THE JESUIT SOCIAL JUSTICE DIALECTIC AND THE CRISTO REY SCHOOL MODEL WITHIN AMERICAN JESUIT SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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The Jesuit Social Justice Dialectic And The Cristo Rey School Model Within American Jesuit Secondary Education in the 21st Century.

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ABSTRACT

American Jesuit Secondary Education seeks to maintain a Jesuit social justice dialectic that ensures balance between preserving the virtue of the Jesuit mission and selling of the Jesuit brand. The mission consists of cultural immersion and social justice for global Catholic evangelization. The brand is the promotion of this mission through financial wealth and political influence accumulated by means of American capitalism. This dissertation explores the complexity of this dialectic looking at the Jesuits' emergence in the United States from a historigraphic perspective in American Jesuit secondary education. It explores the Cristo Rey school model within a Jesuit context via case study looking at the Jesuit social justice dialectic amidst challenges to its mission and brand in the American context.

The form and content of this abstract are approved. I recommend its publication.

Approved: Sheila Shannon

DEDICATION

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> We must keep alive in our world the thirst for the absolute, and must not allow the vision of the human person with a single dimension to prevail, according to which man is reduced to what he produces and to what he consumes: this is one most dangerous threat of our times.
> Pope Francis (Francis, 2013)

This quote from Pope Francis captures the core theme of this study. The Pope warns of the futility capitalism and free market fundamentalism to reduce human value to simply their capacity to produce and consume (West, 2004). This reductionism, the Pope argues, is a clear threat to our humanity as globalization continues to take the world by storm. In the Catholic encyclical, *Evangelii Gaudium,* he criticizes the culture of prosperity, trickle-down economics, and the perpetuation of economic inequality as a result of hypercapitalism (Francis, 2013; Graham, 2006).

Capitalism, the free market, democracy, and liberty are staples of the American way of life. While all four aspects of America are at times related, they are not interchangeable. The free market is not always the expression of collective liberty and, in fact, can constrain it-- contributing to inequality. Capitalism is not always the equivalent of democracy due to the possibility of a disproportionate spread of wealth and power that can create social justice difficulties that diminish democratic efforts. These issues are relevant due to the recent occurrence of a hypercapitalism enhanced by America's increasing reliance on the so-called free market--often in the name of freedom and democracy--when it is in fact stifling both. Along with the economic, there are the moral consequences that arise because of hypercapitalism, namely the connecting of the free market to the definition of human value and meaning. The result is a commoditization of

humanity. This commodification of humanity in essence defines what it means to be human solely on one's contribution to capitalism. Indeed, historically capitalism has contributed to gross injustices in the form of colonization, cultural genocide, and slavery (A Quijano & Wallerstein, 1992; Wallerstein, 2000). Today, it continues to contribute to the phenomenon of globalization, which produces economic growth for underdeveloped regions but contributes to the stratification of labor accompanied by inhumane working conditions. A form of this labor stratification, the coloniality of power, continues to enlarge the divide in the world between the economic haves and have-nots. If human values, morality, beliefs, and meaning are dictated solely on the premise of one's value to capitalism, then human communal and spiritual life will suffer. This circumstance is the "dangerous threat" that Pope Francis alludes to that poses not only economic, political, and social ramifications to our society, country, and world, but existential ramifications in regard to how we define human value and human meaning (Francis, 2013).

The Society of Jesus

Pope Francis was originally ordained as a Jesuit priest and member of the Society of Jesus. The Society of Jesus, more commonly known as the Jesuits, is the largest Catholic religious order in the world (J. A. Coleman, 2013; Schroth, 2007; Whitehead, 2007). Initially, the Jesuits set out to create a countermovement to the Protestant reformation. The Jesuits soon realized that the creation and implementation of educational institutions on a global scale could be a major catalyst in affecting culture and shaping a culture's worldview. At near-breakneck speed, Jesuits began creating Jesuit educational institutions throughout the world, expanding their reach far beyond the European continent. They were audacious, ambitious, and innovative in their approach to

building and sustaining Jesuit schools in parts of the world outside of Europe where Catholicism was relatively unknown. Collectively, these Jesuit educational institutions immersed themselves into these different cultures, influencing them as they worked within them. The Order sought to educate not only the privileged in society, but also all who were capable and desired an education. This broad, expansive scope of Jesuit education, which began shortly after the inception of the religious order in the 16th century, continues today as a mainstay of not only Catholic education, but also overall education worldwide (McGucken, 1932; Meirose, 1994; O'Brien, 1990).

