conference report "The Organisation of Australian Catholic Education" (1973) draws attention to possible consequences of centralisation:

"The Committee was conscious of the dangers of undue centralisation, and of the need to preserve the proper degree of autonomy of diocese, of Religious Congregations, of individual schools and of other educational services. Any recommendations for central administrative services are made in the light of that consciousness. Central services and minimal limits to total autonomy should be, and be perceived to be, voluntary and necessary contributions to the more effective working of individual limits". (page 3).

There is no evidence to suggest that the development of large and powerful bureaucracies was foreseen at the time the early decisions were taken to develop the various CEOs. However, changes in the educational environment, together with the inbuilt expansion mechanism common to all bureaucracies, encouraged the growth of these offices.

In each State, the Catholic Education Offices relate to a Catholic Education Commission which is responsible for co-ordinating those aspects of Catholic education which have State-wide implications. These Commissions have authority, and exercise considerable influence on the Catholic Education Offices and on the schools. In turn, the State

Catholic Education Commissions relate to the National Commission (NCEC) which is based in Canberra. The NCEC coordinates the seven CECs and provides a single voice on matters of national significance for Catholic schools.

Although diocesan, State and national Catholic organisations were initially developed and expanded to ensure that Commonwealth government funds were distributed according to need, today they are involved in an ever widening range of educational issues. The continuing growth of these organisations has occurred with much long-term planning or evaluation and this, I believe, has given rise to three consequences for all Australian educators.

Firstly, the individual parish or regional Catholic school is now part of a diocesan system under the firm control of a CEO, and parents and local communities are largely excluded from the decision-making process. Secondly, the centralisation of Catholic schooling is very satisfactory to governments and may even encourage their involvement in education.

Thirdly, the centralisation of the Catholic systemic schools, the largest group of non-government schools, has indirectly influenced both the non-systemic Catholic schools and other independent schools. The non-systemic schools - which educate about 11% of all students in Australia - are victims of the centralisation of the government and Catholic school systems that educate the majority of students in non-government schools.

Table 2
Non-Government Schools 1987

	Students	Schools
SYSTEMIC		
Catholic	449 039	1 485
Lutheran	3 143	22
Seventh Day Adventist	6 386	74
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	458 568	1 581
NON-SYSTEMIC	346 651	820
ALL SCHOOLS	805 219	2 401

Taken from D.E.E.T. Statistical Bulletin No. 4., 1987.

In the last few pages I have been largely attending to the challenges posed for Catholic systemic schools. There is a difference in organisation, administration and purpose in the non-systemic schools.

In Australia, in 1988, there were 825 non-systemic non-government schools. Many of these schools are members of the Association of Independent Schools, the Association of Heads of Independent Schools of Australia or the Headmasters' Conference. Membership of these associations is voluntary, and although the associations do not control or direct member schools, they influence the schools' leadership, and some constraints are felt. Governments seek nominations from the associations for membership on key committees and working parties.

20. Industrial Relations

The growing industrialisation of the teaching profession in Australia and the emergence of powerful trade unions mark another significant change in non-government schools. As a consequence of this, the independent school sector generally has taken a co-ordinated approach to industrial relations. Independent schools have had to surrender some of their autonomy and take joint action in order to counter the influence of the unions.

In the Catholic sector each State has an Industrial Relations Committee with responsibility for negotiations and disputes. In some aspects of industrial relations, Catholic authorities at the State level work closely with those responsible for other non-government schools. In NSW there is a close relationship between the Association of Independent Schools and the Catholic Industrial Affairs Committee, and major industrial and Award decisions are taken in concert. While these arrangements provide some industrial protection, they do erode the independence of the individual non-government schools.

While co-ordinated approaches to industrial relations afford some collective protection for independent schools, they also lead to a further strengthening of position of large unions such as the Independent Teachers' Association and the Queensland Association of Teachers in Independent Schools. In NSW and Queensland the operation of these unions is streamlined by the presence of State offices responsible for industrial relations in non-government schools.

23. External Pressures

The nature of the education currently provided by non-government schools in Australia is constantly influenced by a variety of external pressures which are progressively becoming more significant.

In 1989 non-government schools in Australia are subject to a wide range of external pressures including:

- . Industrial Unions at both State and national levels,
- . Industrial Commissions and wage fixing tribunals,
- . Employer organisations,
- . Professional associations of teachers and principals,
- . Parent associations at school and system level,
- . Association of ex-students,
- . The mass media, and
- . as previously discussed, Commonwealth and State governments.

Schools and other educational organisations are never separate from society, but remain in dynamic interaction with other organisations, individuals and their general environment. This interaction will include both external and internal forces, and in response to these pressures schools will constantly adjust in a search for stability. At the same time the wider environment has the potential to change the character and purpose of a school. Educational leaders need to be constantly aware of the influences on their school, and ensure that these are identified in the

context of the school's purpose, goals and outcomes.

In 1960, all principals and most teachers in the archdiocese ^{OF SYDNEY} were sisters or brothers (i.e. members of religious orders). Today, only 5 per cent of teachers and 50 per cent of principals belong to religious orders, and Catholic authorities feel it is time to look to committed parents to become involved in running schools. They acknowledge that the centralised management of Catholic schools in recent decades has "perhaps unwittingly excluded parents from meaningful participation".*

Another reason for wanting to devolve authority is that the centralised bureaucracy provides a path for the State and Federal governments to directly influence individual schools. The executive director of the Sydney Archdiocese's Catholic Education Office, Brother Kelvin Canavan, said the structures were such at the moment that a single message from the Government could trigger response in every Catholic school in the country or State. The goals of governments in education, which often focussed on students' contribution to the economy, were not necessarily those of Catholic educators, who believed education was an end in itself and should further the development of Christian beliefs. Brother Canavan said: "We must set our own agenda, and parents are the first educators who can counteract the pressures of a society which is more secular, more consumer-oriented and media-dominated".*

* BROTHER KELVIN CANAVAN, CATHOLIC EDUCATION OFFICE, SYDNEY,
7TH AUGUST, 1990.

24. Concerns Of Parents

The Australian Parents' Council is a strong, vocal body which speaks out for independent schools in Australia. In the APC Review, Vol. XV, No. 1⁽³²⁾ for First School Term, 1989 it raises the strong concern of its members at a further erosion of the freedom of these schools. It is the view of this body, that by compelling all non-government school authorities to sign resource agreements as a pre-condition of receiving Federal recurrent funding Minister John Dawkins could be said to have commenced a process of attempting to integrate non-government schools into a unified national system with government schools.

This resembles the scheme he is putting into effect with higher education institutions which he is integrating into a "unified national system". There are some significant differences in the Minister's progress to date in these schemes, because:

1. Higher education institutions are totally funded by the Commonwealth Government which makes it easier to impose conditions in return for funding.
2. The Commonwealth Government only partly funds schools, both government and non-government.
3. Education is constitutionally a State responsibility. State Governments, on average, devote 30 to 40 per cent of their budgets to education - principally schooling. They consider they have a major stake in deciding what will happen in schools and resist Commonwealth

intrusion.

4. Non-government school parents, who provide, on average, 45% of the funding for their children's schools, also have a major stake in providing and deciding what will happen in these schools. They resist unnecessary government interference.

Of the 10,000 schools in Australia, over 2,000 are non-government schools. These non-government schools and their communities are constantly vigilant and have a viable lobby to resist possible government inroads into their independence and overt threats of integration into one national system.

The Australian Parents Council has always strongly opposed the imposition by governments of resource agreements. The Council considers that legalised resource agreements intrude into the areas of educational responsibility and decision making which rightfully belong to school communities and their authorities. Resource agreements are an erosion of and a growing and continuing threat to the autonomy and independence of non-government schools.

The Minister, while stating that he respected the independence of non-government schools, was demanding their authorities sign resource agreements as a pre-condition of receiving recurrent funding. Draft resource agreements, circulated to school authorities late in November 1988,

contained provisions which:

- . obliged non-government school authorities to provide a statement of school program objectives and priorities which must be consistent with Commonwealth objectives for schooling and must be acceptable to the Commonwealth.
- . obliged school authorities to provide a statement on the strategies to be adopted by the authority in attaining the objectives "mutually agreed" between the school authority and the Commonwealth.
- . obliged school authorities to participate in studies relating to broad educational outcomes and to supply information concerning a range of matters including enrolment policies.

Default in any of the conditions of the agreement meant that the Minister could call upon the school authority to repay Commonwealth grants received, or part of them; delay any further payment to the authority; or deduct any repayment required from future grants. Most non-government school authorities have agreed in principle to sign resource agreements but are putting up a spirited resistance to the most onerous and oppressive items in the resource agreements. They are fighting to retain their independence and the right to control their own curricula.

In the latter months of 1988 the Australian Education Council (A.E.C.) (the Federal and State Ministers of Education) issued drafts and redrafts of a document "National Goals for Schooling in Australia". It appeared to

25. What of the Future?

Frankly, it seems certain that education will become even more firmly an instrument of national, economic policy. The interlocking world economy and the arrival of the post-industrial society will make it almost inevitable.

Technical education was introduced into Australia after the first world war when the country's economy had to regear itself away from heavy reliance on wheat and wool and into manufacturing industry. After the second world war when manufacturing was becoming technologically more sophisticated and post-war reconstruction was a national priority, "secondary education for all" became an economic necessity and therefore the new official policy; the school leaving age was legally raised.

And now, as rural industries and manufacturing in Australia decline as employers of the workforce, as western nations face high levels of structural unemployment, and as the services sector, the information sector and high tech industries are forced to expand to create both new jobs and new wealth, education is again a prime target because these new sectors demand people with highly specialised skills, with post-secondary or professional training.

To be competitive, then, countries in the developed world are now being forced to provide twelve years of universal education and of at least one year of post-school training for everyone. For national economic well-being if not for survival, education is and will increasingly be,

nationally strategic. Hence resource agreements, performance indicators, outcomes-targetted grants. Hence, too, program budgeting, national priorities and efficiency reviews. It is a case of education piper, play the national tune.

26. Similar Picture Abroad

Referring to the United Kingdom and the United States, Michael Apple⁽³³⁾ points out that it requires only limited insight to see the current attempts by the State and industry to bring schools more closely into line with 'economic needs'. Neither side of the Atlantic has been immune to these pressures. In the UK, the Great Debate and the Green Paper stand as remarkable statements to the ability of capital in times of economic crisis to marshall its forces. As the Green Paper notes (Donald, page 44)⁽³⁴⁾

"There is a wide gap between the world of education and the world of work. Boys and girls are not sufficiently aware of the importance of industry to our society, and they are not taught much about it".

It goes on, making the criterion of functional efficiency the prime element in educational policy (Donald, pages 36-37):

"The total resources which will be available for education and the social services in the future will depend largely on the success of the Industrial Strategy. It is vital to Britain's economic recovery and standard of living that the performance of manufacturing industry is improved and that the whole

be the intention of the A.E.C., assisted by consultations by the Department of Employment, Education and Training (D.E.E.T.) with representatives of groups in schooling, to get agreement to these goals by all members of the A.E.C. at the October 1988 meeting. There was great opposition voiced by the Australian Parents Council and other organisations in the non-government sector of schooling to the adoption of these hurriedly drafted goals. It was suggested that the draft Goals form the framework for wider community consultation before adoption took place. This recommendation was adopted by the A.E.C.

The Australian Parents Council agreed that the Federal and State Governments are entitled to set goals which they hope will be attained by schooling. At the same time they contend that the central theme of any such goals for schooling should be the attainment by every student of his/her full potential-intellectual, spiritual, moral, physical and emotional. All governments must respect the right of non-government school authorities to set goals and priorities for their own schools which should take precedence over any goals or priorities set by governments. The provision of funding for schooling by governments should not be dependent upon the attainment of schooling goals set by those governments.

range of Government policies, including education, contribute as much as possible to improving industrial performance and thereby increasing the national wealth".

This whole emphasis is put forward in another approach by the authors of the Ryerson Plan, a corporate plan to have teachers, in the United States, spend their summers working mainly with management in industry so that they can teach their students 'real knowledge' about corporate needs and benefits:

"American business has a very positive story to tell and one of the most important places to start is with the youth of our country. The last 4,000 years of recorded history proves the interdependence of economic freedom and personal freedoms of all civilisations, countries and societies. We have a perfect example in a present day test tube. Take a look at Great Britain's decline over the last 30 years.

Our response is simple and effective. Convince one teacher of the vital importance of our free enterprise system and you're well on the way to convincing hundreds of students over a period of years. It's the ripple effect that anti-business factions have been capitalising on for years".

While there has been serious resistance to this kind of material by progressive forces in the United States, the movement 'to teach for the needs of industry' is growing sufficiently strongly that a clearing house, appropriately named The Institute for Constructive Capitalism, has been established at the University of Texas to make the material more available.⁽³⁶⁾

In an address to the Australian College of Education, Adelaide, September 1986, Hedley Beare referring to the need

to heed the economic rationalists who stress this real issue in education today, goes on to say:

"... education is now being subjected to new economic discipline and national priorities are being imposed on top of state ones. These kinds of controls may make educators uneasy but we cannot claim that they are not legitimate.

However, we cross the river into frightening country when education itself is redefined into economic terminology, for then education becomes imprisoned inside a paradigm that belittles the whole enterprise".

27. Responding to These Challenges

Fundamental changes are at work across all non-government schools in Australia and the independence of the individual school can no longer be assured. In the years ahead non-government schools will be challenged continually to preserve their independence. When aid was first given to independent schools in 1968 there was some real concern that eventually a price would have to be paid for this. As I have shown elsewhere, Catholic schools could not have survived without this aid. Governments across Australia are now influencing the 2400 non-government schools in ways that were not foreseen in 1968. These 20 years have witnessed a significant change in the broad decision-making process, so that in 1988 the Commonwealth and States are having a major impact on what is taught, where and how.

During this period independent schools have been frequently accused of failure to exercise their independence. This is not a new phenomenon. Neal (1972) challenged all independent schools when he wrote about the

responsibilities of being separate:

"I mean they seldom show themselves to be superior to other schools by their unique individualism, their freshness, their freedom from a dull conformity to the generally respectable - their difference, in fact". (p.31).

He went on to say:

"I wish they would have the courage to stand alone - not in the sense in which they already do but in unfolding to the world a strikingly unique style of education. Such a course would bring them great respect".(p.32).

While Neal's remarks were addressed to Catholic educators, they challenge us all to reflect on how the schools are exercising the relative freedom enjoyed by non-government schools. An interesting conjecture is what evidence could be placed before Neal to demonstrate that independent schools in 1988 are very different from those he described in 1972?

Like views were expressed in May 1988, by Doctor Terry Metherell, the N.S.W. Minister of Education. The Minister told AIS:

"... there ought to be times when you say no, there ought to be times when you say we can do it better, or we can do it differently..."

How can the independent sector respond to these criticisms? What can independent bodies do to ensure that governments and systems do not impact negatively on their schools? In the short term the independent schools and their school systems will do well to establish processes

that will enable them to address such questions as:

What can this independent school provide that is different from other schools?

What is negotiable, and what must be preserved at all costs?

Also, independent schools need to develop strategies to respond to initiatives of governments and other external agencies. The following checklist could be used by school authorities to assess the appropriateness for their particular school or system:

- . What is the initiative?
- . What is its context?
 - Why was it drafted?
 - Who originated it?
 - Are there any obvious political/social/economic motivations?
 - What are its underlying philosophical/educational foundations?
- . Where does it fit into our own vision and priorities?
 - Should it be rejected?
 - Should it be embraced?
- . What priority might we justifiably give it vis-a-vis our existing priorities?
- . What evidence is there that it will benefit students?
- . What are the resource implications?
 - Immediate?
 - Long-term?

- Financial?

- Political?

. What options do we have?

Such an approach to externally generated initiatives demands an acute awareness of the philosophy and mission of the particular school or system at this time. If a school is vague and ambiguous as to its purpose and objectives it runs the risk of making an inappropriate response to pressures for change.

Independent schools and particularly Catholic schools today need to withstand considerable pressure from governments, unions and other agencies, ensuring at the same time that their goals are not deflected and their purposes and desired outcomes are not undermined. In periods of change the possibilities of goal deflection occurring are considerable. The goals of the government, and more locally, the goals of individual staff and their departments can readily become more important than the goals of the school as a whole.

FOOTNOTES

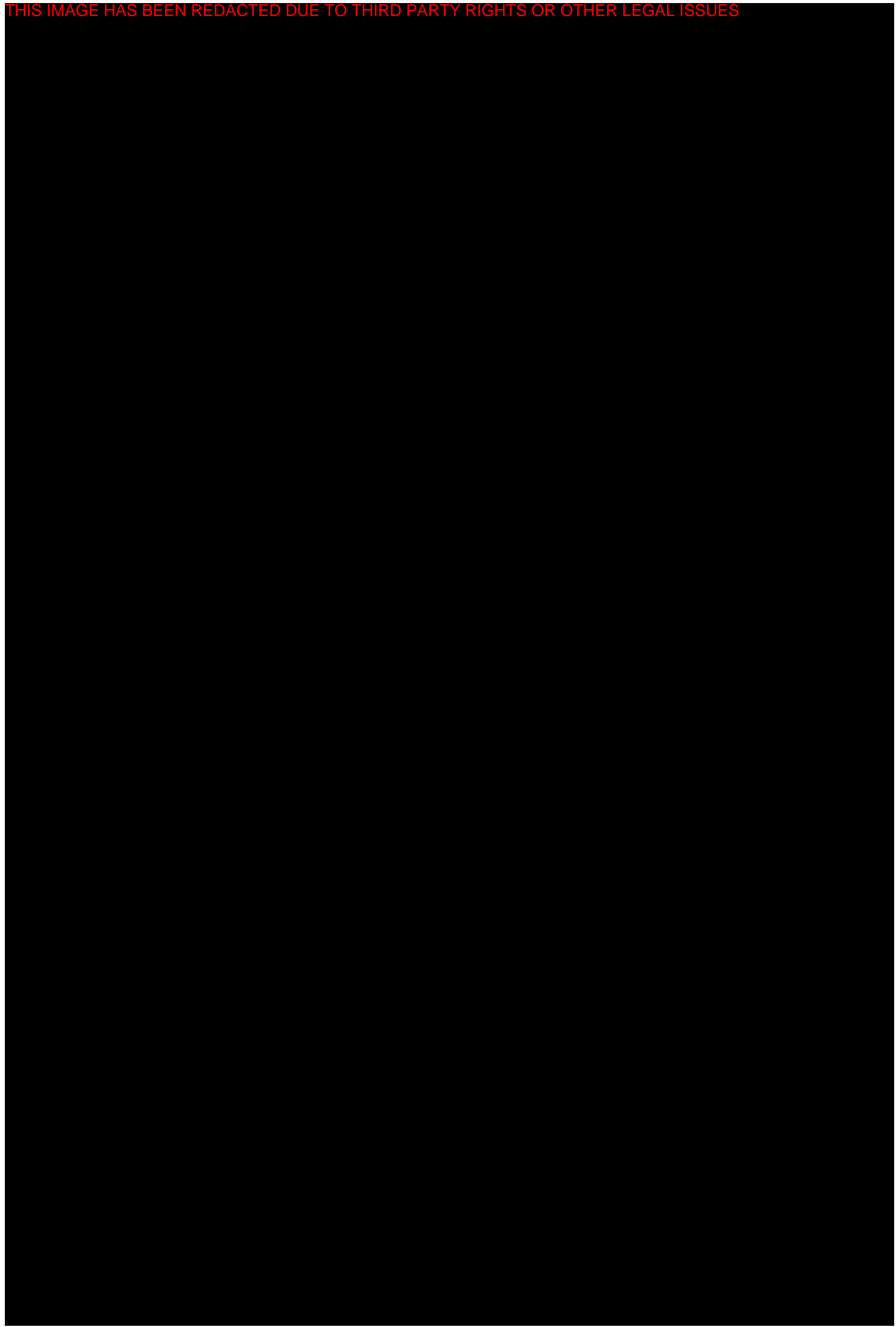
1. Anne Fremantle (ed.), The Papal Encyclicals, pps. 135-152.
2. In W.A., State-aided Catholic schools were known as "Assisted Schools", in Qld. as "Non-Vested Schools", in N.S.W. as "Certified Denominational Schools", in Vic. as "Common Schools", in Tas. as "Public Schools". In most colonies the general board of education insisted on the display and use of these names, and prohibited the display of the name "Catholic School".
3. Address at twelfth meeting (Brisbane, 1909) of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science, cited I. Turrell, "The Failure of State Secondary Education Reform in Queensland, 1900-1914", Queensland Historical Review, vol. 3., 1970, p.4.
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6. Ronald Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia, 1906-1950, pp.33,342.
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13. R.N. Gill, "The Federal Science Grant: An Episode in Church State Relations, 1963-1964" in E.L. French (ed.), Melbourne Studies in Education, 1964, pps.279-280.
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19. Brother Nestor, Principal, Marist Brothers High School Maitland, Newcastle Morning Herald, 14th December, 1972.
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21. Brother Ronald Fogarty, 'Catholics and Co-education', Dialogue, Vol. 2., Summer 1967, pages 36-40.
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25. Schools in Australia, Report of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, May 1973, page 52.
26. Schools in Australia, Karmel Report, page 23; cf. also Fitzgerald, Through a Rear Vision Mirror, pages 231-2.
27. P.J. Sheehan, 'The Renewal Programme After the Karmel Report', in J.V. D'Cruz and P.J. Sheehan, The Renewal of Australian Schools, 1975.
28. P.W. Musgrave, 'Changing Society: Some Underlying Assumptions of the Karmel Report', in the Australian Journal of Education, March 1975, page 10.
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CHAPTER FOUR

THE CATHOLIC SCHOOL

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

As this thesis has shown, Catholic schools are called on to witness to Christ, above all, and share his work. Their potential achievement is great. The dangers that threaten this potential are sometimes very subtle. It is important for Catholic schools to recognise the assumptions underpinning the increasing influence of governments in education.

Most serious is the potential undermining of their sense of Catholic identity. Knowing who they are means the schools are able to take on the responsibility of Christ's mission and work with others, Christian and non-Christian, in its fulfilment. Not knowing this means undue surrender to the world, or the particular needs of the government of the day.

Any consideration of contemporary Catholic education in the United States must take into account a variety of social, political, and ecclesiastical issues. Immigration, with its effects, is a common theme for consideration here, as it is for an understanding of the development of Catholic education in Australia and the United Kingdom. Issues of separation of church and state, declining numbers of sisters, brothers and priests, protection of the faith, concern about public schools, "Americanism", the influence

of Rome, liberal/conservative divisions, the Isaac Hecker impact, and the heavy middle-class emphasis - all of these helped develop Catholic education in a way quite different from that of Australia and the United Kingdom.

Funding, necessarily almost completely private, has taken the schools into situations of limited pupil access and has demanded of these schools performance at least equal to, and possibly superior to schools about them. Good performance would be some guarantee of economic survival. As well, the task of the "new" lay teaching force would be a crucial one in guaranteeing that the schools would be kept Catholic, institutionally, morally and spiritually. An understanding of American individualism in its constructive and destructive sides, will be important for the Catholic teachers who are attempting to give a vision of the Catholic school as a "faith community".

Whilst much of the government influence on Catholic schools in Australia and the United Kingdom can be related to financial provisions and central policies, the influence in the United States is more complex and less separable. Individualism and Americanism promote an identification with customs and mores that may be undesirable and even more worrying, less discernible.

Catholic schools have played an important part in the history of the nation in general and of education in particular. These schools, quantitatively, reached their all-time high of 5.6 million pupils (elementary and

secondary) in 1965-66, when they constituted 87 per cent of nonpublic school enrolment. In the years following 1966 Catholic school enrolment fell considerably. In 1981-82 Catholic school population had declined to 3,094,000, accounting for 64 per cent of nonpublic school enrolment.⁽¹⁾

The mix of pupils in the nonpublic sector has changed a good deal since 1965. At that time when one thought 'private', one usually heard Catholic. Now, the mix has changed as Catholics declined and other nonpublic schools grew. Today, only 54 per cent of all pupils in private sector schools attend those sponsored by the Catholic Church. Reasons for this drop are many, including (a) the relocation of the Catholic community out of the cities where parishes were strongest and schools most numerous (b) the general decline in the Catholic family birthrate, in part because of affluence and assimilation; and (c) the loss of religious tone in some schools, along with the great decline in teaching priests, sisters and brothers (religious).

More recently, Catholic schools are showing signs of stability. The rate of decline has nearly stopped; there was only a 1.9 per cent decline between the 1983/84 and 1984/85 school years in pupils and a mere 0.3 per cent fewer Catholic schools. The future for Catholic schools in the U.S.A. has improved; the commitment is still there, as witnessed by the growth in several areas of the country. We find, in 1983, for example, there was net growth in both schools and pupils in a number of areas. The elementary level saw increases in twenty-one dioceses/archdioceses,

twelve states, and one region. Secondary school growth occurred in twenty-seven (out of 165 dioceses) and eleven states.

1. Beginnings

The first bishop of the Catholic church in the United States was John Carroll, appointed by Pope Pius VII to the pioneer see of Baltimore on November 6, 1789. Two years later, in November, Carroll called the first formal meeting of his priests to discuss the needs of the estimated thirty thousand Catholics scattered throughout the thirteen original states. The following May 28, he published a pastoral letter. The first topic broached is education, and about one-third of the pastoral deals with the subject.

"Knowing, therefore, that the principles instilled in the course of a Christian education, are generally preserved through life, and that 'a young man according to his way, even when he is old, he will not depart from it'. (Proverbs, 21:6), I have considered the virtuous and Christian instruction of youth, as a principal object of pastoral solicitude".

"A school has been instituted at George-Town, which will continue to be under the superintendence and government of some of my revered brethren, that is, of men devoted by principle and profession to instruct all, who resort to them, in useful learning, and those of our own religion, in its principles and duties. I earnestly wish, dear brethren, that as many of you, as are able, would send your sons to this school of letters and virtue. It may be reasonably expected, that some after being educated at George-Town, and

having returned into their own neighbourhood, will become in their turn, the instructors of the youths who cannot be sent from home; and, by pursuing the same system of uniting much attention to religion with a solicitude for other improvements, the general result will be a great increase of piety, the necessary consequence of a careful instruction in the principles of faith, and Christian morality".⁽³⁾

In 1808, Bishop Carroll requested Rome to create four additional dioceses: Bardstown (Kentucky), Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Rome agreed. The four dioceses and the archdiocese together made up the Ecclesiastical Province of Baltimore. Seven times between 1819 and 1849 the bishops met in council. On each occasion they informed the faithful of their deliberations and decrees by means of a pastoral letter. Though the bishops concerned themselves with almost every important aspect of life in the dynamically expanding nation, they returned regularly to certain educational themes.⁽⁴⁾ They warned of the moral dangers of the times and of the perils to the faith of the Catholic youngsters in the Protestant-oriented public schools.

In New York in the 1840s the Catholics, led by their aggressive bishop, John Hughes, asked for a part of the school funds which were under the auspices of the philanthropic Public School Society. Hughes knew that needs of Catholics would continue to be ignored until they learned to act on their own behalf and not to be taken for granted by the ward bosses - especially the Democratic

ones.⁽⁵⁾ He sought these funds after he had scrutinised the Society's schools and their textbooks, and described the situation as "intolerable" for Catholic children. Hughes' efforts were to no avail. Rebuffed, he embarked on establishing a system of separate parochial schools, which would teach the Catholic creed in its entirety.

2. The Protestant Majority

For upward of four decades, the Catholic community of the United States had tried to come to terms with the Protestant majority on the school situation. Catholics had attempted without success to obtain a share of the school-tax moneys to put up their own schools. Lacking the material resources to provide parish schools in sufficient numbers, the predominantly immigrant and working-class Catholic group had little choice but to put their children into public schools where, from a Catholic point of view, the religious atmosphere was often intolerable. Leakage from the Church was serious. Hundreds of thousands of Catholic children were growing up in almost complete ignorance of their heritage of faith. Catholics in the United States made up approximately 1 per cent of the nation's population in 1800; their numbers have been estimated at 500,000 (out of a total of 12 million) in 1829; by 1884 they numbered more than 8 million.⁽⁶⁾

With this increased immigration, in some parts of the nation, the Protestant base for schooling began to be

replaced by "Americanism" or citizenship education, founded on natural moral premises. Moral education in this setting was kept apart from religious education and became identified as being under the blessing of the public school.

In an article, *Public Schools and Moral Education: An American Dilemma*, Thomas Hunt (1979) writes that industrialisation, urbanization and immigration combined to make the America of the early twentieth century a different society than was that of the nineteenth. Citizenship education ("Americanisation") occupied a rather prominent place in schooling. By 1909, 57.8 per cent of students in the schools of thirty-seven of the nation's largest cities were either immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants. The educational problems implicit in the fact that more than one-half of the students who were children of foreign-born fathers from non-English speaking countries lived in homes where English was not spoken are obvious.⁽⁷⁾

The nation looked to the public schools to "Americanise" the newcomers (between 1891 and 1920, there were over eleven and a half million from eastern and southern Europe alone). Buetow notes that the Catholic population of the United States experienced an immense growth from 6,143,222 in 1880 to 17,735,553 in 1920.⁽⁸⁾

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Ellwood P. Cubberley, a very prominent figure in public education, perceived the task of the schools regarding the immigrants as follows:

"... to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government, and to awaken in them, a reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding authority".⁽⁹⁾

Whilst the American bishops used Provincial and Plenary Councils and pastoral letters to liberate the public school system on the one hand, and to promote the cause of Catholic schools on the other, they were never able to gain unanimity amongst Catholics on the issue. The passing of years had only made the schools situation graver. The Second Plenary Council of Baltimore had simply exhorted the Bishops in 1852 to see that schools be established in connection with all the churches of their dioceses.

3. Intervention from Rome

In 1875, the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith issued a papally approved "Instruction" which dealt with the schooling issue in the United States. The document's major points were: a warning of the evils of schooling which was not under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Church, an admonition to Catholic parents of the God-given responsibilities in the education of their children, a call for the establishment and support of Catholic schools whenever possible, and an invocation of the prospect of ecclesiastical sanction against those parents who shunned their moral duty by failing to oversee properly the moral development (the overriding purpose of education) of their children.⁽¹⁰⁾

In 1884, following the strengthening already provided by the Vatican, the Catholic bishops formally set forth their position on schooling in the Third Plenary council of Baltimore. The bishops proclaimed that "to shut religion out of the school", as was done in public schooling, constituted "a more false and pernicious notion" than could be imagined.⁽¹¹⁾ Pursuant to an exhortation to Catholic pastors and parents to "multiply our schools" and "perfect them",⁽¹²⁾ the assembled prelates concluded and decreed relative to schools:

1. That near every church a parish school, where one does not yet exist, is to be built and maintained

inperpetuum within two years of the promulgation of this council,

4. That all Catholic parents are bound to send their children to the parish school, because of sufficient reason, approved by the bishop, with the precautions and safeguards, it is licit to sent them to other schools. What constitutes a Catholic school is left to the decision of the Bishop.⁽¹³⁾

4. Internal Dissent

Still the debate raged within the Catholic hierarchy over Catholic schools. The "liberal" wing, led by Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, fought the "conservative" faction led by Archbishop Michael Corrigan of New York and Bishop McQuaid of Rochester. Eventually Cardinal James Gibbons prevailed upon Pope Leo XIII to write strongly to all the American bishops to bring the controversy to an end.

There was a much deeper issue at stake in all this. Because of this deeper local issue, the approach to Catholic schooling in the U.S.A. has a somewhat different flavour to that in either the U.K. or Australia.

The external and internal struggles over Catholic schools were part of a larger question - the relationship of Catholicism to American society and its institutions. "Liberals", such as John Ireland, favoured cooperating with these institutions whenever possible, envisioning the

development of good relations between Catholics and their fellow citizens and the acceptance of Catholicism in American life as a result. "Conservatives", on the other hand, sought to remain apart, calling for the church to maintain and control its own institutions, including schools. To complicate matters at the time there was a good deal of hostility across the nation to the "foreigners". Much of this sentiment was directed at Catholics, so many of whom were recent immigrants, who, it was charged, were loyal first to a foreign ruler - the Pope - and second to the United States. The resolve of the Catholics to retain their ethnic heritage, including their schools, was seen as evidence of this foreign affiliation.

The relationship of Catholicism to American life showed itself in another, but related, controversy during the period - the alleged heresy of Americanism. For two centuries, Christians have attempted in the United States to find the proper expression of their faith in a world transformed by the revolutions of industrialisation, urbanisation and secularisation. Some have favoured an approach usually called liberal by which the Church would affirm progress, liberty and reason and adopt its forms, if not its substance, to the demands of modernisation. Others, more conservative, have taken the opposite approach, calling for the restoration of a coherent, unified system, integrated and sanctioned by a single religion, even a single church.

The religious history of the United States has been written largely within this dualistic framework of liberalism and conservatism, accommodation and resistance, modernism and fundamentalism. This history reflects less the real choices available to people in the past than continuing ideological debates within the churches and the culture at large.

5. The Influence of Isaac Hecker. Americanism

A key factor in an understanding of Catholic education in the United States is that of Americanism.

To understand the issue of Americanism, which was of such concern to the Pope, we turn to the life of Isaac Hecker. Isaac Hecker (1819-1888) was an American Catholic convert and evangelist who never accepted, probably never understood, the liberal-conservative alternatives. Like most Christians he wished both to uphold traditional doctrines and to affirm modern possibilities. He devoted his life to building up the oldest and apparently most conservative of Christian churches, and to affirming and championing the claims and hopes of the world's newest and apparently most liberal nation. He probed the depths of both and emerged with the outrageous proposition that, in the most profound sense, the origin and destiny of each was the same. Misunderstood and rejected by most Catholics and Americans of his generation, Isaac Hecker remains in many ways not only the "model priest" his admirers saw, but a witness to the most challenging possibilities of American

Catholicism, possibilities more evident and more endangered a century later than they were in his lifetime.

At an early stage of his religious development, Hecker concluded that religion was the key to social as well as personal questions. Hecker, like many of his early contemporaries, saw his own early life as a progression from political reform to social reform, then to a consideration of the first principles which in turn led to basic religious issues. He regretted, as well, the manner in which American society separated individuals from one another. What could bind them together into one nation and create forms of authority, self-discipline, community and mutuality? Only religion, he perceived, and only then a religion that would be universally recognised as true.

The universality of the Church, its reach through history across social classes and across national boundaries, its integral identity with the whole of humanity - this was a major attraction to the young convert, desperately in search of solid theological ground for his own personal experience of the Holy Spirit. Hecker was yet to discover the time-bound church of real people and to learn that ideals and practice did not always coincide. Confident of the truth of Catholic claims, he was convinced that those claims need only be presented clearly, forcefully, detached from the accidental or non-essential features of European and traditional culture. His was a work of clarifying perceptions by removing the culture barriers that prevented communication. If this could be

done Americans would become Catholic, Catholics would endorse the claims of democracy and make it their own, and the Kingdom of God would be at hand. His large task was to show Protestants that the Catholic Church was not anti-democratic and to show Catholics that American democracy was not necessarily Protestant.

How to limit conflict, how to channel the enormous human energies unleashed by modern civilisation, how to find ways of human living which bound people together on the basis of their common humanity rather than divided them around the superficial divisions of ethnicity, class and race - these were the issues of the day.

6. A Search for Symbiosis

For Hecker the Church was an agency for human development and fulfilment; it was for the sake of man and not the reverse. He wished to affirm America because there the elements of freedom and progress, so central to human destiny, were manifest on behalf of the entire human family. To fulfil their legitimate human and divine mission, he told Americans they needed one church and one religion. To fulfil their divine mission, he told Catholics they needed to see the theological and spiritual significance of freedom and intelligence. They had to learn that a church of men and women who made personal decisions of faith, based on intelligent examination of Catholic claims, and free decision to affirm and make these teachings their own, was a

better church, because it was closer to the human nature God had created, and the Kingdom God intended.

In the later years of his life, his church and his nation became increasingly fascinated with power. Hecker ignored this indisputable fact of life in America. While corporations, trade unions and governments erected massive systems of centralised control and rational direction, he focused on the spirit and person. Only changed hearts could bring persons into touch with their destiny and then things would right themselves.

Today's American Catholics are no longer sure that their country has a distinctive mission in the world, or that their Church has a special role to play in the nation. Yet signs persist to confirm Hecker's notion that if the nation is to fulfil its destiny, it needs a religion capable of overcoming selfishness and endowing public life with noble purpose; and the notion that there is enough power left in the Gospel, and wisdom enough in the contemporary teaching of the Church, to allow one to believe that Catholicism might assist in providing^a a religious dimension to American culture. Only the future will provide evidence of whether a Church of free men and women can enable a nation of free people to be a power for good in the world.

Hecker's unique angle of vision was an attempt to channel American individualism in much the same manner that Robert Bellah suggests is necessary for the future of American society. Bellah maintains that the destructive

side of rampant American individualism can be contained and transformed through religiously-based common societal values - what he calls "the habits of the heart".

Concerning the issue of "Americanism", once again Pope Leo XIII intervened to end the strife. On January 22, 1899, he issued the encyclical *Testem Benevolentiae*, addressed to Cardinal Gibbons, in which he condemned the errors of Americanism. The major errors which Leo identified were calling on the Catholic Church to adapt itself to modern civilisation, relax its ancient vigour, show indulgence to modern theories and methods, deemphasise religious vows, and give greater scope for the action of the Holy Spirit on the individual soul.⁽¹⁴⁾ The Pope specified that the name "Americanism" had been attached to these doctrines, and that his condemnation of them by no means implied a condemnation of the characteristics of the American people.

7. Twentieth Century - A More Settled Scene

Most of the school attenders, at the turn of the century, were there at the elementary level - similar to the situation in Catholic schools in Australia and the United Kingdom at that time. In Catholic schools in the U.S.A. in 1898, for instance, of 100 students in educational institutions, ninety-five were in elementary schools, four in secondary, and one in a post-secondary school. Secondary enrolments reached 129,848 in 1919-20 when primary (elementary) numbers were 1,795,673.⁽¹⁵⁾

Again, as in Australia and the United Kingdom at this time, Catholic secondary school efforts were directed, in the main, by religious orders. In the years between 1918 and 1958 substantial expansion occurred in Catholic secondary schools which were conducted under the auspices of a single parish, or a combination of parishes (the so-called central school). At the end of 1957 there were 1,539 diocesan and parish high schools with 448,408 students; there were 846 private high schools, i.e., owned and operated by religious orders, with 274,355 pupils.⁽¹⁶⁾

Many of the problems of the nineteenth century, previously alluded to, had been negotiated and Catholics were being seen as hard-working, loyal citizens. One more serious challenge had to be repelled, however, before the precious autonomy from state control was to be secure. The state of Oregon, attempting to eliminate alleged divisiveness brought about by private schools, and to bring about the desired attributes of American citizenship via public school education, passed a law which required Oregonians between the ages of eight and sixteen to attend public school. The United States Supreme Court denied the state's contentions, held that parents have the right of choice in the schooling of their children, and ruled the legislation unconstitutional under the 14th Amendment.⁽¹⁷⁾ During the 1920s, having survived the overt hostility of Protestant America, the church and its schools were free to conduct their affairs with a good measure of autonomy.

Pope Pius XI issued his influential encyclical, *Divini*

Illius Magistri, (The Christian Education of Youth) in 1929. This acted as a base platform of ideals for Catholic schools for the next thirty years. Prior to 1960, Catholic schools generally in the United States sought to imitate their public school counterparts in being professional and, to some extent, "American". The influence of Isaac Hecker and his contemporaries has persisted till now. That mixture of God and America, even the semblance of the equation of the two, has permeated Church/society/school relations till now. The "God-centredness" of Catholic schools, some claimed, distinguished them from public schools and elevated them to being legitimate religious, supernatural agencies. There was also operative what a number of Catholic bishops had referred to in earlier eras, that the schools were necessary for the preservation of the church, in that they guaranteed an adult Catholic population. As well, the ethnic factor continued to be influential, particularly in parishes in urban areas.

8. Reputation of the Schools

The schools gained a better reputation with priests and Catholic families. The president of the National Catholic Educational Association in 1957 was Archbishop A.G. Meyer. In his address to the Association he praised both the quantity and quality of Catholic elementary and secondary education. There was not unanimous agreement about the quality of this education. The well-known Catholic Church

historian, John Tracy Ellis, found Catholic schools lacking in their commitment to the intellectual life. Ellis thought that a prime reason for this was an overemphasis on the school "as an agency for moral development".⁽¹⁸⁾ It would seem that prior to 1960, the most serious challenges to Catholic schools resided outside the church.

The schools have had their influence in that, today, many American Catholics are of the middle class, perhaps too "middle"; generally they are as educated as any other middleclass Americans, they are politically strong (with many senators and congressmen, and many political leaders on the national, state, and local levels), and after a long period of mistrust and discrimination, Catholics have even had a president. Pope John Paul II was certainly impressed with what had happened in Catholic education, sufficient to say to a group of U.S. Bishops in Rome (who were making their "ad limina" visit to the Vatican, a visit required of them every five years) on October 28, 1983:

"Despite limitations and imperfections, Catholic education in America can, under God's grace, be credited to a high degree with forming the splendid Catholic laity of America. Catholic education was itself the foundation for understanding and accepting the teaching the Second Vatican Council, which was a consistent explicitation and development of principles that the church has held and taught throughout the centuries. Among other contributions of Catholic education is the quality of citizens that you were able to produce: upright men and women who contributed to the well-being of America, and through Christian charity worked to serve all their brothers and sisters. The achievements of Catholic education in America merit our great respect and admiration".

9. The Future of Funding

By and large, the American people had moved away from direct public support for religious schools and had generally agreed that the best interests of the nation and of religion alike would be served if public funds were not granted to religious schools. This was one of the generally accepted interpretations of the principle of separation of church and state at the end of the nineteenth century. As mentioned earlier, the bishops and many members of the Catholic Church argued that public funds should be granted to religious and parochial schools as a recognition of their role in serving the public welfare and in meeting the requirements of compulsory attendance laws on a level of equality with the public schools. They argued that such direct aid should be permitted in the sense that constitutional provisions for the separation of church and state permitted "cooperation" between church and state (as has been the accepted practice of the Australian Federal Government), as long as the state aided all religious schools equally without showing preference for any one religion or denomination over others. They argued also that the only thing the First Amendment prohibits is the granting of privileges to one church that are not granted to others.

A second general position on this issue held that direct aid for the support of religious schools by public funds was contrary to good policy and to the constitutional separation of church and state, but it was nevertheless

justifiable for the state to use public funds for *indirect* aid to the parochial schools. The United States Supreme Court affirmed this doctrine as early as 1930 in the Cochran case when it permitted free textbooks in Louisiana and again in 1947 in the Everson case, which was concerned with free bus transportation for parochial school children in New Jersey.

In a series of articles on federal aid to education, beginning in the Jesuit magazine America on January 7, 1950, Father Robert C. Harnett made the claim for public and for health and transportation benefits and the distribution of nonreligious textbooks to children in parochial schools. But many critics felt that the *ultimate* goal of many Catholic leaders was full public support for Catholic schools. The efforts of these leaders were strengthened by the pronouncement from Rome on July 5, 1977, in which the Vatican appealed to the national states around the world to provide subsidies for Catholic schools. The appeal was contained in a major document entitled "The Catholic School" issued by the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education. It was a timely doctrinal and political support for hard-pressed American Catholic educators who had seen their five and a half million students in 13,000 schools dwindle to three and a half million students in 10,000 schools between 1965 and 1975.

At the present time there is a strong political move across the United States Catholic Church for acceptance at government level of the concept of parental choice in

education. A recent attempt in the State of Oregon to obtain money from the state as an allocation to schools of choice was defeated substantially. A similar initiative seems to be imminent in the State of Pennsylvania where the political climate is quite different. The proposal is similar to a voucher system where the government would give money to the parents (this happened early in the state and process in Australia). Now the Australian system is one of largely bulk billing to central authorities or systems of private schools.

10. State Provisions Differ

Procedures amongst the States in the U.S. differ considerably. For example the State of New York makes only minimal regulatory requirements for the schools. This enables Catholic schools to go beyond these, which means that there are no real curriculum constraints on the Church in the schools. This is quite different to the situation in the United Kingdom and Australia - where parental choice is being given wider encouragement, but where, too, the curriculum for schools, particularly at secondary level, is becoming much more centralised. Again, now, in the United States much emphasis is being placed by the Bishops and Catholic administrators on parental choice. Parents feel that they should determine what is taught, not the state. The celebrated Oregon case of *Pierce v Society of Sisters* in 1925 established in Constitutional law that the parents are

an equal equity in law - not just the state per se.

The role of the Federal government in the U.S.A. is more of a catalyst. In 1965 the Elementary and Secondary School Act, an act to assist all children, was written into the legislation. This provided lunch for poor children, others had their lunch subsidised, bus transport was provided for pupils, and once or twice a week a nurse would come in to provide medical services. Finance was also provided for remedial education and for the improvement of school libraries. Flowing on from this, some States began to provide money for text-books, testing, mandated services (where the States reimburse the schools) - all because of the catalytic effect of the Federal government initiatives.

Controls amongst the states are different and jealously guarded. Some of them are clearly unable, because of their separate Constitutions, to give money to private schools. The Commissioner of Education in New York sees himself as having responsibility for the education of all children there. Yet in the State of Texas, the Commissioner sees himself as only being responsible for public education - and thus, does not even acknowledge the existence of Catholic schools.

11. Movement Towards Public Support for Sectarian Schools

From the mid-1960s onward, the organised effort to link religion and public education more closely was directed away from the effort to inject more religious instruction in the

public schools and towards public support for sectarian schools.⁽²⁰⁾ The intensity of the religious rancour of the 1950s and 1960s gradually moderated, the ecumenical movement of better feeling among Christians was symbolised by the Second Vatican Council called by Pope John XXIII in 1962, the fiscal crises hit parochial schools harder and harder, and the public school establishment was being belaboured year after year for its failures in urban and ghetto education. But it soon became apparent that the problem of religious freedom and public education had by no means disappeared. By the beginning of the 1970s the barometers of public opinion indicated that more and more of the population was turning again to religion. As I have indicated elsewhere, this was particularly so in the inner-cities. While the black population is 11% of the whole population, only 2% of the blacks are Catholic. In Catholic schools like those in Harlem, the pupils would generally be 80% non-Catholic, the church is subsidising their education quite heavily. The question now is, how far religious pluralism will go in weakening public education. In Australia, particularly over the last 6 years, this seems to have been the case.

12. Catholic Education Since Vatican 2

There is no phenomenon more paradoxical in American Catholicism since the Council than the Catholic schools. On the one hand, the evidence is overwhelming that the schools are remarkably successful both religiously and academically.

On the other hand, enrolment in the schools had diminished and Catholic leadership does not appear to be as committed to Catholic schools as it was before the Vatican Council.

At the time of the ^{GREELEY} study, Young Catholics in the United States and Canada (1979)⁽²¹⁾ eighty-eight percent of the young adults responding (aged between 18 and 30) had some kind of Catholic education. Catholic school attendance had a statistically significant impact on the religious behaviour of young people. Forty-five per cent of those who had more than eight years of Catholic school attended mass every week as opposed to thirty-two percent who had less; thirty-two percent received communion every week as opposed to seventeen per cent; sixty-four per cent were opposed to abortion if no more children were wanted by the mother as opposed to fifty-four per cent.

The report goes further to state:

"Moreover, these effects of Catholic school education were not merely surrogates for the influence of a religious family or a religious spouse. The old explanation of the success of Catholic schools that they were merely duplicating ⁽²²⁾ the work of the Catholic family is simply not valid".

In the three NORC (National Opinion Research Center-Chicago) Catholic school studies, 1963, 1974 and 1979 (of young adults), perhaps the most interesting phenomenon was that in each year the importance of Catholic schools to the

religious behaviour of Catholic adults INCREASED. The question asked in the second Catholic school study (Catholic Schools in a Declining Church) whether Catholic schools were more important in a time of crisis in the church than a time of stability has been clearly answered and now twice: Catholic schools are much more important - as measured by the strength of correlation between Catholic school attendance and adult behaviour - in a time of crisis in the church than in a time of stability.⁽²³⁾ In the 1974 study it appeared to Greeley that the decline in Catholic school attendance was the result of smaller-sized cohorts coming of school age and the failure to build new schools in the areas into which Catholics were moving. The decline in the support for Catholic schools thus at that time seemed to be the result of decisions on the part of school administrators not to build the schools and not the result of decision on the part of parents not to use the schools that were available. In fact, this sort of analysis indicated that Catholic schools actually not only paid for themselves but may even have been a money maker for the parish in that contributions from present and past users of the Catholic schools more than made up for the costs the schools incurred.

13. Reasons for Decline of Schools

However persuasive this argument may have been on paper, Greeley comments

"... it seemed to have had no effect on the decisions of ecclesiastical administrators. For all practical purposes, Catholic school construction has stopped in the last decade. The reasons for the decline of Catholic school instruction even though statistical evidence shows that there is strong support for them and that the schools are more important to the work of the church now than they were before the Vatican Council requires further research to be fully understood. However, the facts are reasonably clear about what has happened to the Catholic schools since the end of the Second Vatican Council. They are as popular as they were, they are more important than they were, and they are in decline, both in numbers of schools and in size of enrolment".

It seems, also, that the Catholic schools in the U.S.A. are the most effective contribution the church is making to the service of the poor, at least that contribution which can most precisely be determined. While Catholic school attendance has been declining, the enrolment of blacks and Hispanics (at least half of the former are not Catholic) in Catholic schools has been increasing strongly.

Greeley points out that:

"Research done by James Coleman and myself on secondary school students indicates that the Catholic schools have an enormous impact on the sons and daughters of the disadvantaged. Holding constant twelve different parental background variables and academic scores in the sophomore year, the seniors in Catholic schools perform substantially higher on standardized achievement tests than do the seniors in public schools. Moreover, this finding applies not only to Hispanic and to black young men and women but also to white students. The Catholic schools are more

effective as secondary educators than public schools for for all three racial groups.

But it is especially among the disadvantaged and among the multiply disadvantaged that the impact of Catholic secondary school is likely to be greatest. Those young men and women who are disadvantaged by poverty or by low levels of parental education or by low personal self-esteem or by having had disciplinary problems when they were sophomores or by being on the fringes of the school community or by low academic scores in their sophomore year are the most likely to benefit from the two years in ⁽²⁵⁾ between sophomore and senior year in Catholic schools".

14. The Schools after Vatican 2

The election of John F. Kennedy as president of the United States stands as evidence that the prejudice against Catholics had diminished. He showed, in office, that a president could be both Catholic and a loyal American. The leadership displayed by another Catholic John in the 1960s - the very popular Pope John XXIII - also helped to the dispelling of prejudice against Catholics. One could say that American Catholicism had come of age. The sociological changes of this period had their effects on the Catholic schools and American Catholics in general. There was an almost complete assimilation of Catholic ethnic minorities into the mainstream of American life, the numbers of Catholics in the middle class grew greatly, and there was an overall deemphasis of the importance of religion in American society.

The years since the end of the Second Vatican Council have been marked by profound and accelerating economic and occupational changes among American Catholics, changes so massive and so sweeping that no serious reflection on the

condition of American Catholics can afford to forget even for a moment that the religious change related to the Second Vatican Council came at the same time that economic and occupational changes were sweeping American Catholics ahead of white Protestants' economic achievement.

A way of tracing the economic history of a population is to investigate the educational and occupational decisions that young people of a given birth cohort made in their late teens and early twenties. AT THAT TIME.