Jesuit Education. Jesuit education involves educating young men and women to become “men and women for others” (Arrupe, 1973), a famous mantra of all American Jesuit High School education, coined by Pedro Arrupe in 1973. Arrupe, the superior general and leader of the Jesuit religious order from 1965-1983, rebalanced the Jesuit mission to emphasizing social justice issues. Jesuit education involves using knowledge that has been acquired, talents that have been nurtured, and values that have been cultivated to transform the world to make it a better place. Thus, the overall goal of Jesuit education is to affect the world, making it a better place through social justice. The Jesuits have always been invested in social justice issues. Social justice issues manifest themselves within the Jesuits in both political activism and charitable service throughout all of their apostolates. A Jesuit apostolate is any Jesuit sponsored endeavor that seeks to embody the Jesuit mission by serving the community and spreading the Catholic faith in the process. Schools, shelters, orphanages, and churches are all examples of Jesuit apostolates that exist throughout the world. Jesuit educational institutions exist globally at every level, but primarily at the secondary and higher educational levels (Schroth,

2007). Through all of these apostolates, the Jesuits have always sought to be present with and for the marginalized in society advocating on their behalf against the systemic inequality.

Jesuit Social Justice Dialectic. In addition to focusing on education, from the onset the Jesuits have immersed themselves in the corridors of power making an intentional, pragmatic choice to carry out their mission to transform the world. The Jesuits have been an active presence in the most powerful, influential, elite circles of society, permitting them to serve as a bridge between the poor and marginalized and the elite. The goal of these interactions was to transform both groups for the betterment of the world. It is a pragmatic pursuit, in that many of the Jesuit apostolates that serve the marginalized require heavy financial and political investment from the wealthy, thus justifying the Jesuits' presence with those constituents in society to promote the Jesuit brand. While endeavoring to be altruistic (Jesuit Mission) and practical (Jesuit Brand), the Jesuits have found that these two aspects create a paradoxical dialectic that at times is quite challenging. The tension of balancing the interests of both without taking away from one of them is clear. The Order has nonetheless proven repeatedly to be fearless in delving into a complexity that is part of the human condition. This effort has proven to be both quite challenging and beneficial in sustaining the Jesuit apostolates that exist worldwide--especially education.

A dialectic is the ability to transcend apparent contradictions by bridging two apparent opposites or places of apparent divergence (Rappaport, 1981; Todd & Abrams, 2011). A dialectic forms in the pulling of these apparently opposite directions simultaneously toward each other, while attempting to pay close attention to scrutinizing

the two apparent polemics. Within dialectic thought, a person may be able to move back and forth on this continuum in order to work through it--possibly to explore the dialectic more closely for deeper insight. The German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel proposed that new understanding and insights could be acquired by studying various dialectics. In what became known as Hegelian dialectics, Hegel believed that an intellectual evolution begins with an initial thesis or basic postulate/question (Fox, 2005). This thesis is always accompanied by an antithesis that plays the 'devil's advocate', challenging the original thesis in a contrarian way. Instead of discarding either the thesis or the antithesis, Hegel proposed holding these two in tension with each other, with the goal that further wisdom and insight would be gathered by both, ultimately producing a synthesis. This synthesis would be the encapsulation of the totality of the idea, experience, or value, giving it further complexity in the form of detail, description, and didactic. It was this synthesis that Hegel believed presented a totality of the experience and was worth moving towards (Fox, 2005; Hegel & Friedrich, 1954).