As Greeley writes:

"American Catholics born in the 1890s had to make a decision about college education and in all probability about their career choices during the nineteen-teens. The educational achievement and the occupational category of people born after 1900 is a pretty good indicator of what the social and cultural environment was for American Catholics in the nineteen-teens. This method may overstate the rate of actual college attendance at the that time because some of the respondents born before 1900 will have made a decision later in life to seek college education. When one says that in the nineteen-teens and the nineteen twenties the college attendance rate of Catholics was .70 of the college attendance rate of Protestants, one is slightly overestimating the rate. Catholics may have been somewhat less than seven-tenths as likely to go to college as white Protestants in that era.

In the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, the college attendance rate of Catholics to Protestants was .9. In the sixties and seventies the Catholic college attendance rate became slightly higher than that of white Protestants, approximately 1.1. In the most recent decade, the ratio of catholic college attendance to Protestant college attendance surged to 1.43. Catholics who are maturing in the 1980s are half-again as likely to attend college as white Protestants in the same age. The Catholic "catch up" was achieved in the sixties and the seventies and the $\frac{1}{2}$, surge ahead is a phenomenon of the present moment".

Greeley then goes on to consider other careers. His research in managerial and other top level areas of performance is likewise interesting.

"A similar phenomenon is to be observed about the choice of professional and managerial careers; in the nineteen-teens the Catholic rate was .65 to the white Protestant. In the twenties it went to .81, in the thirties and forties to .90, in the fifties to 1.07, in the sixties and seventies to 1.10 and in the eighties to 1.50. Catholics are now half again as likely to choose managerial and professional careers as white Protestants".

Likewise the research of Greeley and his team in Chicago paints a similar picture to that above with respect to white collar workers.

15. Growing Affluence of Catholic Graduates

When the Second Vatican Council began, Catholics had achieved rough equality with Protestants academically and in terms of wages potential. Twenty years later they have achieved economic and occupational superiority. Parish priests facing a typical Catholic congregation on Sunday must realise that they are now preaching to a group which is or is about to become, with the exception of the Jews, the most affluent denominational group in American society.

As a consequence, Catholics are now found to be in large numbers at the very top end of the educational bracket - those who have achieved graduate degrees. According to Greeley,⁽²⁸⁾ during the last twenty years American Catholics have become between a fifth and a quarter of the

professorate. There are approximately as many Catholic university faculty members as there are Jewish university faculty members; whatever may have been true of the past, there is no longer any obstacle in the Catholic culture preventing young Catholics from pursuing academic or intellectual or artistic careers and from being as successful as anyone else in these careers.

The publication of *Inner-City Private Elementary Schools* in 1982 by the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights disproved, in the opinion of its proponents, one of the most pervasive myths of all about Catholic schools - that they are elitist. The study, using a randomly selected sample of sixty-four schools in eight cities, fifty-four of which were Title/recipients, and with a minority population of at least 70 per cent, found strong support for these schools by their patrons. Housed in rundown buildings, beset with financial problems, mostly Catholic-operated but with a third of the student body Protestant, these schools have provided a safe environment, emphasised basic learning skills, and fostered moral values in their pupils. According to their supporters, these schools demonstrate the church's commitment to the urban minority poor (56 per cent of their enrolment is black; 31 per cent Hispanic-American).⁽²⁹⁾ Such a commitment is only possible where teachers in Catholic schools are motivated by the ideals of Catholic social teaching.

16. The Role of the Laity

Elsewhere in this thesis I have developed at length the vision of the Catholic school as a "faith community". Principals and school leaders are critical in instilling religious principles in Catholic students. But those closest to the students, the teachers, are probably the most indispensable ingredient if these schools are to be "faith communities". Catholic educators have recognised their importance. The selection of teachers to ensure this holistic development is the single most significant task of the leadership of Catholic education.

The Roman document, *The Catholic School* (1977) reminds us:

"By their witness and their behaviour teachers are of the first importance to impart a distinctive character to Catholic schools. It is, therefore, indispensable to ensure their continuing formation through some form of suitable pastoral provision. This must aim to animate them as witnesses of Christ in the classroom and tackle the problems of their particular apostolate, especially regarding a christian vision of the world of education, A huge field is thus opened up for national and international organisations which bring together Catholic teachers and educational institutions at all levels".

The task of imbuing teachers with the capacity to build faith has become more difficult because of their changed backgrounds.

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As in Australia and the United Kingdom, twenty five years ago most of the teachers in Catholic schools were members of religious orders. They lived, as well as worked, together in a community. They had been reared in the spirituality of their particular orders. As the figures on the Table above indicate, in the space of some thirteen years, religious teachers have dropped from 94,983 (56.7% of the staff) to the figure of 37,743 (25.8% of staff). In 1988, there were 18,775 religious teachers in the schools (17.6% of the staff) compared to 134,317 lay teachers (82.4% of the staff).⁽³²⁾ There were very heavy financial ramifications to this change of staff. The spiritual effects, particularly in the building of the "faith

community" are not as readily apparent. As the Roman document points out so wisely, new means will have to be discovered for the fostering of spirituality and the ongoing development in theology in this largely lay professional staff if the schools are to respond to the challenges put to them by Alfred McBride, former NCEA president, in his keynote address at the 1982 NCEA Convention.

McBride identified three major challenges facing U.S. Catholic schools in the 1980s:

The "most basic one" according to McBride, was to "keep Catholic schools Catholic, institutionally, morally and spiritually". The second was to "increase academic excellence competitively, professionally, and creatively". The third, and final challenge, was to "secure a financial basis for ... schools through endowments, development programs, and government aid".⁽³³⁾

Only the future will reveal whether the Catholic schools being considered will meet these and other challenges successfully. Already other challenges are emerging. These are addressed later in the final chapters of the thesis.

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The chart from the United States is of interest to the Australian situation in the staffing of Catholic schools. Stages of development in the two countries are quite similar. The chart shows how, for the first time in the U.S., lay people outnumbered Sisters in teaching posts in Catholic schools. By 1979, lay people held nearly 70 per cent of such posts. More recently the ratio between lay teachers, priests and Religious in the U.S. have remained more constant.

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CHAPTER FIVE

CATHOLIC EDUCATION AT THE CROSSROADS IN ENGLAND AND WALES

The commitment of the Church to Catholic education in England and Wales has been sustained over a long period of struggle, renewal and readjustment. The identity of the Catholic school is important in itself. This chapter will address the difficult, painstaking, gradual winning over of government financial support for Catholic schools in England and Wales. As well it will consider the influence of the government on the curriculum, governance, admissions policies of the schools. To what extent can the Catholic church of today have influence over the nature, development and direction of its Catholic schools within the maintained sector?

Many issues which affect the schools are considered. The tensions of Catholic families, increasingly where one of the spouses is not Catholic, the Church's struggle to understand itself and win the loyalty of others, the breaking down of the sub-culture, the economic ideals and priorities of the government, the difficulty of making sense of Catholic social teaching in a changed intellectual and social scene, the problems of teachers being less well developed in current theology and ethics for the changed social conditions.

Whilst the schools in England and Wales have received heavy financial support from governments since 1944, it

would seem that the gaining and the maintaining of this support has greatly pre-occupied the minds of Catholic education administrators. Concern is now being expressed as to what extent these schools challenge, and have the capacity to challenge, the prevailing materialism and secularism of modern times with the spiritual values of Jesus and the Gospel.

The chapter will consider, as well, the concerns of the Bishops arising from the 1988 Education Act. These concerns have been justified. Because contemporary institutional Catholicism is disproportionately attractive to the educated middle class in England and Wales, there is a danger that the concerns of the Bishops will not be taken seriously.

1. INHERENT CONSTRAINTS ON DEVELOPMENT AND EFFICIENCY

Catholic education is at a critical stage in the United Kingdom, Australia and the United States as it moves into the 1990s. Following a long period of struggle, in the three nations, over a period of two hundred years or more, the three Catholic systems are facing issues of internal and external credibility as well as the question of the very strong State influence on the aims and objectives of the schools. The government legislation for educational reform in England and Wales, with the opting out scheme, the open admissions' policy, the national curriculum, and the attainment targets for all pupils could seriously challenge the extent to which the Catholic church is able to have

influence over the nature, development and direction of its Catholic schools within the maintained sector.

Whilst there is real cause for admiration for those Catholic leaders and families over the past 160 years who got the system to this strong stage of establishment, it is important to emphasise the inherited constraints on its development and efficiency. In particular, the Catholic maintained school system is an integral part of the state system of education in the United Kingdom and its pattern and development are therefore inevitably affected by the changes in the educational priorities of successive governments. The priorities being emphasised in the Education Reform Act of 1988 will be reflected in the Catholic schools system. As well, because of finance and personnel problems, the number of Catholic independent schools has almost halved since 1960. Before that time, one Catholic school in five was independent, reflecting then the major provision for the Catholic upper and middle classes which has historically been made by the religious orders.⁽¹⁾ The proportion is now one in ten. A number of factors have contributed to this decline. Some schools have taken part in schemes for secondary reorganisation along comprehensive lines, for ideological reasons, while many are likely to have closed for financial reasons, particularly following the Houghton pay award to teachers in the state sector in 1974.

There has been a big drop in the vocations to the

religious orders in the post-Vatican II period. This allied with an ageing of existing membership has made the viability of the schools much more of a problem. As well, the general reappraisal of their service functions in a changed society by the religious orders in the light of the exhortations for 'renewal' since the Vatican Council, may also have contributed significantly to decisions to redefine their purposes and shift to other types of ministry. Given the demands of the wider Church ministry, there has been some questioning, too, of to what extent religious personnel ought to be ministering to non-Catholic pupils.

Since 1960 the proportion of non-Catholic boys in the direct grant schools more than doubled to just under 5 per cent but the proportion of non-Catholic girls in direct grant schools fell by one-half in the 1960s and in the mid-1970s remains under 8 per cent. The proportion of non-Catholic pupils in the Catholic independent schools has always been much greater than in the maintained schools so that by the mid-1970s one-quarter of the boys and nearly half of the girls were non-Catholics. This fact has been an important consideration for the religious orders as they have reappraised their priorities and pastoral contributions in the light of the theological reorientations legitimated by the Second Vatican Council.

2. BETTER BALANCE OF SCHOOLS

More balance has been achieved, too, in the provision of Catholic school places in rural and urban areas. Hornsby-Smith points out⁽²⁾ that the industrial dioceses of the north in 1949 contained over half the pupils in only one-third of the schools while the rural dioceses had 15 per cent of the schools for only 7 per cent of the pupils. Also, there has been a significant shift of the school population from the older, industrial cities of the north to London and the South-East in particular, but also to the more rural dioceses in the South of England. Whereas at the end of the war just over one-fifth of the pupils in Catholic schools were south of the line between the Humber and the Bristol Channel, by the mid-1970s the proportion had risen to well over one-third. These changes reflect the major post-war changes in the social structure of English Catholicism and are indicative of a substantial amount of social and geographical mobility in the post-war years in response to the social, economic and urban changes in the wider society.

In the mid-1970s one child in eleven in England and Wales was attending a Roman Catholic school. There were then over 900,000 children in nearly 3100 Catholic schools, staffed by over 44,000 teachers. Unfortunately, even with a sector of the 'dual system' of such a size there have been no major sociological studies of its characteristics or its

functions in the British version of the pluralist society. Likewise little has been written about the social history of Catholic education since the Butler Education Act of 1944. Hornsby-Smith⁽³⁾ refers to the lack of any systematic study of the various political negotiations since the 1944 Act, which have resulted in a series of increases in the rate of capital grant for school building from 50 to 85 per cent. These changes have occurred as a result of a growing political consensus based on a substantial acceptance of the permanence of the 1944 settlement, a reduction of divisive religious rivalries and antagonisms, and an acceptance of the pleas of the leaders of the Catholic community that the financial burden of a separate Catholic school system was becoming insupportable. Such "behind-the-scene" political lobbying and persuasion of governments gave great heart to the Catholic community in Australia who had to struggle into the 1970s before a similar scale of government support was obtained there.

3. PREVIOUS STRATEGY OF DECISION MAKERS

When looking over the background to such achievement in the pages ahead, I wish to show that the strategy of Catholic decision-makers in these political processes can accurately be characterised as "playing the system", keeping a low profile, avoiding rocking the boat and antagonising other interests and sections of the community and following a policy of in-house rather than open diplomacy. In the case of England and Wales there was the precedent of the

Catholic aristocracy working quietly in the long years before emancipation. They had, over a very long period, to cope with much antagonism and hostility from a population deeply suspicious of the extra-national links of Roman Catholicism. This antagonism was not ameliorated in the nineteenth century by the massive famine-induced Irish immigration. The defensive responses of Catholics through this period have tended to colour their educational stances and have contributed to the lack of a clearly stated policy.

In educational politics, following the aggressive mobilisation of Catholic public opinion and the public demonstrations in support of Catholic claims for a fairer deal in education in the early 1950s,⁽⁴⁾ the policy of "playing it cool" by the Catholic negotiators appears to have been enormously successful in facilitating a massive school building programme for over a quarter of a century after the second world war. During this time, too, there was a significant growth in the Catholic population generally, mainly as a result of Irish and European immigration. This resulted in an increase in the proportion of the school population in Catholic schools from 7 to 9 per cent. Post war affluence, and changes in tolerance and in policies of social reconstruction across the community, allied with the decline in denominational religious antagonisms, contributed to the success of the Catholic strategy.

While such strategy was successful, it lacked

completeness. In the continuous expansion of the Catholic school system from 1945 to 1974, the dominant concerns of the Catholic community were essentially quantitative, ensuring that it obtained at least its fair share of the school building programmes in line not only with the big expansion of the Catholic population, but also with the needs of the parishes in the new suburbs, housing estates and new towns. These experienced a big influx of Catholics moving out of the traditional inner-city parishes as a result of the various processes of urban redevelopment and upward social mobility due to post-war affluence, full employment and educational achievement.

This chapter will review aspects of the development of the Catholic education system in England and Wales which have helped lead to the Church's dilemma now, and return to present issues and problems, arising out of this development.

4. The Catholic School/A History of Constant Struggle

The history of Catholic schools over the past 450 years is one of almost constant struggle. It is quite certain that, from the Elizabethan Religious Settlement of 1558-63 down to the first Relief Act of 1778, the policy of the Government had been to make a Catholic education in England impossible.⁽⁵⁾ This policy did not succeed. It is known that at least 120 Catholic schoolmasters were teaching clandestinely in England in the 17th century and at least

135 in the 18th; and that during those two centuries over 220 Catholic schools were functioning at one time and another, at least three of them with unbroken continuity from about 1650.⁽⁶⁾

By the time of the French Revolution in 1789, helped by the wave of British sympathy for those persecuted in France, a movement of popular Catholic education was already under way in England. Whilst in 1829 Catholics were somewhat isolated educationally, by 1840 the Catholic body had taken the field with an educational campaign. Interestingly, the main thrust of all this was lay in character, as was the case with earlier Australian Catholic education. The Catholic Institute, a lay body which was set up in 1838 as successor to many such previous bodies dating back to 1792, was the heart of the campaign. In 1847 the Catholic Poor School Committee was established. It was to give place to the Catholic Education Council in 1905. The Catholic Poor School Committee was established to receive grants from the 1839 Committee of Privy Council on Education, side by side with the (Anglican) National Society and the (Nonconformist) British and Foreign Schools Society, which had been receiving such grants ever since 1833. The work was to concentrate immediately on the two key-problems: primary schools and training of teachers.

The English Catholic community increased in size from around 5% in 1850 to around 11% in 1978. From under 40,000 Catholics at the beginning of the seventeenth century and still only 80,000 in 1770, it had grown to around 900,000 at

the time of the restoration of the hierarchy of England and Wales in 1850. In the last 130 years, however, it has increased fivefold to around 4.4 million. A century ago Catholics were still a beleaguered minority fighting for survival in a hostile society. By 1982 the warmth of the reception accorded Pope John Paul II demonstrated clearly that they had largely been accepted as an integral part of British society.⁽⁷⁾

The multiplication of Catholic elementary schools prior to 1850 was brought about (in a similar fashion to this phenomenon in the U.S.A. and Australia) by self-help on a very large scale.

In 1903 Cardinal Bourne gave an address to the National Catholic Congress in which he gave attention to the three crucial questions exercising the minds of the Catholics in any ultimate solution of England's Dual System. The first was curricular, is religion the core of education, or only a subject? The second was administrative, shall there be national control or local autonomy? The third was political and theological, is the obligation to educate the parents' or the State's? The answers to these were formulated in the Declaration of the whole Hierarchy in 1929. There was a multiplication of Catholic Action groups during this period, The Catholic Education Council in 1905, the Catholic Social Guild in 1909, the Catholic Workers' College at Oxford in 1921, the University Catholic Federation also in 1921.

The Declaration of the Hierarchy in 1929 has had a

prevailing influence on the stance of the Church^{ur} in education until today. It stated:

1. It is no part of the normal function of the State to teach.
2. The State is entitled to see that citizens receive due education sufficient to enable them to discharge the duties of citizenship in its various degrees.
3. The State ought, therefore, to encourage every form of sound educational endeavour, and may take means to safeguard the efficiency of education.
4. To parents whose economic means are insufficient... it is the duty of the State to furnish the necessary means... from the common funds arising out of the taxation of the whole country. But in doing so the State must not interfere with parental responsibility, nor hamper the reasonable liberty of parents in their choice of a school for their children. Above all, where the people are not all of one creed, there must be no differentiation on the ground of religion.
5. Where there is need of greater school accommodation, the State may, in default of other agencies, intervene to supply it; but it may do so only "in default of, or in substitution for, and to the extent of, the responsibility of the parents..."
6. The teacher is always acting in loco parentis, never in loco civitatis, though the State, to safeguard its citizenship, may take reasonable care to see that teachers are efficient.

7. Thus a teacher never is and never can be a civil servant... Whatever authority he may possess to teach and control children, and to claim their respect and obedience, comes to him from God, through the parents, and not through the State, except in so far as the State is acting on behalf of the parents.

Meanwhile the Fisher Act of 1918 left the Dual System untouched. But a very significant advance was made in the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918. Much of the credit for this could go to Bishop William F. Brown, the Bishop of Pella. His negotiations with Sir Robert Munro and Sir John Struthers brought about a happy solution of the Scottish Catholic Schools' question, and finalised a development which had begun in 1872. The agreement satisfied both parties, by provisions for appointing the teachers whereby the religious authority was first to be satisfied on religious grounds before the local authority appointed; and, in return, the Catholic schools were transferred to the L.E.A.s, and the Catholic unequal financial burden of the past disappeared.

The other significant trend apparent all this time was the steady disappearance of the non-Catholic Denominational Schools, as a result of the device of "Agreed syllabuses of Religious Instruction" begun in Cambridgeshire in 1924.

As Beales points out

"whereas in 1870 every elementary school prior to the Gladstone Act was a Denominational School, and the Anglican and Free Church Schools stood in 1902 at 12,202, they subsequently fell to 11,703 in 1926, 9,319

in 1935, and 9,098 on the outbreak of war in 1939. In 1948 the total school-departments were:Anglican, 9,098, Free Church 117. Contrary to this the Catholics had gone on building. The figures over the same period are: 1,066 (1902), 1,230 (1935), 1,266 (1939) and 1,818 departments in 1948".

Between 1914 and 1930 the Catholic body had built 96 schools, with 60,000 places, at a capital expenditure of £1,700,000. In 1930, Sir Charles Trevelyan offered grants to all grades of Denominational Schools for the reorganisation of buildings under the Hadow Scheme. In return for these grants, the teachers were to be appointed by the local authority, with the reservation of certain teachers being left to the Denominations. The Catholics rejected this, and the Bill was thrown out by the House of Lords.

5. FURTHER GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION

The 1936 Act empowered the local authorities to make grants of up to three-quarters of the cost of reorganising Denominational Schools. In return, the L.E.A. was to appoint all except the "reserved" teachers, and there was to be Agreed Syllabus religion for those non-Catholics desiring it. By the time the war broke out in September 1939, Catholic school-department reorganisation had reached 44.8 per cent to Anglican 45.7 per cent. This compared unfavourably with the Council Schools (71.7 per cent). And no fewer than 399 Catholic school buildings, which had been pioneers in their day but were now decrepit, were still on

the Board of Education's "Black List" as late as 1942.

In his analysis of Catholic attitudes towards the establishment of the British Welfare State in the early post-war years, Peter Coman concluded that

"despite acceptance of the welfare goals of social security, greater educational opportunity and better health, there was a pervading fear that the distinctive Catholic subculture would be undermined by the wider society with a different normative system, operating through its political expression in the very powerful twentieth-century state".

6. THE WELFARE STATE POSED PROBLEMS

The collectivist trend in social policy was at odds with repeated emphasis on the principle of subsidiarity in the papal encyclicals since *Rerum Novarum* in 1891. But the proposals for educational reform which were to find their expression in the 1944 Butler Education Act and the reforms proposed in the Beveridge Report of 1942 "threatened the Roman Catholic subculture by endangering the financial viability of its segregated school system and by making possible the eventual spread through National Health Service of practices in the field of sexual and marital conduct incompatible with Catholic moral teaching"⁽¹⁰⁾

The protracted battle over the financial implications of the 1944 Education Act led again to the mobilisation of the Catholic community in defence of the right of a separate schools system and control over the religious curriculum and moral teaching. The net cost to the Catholic community was estimated to have been £50 million with annual interest and

loan repayment of around £6 million.⁽¹¹⁾ A number of dioceses were said to have been near to bankruptcy as a result of the school building programmes of the 1960s and 1970s in a period of unprecedented inflation and high interest rates.⁽¹²⁾ In order to ease this burden the government grant available for school building programmes was raised from 50% to 85% in a number of stages as the bitter religious antagonisms of the years up to 1944 gradually declined and there was an end of intense feeling over the issue.

The struggle to get to this stage had been a long, difficult one. The Catholic community now had a segregated school system substantially paid for out of public funds. The dual system is now an established and uncontroversial political fact in England and Wales. What had been demonstrated in all of this, was their mighty power of political mobilisation for a struggle, which as we have seen, raged for over a century. Of course there was a cost for all this. The battles of the 1950s for an increase in grant and the administrative effort of the massive school building programme itself consumed almost all the available energies in the community. Attention from competing claims for the limited financial resources had been diverted.⁽¹³⁾ To this extent there was some displacement of goals, where the building of Catholic schools came to be regarded as an end in itself. Only in recent times has attention been paid to the quality or effectiveness of Catholic schools.

7. The Quality and Effectiveness of the Schools

When Cardinal Basil Hume gave his address, Building Bridges, to the North of England 77th Education Conference, at Newcastle Upon Tyne on the 3rd of January, 1990, amongst other things, he had this to say:

"The world in which our young are growing up is self-evidently not that of St. Benet Biscop and St. Bede. Society is immeasurably more developed and complex; the opportunities and problems are greater and more challenging. We shall have to evaluate the contemporary political philosophies which influence public policies and actions, and at the same time consider those timeless values which are valid for every age.

Because there is today such widespread confusion about fundamental values in society generally, it is not surprising that there is some disarray and controversy in the world of education. Because we cannot reach agreement on many vital issues we tend to escape into the details of the administration of the educational process, limiting ourselves to the apparently practical and manageable, rather than face more basic and disturbing questions. Although the recent Education Reform Act intends its reforms to prepare pupils for adult life, that might arguably be described as a short-term view."

As I mentioned earlier, from the end of the war until 1974, the dominant concerns of the Catholic education community in England and Wales were essentially quantitative. As a consequence of the administrative imperatives of meeting the demand for more Catholic schools and the prevailing ideology which saw the building of Catholic schools as a self-justifying goal, little attention was paid to the qualitative outcomes of Catholic schools. Nevertheless, increasingly insistent pleas for a demonstration that the financial burdens of the Catholic

school building programmes were worthwhile in terms of the effectiveness of Catholic schools, either in encouraging greater institutional loyalty to Roman Catholicism (i.e. higher weekly mass attendance or "practice" rates and low "leakage" rates) or in facilitating, or at least not hindering, the dominant secular goals of educational achievement with its recognised link to occupational status and economic rewards, were heard.

Over the 150 previous years of a quiet, determined, successful establishment of a viable alternative school system by the Church, the Catholic school was recognised not only as an important means to the achievement of religious goals but also as an essential and officially unchallenged one. Now there is an increasing awareness that the Catholic school is only one, even though an important one, of a range of alternative means to the achievement of the efficient religious socialisation of young Catholics.

Another crucial problem facing the Catholic Church in England and Wales is whether its leaders can retain their control of the separate system of Catholic schools which they have established at such cost in terms of finance, personnel and resources over the past 150 years. If the church wishes to protect Catholic schools from grant-maintained status on the grounds of a resultant loss of influence which is inevitable, it seems wise as a first step to assess just what this influence is at the present time. Many questions are being asked about Catholic schools today,

especially since the growing critical awareness of the 1960s following the new vision of Vatican II. These questions relate to the theory and practice of Catholic education. To what extent is the ideal of a Catholic school as proposed by the church acceptable to young people today? To what extent is this idea functioning in practice in the Catholic schools of the late twentieth century? More profound questions dealing with the distinctiveness of Catholic schools today within the maintained system of education and their ability to offer a radical alternative to the secular counterpart are just beginning to be addressed in the official recognition of the need for the evaluation of Catholic schools.

8. RECENT AWARENESS OF WEAKNESSES

The clarity of purpose which guided the Catholic church in its resolve to establish a separate system of Catholic schools in England and Wales has been rewarded in the number of schools comprising the present Catholic system. Not enough attention has been given to the distinctive quality of education these schools are designed to provide. Wittingly or unwittingly, the values and ideals of the schools easily slip into secular areas with definite instrumental goals as the ultimate objective. The danger is that, more and more, the underlying curricular philosophy has become mechanistic and market-value orientated. This weakness may not have been so obvious when the Catholic schools were administered predominantly by Religious Orders

and Congregations who, through their own special charisms, provided a distinctive Catholic ethos and vision. As the schools increasingly take on the trappings of the secular school model, answers will need be found for adequate strategies to give the schools their essential Catholic quality. As Pope John Paul II (1988) says:

"In a pluralistic society, Catholic institutions must strive to make a contribution that is clearly and recognizably Catholic".