Summation. This study will explore the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit Secondary Education. An overarching question in this study is how American Jesuit Secondary Education can embody a Jesuit mission consisting of cultural immersion and social justice while promoting its Jesuit brand in an American society that emphasizes capitalism--capitalism that comes with forms of injustice, which contradict the Jesuit social justice mission characterized by Pedro Arrupe (known as Arrupian social justice in this study). This question forms the essence of the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Secondary education. The goal of this study is to explore the Jesuit social justice dialectic from both a macro and micro point of view in American Jesuit secondary

education. At a macro level, the study looks at the Jesuit mission by conducting a thorough historiography of the entire Jesuit order from its founder, Ignatius Loyola, to its current state in the Catholic Church and American culture. The historiography seeks to tease out aspects of Jesuit history in order to acquire insight into their overall vision of the Jesuits as a Catholic, religious order, particularly as it relates to hallmarks of the Jesuit mission: social justice, education, and evangelization.

At the micro level, the Cristo Rey school model case study is the integral part of this project. The case study explores in great depth the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit high school education manifest in the Cristo Rey model. This study utilizes Arrupian social justice as the theoretical framework for data analysis that draws insights pertaining to the Jesuit social justice dialectic within the Cristo Rey school model and its implications for all of Jesuit secondary education. This analysis will lead to greater understanding of how the Jesuit mission of American Jesuit Secondary Education can be more fully realized, given a deeper understanding and awareness of the current context of its mission in a globalized world.

Context of the Problem Space

Deciphering the problem space for this study begins with looking at the context. This effort includes looking at the Jesuits and their cultural evolution in tandem with the cultural evolution of the United States. One is required to delve into the history of this fascinating, complex relationship and its status, in order to determine what the future holds for Jesuits in America as it pertains to the Jesuit mission of high school education. The state of overall America education and its linkage to American culture contributes greatly to the state of Jesuit high school education and the evolution of the Jesuit social

justice dialectic within it. The confluence of these issues is integral to the context of the problem space.

The Jesuit Mission and Its Embrace of Culture.

"Go forth and set the world on fire"
--Ignatius Loyola (Harter, 1993)

One of the key reasons why Jesuits have been in the center of both education and social justice in society is their unique, innovative mission as a Catholic religious order. Most Catholic religious orders up to this point were monastic in theme and sought to escape their culture-- seeing it as a hindrance to religious faith. Culture was seen as the physical expression of the world, while religion was seen as the spiritual/metaphysical expression of the world with the latter being more closely associated with God or the divine. The Jesuits put a twist on this idea by being more intentional in engaging and participating actively in mainstream societal and cultural life (Duminuco, 2000; O'Brien, 1990) This Jesuit initiative is based on two key core principles that comprise the Jesuit mission then and now; cultural engagement and finding God in all things.

The first core principle of the Jesuit mission is based on the idea of engaging people where they are in their lives (Barry, 1991; Fleming, 1996). This principle applies to all human relationships in whatever cultural context they exist. What underlies this first key belief is first the willingness of the Jesuits to engage in the complexity of culture with the paradoxes, hypocrisies, and irrationality characteristic of the human condition, all of which exposed people to sin. This first key step was followed by an additional willingness to engage diverse cultures with an openness and vulnerability, not to oppress, but to connect, which continues to be an ongoing challenge. The same spirit of engagement ideally should be realized in all the relationships formed in Jesuit education.

These relationships not only take place with diverse cultures and people, but also with the marginalized in society. From a social justice standpoint, this core belief acknowledges the importance of relationships and the need to be present with people where they are in their lives. It is important to be present with them on their terms, not on the Jesuits terms or the justice activists' perspective, but the terms of the marginalized or underrepresented (Arrupe, 1972, 1974; Brackley, 2004; Kammer, 2004). From an educational perspective, this meeting point stresses the importance of relationships in learning that everyone is at a different place or level (Meirose, 1994). It defies the notion of an equal playing field and "a one size fits all model of education". Instead, it stresses the importance and value of the life experiences of students and welcomes those experiences into the classroom as an vehicle for learning and growth (Banks & Banks, 2009).