As has been indicated in this overview of the development of Catholic education in England and Wales, Catholics have been a small minority subject to considerable amounts of hostility. The fight for equity in the provision of educational services and resources was long, slow and not infrequently painful. Not surprisingly, Catholics reacted defensively to maintain their hard-won social position in British society and to preserve and transmit to the next generation their religious heritage. These goals were promoted by maintaining a siege mentality⁽¹⁵⁾ and defending the fortress Church from any dangerous conduct with outsiders who might seduce Catholics away from their own precious heritage. Thus the special stress on two strategies in particular:

- (a) Separate Catholic schools: the provision of an all-embracing Catholic ethos for the religious socialisation of Catholic children and the insistence on their education only in Catholic schools staffed by

Catholic teachers; and

- (b) Religious endogamy: the insistence, buttressed by imposing religious and social sanctions, on marriage to another Catholic, encouraged and facilitated by a wide range of social and religious obligations which effectively ensured that Catholics normally only met other Catholics in their non-work hours, typically in parish-based activities.

9. AMBIVALENT VIEW OF CATHOLICS ON SEPARATE SCHOOLS

In 1979, M.P. Hornsby-Smith and R.M. Lee, from the University of Surrey, undertook a research study of Roman Catholics in England and Wales in the 1970s. They entitled this study Roman Catholic Opinion. The evidence from the national survey indicated that while there was a positive relationship between attendance at Catholic schools and adult religious behaviour and attitudes, the effect was really rather small and was dwarfed by the significance of the religious characteristics of the parental home and the spouse. They reported in this study of the ambivalence of Catholics on the question of separate Catholic schools. Briefly, Catholics largely wished to send their own children to Catholic schools and reported favourably both on their own experiences and those of their children in Catholic schools. At the same time only two-fifths favoured a separate Catholic school system compared with nearly one half who disagreed with the 'dual' system. Without

longitudinal data it is difficult to ascertain whether or not Catholics are less inclined than in the past to defend the principle of 'a Catholic school with Catholic teachers for every Catholic child'. What the survey showed clearly, however, was a strong gradient in the support.⁽¹⁶⁾ Joan Brothers pointed this out, too, in her study of *The Impact of Education of Religion: Church and School*, published in 1964.⁽¹⁷⁾ Only 29% of upper-middle-class respondents supported Catholic schools compared to 43% of the lower working class. It seemed, from these figures, that the traditional securities of the Catholic school were most attractive to those whose social and economic lives were often least secure.

The question of Catholic marriage where Catholics are in such a minority has helped to break apart any former climate of a siege mentality in the church. Whereas for Catholic marriages before 1960 about one in nine was invalid, in the sense of not having been solemnised before a priest, and about one-third of Catholics were married to a non-Catholic partner, in the 1970s nearly two-fifths of Catholics married invalidly and two-thirds married non-Catholics. These figures are indicative of the dissolution of the boundaries surrounding the Catholic community in England and Wales and the ending of the defensive strategies which had previously sustained the Catholic community in England and Wales since the Reformation. Yet, Catholics are still three times more likely to marry other Catholics than they would be on the assumption of no association between

the religious identifications of husbands and wives. The future alone will provide what evidence there is for the maintenance of any sort of Catholic 'community' in the sense of shared values, beliefs and behaviour, of strong face-to-face interaction, of mutual support and strong encouragement.

10. NEW HETERODOXY OF BELIEF

Apart from the historical evidence of Hornsby-Smith and Lee,⁽¹⁸⁾ which had indicated that since the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850 and the large influx of Irish Catholics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there always had been a considerable amount of heterodoxy of belief and practice among English Catholics, the empirical data reported in Hornsby-Smith's, Roman Catholics in England, (223-229)⁽¹⁹⁾ have also indicated clearly that the model of the homogeneous, disciplined and conforming English Catholic community has little basis in the reality at the present time. The heterodoxy of English Catholics as a social fact is well documented in this study.

In a further research paper, Catholic Elites: A Study of the Delegates to the National Pastoral Congress (Liverpool, 1980), in Occasional Paper, No. 3.,⁽²⁰⁾ further investigation in terms of differences (of the delegates) of ecclesiology, morality and this-worldly emphasis, was undertaken. In general the evidence suggests that while there is no deep-seated antagonism between lay people and

their priests, there does appear to be a more serious conflict between those who broadly favour and those who broadly oppose the changes which have taken place in the Church over the past two decades. Many Catholic teachers are divided on the changes.

Apart from the latent conflict between the traditionalists and the progressives, this study has also reported on other lines along which Catholics may be strongly differentiated. Generally differences between the sexes did not appear to be very important though women other than housewives were likely to be rather more heterodox than men or housewives. On the other hand, age differences appeared to be highly significant. There are large variations in religious outcome measures between the more orthodox and conforming older Catholics and the more heterodox and non-conforming younger Catholics. This makes the teachers' tasks more complex now. Social-class differences were not as great as age differences. Nevertheless, there were strong indications, notably in the demographic characteristics of the bishops' advisers or the delegates to the N.P.C., that contemporary institutional Catholicism is disproportionately attractive to the educated middle class. There seems to be a real danger of a cleavage between the activist and the traditional mass of relatively passive, grass-roots, working-class Catholics without clear representation in the decision-making processes in the more open and participative Church in the post-Vatican era.

From their research, Hornsby-Smith and Cordingley conclude that the distinctive Catholic sub-culture evident up to the early 1960s had largely dissolved by the mid-1980s. The process had been a gradual one taking place over some decades as a result of the steady dissolving of the walls in the solvent of rapid external social change after the global trauma of the Second World War and the internal religious aggiornamento encouraged in the 1960s by Pope John XXIII. The belated tolerance of the Welfare State by English Catholics is attributed by Coman to "the internal divisions and dissent, characteristic of a declining culture and increasing anomie... the weakening of the traditional Roman Catholic sense of boundary and demarcation in relation to the wider community... (and) the weakening of a general Roman Catholic identity".⁽²¹⁾

11. BREAKING DOWN OF THE SUBCULTURE

The aspects of the religious changes which have characterised this dissolution of a distinctive subculture are "The gradual assimilation through education and mixed marriage, the dissent over traditional teaching in birth regulation, the questioning of the limits of papal authority, the gradual substitution of English for Latin in the liturgy, the tentative movements towards ecumenism, the softening of traditional disapproval of mixed marriages and the abolition of Friday abstinence..."⁽²²⁾

The anthropologist, Mary Douglas, has pointed to a lack

of awareness of a sense of history and "the need for symbolic solidarity with the past and present body of the Church" which some of these modifications manifested. Thus she bemoans the fact that

"Friday no longer rings the great cosmic symbols of expiation and atonement: it is not symbolic at all, but a practical day for the organisation of charity.⁽²³⁾ Now the English Catholics are like everyone else".

The evidence of a considerable disaffection with the institutional Church on the part of the young is a problem which is common to all the larger denominations which rely for membership recruitment primarily on the socialisation of the children of existing members. The alienation of the working class has also become more apparent with the ending of large-scale immigration from Ireland; this has always given the Catholic Church the misleading appearance of being able to retain the allegiance of the working class. The growing gap between the educated middle-class activists in the Church and the ordinary Catholic in the pew is also a phenomenon familiar to the other Christian Churches. As the Durham Report indicates (referring to young Anglicans):

"Over all lay the shadow of the Bomb - the possibility of nuclear annihilation. The result was an increasing sense of purposelessness and cynicism. Yesterday we knew war and economic crises and tomorrow we may indeed all die; concentrate therefore on the satisfactions we know, and let others strive, plan, care and worry. If the parents had eaten sour grapes, small wonder that their children's teeth should be set on edge..."

12. DIFFICULTIES POSED FOR TEACHERS

The point now to be emphasised is that teachers of religious education here, as in the other two countries, found themselves in the early 1960s trying to teach young people who were profoundly influenced by the draft of contemporary cynicism and the materialist assumptions of a culture dominated by science and technology. Religion was seen as neither true nor false but merely irrelevant. Methods of teaching evolved in an earlier age became more and more impracticable".⁽²⁴⁾

Apparently the shift from the sect-like characteristics of exclusivity and strong internal discipline of the days of 'closed Catholicism' to the more inclusive, more tolerant and less judgemental characteristics of the 'open Catholicism' of the post-Vatican period, has had serious consequences for the political power which the Roman Catholic Church can wield in British society. With the dissolution of the boundaries surrounding a disciplined Church which could be relatively easily mobilised to defend its own interest, as they were defined by a clerical leadership, it has become increasingly difficult to persuade the membership of the Church that there are specific goals for which it ought to strive and interests it ought to defend which are distinct from those over which there is generally institutionalised conflict in a pluralist society. Far-reaching changes have taken place in the relationships between the Church and British society since the Second

World War. These have necessarily entailed radical changes in the nature of the Catholic identity and in the nature of Catholic schools in England and Wales today.

13. From Maintenance to Mission

In Flynn's research on the effectiveness of Catholic schools in Australia, and that of Egan with regard to Catholic schools in Wales, similar concerns surface regarding the continued justification of such separate systems of schools. Additionally the studies carried out by the National Catholic Educational Association on the effectiveness of United States Catholic schools add to these concerns. It seems that if Catholic schools are to retain their prominent position (whether in England and Wales, Australia or the United States) and make a unique contribution to the modern world, a shift, on the part of policy makers, from quantitative to qualitative concerns, from maintenance to mission, from plant to process, is urgently needed in Catholic education to meet the challenges of the age. Only in this way can Catholic schools hope to be true to their basic function and provide a radical alternative to the state secular schools at the end of the twentieth and into the twenty-first century.

One of the most worrying findings in the research of both Flynn and Egan* (though less so with those of Greeley et al. in Chicago) concerns the pupils' response to religious education. The outcome regarding this subject is a

* cf. BIBLIOGRAPHY, pp 384, 385

disappointing and negative aspect of these studies. The majority of the respondents hold religious education in very low esteem, and disagree with the importance assigned to it by the Church. In Egan's study, only one in five respondents in the Welsh and Australian sub-groups and one in four in the U.S. sub-groups agree that it should be the most important subject in the school curriculum. Fewer still attribute any importance to religious education in their own experience. An additional indication of the low-esteem in which this subject is held is evident in the fact that only one third of all the respondents would attend religious education lessons if they were free to do so. The compulsory nature of the subject may be counter productive, by producing religiously disaffected young people at an early stage in their lives.

14. The Necessity of Qualified Staff

The rapid diminution in staffs of religious sisters, brothers and priests, in Catholic schools in each of the countries being considered, over the past twenty years highlights an aspect of the crisis in religious education. In an article, the RE Crisis: A Way Out, in The Tablet of 6th October, 1990, Kevin Hanlon, the former head of religious studies at De La Salle College, Hopwood Hall, Manchester, states that at least 500 more specialists in RE are needed in Catholic secondary schools in England and Wales. Hanlon makes the point that half the RE department

staffs have no qualifications for the job, and 80 per cent of those who count as "RE specialists" have no specific qualifications either. There appears little hope in the foreseeable future that the Catholic colleges of education could remedy this situation, either by initial teacher training or by in-service courses, in view of the restrictions on the funding available to them and the allocation of numbers between the different subject areas. There is an urgent need in each of the countries to produce Catholic RE specialists with the equivalent of a licentiate in theology, whereas the BA and BEd courses in Catholic colleges in England and Wales are determined by requirements and specifications set by the universities, which have different priorities. Such a need in England and Wales may be of more importance now because of the 1988 Education Reform Act.

15. The Education Reform Act, 1988

New concerns are appearing as the new act settles, following its recent legislation. Some of these found expression in a Joint Pastoral Letter from the Bishops of England and Wales for Education Sunday, 27 January, 1991.

Referring to the act as being designed to make schools and colleges more cost-effective, to introduce an element of competition, and to increase choice for parents, the Bishops wrote:

"When this legislation was being considered by Parliament we voiced our concern about some of its effects. We warned that religious education would be marginalised. We were assured that our fears were groundless. We were told that religious education was guaranteed a place in all schools as part of the basic curriculum, and that we need have no anxieties about it. It is clear, however, that under the present law religious educators are finding it hard to hold their own in school. In theory RE has an assured position in the basic curriculum, but in practice it is in danger of being squeezed out."

The Bishops make the point that Catholic schools have the responsibility to show that it is possible to study all the subjects in the National Curriculum without lessening the attention and time given to RE. In a message to schools in 1989 the Bishops said that 10% of teaching time should be allocated to this subject. Now they repeat this request.

"This will not always be easy, but we insist that it be done. The main reason we have our own schools and colleges is so that the younger members of the Church can have the opportunity to learn about the faith of the Church, as part of a full education, within a Catholic environment. This raises questions about the nature of the school as a community, the quality of RE teaching required, and the commitment of all the members of the staff of the school to the Church's mission."

Where there has been some breakdown in orthodoxy of Catholic parents, and indeed of some teachers, and where there are schools with a big percentage of staff non-Catholic, the pressure increases on school administrators and their governors, to make decisions from a very thin basic economic line. Where this does occur, a lot of factors are being ignored or disregarded, limiting the

overall sense of responsibility for what should be happening in these schools. When one studies the wording of the Articles and Implements of the Act, you sense the invitation to turn them closer to Government school operation "to ensure correctness of delivery".

16. Teachers, Ethos and Expectations

The specialist RE teachers provide the backbone of the RE teaching in schools. But there are not nearly enough of them. The training and supply of these teachers will call for a carefully planned, nationally coordinated re-training programme. Such programmes have been in existence in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane, Australia, over the past ten years and are in process in a number of Catholic Universities in the United States. The English and Welsh bishops are looking to cooperation between the Catholic Colleges of Higher Education, other institutes (like Heythrop College), Catholics lecturing and studying in Schools of Education in universities across the country, and diocesan RE centres. The aim is that by the end of the century there will be sufficient RE teachers to staff the Catholic schools. As the Bishops point out, without such a co-ordinated plan the teaching of religion in Catholic schools, and therefore the very future of the schools, will be at serious risk.

The strength of this concern for the distinctive nature (and the need to be distinctive) is the final point made in

the Pastoral Letter.

"Let us remind ourselves about some of the hopes we have of our schools and colleges. They should provide an experience of a living and worshipping community, and in this way contribute to the entry of their members into the full life of the Church. They should be so inspired by the gospel that they are seen to be a genuine alternative to other forms of schooling. How can a Catholic school or college be really distinctive? How can it be rooted in the gospel? It must be seen to be a good school which offers a high standard of education. Its distinctive nature will depend on a large number of factors: the emphasis given to RE and worship; the attempt to live by and to promote the teaching of our Lord and his Church concerning faith and moral living; the emphasis given to values such as respect for others, forgiveness, trust, freedom and justice; the partnership that exists between school, home and parish."

These are signs of its being a living and worshipping community. These are the signs we must look for and support. But are these signs able to become realities in the complex world and the changing Church in which Catholics find themselves today?

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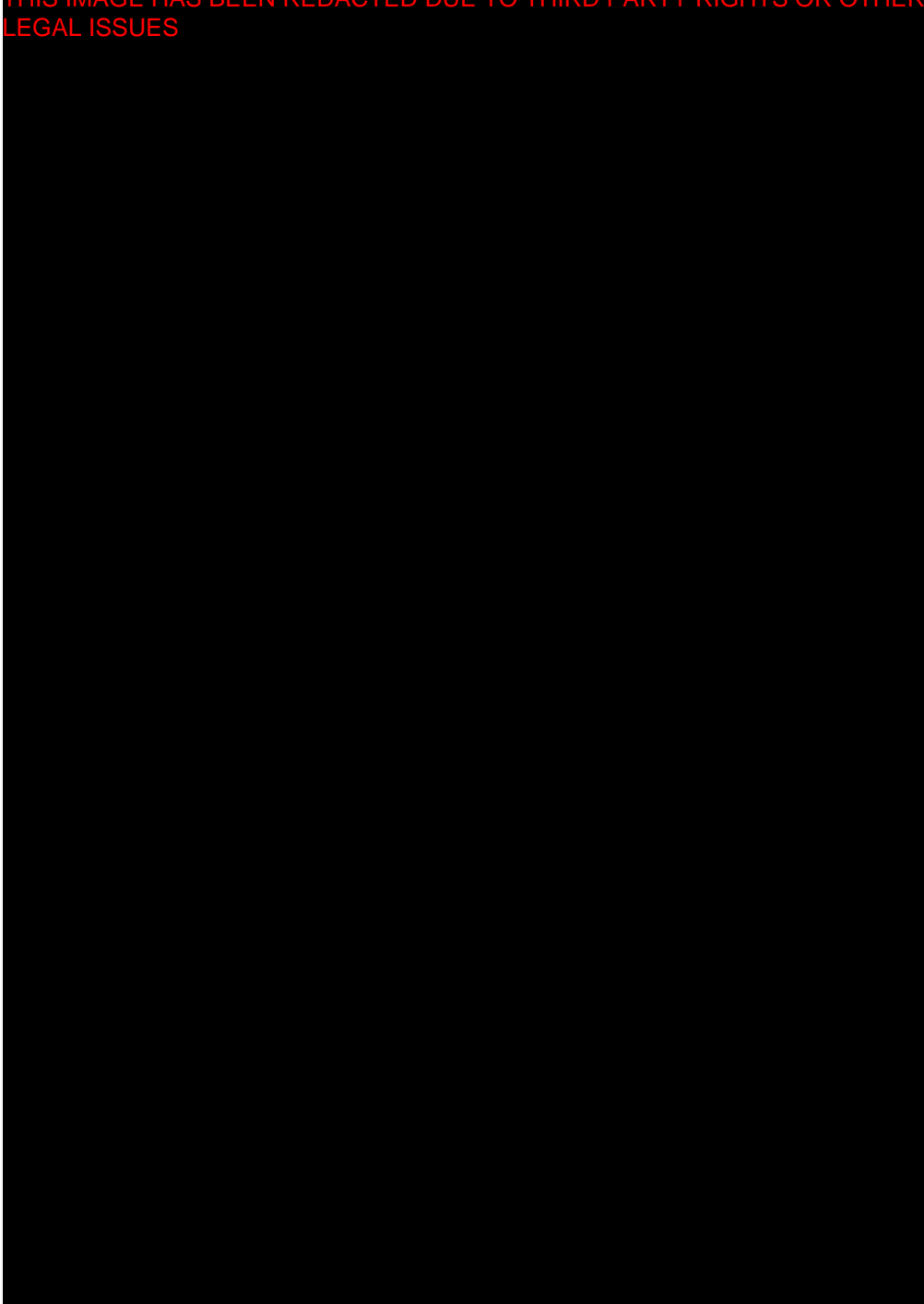
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CHAPTER SIX

THE RESPONSE TO THE CHALLENGE OF THE 'NEW' POLITICS.

In the rationale for this thesis, it was stated that the Catholic bishops in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States have commented regularly (cf. primary sources) on a wide range of their particular government's policies on national health services, unemployment, the homeless, the elderly, education, the widening gap between rich and poor, pensions, housing and the economy. They are particularly concerned for the growing numbers of poor people and families, and over the increasing divisions between people, communities and regions. Secondly, they question self-interest and economic materialism as moral preferences for the individual. Thirdly, they reflect unease with the tendency to elevate the free market into a hard determinist ideology. To begin to organise areas of human living like education, health, culture and religion by reference to such an ideology has met with widespread condemnation. Fourthly, they have expressed concern over the erosion of collective provision by the state in its local and national forms.

Catholic schools are called on to witness to Christ above all and share his work. Their potential achievement is great. The dangers that threaten this potential are sometimes very subtle. This chapter will examine ways in which Catholic education is coping with the prevailing sense of affluence by providing for the poor.

The Catholic School's Concern for Justice

Significant government influence, consumerist values prevailing in society, an intense spirit of competition, all of these factors can seduce Catholic schools from their primary task of educating people in the proper values of justice and peace. Since it is motivated by the Christian ideal, the Catholic school is particularly sensitive to the call from every part of the world for a more just society, and it tries to make its own contribution towards it. It does not stop at the courageous teaching of the demands of justice even in the face of local opposition (and particularly today where market-oriented education is being sponsored in the U.K., Australia and U.S.A.), but it tries to put these demands into practice in its own community in the daily life of the school.

In the U.K., Australia and the U.S.A., because of local laws and economic conditions, the Catholic school runs the risk of giving counter-witness by admitting a majority of children from wealthier families. Schools may have done this because of their need to be financially self-supporting. This situation is of great concern for the administrators of Catholic education in these three Western countries where a sense of affluence can prevail. First and foremost, as I have been pointing out, the Church offers its educational service to "the poor or those who are deprived of family help and affection or those who are far from the faith".⁽¹⁾

Since education is an important means of improving the

social and economic condition of the individual and of peoples, if the Catholic school were to turn its attention exclusively or predominantly to those from the wealthier social classes, it could be contributing towards maintaining their privileged position, and could thereby continue to favour a society which is unjust.

2. Schooling for Poor and Minority Children

It would be desirable for poor children who are at risk of failing academically to be placed in schools that minimise the negative impacts that poverty, family disorganisation, and cultural differences can have on their academic performance. In the United States, for example, unfortunately many poor and minority children often find themselves in schools that compound rather than alleviate their educational problems. Disadvantaged students are more likely than other students to attend schools where academic performance receives limited emphasis, where violence on school grounds is commonplace, and where nearly a third of the student body are chronically absent and score well below grade level on national reading and mathematics tests. The American public education system is inequitable because it tends to confine poor and minority students in schooling environments where the staff, facilities, curricular materials, and instructional practices are inferior to those found in many suburban and advantaged urban schools.

In her study of an inner-city high school, anthropologist Signithia Fordham made several troubling discoveries about why some black students avoided Advanced Placement and Gifted and Talented courses:

"(The courses) were perceived to be beyond their career and job expectations; they were 'protected' by the school administrators and counsellors from the detrimental effects of failure and consequently the rewards of success; and they lack the support of a peer group to buffer them from the accusations of 'acting white'".⁽²⁾

Few families, rich or poor, would choose to send their children to poor quality schools. Policies exist in many public school districts which make it well nigh impossible for families to send their children to schools outside designated attendance areas irrespective of the reputed quality of the school inside the district. Poor and minority families are often thwarted in their attempts to alter the quality of the schools within their districts as they often lack the power or resources necessary to achieve reform. Unable to change the system, these families are dually trapped, since they do not have sufficient resources to move out of their school districts or to gain access to private schools.

Any attempt to improve educational opportunities for poor and minority children will need to look at, more closely, those school environments that help to affect the negative impact that poverty and family disorganisation can have on academic achievement.

3. Catholic Schools and Their Commitment to the Poor

As mentioned previously the Catholic Church of today poses as one of its main priorities, a fundamental option for the poor. This chapter limits itself to a consideration of how the inner city poor in the capital cities of the United States and Australia are being provided for by the Church. Little research data is available in England and Wales by comparison.

In the overview of the development of Catholic education in the United States presented earlier I indicated the concern of the schools to accommodate the poor. During the period 1880-1920 when the number of pupils in parochial schools multiplied by a factor of four (from 400,000 to 1,700,000),⁽³⁾ Catholic schools were not only serving poor Catholics but also beginning to reach out to indigenous, poor non-Catholics. Between 1890 and 1917, seventy-six schools for inner-city Blacks were opened, partly due to the impetus provided by religious orders of women dedicated to the service of minorities. At the same time, deliberate efforts were made to open Catholic schools for Native Americans, prompted by a mission,

"to train their youth to become self-sustaining men and women using such methods of instruction in the principles of religion and human knowledge as may be best adapted to their purposes; also to visit the sick and poor of those races, and to act as the guardian of such of their orphans and

minor children as may be committed to their care".⁽⁴⁾ By 1890, there were 48 boarding schools and 17 day schools enrolling Native Americans.

Throughout the two world wars and the depression, Catholic schools continued to be an important central city presence, educating primarily first and second generation European immigrant families and, to a lesser extent, Blacks and Hispanics who had migrated to urban centres. Greeley describes how Catholic schools assisted in the cultural assimilation of destitute Polish immigrants in Chicago during the 1920s and credits these schools with the economic improvements among second generation Poles in the 1930s and 1940s.⁽⁵⁾

After World War II, the demography of cities changed dramatically. White Americans, buoyed by economic prosperity, migrated to the suburbs, while Blacks and Hispanics were moving into the cities. Some urban Catholic schools closed as a result of this demographic shift. However, the vast majority have remained open to provide for racial minorities the same kind of education offered to White immigrants a generation earlier. Catholic school statistics show that during the 1970s, the numbers of Black and Hispanic students rose, while the total number of Catholic school students declined.

The intent to serve the disadvantaged has characterised United States Catholic schools for 150 years. Two recent statements from United States Catholic bishops testify to the continuing educational commitment to the poor. The

first statement is from 1969.

"Education is a basic need in our society yet the schooling available to the poor is pitifully inadequate. We cannot break the vicious cycle of poverty producing poverty unless we achieve a breakthrough in our educational system. Quality education for the poor, and especially for minorities who are traditionally victims of discrimination, is a moral imperative if we are to give millions a realistic chance to achieve basic human dignity. Catholic school systems at all levels must redouble their efforts, in the face of changing social patterns and despite their own multiple problems, to meet the current social crisis. The crisis is of a magnitude and peril far transcending any which the Church in America or the nation has previously confronted".

The second statement comes from a pastoral letter on racism written in 1979.

"Finally, we urgently recommend the continuation and expansion of Catholic schools in the inner cities and other disadvantaged areas. No other form of Christian ministry has been more widely acclaimed or desperately sought by leaders of various racial communities. It would be tragic if today, in the face of crying need and even near despair, the Church, for centuries the teacher and guardian of civilization, should withdraw from this work in our own society. More affluent parishes should be made aware of this need and of their opportunity to share resources with the poor and needy in a way that recognises the dignity of both giver and receiver".