The second core belief emphasized by the Jesuits is seeking to find God or the divine in all things and not just in sacred spaces. Always a controversial notion, the Jesuits continue to maintain this idea of looking for the presence of God in all aspects of human life (Jesuits, 1977; McGucken, 1932; O'Malley, 1993; Traub, 2008). This presupposes that all of God's creation, including aspects of culture, can be an encounter with God if one intentionally chooses to look for God in those areas. It also implies that there is an inherent goodness within the world if one seeks to find it. This principle emboldens the Jesuits to engage all aspects of human culture, developing an appreciation for all of its diversity as part of God's creation (Barry, 1991).

These two key principles contributed to the Jesuits utilizing every tool in their arsenal, whether it is education, politics, art, scholarship, and other mainstays of culture to affect, influence, and inculcate the entire world. They became anthropologists of a

sort in how they assimilated, acclimated, and became part of the cultures into which they entered. While their chief purpose was to evangelize (spreading the Gospel of Jesus Christ), their inclination to cultural immersion challenged the hierarchal, doctrinal, and dogmatic segments of Catholicism (McDonough, 1992; Schroth, 2007). For example, the Jesuits caused controversies with the hierarchal Catholic Church in terms of how much Christian doctrine can fit within certain cultural frameworks without compromising the doctrinal integrity. This tightrope that many Jesuits walked as part of their mission shaped the dialectic nature of this religious order and remains true to this day (Wright, 2004).

Collectively, these aspects constitute the thrust of the Jesuit mission. It is a mission accompanied by dialectical tendencies, due mostly to the ambitious desire to see the mission come to fruition in the world in powerful, influential, culturally transformative ways, which entails the selling of the Jesuit brand. Selling of the Jesuit brand requires political power and economic wealth. The Jesuit mission and the Jesuit brand form the basis for the Jesuit social justice dialectic.

The Jesuit Embrace of Dialectic.

> Jesuitical- practicing casuistry or equivocation; using subtle or oversubtle reasoning; crafty; sly; intriguing.
>
> Definition from dictionary.com

The term, “Jesuitical” is one that has been used derisively in referring the Jesuits by many of their critics. It is a term that speaks of the Jesuit embrace of dialectic and being pragmatic in proceeding with their Jesuit mission. Ironically, this aspect that is criticized is a major reason why the Jesuits have been very successful in the many aspects of their mission of influencing the culture. The phrase, “living in the tension” is one that

is heard quite a bit in Jesuit social circles (Barry, 1991). It is the way Jesuits define the dialectic - the idea of “living in the tension”. Living in the tension does not come easily to human nature, and yet the Jesuits believed, like Hegel, that this tension or dialectic was a source of wisdom needed for personal growth. Further results include an openness to cultural diversity/inclusion, educational rigor for the purpose of personal growth and action in the world, a genuine appreciation of the physical world, and an acceptance of the reality of the role of politics within the Jesuit mission of social justice.

This dialectical nature served as a catalyst to the Jesuits’ creative, innovative missionary efforts that ultimately spread Catholicism all over Europe and beyond. This expansion of Catholic evangelization also contributed to the expansion of European colonization beyond the intercontinental divides to parts of Asia, Africa, South America, and North America. The Jesuits, through their evangelic efforts worldwide, were instrumental in the spread of colonization throughout the last four centuries or so (O'Brien, 1992).

Historically, the Jesuits’ attraction to cultural diversity is legendary, and it occasionally challenged the patience of the Catholic hierarchy and the European colonial powers. This appreciation and acceptance of diversity would inevitably draw people from all parts of the world to join the religious order or, at the very least, become strong advocates for them for different reasons. Many advocated for the Jesuits for their Catholic faith while others admired the quality of their apostolates--including Jesuit education and their altruism. While these endorsements gave the Jesuits a truly ecumenical feel, it also bought upon them various world perspectives and worldviews, which often challenged various Catholic doctrines and forms of worship. It also

frustrated European nations who wanted to assimilate these various cultures into their European culture through modernity and exploit their natural resources for economic gain.