4. Recent Assessments

Recent research shows that Catholic high schools serve a significant percentage of low-income students. A detailed national study⁽⁸⁾ of Catholic high schools conducted in 1983 compares income distributions for Catholic high school families and the American population as follows:

Family income—U.S. population and CHS families compared (Q3.25)*

	<u>% of American households with this level of income (1982)</u>	<u>% of Catholic high school families with this level of income</u>
Under \$10,000	11%	6%
\$10,000-\$19,999	20	22
\$20,000-\$50,000	55	61
Over \$50,000	14	11

To a great extent, the income of the families of Catholic high school students parallels the income distribution found nationally. Catholic students' families are not, on the average, poorer - nor are they wealthier. This finding runs counter to the stereotype that Catholic schools draw disproportionate percentages of students from among the well-to-do. Only 11% of Catholic high school students' families have incomes over \$50,000, compared to 14% nationally. Families at the other extreme (with incomes under \$10,000) also are slightly underrepresented in Catholic high schools. If \$10,000 is used as the poverty line, only 6% of Catholic high school families are at the poverty level, as compared with 11% nationally. However, the percentage of Catholic high school families with incomes under \$20,000 (28%) is close to the national rate (31%).

How do low-income students fare in Catholic schools? Do they gain academically to an extent equal to or surpassing gains by other students? Are low-income students exposed to the same kind of courses and curricula as other students? These and related questions have not been answered adequately

in the existing educational literature. A 1982 study of central city private elementary schools conducted by The Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights provides descriptive information about a set of schools that serve disadvantaged minority students.⁽⁹⁾ It provides important new information about policies, resources, and programmes but limited information on educational outcomes.

The recent High School and Beyond project,⁽¹⁰⁾ administered by the National Center for Education Statistics, has produced a significant volume of data on American high school students, including a subsample of more than 6,000 Catholic high school sophomores and seniors. The primary focus of that study is on assessing and explaining academic outcomes. Several investigations of these data give us limited insight into low-income students. The following points are of importance in this present consideration:

. In the book High School Achievement: Public, Catholic, and Private Schools Compared, Coleman, Hoffer and Kilgore report that Catholic high schools are less economically segregated than are public schools.⁽¹¹⁾ A low-income student in a Catholic high school is more likely to have high income peers than is true in the public sector. This finding is significant, because public school research shows that disadvantaged students gain more academically when economic integration is high. To date, however, this thesis has not been tested within the Catholic sector.

. Coleman and his colleagues show that Catholic schools function more like the common school model than do public

schools. The academic performance "of children from parents with differing educational levels is more similar in Catholic schools than in public schools..."⁽¹²⁾ To the extent that parental education is a proxy for family income there is the possibility that this means the low-income students fare particularly well in the Catholic school setting. However, it is not clear whether low-income students in Catholic schools are more academically able or motivated than those entering public schools. This is possible, given the finding that students in Catholic high schools, regardless of race or level of parent education, have higher educational aspirations than their public school counterparts.⁽¹³⁾

. Greeley, based on additional analyses of High School and Beyond data, reports that Catholic high schools are particularly effective in promoting academic gain among low-income students, being more successful with this student group than with higher income students, or than public schools are with low-income students.⁽¹⁴⁾ These findings need to be interpreted cautiously because Greeley often uses the educational level of students' fathers to measure social class. This may not be a valid indicant of family income; furthermore, this measure would exclude data on some low-income students (who come disproportionately from father absent homes).

5. The Impact of Catholic High Schools on Low-Income Students

The study, *Catholic High Schools: Their Impact on Low-Income Students*,⁽¹⁵⁾ was designed to extend our understanding of Catholic High Schools, in the United States, beyond academic outcomes to a broader range of student outcomes and to a systematic evaluation of how well staff and programme resources are distributed to schools that serve low-income students. The study is the second of a two-part effort to examine Catholic high schools. Part 1, begun in 1983, involved a comprehensive survey of principals in a representative sample of 910 Catholic high schools and resulted in a 1985 publication called *The Catholic High School: A National Portrait*. It presents a national composite view of the resources, programmes, facilities, personnel, and policies of Catholic secondary schools.

Part 2 builds on this foundation, integrating information gathered from students, teachers, principals, and in-school observations and interviews to assess how, and with what effect, Catholic high schools educate students from low-income families. It is guided by four purposes:

- (i) to evaluate whether schools serving low-income students offer resources, programmes, facilities, and a positive school climate comparable to those found in schools that serve more economically-advantaged youth, and to evaluate whether low-income students' access to these

factors varies by urban and rural school settings.

- (ii) to describe the characteristics of low-income students in six areas: family background, school attitudes and academic programmes, academic achievement patterns, values, religious beliefs, and life skills, and to ascertain the degree to which student characteristics vary as a function of family income, race (Black, Hispanic, White), grade, and sex.
- (iii) to describe the background, motivations and attitudes of teachers who work in low-income-serving schools.
- (iv) to estimate the degree to which low-income students, in comparison to other student subgroups, gain after four years of Catholic education in the four student outcome areas: academic achievement, values, religion, and life-skills, and to identify the factors that promote desired student outcomes among low-income students, comparing the effects of family background, student characteristics, and institutional variables (e.g. institutional characteristics, programmes, teacher characteristics, school climate).

Of the 910 schools studied in 1983, 196 reported that more than 10% of their students had family incomes below the federal poverty line. These 196 schools were designated as a subset of low-income-serving schools and invited to participate in an in-depth study of teachers and students. One hundred and six schools (54%) participated. The study, *Catholic High Schools: Their Impact on Low-Income Students* is the first study to document systematically how Catholic

low-income-serving schools function in the United States. It goes beyond other educational research in its examination of student outcomes, evaluating school impact not only in traditional academic areas, but also in religion, values, and life skills. It integrates multiple sources of information and finds corroborating evidence for major themes from principals, teachers, and students. The NCEA hopes that the report will generate widespread discussion, reflection, and action, renewing and encouraging educators and policymakers who touch the lives of the poor, and will assist all schools - Catholic and non-Catholic - in giving priority to providing quality educational opportunity to low-income students.

The conclusions drawn are based on three sources of data: comparisons of LIS schools to all other Catholic high schools, comparisons of LIS schools that serve lower percentages of low-income students with those that serve higher ones, and comparisons between low-income and other students, based on the student survey.

- . On most educational resources, equal access is provided. Equity is most apparent in the areas of graduation requirements, school climate, teacher characteristics and financial resources.
- . Low-income students do not have equal access to rigorous science and mathematics programmes, but the difference is one of fairly modest degree. LIS schools are about 10% less likely to offer chemistry, physics, or

advanced mathematics classes. A smaller portion of very poor students (59%) than ^F of non-poor students (78%) enrol in a college preparatory programme.

On balance, the manner in which Catholic high school resources are distributed does not fit the bleak picture commonly drawn of American public schools. In a recent report to The President, the Secretary of the United States Department of Education, William J. Bennett had this to say:

"Judging by all available data, the dropout rate is alarmingly high, particularly so among black and Hispanic males.

The high school completion rate among blacks ages 18 to 19 is 10 percent lower than the national average of 75 percent; the completion rate for Hispanic youths of the same age is even more disturbing - only 55 percent. For many, failure to complete high school results in a lifetime of poverty and dependence. An Education Department analysis reported that "the estimated unemployment rate for dropouts shortly after they leave school is more than twice that of high school graduates of the same age.

... In short, student achievements and school performance earn a mixed grade for progress during the last five years... gains in student learning are slight and the average level of student skill and knowledge remains unacceptably low".

Two recent caricatures do not seem apt in the Catholic school context:

"If you are the child of low-income parents, the chances are good that you will receive limited and often careless attention from adults in your high school. If you are the child of upper-middle-income parents, the chances are good that you will receive substantial and careful attention".

"There is, in the gap between our highly idealistic goals for schooling in our society and the differentiated opportunities condoned and supported in schools, a monstrous hypocrisy".

The strongest motivator affecting teachers in LIS Catholic schools is the desire to teach in this kind of educational environment. The second strongest is their view of teaching as ministry, and third, love of teaching. These motivations do much to explain why good things happen in LIS Catholic high schools.⁽¹⁹⁾

General job satisfaction is high among LIS school teachers, even though a majority say they do not earn a decent salary. About half think it no more difficult to teach low-income students than others, and nearly all think their school does well in dealing with these students. Eighty-nine percent rate their school's curriculum as either good or excellent.⁽²⁰⁾ A majority also believe their school does either a good or an outstanding job in the religious formation of students.

It needs to be pointed out that these investigations were not limited to academic outcomes as is the tendency in other research. Because equal attention is given to the domains of values, religion, and life skills, certain characteristics such as school climate become an important facet of school effectiveness. What this may mean - and more research is called for - is that school effectiveness for Catholic schools (with their emphasis on value and religious outcomes) is not the same as it is for public schools.

6. Education of the Hispanics. Response of the Church

One may well ask to what extent is the Church, with its special option for the poor, catering for the Hispanics in education in the United States. During 1985 the National Catholic Educational Association conducted "hearings" in New York, Miami, Chicago, San Antonio and San Diego/Los Angeles.

Hispanics are the United States' fastest growing minority population and by the year 2000 will be the Catholic Church's majority population in the U.S. The census of 1980 indicates that the Hispanic population increased 61 per cent over the 1970 estimates, from nine million to fourteen and a half million. This growth rate far surpassed the growth rates of the total U.S. population (11 percent), of Whites (6 percent), and of Blacks (18 percent). In addition, 54 percent of the Hispanics reflected in the 1980 Census are 25 years old or younger; thus their growth rate is expected to continue at a higher rate than the remainder of the U.S. population which is relatively older than the Hispanic population. If this growth rate continues until the year 2000, Hispanics will become the largest minority population in the United States. Consequently, Catholic educators are facing a challenge of profound significance for the future of the Catholic Church in the U.S.

The Bishops' Pastoral Letter on Hispanic Ministry, The Hispanic Presence-Challenge and Commitment,⁽²¹⁾ has placed the Hispanic presence in the U.S. within the framework of a

community of people as pilgrims with a special prophetic role, challenging "all to be more Catholic, more open to the diversity of religious expression".⁽²²⁾ In fact, the pastoral explicitly calls for "Hispanic peoples to raise their prophetic voices to us once again, as they did in 1972 and 1977, in a III Encuentro Nacional Hispano de Pastoral, so that together we can face our responsibilities".⁽²³⁾ As Bishop Placido Rodriguez, Auxiliary Bishop in the Archdiocese of Chicago, points out:

"When public high schools systems had been failing to educate our youth and had manifested dismal failure such as 50% to 80% high school drop out rates, it was the Hispanic community that was not "ashamed" to admit this failure, but was able to "speak out" to the rest of society. The Hispanic voice proved to be prophetic, by bringing attention to the malaise and benefitting all in society".⁽²⁴⁾

If Catholic educators and Catholic educational institutions wish to be faithful to this "prophetic voice", the Hispanic family as a unity of values, customs language, and celebrations, needs to be addressed. The Hispanic family needs to feel a real welcome from Catholic schools. The Hispanic family holds education - Integral Education - as one of its great values. During the Encuentro Nacional (national process), Integral Education rated second, immediately after Evangelisation, as one of the nine prophetic lines explicitly voiced. And much of the content of Integral Education is concerned with its mission to creatively express faith and to liberate. The heritage Hispanics have received from their Meso-American and

Caribbean ancestors of a synthesis of life and faith, now baptised through five centuries of evangelisation in America, is a challenge to Catholic institutions of learning. The Catholic institutions as well as the Catholic educators are in a very unique situation vis-a-vis the synthesis of faith and bi-lingual education. The Catholic educator can continue to impart knowledge together with values.

Referring to this critical position of the Catholic school, Bishop Rodriguez writes:

"The public school system has done relatively well in bi-lingual education; it has a very sophisticated bi-lingual education program with structures, finances, and even Hispanic teachers who serve as "models". These efforts are to be commended. In contrast, the public school is rather limited pursuing values, especially religious values of the Catholic faith; hence, it finds itself rather limited in continuing this synthesis of life. The Catholic school does have this freedom and unique opportunity". (25)

7. FINANCE - A BARRIER TO ACCESS

With only 10% of Hispanic children in the Catholic parochial schools, there are added responsibilities for Catholic educators and Catholic educational institutions for the other 90% in the public schools. How is the Catholic faith being integrated into their lives? Most of the Hispanic youths are in large urban public school systems which are graduating a little more than 50% of their entering freshmen. These Catholic young people need help. There is need for advocacy, intervention, and remedial help

for Hispanic Catholic children in public schools.

The Church's position on the immigrant is very clear and strong and traditional in the best sense of the word. In *Exsul Familia*,⁽²⁸⁾ Pope Pius XII gives us the image of the Holy Family in Egypt, also a family that was undocumented, fleeing persecution, and living in great insecurity. There is a genuine challenge in this for the schools and educators as to whether they are as committed to these families as the Church teaches.

Unfortunately, the tuition of Catholic schools is outpricing very many Hispanic families and hence keeping them beyond reach of Catholic schooling. For Hispanics, the sociological and economic conditions are vastly different from the earlier migrations referred to in this thesis. The Hispanics are the first immigrant Catholic population that did not develop through the structure of national parishes. They are the first immigrant Catholic group that upon entering the United States has been required and unable to pay the high tuitions of the parish schools. Like the Irish in Britain and in Australia, the Hispanic family has a deep desire to send their children to a Catholic school and will make substantial sacrifices to do so. The Church needs a greater commitment to efforts for scholarships, both for normal schooling and to help young Hispanic teacher trainees.

8. DIFFICULTIES OF DISCRIMINATION

In a study of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, Minorities in Public Higher Education, John Maguire writes:

"After all of the proximate causes for the recession in educational involvement with the nation's minorities are surveyed - shifts in the mood of the national electorate, fluctuations in the economy, reactions to earlier efforts deemed excessive, the failure of the schools to prepare students for college, high dropout rates, early child-bearing by substantial segments of certain groups - the ultimate fact remains: white America has always had problems acknowledging people with marked differences - particularly skin color, language, and culture - as equals. We were a nation built upon oppression of the true native Americans, upon slavery of blacks, and upon segregation of most of the "different" others. As Clifton Wharton puts it, "America's historic legacy of discrimination is troubling in its obstinacy and its ability to regenerate itself in ever-new forms and structures".

Maguire is critical of the lack of concern on the part of the national administrators:

"In this academic year individual bias and overt institutional racism may have diminished, but forgetfulness, short-sightedness, and insensitivity on the part of faculty and administrators - more so than malevolence or conscious discriminations - remain the principal on-campus impediments to the enrolment and success of minority students and the appointment and promotion of minority faculty and administrators.

The national political mood, fuelled by the current Administration, suggests that these disheartening developments are tolerable, indeed acceptable - hardly a matter of grave national concern or great social urgency..... Is it any wonder that so many minority young people feel alienated, that "The System" doesn't want to

include them, that "The Dream" is for somebody else?"⁽²⁸⁾

9. Hispanics. Education Level

During the past ten years, there has been a marked improvement in the educational attainments of the Hispanics, but as a group in general, they have not reached the level of the population at large. Historical circumstances have contributed to this.

Among Hispanic groups these circumstances are reflected in widely differing educational levels. Cubans who came largely out of the professional class had the highest educational level and a cultural tradition which values higher education. In contrast, for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the agricultural sectors, educational values and traditions have been curtailed and subordinated to economic demands resulting in, for example, young persons working in the fields rather than attending school.

Among Hispanics, high school graduates in 1970 were 45% of the population and by 1983 were almost three-fifths (58%). However, for non-Hispanics 88% were high school graduates. Likewise for college graduates in 1970, only 15% had graduated from college, but by 1980 the proportion doubled to almost 30%. Among non-Hispanics, 16% are college graduates. By 1985, as prior to it, Hispanics continued to have lower educational attainment.

Again the differences between the various Hispanic groups are apparent. Almost three-quarters (71%) of Cubans are high school graduates, compared to 63% of Mexicans and 55% of the Puerto Ricans.

Hispanic women particularly have made notable gains in education. For Hispanic women, the median number of school years increased by two years to 10.5 between 1970 and 1980. The median school years for Hispanic men was 11; while for all men and women in the United States it was 12.4. In 1970 only 9% of Hispanic women had one or more years of college, but by 1980 this proportion had almost doubled to 17%. Nevertheless, this is still far below the situation for all other women, where 28% had completed one or more years of college. ⁽²⁹⁾

10. Poverty Level of Hispanic Families

Lower educational levels and lower paying jobs contribute to the low income level of the Hispanic family. The percent of persons below poverty level is very high and has been consistently higher than that of the population at large. In 1972, 22.8% of households were below the poverty level and in 1985, this had risen to 25.0%.

In 1985, one out of four Hispanic families were poverty level families. If non-cash benefits (i.e. those from programs that provide food, housing, medical assistance) were to be included, this would bring it down to one out of eight families, but either way, the proportion of Hispanic

families existing at the poverty level is twice that of the non-Hispanic.⁽³⁰⁾

11. Care for the poor and disadvantaged

In each of the countries being surveyed, Australia, the United States and Enland and Wales, the church needs to evaluate constantly the strength of its service in education to the poor and disadvantaged. Is the church, in each of these countries, making a preferential option for the poor? The review of Catholic educational developments in these countries, shows clearly that the church, years ago, struggled to make a preferential option for the poor. Is this still the case in the 1990s? Financial limitations will always influence the policies adopted, particularly in the inner-city high schools where much of the poverty is revealed.

12. The Effectiveness of Catholic Inner-City Schools

Catholic inner-city high schools are more effective than comprehensive, public inner-city high schools in helping disadvantaged students to succeed, according to a study released in October, 1990, by the RAND Corporation.⁽³¹⁾ The study adds to the substantial literature on the reform of urban schools and to the mounting evidence for the effectiveness of Catholic schools for minority and low-income students.

Coleman and Greeley, in separate studies in the 1980s,

had shown that Catholic high schools were particularly effective for minority students. They found that the achievement differences between Catholic and public schools were greatest for disadvantaged students. Also, the achievement differences between minority students and other students within schools were substantially less for Catholic than for public schools. Moreover, Catholic schools had much lower dropout rates than did public schools for those typically at risk.

13. The RAND Study

High Schools With Character, the RAND study, included 13 inner-city high schools in New York City and Washington, D.C. The researchers did an in-depth analysis of eight schools, all in New York City: three Catholic schools, two comprehensive public schools, and three special-purpose public schools. Many of the Catholic school students had received scholarships from the New York City Student-Sponsored Partnership Program, which pays tuition for disadvantaged students in inner-city Catholic high schools. Most scholarship recipients were black or Puerto Rican and many were not Catholic. The recipients tended to come from single-parent, welfare homes and have poor scholastic records.

The RAND researchers combined the Catholic and special-purpose public schools into a single category, focus schools, which shared three important elements. The schools had clear missions and distinct cultures; they were not

simply chance aggregations of individuals. Each school had a special identity that inspired a sense of loyalty and common commitment from the staff, students and parents. The schools were committed to the development of the whole student, communicating values and developing attitudes in addition to transmitting facts and imparting skills.

Students in the focus schools graduated at a much higher rate and scored better on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) than did students in the comprehensive schools. The Catholic schools had the highest graduation rate, with 95% of all students, and 82% of Partnership students, graduating. This compared with 66% of the students graduating from the special-purpose public schools and 55% graduating from the comprehensive public schools.

The SAT scores of students from the special-purpose, public schools approached the national average for black students, while the Partnership students exceeded it. Moreover, the Partnership students, many of whom entered below grade level, scored nearly as well as their classmates.

The mission and organisational structure of focus schools were important contributors to their effectiveness with disadvantaged students. Rather than assuming that students would automatically fit in, the schools aggressively socialised the students to their norms and expectations.

As in other studies which found that Catholic high

schools had a strong commitment to a core academic program for all students, the focus schools placed all students into a traditional high school core curriculum as quickly as possible. The Catholic schools consistently challenged students, expecting those requiring remedial help to put in extra hours before and after school and to attend summer school, if necessary.

Finally, the focus schools had strong organisational structures that enabled the staff to exercise initiative and to solve problems. Not burdened by a strong bureaucracy, the focus schools were inherently more flexible and adept at solving problems than were the comprehensive public schools. The authors noted that the Catholic schools had a high capacity for problem solving. This was attributed to their strong communal organisation and to their traditions, well understood by the entire school community. Furthermore, parents knew what the schools offered and trusted them to operate effectively in their child's interest.

Catholic schools in the United States (and, too, in England, Wales and Australia) are schools of choice that have traditionally enjoyed the benefits of site-based management. From this study and the research of Coleman and Greeley, equally important to the effective education of disadvantaged students is the presence in the school of a strong functional community among the staff, students and parents. This is the source of the school's high expectations, commitment to learning, discipline and order,

and interpersonal support - in short, its ability to produce its desired outcomes.

14. What are the Characteristics of Effective Schools for the Poor?

In its overview of the study, *Catholic High Schools: Their Impact on Low-Income Students*, Benson et al⁽³²⁾ conclude that a Catholic high school that is effective with low-income students - when effectiveness is defined as promoting student growth not only in academics but also in values, religion, and life skills - is one that:

- . Places emphasis on a rigorous academic programme.
- . Establishes a positive climate, including academic emphasis, a vibrant faith community, high morale, and a lack of discipline problems.
- . Expects homework to be assigned and completed
- . Involves students in extracurricular activities
- . Works with families to reinforce the academic, value, and religious mission of the school
- . In the particular case of faith development, maintains a strong core of religious faculty and minimises teacher turnover.

Given the primary focus of this report - to understand how Catholic high schools affect low-income students - a particularly important finding is that the educational practices that seem to promote student development (see above) are blind to socioeconomic status. These effective school characteristics work for low-income students in the

same way, and to the same extent, as they do for other students.

In several ways, these findings confirm those found in other research. Family support, course exposure, homework, and a positive climate have been cited repeatedly in the empirical literature as factors that significantly advance student academic achievement.⁽³³⁾ The size and balance with which alterable school factors explain student achievement is roughly equivalent in this study and in other research.⁽³⁴⁾

Two characteristics - a positive climate and a strong academic programme - seem particularly important. They are linked not only with academic achievement but also with the development of values, religious faith, and life skills. The whole notion of the faith community, a climate factor more descriptive of Catholic schools than public schools, emerges as a significant characteristic of effective Catholic high schools.

While urban school-age populations have become primarily minority, it now appears that the number of private schools in inner-city areas is decreasing, while the number of private schools in suburban and non-metropolitan areas is increasing slightly. This change has come about in part because the number of Catholic children in many urban areas has declined. These population declines have not been offset by the considerable number of low income and minority students attending Catholic high schools, as indicated

previously. This demographic trend has resulted in the closing of a number of inner-city Catholic schools. Restrictions of finance and competing needs for the finance available have forced the Church's hand in these decisions.

15. Attention to the Poor, Australia

The Catholic church in Sydney began as a church of poor and disadvantaged people. The first schools were entirely staffed by lay people, and served the poor. The first Catholic people and the first priests went to Australia as convicts. When the bishops in the 1870s chose to continue a distinctive Catholic school system, they staffed the schools with members of religious orders, most of which schools had been founded to work with the poor and disadvantaged.

With the passing of time, Catholics have shared in the increase in prosperity in Australia, and have become a part of the whole range of Australian experience. Catholic schools reflect the changes in the role and expectations of Catholics. In places where there are few Catholic students, schools have closed, and in other areas where there are large Catholic populations, schools flourish. And, regardless of the social standing of their parents and students, the schools teach and witness Catholic values which include support for families, pupils, parents and teachers.

The Sydney Catholic Education Office is committed to

the maintenance and development of a system of schools (a similar situation exists in Brisbane, Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, Hobart and in the suffragan dioceses) which provide a quality of education that recognises and reflects the human dignity of each student. The Sydney Catholic school system has a deep concern for all students, and gives active witness to the Church's traditional regard for people who are physically, emotionally, financially, educationally or spiritually disadvantaged or deprived.

Just over half (50.42% as at 12th October, 1989)⁽³⁵⁾ of the students in parish and regional schools in the Archdiocese of Sydney are from language backgrounds other than English. This build-up has been due directly to Commonwealth policies on immigration. These pupils come from homes where a language other than English is spoken. At least 46 differing languages are spoken by Catholic students and their families. These students have the advantage of speaking two languages, but many of them need extra support in English. In 1988, ten different languages other than English were taught in Catholic systemic secondary schools. More than 10,000 students - 39% of the secondary enrolment - were learning one or more other languages. In primary schools, eleven different languages were taught in programmes including bilingual support programmes, mother-tongue maintenance of community languages, and the learning of a second language.

13,578 students in 39 Sydney Catholic school communities are part of the Disadvantaged Schools Programme.

This programme has made a major contribution to meeting the special needs of students, and has as its major aim equality of outcomes for all students. All students, irrespective of race, class or sex should, as a result of schooling, have independent access to knowledge and have the skills to participate in shaping the society of which they are a part.

Both the Arabic and the Vietnamese programmes of the Australian Second Language Learning Programme are designed to meet the needs of children in the early years of schooling by providing bilingual support for mother-tongue maintenance. These programmes are based on evidence that concept development is increased, and children learn better, if they continue to study their first language. For several years now, in the Sydney office, the liaison officer for Indo-Chinese students has worked to help meet the special needs of these students. Where appropriate, schools often have a community liaison person on the staff to help the school reach out to particular sections of its community.

The schools, too, have a tradition of commitment to the teaching of basic literacy skills to all students. In recent years, Kindergarten to Year 3 teachers have been retrained in the most up-to-date methods and principles of literacy development. A Year 3 to Year 7 literacy programme for teachers is now under way. The history of Catholic education in Sydney is an ongoing story of the empowerment of poor and disadvantaged people through the provision of basic literacy and numeracy skills.

For three years, the system employed an Aboriginal Teacher Adviser to work specifically with the Sydney Aboriginal community, and to help better meet the needs of about 200 students in these schools who identify themselves as Aboriginal people. The system continues to support the implementation of an Aboriginal Education policy, as a way of giving witness to the special needs and concerns of Aboriginal Australians.

No Catholic child is denied a Catholic education for purely financial reasons. Large Catholic families have traditionally benefited from fee reductions for younger brothers and sisters. At present, these fee reductions are 25% for the second child, 50% for the third, and 100% for fourth and subsequent children. These discounts saved parents about \$3 million during 1989. A significant, but discreet and unpublicised, tradition of Catholic school communities has been the support, both physical and spiritual, offered to families in crisis or hardship. This has always been a cornerstone of Australian Catholic education. Catholic parents have always made great sacrifices to give their children a Catholic education. Strong community support for these schools is one of the great strengths of the system.

16. Special Education Provision

Sydney Catholic schools also give impressive witness of commitment to the needs of students who require special education. In recent years the system's commitment to these

students has grown significantly, \$2.4 million was spent in this area in 1989, 93 Sydney Catholic schools received additional funding from the system to develop Special Education programmes.

The Sydney Catholic school system makes special provision for visually or hearing impaired students.⁽³⁶⁾ The Hearing Impaired Programme was established and pioneered by the Dominican Sisters for eight years. The Catholic Education Office took over responsibility for this service following the withdrawal of the Sisters in 1985. The Catholic Schools Centre for the Visually Impaired at Wahroonga was established by the Catholic Education Office at the beginning of 1983. It is responsible for providing support services for the successful integration of all visually impaired students, from partially sighted to totally blind, throughout the Archdiocese of Sydney, from Kindergarten to Year 12. For hearing impaired students, nine itinerant specialist teachers are employed to meet the needs of 68 primary and secondary students in the schools of the Archdiocese. An adviser, a Braille transcriber and three specialist teachers are employed to meet the needs of 22 partially sighted and three blind students located in schools across the Archdiocese.

The Catholic schools have a well established tradition of designing educational programmes for less academic students. In recent years, a great many secondary schools have developed alternative courses to better meet student needs. The joint school/TAFE (Technical and Further

Education) programme in the Southern Region of the Archdiocese is another example of the system responding to the educational needs of students who may not be interested in or capable of taking more academic courses.

17. Equity and Compensation. An Option for the Poor

Within the Catholic school system in Sydney, funds can be distributed on a more just basis of equity and compensation, that is, more can be given to those with greatest needs. The system also supports a wide range of initiatives to meet the needs of communities and individual students who are financially, emotionally or spiritually disadvantaged. Some smaller schools, especially in poorer parts of the inner city, are kept open, and subsidised by larger schools, because of the particular needs of the local Church community. Additional support is also provided to schools, through increased staff allocations to make available additional pastoral care programmes, and to support the work of community liaison people.

The staff allocation system used in Sydney Catholic schools is flexible enough to provide additional staff to schools with the greatest need. The system also supports and maintains some schools designed specifically for students who may be emotionally or spiritually disadvantaged, such as Benedict Community School, Auburn. For many years funds have been provided to assist the work

at Boys' Town, Engadine. In 1989, \$110,000 was made available for the education of those boys. 1

For some students in the school, the only experience of Church comes from the school. The work done, both within classrooms and through extra-curricular experiences such as retreats, to build a community enlivened by Gospel values, and emphasise the relevance of the faith to contemporary life and culture, is a fundamental and essential part of the life and mission of the Church in Sydney.

In 1988, the Sydney Archdiocesan Catholic Schools Board published a document entitled Catholic Schools : A Vision Statement for the Archdiocese of Sydney. This document makes explicit the foundation beliefs and values on which the Board bases its decisions and recommendations, and calls on the system to demonstrate a special concern for the disadvantaged.

The work being done in the Parish primary and Regional secondary schools of the Archdiocese of Sydney provides a real and impressive witness of the Sydney Catholic Church's preferential option for the poor. Space limits the discussion of this issue, but similar summaries would provide the same kind of evidence illustrating the concern of the whole Australian Catholic educational community for the poor and the disadvantaged.

As can be seen from the tables below, Catholic students in systemic schools still have quite a deal to pay towards their yearly tuition.

In the primary school they pay \$330 per annum for the

first child - this is an additional cost to parents and represents 19% of the combined government provision. In the case of the first child in Year 11 or 12 of the secondary school, the annual fee is \$870, again an additional cost to parents 33% of the combined government provision.

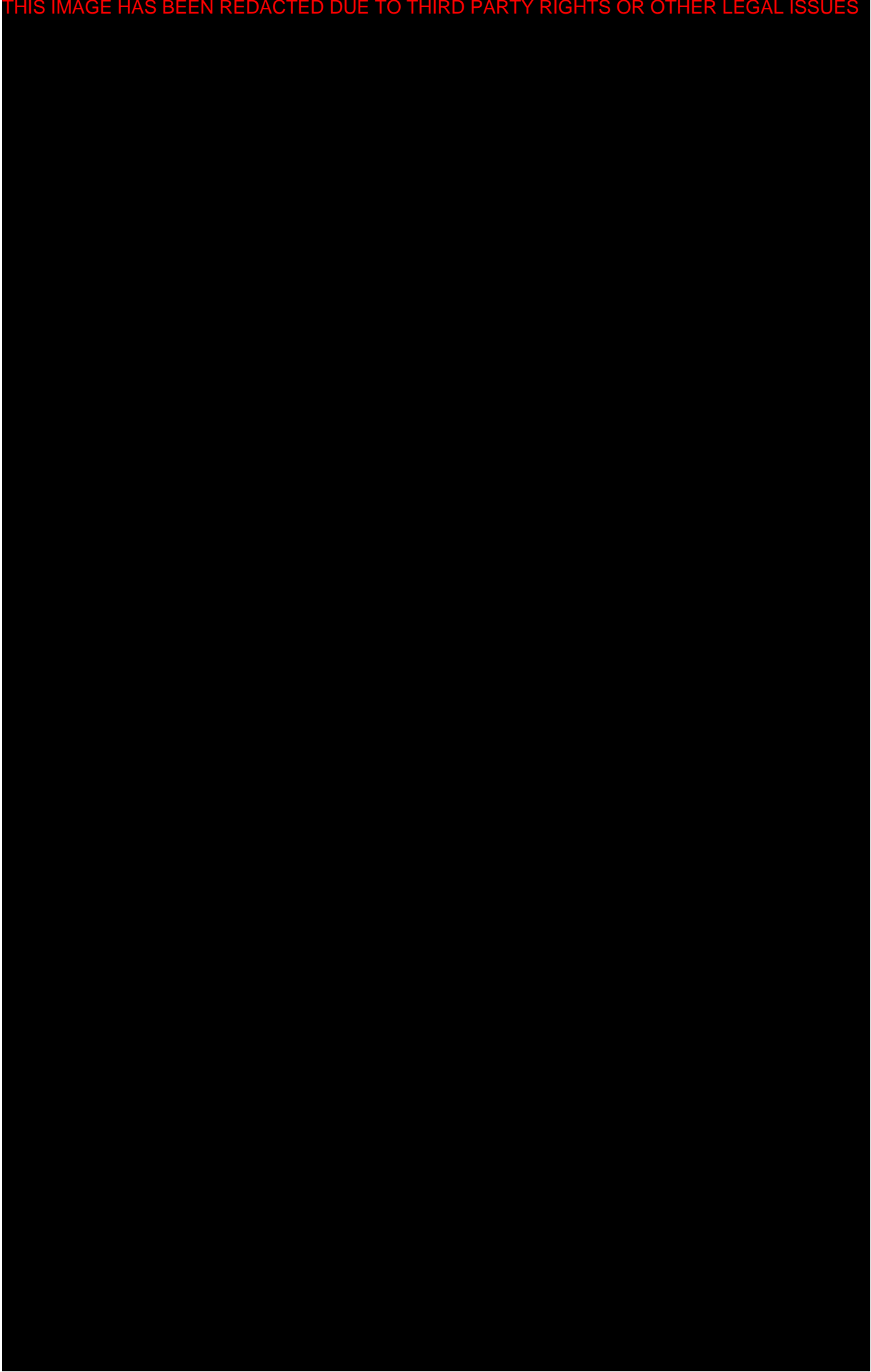
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This chapter has provided evidence of Catholic education's concern to see that in the organisation of areas of human living, such as education, the demands of justice are put into practice in the communities through the schools. If the Catholic schools were to turn their attention exclusively or predominantly to the provision of market-oriented education, they would be contributing towards maintaining a privileged position, and could thereby continue to favour a society which is unjust. However, the adequacy and extent of such a response to the poor in education, is always likely to be less than desirable and this will constantly concern administrators in Catholic education.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE STATE LEVEL AS THE FOCAL POINT FOR EDUCATION POLICY

The Church faces many pressures, within and without, which can easily distort or distract it from achieving its basic educational objectives. In this chapter I wish to address these issues. Of necessity, the study cannot cover too wide a field. The basic scrutiny here is that of the Church's ability, in the modern social scene, to maintain its ideals of poverty and justice in the educational settings of Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom. Can an option for the poor be a reality, or even a possibility?

The chapter will study:

- .. The use of public funds to aid religious schools
 - . the constitutions of the United States and Australia, where with the language almost identical, the Governments have taken different interpretations
 - . the role of the courts re aid in these countries
- .. The complexities of some government regulation
 - . grant-maintained schools in the United Kingdom
 - . parental monopoly and the distinctive character of the Catholic school
 - . preservation of the common good and claims of strong sectional interests

- . division amongst English Catholics on this aspect of privatisation
- .. The wider role of Governors following the UK 1988 Act
 - . can they meet their newly required capacity?
- .. The market-value orientation of the curriculum in each country
 - . the philosophy underlying this orientation
 - . the difficulties it poses for the Church
- .. The Church's dilemma
 - . acceptability and effectiveness
- .. The religious dream
 - . pluralism and a stable society
- .. Further distortion/attitudes to, and aspects of, educational failure
 - . significant differences between Catholicism and secular humanism
- .. Has Catholic education a place in these societies?
 - . factors inhibiting Catholic schools from a multi-ethnic and multi-racial approach.
- .. Catholic schools working in society for change
 - . role to help transform our economic and political systems
 - . a work of grace, of conversion of hearts
 - . implications for Catholic teachers, development and commitment.

1. The States as Prime Sources of Initiatives

The United States Constitution leaves to the states the power and responsibility to decide whether and how to set up an education system. In early US history, schools were supported by the community, or education was private and tutorial for the children of the wealthy. (Tyack, 1967). The movement for public education came from many forces, from those who wished to control the problem of 'hordes' of what seemed unmanageable immigrants to those who looked upon an educated citizenry as the keystone of democracy. (Tyack, 1967; Katz, 1971). For a half-century after 1850 state policy activity began, focussed mainly on providing rules to guide localities in their public education efforts. (Katz, 1971; Tyack, 1967; Downs, 1974).⁽¹⁾

For different reasons, the states were not viewed favourably (corruption, lack of representation) as being the best government agencies for making education policy. They were not always seen as the appropriate place for deciding matters so close to the family. Following World War II federal dollars and federal agencies multiplied for many policy services. The Cold War helped propel a federal drive to improve the local education system in the National Defense Education Act, especially in its maths and science programmes. Other issues stimulated other governmental concerns, such as curriculum and desegregation.⁽²⁾ Through the Kennedy and Johnson years, social agencies like schools

became the recipients and agents for the federal monies to make education equitable, productive, and efficient. Court decisions at state and federal levels solidified the equity demands.⁽³⁾

Reaction against some elements of this change took place. In the 1970s taxpayers revolted against the local property tax burden that paid the growing costs of schooling and other social programmes. Consequently, the states took on a larger share of these costs.

In 1981, the educational policy of the Reagan administration was dominated by procedural considerations. Washington insiders referred to the five Ds: disestablishment [elimination of ED (Department of Education)], deregulation, decentralization, deemphasis (reduction of the position of education as a priority on the federal agenda) and, most importantly, diminution (reduction of the federal budget in education). Educationists were jolted by the first significant reductions in the federal education budget in 25 years. In the intervening years, educationists have accepted the notion that a programme that does not lose money from year to year has been successful in defending its position.

If a successful thrust towards diminution was the achievement in 1981, the key event of 1982 was implementation of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act (ECIA) - a thrust towards decentralization. The education block grant delivered on the statement in the

1980 Republican Platform Text calling for replacement of the "crazy quilt of wasteful programmes with a system of block grants that will restore decision making to local officials responsible to voters and parents" (p.2034). The block grant was less than what the administration aspired to. Vocational education and special education escaped inclusion in the block. But vital change had been effected. The flow of federal involvement in educational policy had been reversed.⁽⁴⁾

In 1983, when the federal government was devolving (as mentioned above) its policy responsibilities to state, local, and charitable organisations, *A Nation at Risk* caused a furore which provoked more state reforms. It made it necessary for something to be done about the schools, but it left the decision-making to state policy actors. They would have to decide how to combine the federal legislative and judicial mandates with the state-specific concerns and how to energise the local districts to implement these mandates and concerns at the local level. The state courts also consistently reasserted their power over policy. For example, when state education funding failed to provide equity, the courts intervened. By the mid-1980s states were the prime source of education policy initiatives.⁽⁵⁾

These changes have affected the educational professionals as well as the various policy agents. The question that keeps cropping up in all of this is what is the governance role of the professionals? From the early building of the professional model of schools, professionals

have vied for the right to decide how the education system is to be managed.⁽⁸⁾ For a long time educational administrators successfully promulgated the myth that education and politics were separate and that the school system should be managed by neutral, but technically competent, administrators. But critics have noted that the very structure of the school organization contains implicit political agendas. As well, teachers' political action committees have exercised increasing and clearly stated influence in state and national elections. In many ways professional control has been a constant theme in U.S. educational history.

Hence over the years, the power to govern schooling, has shifted among educators, federal agencies, localities and states. In the 1980s demands for action fell on the state policy actors and agencies. These had been strengthened by previous experience with federal programmes, directed by Reagan's 'new federalism', and stimulated by the demand for reform in *A Nation at Risk*. Because of all this, it is necessary to understand the state policy system, for it is the area with the greatest capacity and responsibility for reforming education.

2. Use of Public Funds to Aid Religious Schools

Since the *Everson* case in 1947, arguments have revolved around the meaning of the establishment clause of the First Amendment, which has generally been taken to mean that tax funds should not be used in ways that benefit religious

schools. But contrary arguments have also been advanced⁽⁷⁾ supporting such public aid on theories that it benefitted the child, not the school; that it provided public funds for auxiliary services and indirect aid, not basic or direct support; that it purchased specialised but non-religious services; that vouchers or tuition tax credits increased parental choice but did not go directly to religious schools; or that "spared time" in which public school teachers are sent to give remedial instruction to private school students in parochial schools is justified as aid to disadvantaged children.

In recent years a number of court cases have revolved around prayer in public schools. In a long and complicated way the Supreme Court has struggled since the McCollum case in 1948, when it ruled that allowing children to attend sectarian classes in public schools during regular school hours and taught by outside religious instructors was unconstitutional.

At the state level, a movement has been gaining ground to try to free private religious schools from state authority or state regulation on the basis of the free exercise clause of the First Amendment. It takes the form of arguing that religious schools should not be obliged to meet state requirements concerning certification of teachers, curriculum or textbook standards, or compulsory attendance laws if these conflict with the religious beliefs of the parents or the sponsors of the schools. Some lawyers

are even arguing that a public school system based on secular principles is itself a violation of the First Amendment and thus is unconstitutional. The view is that all schools should be private. Their motto is: separate the schools from the state.⁽⁸⁾ Arons would go as far as to state, "without a complete separation of school and state, the governing process of American schooling has been increasingly undermined by unresolvable value conflict, and individual freedom of belief, expression, and political participation have been hobbled. Schooling has become a major means of transmitting culture. When government imposes the content of schooling it becomes the same deadening agent of repression from which the framers of the Constitution sought to free themselves".

The issue is a serious one now, particularly at the state level. Many dissenting families perceive that in public schools it is the two-dimensional order of bureaucratic rules that often substitutes for a dysfunctional or collapsing cultural consensus. To many parents, government education officials seem to inhabit a world of shifting, arbitrary categories, beset by feuds among bureaucratic baronies⁽⁹⁾ and infested with endless insensitivity to individual children and families and with a mindless disregard for the vitality of life. The institutional education process to which parents are urged to hand over their children may be perceived as advocating secular humanism, classism, sexism, or some other easily

labelled attitude. But it is just as likely to be viewed as devoid of any values - as superficial, mindless, and dominated by a commitment to order without ethics. In this context the family that asserts the right to pursue its own beliefs, whether radical or reactionary, asks for meaning where none is wanted by government.

3. Who Should Make Schooling Decisions?

Government-run schooling, universal, compulsory, and publicly financed has traditionally been viewed by most Americans as an essential democratic institution. According to this view, schooling teaches skills necessary to the exercise of the rights of citizenship, is required for survival in our economic system, and ~~ine-~~^{CA}culates in the rising generation those values and attitudes that support democratic institutions. At the heart of American school ideology for the last century has been the belief that schooling decisions, like most governmental decisions, are the proper province of the political majority. The question raised by the families that have been involved in recent conflict with public-school authorities is whether majority control of schooling is compatible with fundamental liberties in general and the First Amendment to the Constitution in particular.

Following a lengthy review of many Court cases in recent years, Freeman Butts⁽¹⁰⁾ has this to say:

"... so, it behooves the educational profession to

study these issues in depth, to consider the best historical scholarship available, and to judge present issues of religion and education accordingly. Unless the profession and the public together alert themselves this time to the need for a "history and civics lesson" about the First Amendment on religion and education, we may find the realm of public education narrowing and disintegrating under a massive conservative counter-reformation that seeks to reverse 40 years of liberal jurisprudence. In the words of David G. Savage of the Los Angeles Times, "Will the Center Hold?".

Viewed as a theoretical policy option, free of legal constraints, it is hard to argue that religiously affiliated schools provide less effective education than do their secular counterparts. And as the United States becomes increasingly committed to an "active" pluralism, it seems difficult to support an argument whose main tenet is a defence of homogeneity. Australia, a country with an English common law tradition, became convinced that, private denominational schools were a lasting fact of Australian life, and decided to provide public support for them. Remarkably, the Australian constitution contains language nearly identical to the American First Amendment.⁽¹¹⁾ The Australians have decided that so long as they treat all religious schools equally, they do not breach the wall of separation between church and state. In a word, Australia does for primary and secondary students what the United States does for college and university students.

4. *Funding in Private Schools*

In the United States there is no direct public investment in private schools; the opposite is the case in Australia. While there are similarities in the constitutional and legal frameworks of the United States and Australia, the courts have arrived at quite different interpretations of the legitimacy of public funding for private schools. In Australia the courts have confirmed the legality of payment to private schools under certain conditions, whilst in the United States the interpretation has been much more restrictive on the grounds of the separation of church and state. The Australian government has established principles for the financial maintenance of educational choice combined with a concern for equalising educational opportunity through a needs-based funding approach.

The Australian government has introduced a system of Commonwealth recurrent grants paid to schools on a per-capita basis according to their enrolments with every school approved for funding receiving at least category 1 grants and schools allocated to a funding category ranging from 1 (lowest) to 12 (highest) according to an assessment of its private income. Schools in certain categories (1, 2 and 4) receive a base grant only (which is indexed) while the other schools also receive a betterment component designed to improve the resources to assist the schools towards reaching

a nominated percentage of the national 'community standards' which is intended to be reached by 1992. As well, the states (and territories) make per capita grants to private schools but the level of grant differs considerably from one state to another and for the vast majority of schools is well below the value of the Commonwealth grant. The size and political clout of the private school sector has been an important factor in the securing of this state aid for the private schools.

It is abundantly clear that despite the best efforts of a very vocal minority there is a widespread acceptance in Australia for public funding for private schools. The fact that private schools in Australia are thriving is not just because of the availability of public funding but is a result of the very strong community demand and support for private schools. However, private schools, and particularly Catholic ones, need to weigh-up the cost in terms of loss to independence as a consequence of accepting public funding. Private schools are now required to report annually to the federal government (via resource agreements for school systems or accountability statements for non-systemic schools) on the extent to which they are achieving the government's objectives as well as to give an indication as to what else the schools are spending federally provided funds on. Private schools are worried that the priorities of the federal government may take precedence over those determined by school communities themselves, thereby distorting their mission.⁽¹²⁾

5. Dangers of Public Control

Concern, as expressed elsewhere in this thesis, is that some Catholic educators do not clearly enough understand the special advantages and responsibilities that go along with being private. Catholic education, in Australia, the U.S. and the U.K., in its justifiable zeal for public support, may too easily succumb to the concomitant of public control. Possibly the most serious threat to private education is not economic disaster, but over-regulation by public agencies.

A good example of this over-regulation by public authorities in Australia is the growing interest, on the part of the federal government, in obtaining measures of educational outcomes that would reassure it, and the community at large, that the massive investment of public funds from federal sources in both public and private schools is warranted. A major concern of the private schools is the extent to which the assessment of educational outcomes will focus attention on the more readily measurable levels of achievement in the acquisition of skills and the recall of factual information to the relative neglect of those which are more difficult to quantify such as the development of desirable attitudes and values and the application of knowledge. As well as to the issue of their public accountability, private schools are directly accountable to their fee-paying clientele and sponsoring

community in a way that public schools in Australia are not accountable.

John C. Esty, as president of the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS) when speaking in Boston, in April 1984 to the National Catholic Educational Association Convention, had this to say:

"I was astonished to read in a recent report of our counterpart association in private higher education, The National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities, that their greatest focus and proudest achievement is not in the area of professional growth of teachers or better administration of the colleges or articulating their role in higher education - but almost exclusively in the area of government aid."⁽¹⁴⁾ Donald Erickson, after three decades of research in the private sector, says it can be clearly stated that regulation weakens schools.

"I think we must understand our privateness and make sure that we maintain its most precious asset and, I believe, its most important contribution to the public purpose - our sheltering of private belief and our protection of private conscience. In many ways American constitutional history is the story of public orthodoxy versus private dissent. I believe that a system that cannot stand dissent and difference contains the seeds of its own destruction and cuts off the sources of its own renewal. Nowhere is that more true than in American education. And American private education represents the refuge for that dissent and difference. I believe in the right of parents and churches to educate their children in matters of conscience and in their own beliefs, so long as they are consistent with the broad goals and purposes of American democracy. I believe American private education is not only a manifestation of (personal) freedom, but a protector of it. That is the essence of public purpose, for that is the essence of American democracy".

6. Complexities of Government Regulation

In the U.K., following the legislation of the Education Reform Act 1988, there is a dislike, amongst the Churches, to the proposals for grant-maintained schools. The Churches worked for many years with the local education authorities to make a success of the 1944 Education Act and the settlement of the religious question which it incorporated. Catholics accepted the Butler proposals under some protest, as I have indicated elsewhere. Under the 1944 Act, there were two categories of 'voluntary' schools which were also 'maintained' - that is, their running costs were paid for by the local education authority. Aided schools remained denominationally directed. Religious instruction was in accordance with the provision of the Trust Deed and the Trustees nominated a majority of the governors. Aided schools were responsible for their own curriculum and admissions. Controlled schools, on the other hand, had a majority of local authority nominees on their governing bodies, and, with certain minor exceptions, religious instructions had to follow the Agreed Syllabus, as in county schools. Curricula and admissions were a matter for the local authority.

The differences in the degree of church influence were reflected in the financial arrangements set out in 1944. In the case of controlled schools, capital expenditure was met by the local education authority. In the case of Aided

schools, the voluntary school authorities - usually the Church of England or the Catholics - had to find 50 per cent of the cost. This was far beyond their means, and progressively, between 1944 and 1975, the size of the churches' capital contribution was reduced to 15 per cent.

A majority of the Church of England schools became controlled; the Catholics insisted on Aided status for their schools. By 1988 the position in England and Wales was as follows:⁽¹⁴⁾

Church of England schools			
<i>Aided</i>	<i>Pupils</i>	<i>Controlled</i>	<i>Pupils</i>
2076	378382	2954	411604
Roman Catholic schools			
<i>Aided</i>	<i>Pupils</i>		
2400	657328		

There was a strong financial inducement for the Churches to move their schools to grant-maintained status. When an Aided school opted out it no longer had any

obligation to pay 15 per cent of future capital expenditure. Grant-maintained schools were proposed in order to respond to "parental wishes", and to answer the requests of parents who "want the responsibility of running their schools as individual institutions". (Consultation Document, 1987).⁽¹⁵⁾ Parents are promised full representation on the governing bodies of the proposed opted out schools. The Reform Bill, in stressing the involvement of parents in the running and management of schools, recognises that parental financial backing and parental interest in schools in the independent sector of education have undoubtedly contributed to the success and popularity of these schools.

However, as Egan indicates,⁽¹⁶⁾ there are dangers as well as benefits inherent in parental monopoly in schools. The result could be that these schools would become very inward looking and indifferent to the needs of the community as a whole. Although the presence of a national curriculum would prevent this as far as the educational side of the school is concerned, the proposed open admissions' policy might accentuate the development of insularity and elitism. Undoubtedly, such schools would be able to pick up the more able pupils and the better teachers, and in this sense it is difficult to understand the claims of the Reform Bill that greater diversity will improve educational standards in all schools. The emphasis on the more able pupils, on academic achievements which appears to be the basis of the proposed national curriculum may result in children from Catholic schools with special needs ending up in the rump local

education authority schools that do not opt out, and these schools could become as Judd⁽¹⁷⁾ suggests has happened in Scotland as a result of an open enrolment scheme "sink schools on some housing estates". The opting out scheme strongly favours articulate and literate sections of society who conform to British norms and expectations. It would be unfortunate in the light of current Catholic social teaching if educational opportunities, through such governmental legislation, were to accentuate the already deep divides in British society.

The Thatcher administration was convinced that there were basic problems with schooling, its organisation and structure. The government, particularly through Mrs. Thatcher, attacked the monopoly of public (government) school services, and worked in a radically conservative way to substitute concepts of a market economy where parents could shop around for a suitable education, where schools had to compete for clients (students) or face extinction, and where school governance was removed from the hands of bureaucrats and given to local school governing boards, families, administrators, and teachers.

The concern of the Catholic bishops was that, under the terms of the Bill, parents could vote their school into being a candidate for grant maintained status against the wishes of the Trustees. They argued strongly for the Trustees to be given a veto but this was resisted throughout the Committee stage in the House of Commons. They did win a

minor concession which gave the Trustees a veto on applications for a change of 'character'. But the Government insisted that if the Churches wanted to hold on to their privileges they would have to do so by keeping their own appointed governors in line. As has been shown, Cardinal Hume has experienced great difficulty already with parents' decisions with regard to Cardinal Vaughan School and Trinity School at Leamington Spa.

Referring to this problem, Cardinal Hume writes"⁽¹⁸⁾

"The role of the bishop as trustee and of the foundation governors he appoints to the governing body of each school has become a matter of great importance for the future of our voluntary school system and for the contribution it can make to national education. Between them, trustee and governors guarantee its independence and effectiveness.

The distinctive character of the Catholic school, so essential for Church and society, is enshrined in a trust deed. The trustee is responsible for implementing the trust deed and foundation governors are entrusted with the carrying out of this responsibility in the case of individual schools. Diocesan trust deeds provide 'for property to be held on trusts of advancing the Roman Catholic religion in the diocese by such means as the Ordinary (Bishop) may think it fit and proper'. Overall planning of Catholic education within the diocese is part of that responsibility. The foundation governors of individual schools can reasonably be expected to take this into account. The Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation for Catholic Education recently wrote to me from the Vatican clarifying from a Catholic point of view an important principle:

'Individual Catholics who are 'governors' of Catholic schools in the 'dual system' must not only know and fulfil their statutory obligations but must also know their ecclesial rights and obligations. In other words they are to respond to the State's and the Church's legitimate expectations of them in such a way as to fulfil their responsibilities both as citizens and as Catholics. The management of one Catholic school should be conducted with due regard for the needs of other Catholic schools and for the interests of Catholic education in general as determined by the

bishop of diocese'. (Cardinal Baum, October 16th, 1987)."

The Cardinal goes on to emphasise the deep-seated concern of the Bishops:

"If the Catholic school system is to be supported and developed in future it is essential to avoid fragmentation and the pursuit of sectional interests at the expense of the wider needs of the community. Options may be legally available, but can be positively harmful if they are taken up without prior consultation and the consent of the community expressed through the trustee. This involves the risk of inflicting serious and perhaps lasting damage on the Catholic community as a whole with consequent harm to society".

7. Complications of Divided Support

Early opposition to the Education Reform Bill from the churches led the Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, in November 1987, to insist in the House of Commons that the Bill would succeed in reaching the statute book. She would have been aware that not all Catholics were opposed to the Bill, and consequently that the Catholic Bishops could not rely on the full support they were assured at the time of the Butler Education Act some forty years earlier. The Duke of Norfolk, the senior Catholic layman in the House of Lords, brushed the Bishops' objections aside and the Upper House refused to amend the Bill to strengthen the position of the Church authorities.

Sheila Lawlor, Deputy Director of Studies at the Centre for Policy Studies, also a Catholic, quotes from the Second Vatican Council itself in support of the Bill and in answer to the objections raised by the Bishops. In an article in

The Tablet (20th February, 1988), she says that the diocesan authorities are fearful of parental power, and adds "the hierarchy rejects the prospect of parents exercising a voice, unless that voice happens to echo its own". She even goes so far as to state "The danger to church schools lies not in the opting-out, but in the refusal of diocesan planners to respect the wishes of those for whom they plan". Supporters of the Bill such as those from within the ranks of the Catholic community, and other indications of a lack of unqualified support of the bishops as witnessed in the recent Vaughan and Leamington schools' issues could confront the hierarchy with a situation which justifies the very concern about the Education Reform Bill which they have been expressing.

Like the local authorities, the Churches believed that the creation of a new tier of schools, with funding direct from the DES would be divisive. They quite simply did not want the kind of organisation of schools which lay at the root of the Government's thinking. They thought this would set school against school and encourage a damaging rivalry, rather than healthy competition. They regarded their schools as being part of diocesan 'systems' - interdependent networks in which all had a common interest in the success of each. The Catholic bishops expressed the view most strongly on behalf of their own schools:

"(Opting out) favours the interests of a minority of parents and children at the expense of the majority. Such a general principle is difficult to reconcile with Catholic ideals".

8. The Wider Role of Governors

Since the 1970s, successive governments have sought to strengthen the role of the governors. A key stage in the process was the publication in 1977 of the Taylor Report, which amongst other things recommended that the governing bodies of county schools should consist of equal numbers of LEA representatives, school staff, parents and representatives of the local community. The 1980 Education Act made a cautious move towards the implementation of some of Taylor's recommendations and the 1986 Act took us much further along the same road by giving a larger role to

9. The Curriculum: Market-value Orientation

As Egan wrote (1988),⁽²³⁾ "the comparison between the proposed grant-maintained schools and voluntary-aided schools breaks down almost completely when it comes to a consideration of the value base on which the new schools will be founded". Values are inseparable from the curriculum and not an extra that can be put on top. There seems some difficulty in seeing how the philosophy of the national curriculum and the ethos of voluntary-aided schools can be happily wedded. Whilst the first clause of the Bill states that the curriculum is designed to promote the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils, yet the national curriculum is defined in secular terms with definite instrumental goals as the ultimate objective. The real aim seems to be to define the preparation needed by pupils for their working life."

By the 1960s and 1970s, productivity in Britain had dropped, to the point where its workers were the least productive in Europe, it suffered the most strike days lost (per worker) in the Western world, and by 1986 had been surpassed by Italy in total GNP.

Thatcher's mandate was to reverse this decline, by learning "to fight the battle of ideas" and by creating a coherent, distinctive economic theory. As Veljanovski explained in Selling the State: Privatisation in Britain (1987), previous Tory administrations had lacked a strong and clear ideological commitment to capitalist values and

private property. It was the Thatcher revolution that altered all that, as Veljanovski wrote:

"The Thatcher government changed this by adopting a political philosophy which presents an unapologetic case for the virtues of capitalism, individualism, the profit motive and a restatement of the role and importance of the entrepreneur. The (Conservative) Party appears to have become more intellectual, radical, and confrontational... It has set the terms of the political debate in many countries and some even talk about the "death of socialism" as a serious intellectual force".

In the Education Reform Act of 1988, the government set about putting the new Right ideology of privatisation and choice into an educational context. We see this underlying the philosophy of the new national curriculum.

The curriculum, itself, is defined in terms of subjects rather than areas of experiences. The underlying curricular philosophy is mechanistic and market-value orientated. The emphasis is on knowledge and skills, and while these are undoubtedly important in a high technology era, technical progress is so rapid that it is even difficult to anticipate the needs of the twenty-first century. Not much attention seems to have been given to the personal, social and spiritual development of the pupils, and this is in sharp contrast to the Catholic church's emphasis on the total development of the child, which I have written about earlier.

10. Can all pupils be catered for?

Many political thinkers of the "new right" would argue that, in reality, it is unlikely that the opportunity to become 'educated' will exist for most pupils, and this is precisely what is intended by the neoconservative wing of the 'new right'. Unlike liberal humanists and other likely supporters of the 'new consensus', neo-conservatives actively oppose the idea of universal education and are increasingly less afraid to make this explicit. Scruton actually states:

"It is not possible to provide universal education. Nor indeed is it desirable. For the appetite for learning points people only in a certain direction; it siphons them away from those places where they might have been contended". *

As for the Church's cherished hope of 'equal opportunity':

"Such a thing seems to be neither possible nor desirable. For what opportunity does an unintelligent child have to partake of the advantages conferred by an institution which demands intelligence?" *

The Church cannot accept that education is for a minority only. Nor can it accept the nature of the social organism that the 'new right' seeks to put in place through the educational process. It cannot give support to an elitist and selective system of education only, one which gives play, and responds to, the market forces. It must be concerned for the intelligent and the unintelligent alike.

* COX, C, DOUGLAS-HOME, J, MARKS, J, NARCROSS, L, SCRUTON, R,
THE REFORM OF BRITISH EDUCATION, THE CLARIDGE PRESS, LONDON,
1987, PAGES 2, 3.

The Church is concerned that these market forces, can be in reality the results of decisions reached by private sector managements-producers, in other words. These 'privateers' and their supporters argue that Government must interfere as little as possible with these private sector producers. The known tendencies of these producers to fix prices, form cartels, sell goods and services to the public that vary from the unreliable to the positively dangerous, pollute the environment and to act in a manner inconsistent with the interests of citizens is barely acknowledged.

Frances Morrell points out:⁽²⁵⁾

"The proposal that local schools should emulate their model of the commercial market is open to the same criticism. Governors, responsible together with the head and teaching staff for 'selling' their schools locally, may simply create a system of small corporate conspiracies. The best-organised schools will fight ruthlessly for scarce resources irrespective of the true priorities in the area, and will thus distort the reshaped capital programme".

11. Acceptability and Effectiveness: The Church's Dilemma

Given all that has been written above, one wonders to what extent the Church can influence Government thinking about educational ideals. Christianity is not a set of beliefs and ideas which exist in the spiritual sphere alone, but a way of life involving the commitment of the whole person. The social institutions of the environment in which the Christian lives are not, therefore, alien or profane, but a part of the national order to be used in God's redemptive plans. And at the same time, the beliefs must express themselves in social living and need institutions to

develop and support them.⁽²⁶⁾ Hence the tremendous importance for the religious life of understanding all the social institutions and patterns of behaviour in a particular milieu, and especially of the interaction of the religious and other institutions. It is necessary to discover how far social structures designed to incorporate Christian beliefs are still able to do so, and how far they are meaningful at the present time.

In November 1986 the bishops of the USA published a pastoral letter entitled 'Economic Justice for All' which looked at the moral dimension of such issues as the crisis in American farming, the increase in military spending, unemployment and the international economic order. In this long statement of Catholic social teaching the bishops condemned the fact that over fifty million Americans are poor or needy as 'a social and moral scandal that we cannot ignore'. The letter made a series of suggestions and proposals which, translated into government policy, would improve the lives of the country's disadvantaged. All people, not just Christians, were called upon to make a 'preferential option for the poor'. A similar concern is reflected in the 1985 'Faith in the City' report of the Anglican Church. This, in the Archbishop of Canterbury's words, 'prophetic survey of a major social issue', drew attention to the worsening plight of the urban poor and called for four billion pounds of public money to be spent on alleviating it.

12. Stronger Concern for Social Issues

There is evidence of church renewal accompanied by a greater concern for social issues in the lives of ordinary British Christians as well.

In Britain, the mould of sometimes overspiritualised churches characterised by their passive laity and by hierarchies wary of treading on powerful toes may be cracking. An extraordinary example of this forthrightness quoted in *The Tablet* was the message sent to the Queen on October 29th, 1986, by senior clergy from all the main Scottish churches, including the Catholic Archbishop of Edinburgh. It read as follows:

"Madam, your government's aid programme is a disgusting charade - an insult to the poor; its reliance on Trident is totally anti-Christian; its refusal to listen to any dissenting voice the destruction of our democracy. We ask you once more: What are we to do?"

Blunt as the language of this message was, its question "What are we to do?" illustrates the difficult juncture the churches have reached. They are, perhaps, facing a similar dilemma to that experienced by the Latin American hierarchy twenty years ago. It can be paraphrased as follows: How can a bias to the poor avoid upsetting, even antagonising, those governments - and more particularly those Christians - who want their Churches to be 'politically neutral'? The Latin American bishops refused, in the end, to dilute their witness to the gospel; that 'ferment exciting in the human heart a fierce regard for human dignity', as Paul VI

described it in *Populorum Progressio*.

13. The Religious Dream, Pluralism and a Stable Society

One of the distinct features of the United States is that the country is unified under a single religious ideal. yet while the linguistic unity of English is obvious, the religious unity is obscured by the way citizens of the United States speak about themselves. What religiously unites the United States is the vision, dream or belief that is called America. When people call themselves "Americans" they are stating their religion rather than their citizenship. In a sense, to be un-American is to be a religious heretic."⁽²⁷⁾ "America" is the name Europe gave to its dream of paradise and eschatological fulfillment. Popular religion and patriotism have been woven together through myth and liturgy since the nation emerged in the late 1780s.

The religious dream, America, has been one of variation and diversity. America was a Spanish, French, Dutch, and Portuguese dream before it took its dominant form as an English dream. Today throughout Latin America there is a long-delayed demand to have some small part of the dream. We have strong evidence in recent years of the great concern the United States government has shown in trying to control countries in Central America. This concern cannot be explained in military or economic terms, so much as ideological and religious ones. The problem of unpacking

this American ideology is well put by Richard Hofstadter:

"It has been our fate as a nation not to have an ideology but to be one".⁽²⁸⁾

It is difficult to get a clear understanding of the notion of "American religion" even at the present time. Whilst the people of the United States call themselves "the Americans", and whilst the United States identifies itself with America, it is very difficult to distinguish the political and the religious. As I have shown elsewhere, the United States is enveloped in religiosity. This religiosity is of a more complex nature than can be explained by the notion of "civil religion".

14. A Place of Religious Liberty

Moran would maintain,⁽²⁹⁾ speaking of the United States, that Rousseau's conception of a "civil religion" in which the nation would take the place of God is intelligible enough, and it is of some relevance in the modern world. But it does not begin to explain the peculiar religiosity of the United States where people do not worship the country but rather "the sacred cause of liberty". His own interpretation is that people love an idea about the country and there is an extraordinary liturgy celebrating "America" as a universal hope. This dream of the United States being a place of religious liberty is strongly illustrated in that the United States is one of the few places on earth where real dialogue is possible between Christians and Jews. The

term that is used to reabsorb everything religious into a unity is "Judeo-Christian tradition".

Whilst secular writers maintain that the wall of separation between church and state be retained, Catholic school leaders see this as a thoroughly inappropriate metaphor for discussing the relation of religion and education. In maintaining this stance, secular writers overlook the fact that the school, like much of political life, is encompassed with religiosity which if not critically examined is likely to be mindless. And if the schools called "public" cannot examine this feature of public life, where is religion to be dealt with critically?

15. The New Religious Pluralism

The British understanding of the term "religious education" is in part a result of a clearer focus and a greater professionalism. The British, and to a lesser extent until recently, the Australians, have recognised that religion has to be addressed in an academic way by all young people. And they are becoming much more clear that the adjective in the term is "religious" not "Christian". In all three countries, whilst Catholics have every right to form their own members by every means, they do not have a right to assume that "Christian education" is simply a more concrete and realistic way to say "religious education". Whilst all or most of Christian education can fit within religious education; the reverse does not hold to be true.

The real change in religious education is this new pluralism on the horizon. If Catholics are going to learn from other religions they need a deep rooting in their own tradition. A deep appreciation of, for example, baptism and eucharist, poses no threat to interreligious understanding. A critical question is whether such an appreciation can be developed in a "public" school setting.

Whatever the amount of homogeneity existing in British society today, it exists in spite of cultural diversity. We can assume as a basic premise that all citizens have a common interest in improving their standards of living despite real or cultural differences which divide them. This was stated clearly in the consultative study, *Education in Schools*⁽³⁰⁾ published in 1977. It contained the government's response to some of the issues raised by the Great Debate on education. Teachers in religiously-oriented schools were disappointed with what the document omitted, and by the apparent appeal to self-interest. There seemed to be an omission of any enunciation of principles, other than those which relate to the pursuit of natural excellence and competition. (I write elsewhere of the parallel trend showing in recent documents from the Federal Department of Employment, Education and Training in Australia). There is no reference to an overall vision of the purpose of education, such that Christians, Jews, Muslims, Humanists, and others, given their different outlooks, would clearly recognise as an acknowledgement of the spiritual dimension

of human existence. When speaking of this lack, Richard Wilkins wrote:

"For lack of anything more definite, the aim of education appears to be this: to prepare the individual child for life in a society dependent on productive industry and international trade; a society of producers and consumers which happens to have a cultural, political, and ethical past from which useful lessons might be learned, and which now happens to be multi-racial: a society which only aspires to remain a going concern, and which expects the same of its education system".⁽³¹⁾

16. Impact of Incomes Disparity

Since 1977, when this document was published, it has become obvious that the stability of manufacturing industry and international trade cannot be guaranteed. As well, the process of polarization is a general one in Britain today. The official statistics published in Social Trends show that income disparities, both as between the skilled and the unskilled in employment and among households in the country as a whole, have widened since the mid-1970s. In 1976 the best-off fifth of British households took 44.4 per cent of the total income of the country: that share rose to 47.1 by 1982. The share of the poorest fifth meanwhile dropped from 0.8 per cent to 0.4 per cent. Of course tax and welfare benefit reduced these spectacular inequalities. But even so the movement was still towards greater inequality. The top

fifth of households increased their share of post-tax income between 1976 and 1982 from 37.9 per cent to 39.4 per cent and the bottom fifth slipped from 7.4 per cent to 6.9 per cent.

A report in the Daily Telegraph of 10th May, 1990 (page 4), quotes Mr. Newton, Social Security Secretary, as saying that the income of the poorest 10 per cent was rising at only half the average rate. The income of the poorest 10 percent had risen by 2.6 per cent, compared with an average of 5.4 per cent. This prompted the Leader of the Opposition to say to the Prime Minister:

"Although discovered as a 'statistical error', the impact on poor people of your economic and social policies has been entirely predictable.

Indeed, you have been consistently warned by many groups in our society - including the Churches - that your policies were causing widespread hardship. Yet, for the past ten years, you have denied these facts and you claimed that the so-called 'trickle-down' theory would protect the poorest. It clearly has not".⁽³²⁾

Over the last ten to fifteen years, it has become evident that the stability of manufacturing industry and international trade cannot be guaranteed. The educational systems of Australia, the U.K. and the United States of America, directed, as they are, towards preparing children to be consumers and producers according to the norms of western capitalism, are likely to be overtaken by events.

Touched (or untouched) by comparison, they prepare children for a society which does not exist for very many of them. Edward Hulmes⁽³³⁾ points out that, what does exist is a complex society in which the incidence of failure, or comparative failure, is inescapably much higher than the incidence of success. Education (and this must be basically true of Catholic education, as I indicate elsewhere) cannot be mainly concerned with the attainment of what the secularised western world, with its prevalent material values, identifies as success. As a means for correcting the prevailing tendency for society to define success, and then to pay homage to the successful, Catholic education will have a vital role to play in bearing witness to another approach. Such a different approach, while not belittling success, will recognise the reality of failure.

17. Attitudes to, and aspects of, failure

The reference to failure brings us to the special feature which is perhaps most neglected in public life, and where Catholic education may have much to offer. A significant difference between Catholicism and secular Humanism is that Catholics have, or ought to have, more effective ways of dealing with failure. A gospel of forgiveness is quite different from advice to try harder. Within the political and educational spheres, the importance of some way of undoing hurts, dissolving grievances and "releasing power from its own perversions",⁽³⁴⁾ can hardly be overstressed. Perhaps a pluralist society, more than any

other, needs the quality of forgiveness. The alternative is for parties in conflict to go their separate ways.

From a different perspective Bruce Reed has proposed a theory of religious activity⁽³⁵⁾ which gives a central place to the experiences of weakness, inadequacy, failure and conflict. Everyone, he claims, needs some healthy way of regressing into a relationship of dependence which, if handled properly, can act as a kind of death and resurrection. The main social function of religion in this theory, is to recharge the springs of action, to turn worshippers around to face life again with renewed hope and energy, and to send them out to do their work in the world with a fresh vision of the children of God.

Catholic schools are not just about values. Linked with the themes of forgiveness and creativity, they aim to make a contribution towards the understanding and attainment of unity. Whilst the main purpose of the schools is not to secure social stability, this can in practice emerge as one of their useful functions. Yet the schools need understand clearly that a faith reduced merely to the role of securing social stability, would have become as secularised as the society in which it is set.

Christian teachers do not believe that:

"Education alone can re-route the future. But they reject the idea that their job is merely to provide the skills, information, and experience, which will serve the ends of a smooth-running community of happy materialists. This is not their controlling aspiration, nor is it that of the large Christian public to which they belong. They believe that there is a style of life more self-reliant and less

acquisitive than that encouraged in our society, and that children should be made aware of it. Above all, their belief in mankind's divine origin and destiny underlies their formulation of individual and national goals, and so radically affects their attitude to the school curriculum".

Such real concern for the aims of present-day education is not necessarily confined to Christian educators. The use of "market speak" in education was condemned by the president of the National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers, Mick Carney, at the recent national conference of the association held in Scarborough.⁽³⁷⁾ The president told the conference that a "subtle and person-centred vocabulary" was being replaced by the language of the market place.

"We talk of inputs and outputs, of clients, of units and modules, skills, strategies, delivery, consumer choice", said Mr. Carney, a science teacher at a comprehensive in Peterlee, Durham. Pupils' output was measured by standard assessment tasks associated with the national curriculum. "The results became the advertising copy of the publications department's glossy brochure, which is the main tool to support the marketing function". Because of the language shift, commerce and education had become equivalent activities.

A lesson from industry was that extended hierarchies were a barrier to effective working. "One priority must be the restoration of confidence of those who are demeaned by a structure which emphasises their lack of importance".

18. The Place of Catholic Education in Such Societies

The question could well be asked, is there still a place for Catholic education in the societies of Australia, the U.K. and the United States? An affirmative answer might be expected. In each of these countries, the influence of Christianity on the development of institutions and services, including education, is undisputed. Few people in these countries would deny that Christians have made significant contributions to education. Nevertheless, too much emphasis on a strong confessional approach can bring about other problems.

Bernadette O'Keeffe⁽³⁸⁾ refers to these problems, particularly with the current need for Church schools to respond to religious and cultural diversity. The schools are being challenged to find ways of adjusting to changing circumstances and at the same time continuing to maintain the central Christian tradition which the Church schools have contributed to education. We are free to start from whatever ultimate belief is the most powerful in making sense of life - which means for Catholics; belief in God. That in turn is taken to mean the God of our tradition and our scriptures.

"At this point the Jew argues that his revelation is the oldest and nobody seems to be suggesting that it has been revoked, the Christian claims that the incarnation of God in Christ is the completest and so the final revelation, and the Muslim says that on the contrary his revelation is God's latest word - all of which takes us back to, ⁽³⁹⁾ the point from which the Enlightenment began".

While culture is now global, we are still not able in philosophy, religion and ethics, to establish agreed fully - global standards for getting it right. Science has global standards, but we haven't. At the same time we are faced with the reality of fundamentalism - political and moral, as well as religious - that it will take a prominent place for a long while yet. In many countries it poses a serious threat to the emancipation of women, to scientific research, to free artistic expression and to inter-communal peace. We are going to have to learn, somehow, to understand the way it thinks.

19. New Ethnic Considerations

In a report on the Catholic Church's commitment to the black community, an advisory group stresses that the Catholic Church's mission should be one that provides 'a multi-ethnic'/multi-racial education'. Central to this approach are the concepts of rights, responsibilities and social justice. It believes that there are certain factors that inhibit Catholic schools from adopting such an approach to education. For the advisory group, a major area of concern is 'the endemic nature of institutional and individual racism'. It points to 'the widespread resistance to a genuine reflection on and lack of willingness to change rules, practices, procedures and attitudes that may discriminate against certain children'.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Furthermore, it stresses the urgent need for Catholic schools to address

themselves to the area of admissions policies in an attempt to eliminate racist practices. The recommendation is that a multi-ethnic and anti-racist approach must inform decisions when formulating policies for Catholic schools on admissions criteria.

As the document, Our Catholic Schools⁽⁴¹⁾ indicates:

"Education is in a very special way the concern of the Church. This concern is a fundamental one related to the nature and dignity of human beings.

All men and women are made in the image and likeness of God. This gift of life has to be treasured to the utmost. Every individual needs the opportunity to grow fully. Education - the development of talents and abilities, and the acquisition of skills and knowledge - makes this individual growth possible".

Catholic schools in each of the three countries being considered, given the multi-ethnic nature of their societies, now face special challenges in this area. Many of these schools with a mainly 'white' Christian pupil intake face problems in preparing pupils for a religiously and culturally diverse society. Narrowness of outlook will need guarding against. This will be the case where Church schools are seen as an extension of the local Church. There is a built-in danger that these schools will not appreciate the importance of introducing positive aspects of the various cultures and religions which reflect contemporary society into the school curriculum.

"Research evidence available shows that while many church schools have developed multicultural programmes, a significant number of schools continue to see these programmes as irrelevant".⁽⁴²⁾

A homogeneous school culture, with only small variations in values and practices will likely strive for continuity. Where the school population is heterogeneous in the sense of being ethnically, religiously and culturally diverse, schools will have to choose between making provisions for those variations or ignoring them. A traditional curriculum with a mono-cultural, ethnocentric character will hardly ever reflect the reality of British, Australian or American society today. It may be the case in some rare, isolated areas.⁽⁴³⁾

20. Working in Society for Change

In one sense, the churches are, accidentally if not necessarily, at an apparent disadvantage today. For the most part, they must operate in societies at best nominally christian and in almost all cases effectively pagan; yet the churches are culturally, socially and actively in sympathy with the dominant establishments in these societies, and in many cases form part of their establishments. This presents teachers in Catholic schools with a dilemma.

Yet as active Christians become a minority in societies with whose morals, practice and even laws they may need to be in conflict, there is an opportunity for the churches and their members to rediscover their christian interdependence and integrity. In Australia and Britain, where Catholic education has had such a battle for economic survival, the temptation constantly is 'to go along'. Certainly, at

present, the remarkable thing about most Catholics' lives in these countries is that they are so conformist; that, by implication, they are based, not on the gospel of Christ, but on scriptures of acquisition and wealth. If Catholicism (and Catholic schools) is to have its desperately-required impact on society, it must be after the restoration or reformation of its ideals.

The teachings that emerge from the Catholic schools, and the action they engender, must be authentic expressions of Christ's living presence, not a compromise between modern radicalism and christian conservatism. In saying this, two points of faith and hope are implied: that a vividly, specifically christian teaching can emerge, relevant and applicable to our present situation; and that, as in the time of the early church, Catholicism can rediscover the force, vitality and relevance to have a revolutionary impact on events.

"At present, the choice for Christians is limited to capitalism in its various forms, to atheistic communism (whose embodiments rapidly become at least as unjust and evil as those of capitalism) or to withdrawal from society, an option with sound precedents in Egypt, Vivarium, Monte Cassino and New England, but which cannot be the necessary choice for most Christians. A viable, genuinely christian choice is lacking".

There is another problem, by no means peculiar to churches and clergy but well promulgated by the present government in Britain, and to a much less extent in Australia. Christians must inhabit the real, historical world, not some idealistic and safe hinterland between

baptism and eternity; they must therefore work on or through its real structures, or replace them, to achieve their christian aims. It is here that conventional 'charity' may get in the way of christian attainment. Christians are concerned with providing realistic help and support for the most needy and indigent in society; this is not a free option (as I have indicated strongly elsewhere) but a qualifying requirement for all those who declare themselves Christians; therefore christian preoccupation should not be with gratuitous favours and benevolent doles, however generous, but with justice, with the aptest and most comprehensive possible remedies. This will usually require statutory institutional intervention, involving public officials and bureaucracies. It is not sufficient to leave this to the play of market forces. It is also likely to demand the transformation of the official institutions and bureaucracies and of the individuals within them. Christian charity demands this, wherever the spontaneous 'charity' of Christians can produce only a palliative, a salving of conscience or of social expectation, but no just or adequate response.

It is here that 'charity' can prevent the realisation of Christian charity, because it is easier to be benevolent than to achieve justice. However, if human institutions and bureaucracies are involved, their inadequacy, self-contradiction and corruption must be presupposed, or they will grow to exacerbate the ills for which they were the

intended remedies. The association of any institution with the churches does not prevent its affliction from these universal ailments of human institutions, so that there is no excuse for any relaxation in vigilance, critical appraisal or the search for the most just solution to the human problems perceived at any time.

Catholic schools ought ^{to} play a significant role in working towards a transformation of our economic and political systems, even eventually to help overturn and replace them. Until school leaders, staff and parents are deeply convinced of the lifestyle Christ calls them to, there will be little change. The renewed campaign for more and more productivity, for greater personal wealth ought shake Christians to understand and believe that, for them the secular ethic of our modern society cannot be adopted whole and unchanged. In such a setting cosy concepts of charity appear grossly inadequate.

Indications are that the strong consumerist, acquisitive values being given to education in the three countries being considered will not be lessened but pursued more strongly still. When John Dawkins (the Australian Federal Minister for Employment, Education and Training) was speaking, as chairman, to the international conference of OECD in Paris, 1989, he made the point

"Most importantly, we see that education and skills development will be of vital importance in responding to the various pressures which we will all face to varying degrees,

over the next several years:

- The pressures of continuing structural adjustment, and the associated requirement for new skills,
- Pressures for continuing improvements in productivity performance, designed to make our national economies more competitive,
- Pressures of demographic change, in particular the decline in the size of the youth population and the associated ageing of the population and workforce;
- Pressures associated with changes in technology and work organisation,, especially in manufacturing."⁽⁴⁵⁾

Dawkins went on further to say

"Against this background, the vital question for this Conference is not whether education and training are a factor in economic growth and performance, but rather what needs to be done to improve their provision, by what means, in which directions, and where,⁽⁴⁶⁾ responsibilities for action should lie".

The current emphasis on vocational training is necessary but it should not lead us to undervalue other aspects of the curriculum. In an article in TESS⁽⁴⁷⁾ of the 15th November, 1985, Malcolm MacKenzie indicates that the vital role of the schools, as agencies of social control, is as relevant now as it has ever been in the past, a fact which must be borne in mind in any discussion of standards and values. He states strongly that standards of behaviour for all are even more important than academic standards for the few. Peace, social stability and cohesion, understanding, tolerance are today as necessary as ever.

The matter is rendered all the more urgent by the complex nature of today's society with its strange mixture of unemployment and affluence, technological change and static communities, a society where people even from deprived communities, can afford drugs, booze and air tickets to football matches. MacKenzie maintains that the political debate is conducted by all the political parties in the language of a by-gone age. He quotes Pat White as one of the few with the courage to spell out the probable truth.

"Until recently the majority of people had to work to keep a leisured minority. We are now faced with the possibility of a world in which only a minority need work to keep the majority in "idle luxury". The minority could be so small as to be entirely recruited from the most gifted part of the population. The rest will be socially useless by the standards of today based on the "Gospel of Work".

The possibility that this may be an accurate vision of the future must be faced. In a society where there is a lack of opportunities for employment, the promise of a good job at the end of school life ceases to be a spur to good behaviour and sound moral development. In view of the crisis which we face, health, moral and religious education ought not to be replaced by training for vocational skills which may never be put to use. The point I am trying to stress is that the education service is to be evaluated not merely in terms of whether it has or has not contributed to economic growth.

Effective initiative or leadership in any movement to reform christian, economic teaching and behaviour is more

likely to come from self-motivated laity, especially in the schools, rather than from clergy, who have demonstrated little ability to instigate the kind of change that is required. I am not arguing here for the construction of a christian secularism or humanism. The contents of any christian ethical teaching can be matched, at least in principle, by atheistic thinkers. What the schools should be about is a work of grace, a true conversion, in which Christians' realisation of the Incarnation will include their economic behaviour and all dealings, in business or out of it, with their neighbour. Whilst recognising that the kind of effective leadership needed is more likely to come from self-motivated laity, the reality needs facing, as Hornsby-Smith indicates in a recent edition of The Tablet:⁽⁴⁹⁾

"Equally important, however, is the passivity of many lay people who connive with the clergy to leave things as they have always been because it is more comfortable and convenient that way. But the result is that the difficult task of grappling with the demands of the faith and seeking its relevance to everyday life is avoided. Many Catholics have a very limited knowledge and understanding of their religion, which reflects an often poorly-digested cultural exposure to it at home and school. Contact with Christians from other traditions makes it clear that there is a need for much better teaching and scriptural exegesis. Is the seven-minute homily really good enough?"

This work of grace, of conversion of hearts, depends very closely on a deeply committed teaching force. During the debate about the recent United Kingdom Education Reform Act, the hierarchy campaigned for the teaching of religion to be given a higher status. In this they were successful.

Yet there is now a situation in which, it appears, the Church cannot provide enough qualified personnel to undertake the central task of a Catholic school, the education in the faith of the community's children and of the non-Catholic children who learn alongside them. Such a shortfall needs to be addressed by the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales.

Kevin Hanlon, the former head of religious studies at De La Salle College, Hopwood Hall, Manchester, reports on a survey of R.E. teaching in Catholic secondary schools. Hanlon undertook the survey in 1986, with the approval of the Catholic Education Council and the national board of Roman Catholic RE advisers and inspectors.

The survey showed that a third of RE departments were inadequately staffed, half the RE specialists had no specific academic or professional qualifications in their subject (72 per cent in the case of those heading the departments), at least 500 RE specialists were needed immediately, and some 25 per cent of schools were without access to chaplains.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Someone looking from outside the country might well conclude that there has been a failure to identify goals and priorities and, in that light, to plan a pastoral strategy in education and make appropriate decisions about the distribution of human and material resources. As I write elsewhere in this thesis, there would seem to have been a preoccupation with maintenance and

economic survival, giving these priority over mission itself. It seems that an increasingly middle-class Church is speaking less and less to the concerns of the working class and the deprived. Are Catholic educators opting in their priorities for a quiet and comfortable life of respectability rather than the more challenging prophetic option of renewing the face of the earth?

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CONCLUSION

Looking back on the development of Catholic social teaching, a definite progression can be seen. Before Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum*, 1892 (a century ago), the church's stand on social justice was stated from a position distant from the world. Whilst prophetic in its time, the stand of Pope Leo on the rights and obligations of government, employers, and workers nonetheless reflected an endorsement of the existing hierarchical arrangements of society. By 1991 (with the publication of Pope John Paul II's *Centesimus Annus*), the advances in thinking made by the Vatican Council II, by liberation theologians, by modern popes, and by regional and national conferences of bishops had brought the voice of the church into the midst of the world. The church spoke from within society, challenging governments and institutions, identifying itself with the poorest elements of countries and of the entire earth. The voice speaking out on social justice "from above" had become a voice "from below".

Furthermore, many Catholics in the United States, Australia, England and Wales, have come to acknowledge that they, despite their best intentions, are enmeshed in a network of social and governmental structures many of which do occasion or cause social injustice. Social structures inescapably touch almost all aspects of our personal and professional lives. The fuel we consume, the cars we drive, the food we eat, the clothes we wear - many of these are

produced by companies and unions and regulated by agencies that have engaged in illegal and unethical practices. The money that passes through our hands - money over which banks, insurance companies, building societies, real estate and financial holding companies, and government agencies regulating them, have a major influence - has been tainted by monopolistic and exploitative practice. The Catholic church itself has been sullied by governmental influences, by racial and sexual discrimination and sometimes by a scandalous lack of charity among some of its hierarchy. Few of the social structures, and the organisations which function within their network are innocent of at least indirect involvement in social injustice. And we live inside of that network.

Catholic educators have come to recognise that there is no escape from this compromised position. Attempts on their part to escape the guilt they felt as they became more aware of the inter locking network of social structures became more and more frustrated. Catholic educators in Australia, the United States and England and Wales have had to admit finally that they are part of the problem in so far as they have, more or less, acquiesced with the status quo. Try as they may to escape it, the guilt - partial, event mitigated by involvement in one just cause or another - remained.

Yet, even in the compromised position they found themselves called to be part of the solution. Many Catholic teachers and administrators are acknowledging that the

sooner they face their condition vis-a-vis social sin, acknowledge it, ask forgiveness, and get on with the task, the sooner they would shake themselves out of the paralysis in which guilt relentlessly ensnared them. This realisation, on the part of many Catholic educators today, has enabled them to recognise the work they have ahead of them, the work of building God's kingdom in this society, not in some make-believe world where the "good people" have all the answers; building God's kingdom among a sinful people; building God's kingdom with sinful people whom He is empowering with His forgiveness and strength to announce the Good News.

Catholic educators still do not have full answers to the more vexing questions concerning their educational apostolate of Catholic schools in a largely desacrilized modern society, but with a better theological development and a fuller understanding of much recent Catholic social teaching, they are able to see things more clearly. This thesis has attempted to probe the developments and issues which have helped to complicate a clear vision, and will now propose ways in which the Catholic community can deepen its effectiveness in its ministry to educate youth with such a complex society. With an improved sense of community, with greater personal self esteem, with closer collaboration with Catholic families, and with an improved climate of respect and dialogue amongst staffs, they can now encourage each other to grow into the educational community they wish to become.

Measures Appropriate to Schools

The response of Catholic schools to Catholic social teaching should reflect concerns and actions that are appropriate to schools. In the service of faith and the promotion of justice, the school should not attempt to become a parish church nor, on the other hand, should it try to be a social service agency or a political organisation. In other words, there are agencies and institutions which directly intervene in the lives of people and in the political and social affairs of the community. Catholic schools, on the other hand, can be educational communities that deal with the education for faith and for justice. As such they indirectly affect the life of the local church and its activity in the service of faith and the promotion of justice. A parish or a diocese may sponsor low-cost housing, or set in train a class action suit against some unjust social practice. But that is not the proper function of a school. The city poor may form a community organisation which pressures the state and city government to protect their constitutional rights. The school cannot become such a political action group.

While there is much that Catholic schools can do in the service of faith and the promotion of justice, their response ought to involve activity appropriate to schools, taking into account the potential and the limitations of schools. Within the schooling framework, field activities, simulation exercises, and research on social issues is

entirely appropriate. The emphasis in these activities is one of preparing students for more direct forms of intervention. But if a school sets out to intervene directly to right some wrong in the civic or ecclesial community it would be leaving behind its function as a school and adopting a fundamentally different institutional character. Should individual members of the school community wish to join some other civic or ecclesial organisation to promote a social justice cause, that is their prerogative. It is to be hoped that Catholic schools will have prepared such people with the skills to function in such organisations, and that the schools would encourage those persons to reflect on what they learned.

Appropriate to the Culture

The response of the schools to the faith/justice mandate should be given in the cultural contexts of the United States, Australia and England and Wales respectively. While Catholic schools in each of these cultures have their own cultural context they can be of much help, reflexively, for one another. Whereas in some countries the needs of the poor are so dramatic that they call for direct social and political organisation in order to provide the basic necessities of life. The response of the schools, in the three countries under consideration, must come to grips with those elements in their social and cultural context which undermine genuine Catholic religious belief and oppose a

truly just social order. In the face of those social and cultural elements antithetical to the expression of Christian faith and justice, Catholic educators have a responsibility to nurture the growth of this faith and promote commitment to justice so that their students can enter into this culture as agents of change, or, as some would prefer, agents of transformation.

At the same time, they need to recognise that they are living in an interdependent world. Across these three countries there is a good deal of economic, moral and social dependence - in fact, intersections of many mutual points of view in the world of politics, philosophy and basic religious development. These global realities, experienced by Americans, British, Welsh and Australians should be treated from within the realities of people called to exercise global citizenship.

Involvement of School Staffs

The church's social teaching and education for justice and peace generally can no longer be seen as merely an optional component in a school curriculum. Nor can the church's social teaching any longer be an optional module in a religious studies or theology programme. As has been shown earlier in this thesis, education for justice is now a constitutive part of faith development and of the moral and social responsibility of every Christian. In recent research work, referred to previously, Egan showed that Catholic secondary school pupils in Wales, Australia and the

United States were supportive of involvement in work for underdeveloped countries and underprivileged groups everywhere. At the same time, half of those surveyed had no experience of involvement in projects designed to help third world countries, and over half had no opportunity provided for them to be personally involved with justice and peace issues in contemporary society.

Education for justice should be a whole school policy, central to the curriculum and visible in the very school structures. It should not be confined to fund-raising for charities, but ought to extend into an awareness of how school resources are provided and used, whether pupils are each allotted a fair share of resources and so on. School administrators and staffs should examine whether because of government and societal pressure, emphasis on good examination results (desirable as that might be) meant an undue proportion of school resources are targeted towards this objective, and whether co-operation rather than competition is the prevailing ethos. A cause for concern in the schools (if they are to engage in the communal effort of nurturing a faith committed to doing justice) is the division amongst school staffs on some of these issues.

The state of affairs calls for the school leadership to bring the school staff together to confront the faith/justice issue. This will require a well planned staff development programme which provides time and stimulation for adequate discussion by the staff. No doubt differences

of opinion whether political, social or moral will surface. The staff must reach consensus about some basic principles and some basic approaches and become much more knowledgeable about recent Catholic social teaching, cynically referred to as "the Church's best kept secret". Outside of the influence of the home, the example of the staff and the climate which they create in the school will be the single most influential factor in any effort at education for faith and justice. If the students see a community of adults who live what they are trying to teach, then what they teach will be credible. Research on school effectiveness (previously referred to) in the United States, England, Wales and Australia points to the pervasive effect of school climate on student attitudes and achievement.

If the school staff witness to a genuine Christian community and are caring towards each other and towards the students, student involvement in the learning tasks increases. If the staff do not exhibit the attitudes and values which the school's objectives seek to promote, then very little growth in these areas will occur. When the majority of teachers exhibit disinterest in their own religious growth and indifference to questions of social justice, or worse, complain about efforts to move the school forward in these areas, then students pick up those messages.

Yet, anyone who expects a whole staff quickly to change ways of seeing the world, long-standing ways of defining what is valuable and important in life, subtle but ingrained

attitudes about the way things are supposed to be, is simply being unrealistic. The formation of a true community among the staff will take time and a lot of patient effort on everyone's part.

Insisting on the involvement of the school staff should not be interpreted as placing the whole burden on their shoulders. Bishops, National Catholic Education Commissions/Councils, administrators, school boards, Catholic Teachers Colleges - all have to shoulder the burden of responding more effectively to the faith and justice mandate. Catholic schools in all political climates are now being asked to carry out a process of transformation towards a faith community that promotes a concern for justice. All available resources should contribute to this transformation.

What is needed above all is not more RE syllabuses or catechetical programmes, but properly qualified full-time RE co-ordinators in primary and secondary schools. Until that is achieved, there will continue to be a monotonous repetition of material which leads to chronic boredom among students. Full-time RE specialists should hold an academic qualification both in religious studies and in RE and catechesis. RE and catechesis must be included because the RE specialist with a degree gained direct from university will have done little or no study of them. Even those who have taken one-year postgraduate courses at Catholic colleges will have only skimmed the surface in their very

crammed syllabus. They need also to be equipped for teaching Scripture, Theology, Church History, and social and moral issues. There is a wealth of Catholic teaching in all these areas which needs to be presented and assimilated; too often it is left out. In each of the countries discussed above, there is a critical need for a sound academic course along these lines.

Collaboration with the Family

Studies in education in general and in Catholic education in particular (Flynn, Egan, Greeley, Rossiter) show rather conclusively that the family is the primary educator. It is within the family that children's values and attitudes and social perspectives are formed. So much of a young person's sense of self esteem is formed in his relationships with his or her parents. If self esteem is so important for the growth of healthy religious sentiments and attitudes towards justice, we can easily see how the home can either foster or frustrate the objectives of the school. Besides self esteem, attitudes of openness or prejudice, aggressiveness or cooperation, conspicuous consumption or conservation develop and grow in the home.

Some Catholic schools have attempted closer relationships with the families of their students, especially in the admissions process. Interviews with parents help to ascertain the human and religious quality of the home environment. Orientation seminars for parents of entering students help them to understand the primary

emphasis of the school. Despite these worthwhile efforts, schools will have to go much farther in building bridges between the home and the school.

Religious Education Programmes

The Church's substantial teaching on social justice and the movements for justice in the society and in government programmes, by Catholics in the United States, England, Wales and Australia are gradually being translated into religious education programmes, but this process is not easily or automatically brought about. Disappointingly at the moment, little is said about it in the prospectuses of the Australian Catholic University; La Sainte Union College, Southampton; Newman College, Birmingham; Trinity and All Saints' College, Leeds; Christ's and Notre Dame College, Liverpool; Digby Stuart College, Roehampton; Saint Mary's College, Strawberry Hill.

Some implications for the Church's teaching for religious education follow:

1. Those involved in religious education need to make the connection between faith and social justice for themselves before they can teach this perspective to other people. Most people have been accustomed to see religion as a private matter. Usually religious commitment did not apply to politics, social questions, or even one's work. Over recent years Catholics are getting the message that without action for justice,

we are not fully Christian.

2. Reflection on how we personally have experienced insult, injustice, or oppression is usually a good starting point for developing social consciousness. Although the media give us a constant stream of examples of injustice (documentaries on homelessness, apartheid, poverty, unemployment, national starvation, and so on), even these examples may seem abstract or remote until we can somehow personally identify with the suffering of others.
3. Little or nothing is achieved in justice education by putting people on guilt trips about their lack of awareness about, and involvement in, social action. Consciousness raising about justice is more likely to come about not by provoking guilt about past inaction but by exploring how the learners have already helped others in some way.
4. Direct involvement with poor and needy individuals is the best way to learn about social action. This praxis approach to social justice is not simply action but reflective action performed out of a sound spirituality and with a good sense of the issues at stake.
5. We need to educate people about the distinction between charity and justice without making it seem that charity is now out of style. Christians are used to being

charitable. However, the contemporary church's emphasis on justice takes us to a different level of helping others - a concern to discover and remedy the underlying causes of poverty and distress. Justice involves service as advocates for poor people; it means confronting the systems that unjustly oppress people.

6. Social issues are extremely complicated and need to be explored with great care in religious education lest we mislead our students. Good education presents the best available information objectively and accurately. Using careful research and the knowledge and experience of people familiar with the issues is important in the educational process.
7. Justice education can be offered to people of all ages and of every social class. It can begin with young children, and go through secondary education into adult education. Social awareness is needed both for poor people and for those who live in abundance. Both groups need to realise the sinfulness of the structures that surround them, and both groups need to try to understand how they can confront the injustice - whether they are the victims, the bystanders, or the perpetrators of oppression.
8. Education for justice goes hand in hand with education for peacemaking. Paul VI's statement, "If you want peace work for justice", is now quoted widely among

Christians. Involvement in action for justice quickly brings forth evidence that violence and preparations for war are directly related to injustice.

A Call for Institutional Reform

The Catholic Church has invested huge resources in its schools and colleges in Australia, England, Wales and the United States. Notwithstanding more recent financial support from governments in Australia and the United Kingdom the Church continues to invest heavily, from its own resources, in the schools. As this thesis has shown, in each of these countries a prime task until now for Catholic education has been economic survival. Until quite recently maintenance needs prevailed over those of mission. There was a pressing need to get the children into Catholic schools to prevent leakage and to preserve their faith. Much of the infrastructure, and the plant and equipment had been built up from private and largely from poor and lower middle class people. In all of this admirable material investment, the need to evaluate continually and renew the mission, as distinct from the maintenance, has frequently been overlooked.

The schools are institutions and as such they share many of the characteristics of institutions, one of which is resistance to change. As an institution each school is made up of adults and students who reflect a variety of opinions on faith and its exercise, adults and students who are at

various stages of growth themselves. Each school has a limited amount of resources, including the resources of time, money and human energy. As an institution a school performs many functions: teaching, feeding, providing extra curricular options, grading, assessing, preparing students to go on to tertiary education and careers. As an institution it has a history in the political and social setting of its locale, a history that leads people in that particular area to hold expectations of the school. In short, a school is a complex institution. As such it will not, it cannot, change overnight.

Catholic educators, who are involved in an institutional apostolate, have to realise that getting an institution to reshape its understanding of itself and of the political world in which it exists, getting it to assume a transformed identity, will take time and it will cost everyone in the institution something. Working in an institutional apostolate affords people enormous advantages over working in isolated individualised apostolates. It makes possible the bringing together corporate resources of many people, and a concentrated source of money, books, equipment, to bear on the task of educating youth. Working in an institutional apostolate brings security, a corporate identity and a certain permanency to the mission; teachers know that they may pass away, but the work will go on.

Yet institutional apostolates impose constraints on participants. There are limits to the flexibility of an

institution, limits to its ability to respond quickly to new challenges. The very nature of an institution implies a structured routine of activities, a pattern of repeated role responses. Over time these structures and processes assume a kind of sacred permanency. To tamper with them is to tamper with the ingrained habits of people; it is to tamper with the way things are supposed to be; whether they involve some governmental education policy, a grading system, four years of Latin, a dresscode, or a yearly calendar. Working in an institutional apostolate costs people something as well as enhancing the impact of their work. What this new stress on social justice will cost Catholic educators will be the slow and painstaking work of transforming human attitudes and institutional structures and processes in the schools.

Thus while these educators affirm the legitimacy of the institutional apostolate of primary and secondary education as an apt means for serving faith and promoting justice, they will need to look realistically at the job still ahead of them, a job of transforming an institution to make it a better educational instrument in the service of faith and the promotion of justice.

This work will call for the transformation of many of the school structures, including the discipline system, the counselling and guidance programmes, the academic curriculum, graduation requirements, the extra-curricular programme, financial ⁱand programmes (especially for the poor student), admission requirements, parent involvement

programmes, and former student programmes. Transformation does not mean abolition. Rather, it means refashioning these structures so that they more effectively communicate and nurture that fundamental justice of Christ which is love. What this calls for is several years of painstaking effort on the part of all in the Catholic system of education and in each individual school. But it is only by insisting that all elements of their educational efforts consistently reflect their commitment to the growth of that "faith that does justice" that they will have accomplished the job the Church is calling them to do.

As Pope John Paul II has written recently in *Centesimus Annus*, (1991)

"The Church respects the legitimate autonomy of the democratic order and is not entitled to express preferences for this or that institutional or constitutional solution. Her contribution to the political order is precisely her vision of the dignity of the person revealed in all its fullness in the mystery of the Incarnate Word".

Interviews (on thesis issues)

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- 14th January Dr. Robert Starratt,
Dr. Thomas Mulkeen,
Graduate Education School,
Fordham University, New York.
- 15th January Brother Anthony Iazzetti FMS (Headmaster)
Brother Patrick Magee FMS (Dean)
Mount St. Michael Academy
Bronx, New York.
- 20th January Father Nicholas Rashford SJ (President)
Father William Walsh SJ (Rector)
Father Paul Roch SJ (Minister)
St. Joseph's University, Philadelphia.
- 21st January Brother Paul Quinn SM (previous Headmaster)
Brother Paul Coco SM (Teacher)
Cardinal Gibbons High School, Baltimore.
- 22nd January Dr. Robert J. Kealey (Executive Director)
National Catholic Educational Association
Washington.
- 23rd January Brother Roy Mooney FMS (Head of Guidance)
Mount St. Michael Academy
Bronx. New York.
- 13th February Brother Paul Hough, FMS
Brother Christopher Wade FMS
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sabbatical leave/London)
- 15th February Mrs Kathleen O'Gorman,
Director, Catholic Education Services
Archdiocese of Westminster.

24th February	Brother Anthony d'Arbon FMS Head, Division of Secondary Education, Australian Catholic University, Sydney.
25th February	
9th March	Sister Josephine Egan DHS President, Catholic Religious in Education, UK. Daughters of the Holy Spirit Convent, Pontypool.
10th March	
10th March	Mr. Kevin Isaksen Recently retired (1990) Headmaster Belmore Boys High School, Sydney (in London).
17th April	Dr. Tony Green, Department of Sociology, University of London.
1st June	Brother Charles Gay FMS Religious Education Advisor, Archdiocese of Westminster.

Phone calls to Sydney/thesis work

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	}	
30th January 1991	}	
	}	
3rd April 1991	}	
	}	
29th April 1991	}	
	}	
25th May 1991	}	
	}	

Visits (Teacher Training) (1991)

- 24th April Religious Studies Department,
St. Mary's College,
Strawbery Hill, Middlesex.
- 25th April La Sainte Union College of Higher Education,
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London.
- 20th May Trinity and All Saints' College,
Brownberrie Lane,
Horsforth. Leeds.
- 21st May Christ's and Notre Dame College of
Education,
Woolton Road,
Liverpool.
- 22nd May Newman College,
Bartley Green,
Birmingham.

BASIC SOURCES

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