Back then and now, trying to generalize about the Jesuits' stance on any of the major religious, political, and social issues of the day proves challenging. This is particularly true of issues of social justice, and there are many examples of Jesuits coming down on both sides of a contemporary justice issue. Social justice issues arising from many diverse cultures and communities pose great complexity and controversy within the hierarchal Jesuit order, which seeks conformity in accordance to the justice values of Catholic social teaching championed by the Roman Catholic Church (Becker, 1992; McDonough & Bianchi, 2002; Schroth, 2007). This structural diversity within the religious order and their apostolates, many of which are lead by the laity or non-clergy worldwide, contribute to the paradoxical, dialectic nature demonstrated by the Jesuits. This dialectic nature is accompanied by a Jesuit leadership structure that simultaneously appears to be centralized and decentralized. There appear to be top, middle, and bottom tiers within the Jesuit order as a whole. The bottom tier is less politically visible and thus more independent to do what they want and believe apart from what leadership of the Catholic Magisterium often desires. The middle tier has some jurisdiction and therefore some leadership responsibilities, but also tends to act rather independently, although not as much as the bottom tier. Finally, the top tier of Jesuits is in accordance with the Catholic magisterium and leadership structure with regard to doctrine and mission. This group is often politically visible and thus represents the loyalty that the Jesuit order has had to the Pope since its inception and founder Ignatius Loyola's declaration in 1540.

This description of Jesuits is particularly accurate in the United States with its unique form of American Catholicism interfused within the American Story. Within this combination of American and Jesuit culture is a vision of social justice that seeks freedom, equity, and inclusion (Becker, 1992; McDonough, 1992; McDonough & Bianchi, 2002).

The American Christian Dialectic.

> "The greatest advantage of religion is to inspire diametrically contrary principles"
>
> --Alexis de Tocqueville (De Tocqueville, 2003)

Throughout the history of the United States, there has existed a paradoxical relationship between religion and citizenship. The paradoxical tension has specifically been with Christian values and the burgeoning of American culture. This tension is attributed to the innovative vision for government that the nation's founders helped to create in America. This vision was a democratic, republican form of government with a capitalist economic model seeking to achieve the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness on an individual as well as collective basis. These aspects helped create an American culture of individuality, independence, and a thirst for competition. It was also an American culture that, while Christocentric, endeavored to create a separation between church and state. While there are many different interpretations of what the founders intended in terms of this separation, few dispute an America in which its founders endorsed religious freedom and liberty. This idea of religious freedom further enhanced the quintessential American ideals of individualism and independence (Hooper, 1994).

In turn, Christianity, and more specifically Catholicism arose from a European tradition where church and state intermingled formally and informally; this relationship

shaped not only European national identity and policy, but also colonial expansion to the New World. It was a coexistence in which theocratic tendencies were enacted, with both the Anglican and Catholic hierarchies competing for the most religious and political influence of the day. The Jesuits were heavily involved in European political intrigue as they administered religious rites and Catholic sacraments to many of the most powerful European leaders. In return, Jesuits were bought into the confidence of many of these leaders for counsel and guidance. This Jesuit political intrigue was much to the disdain of those entities that remained outside of the inner political sanctum (Bangert, 1986; O'Brien, 1992; Schroth, 2007).

In the United States, the Jesuits would embrace this paradox that with great confidence and optimism, but with caution as well. The Jesuits would engage in all aspects of American culture, evangelizing to all who would listen, predominantly through their expertise in education. In embracing America and thrusting themselves into the hodgepodge of American culture and civic life, the many paradoxes and dialectics of the Jesuits would reveal themselves pertaining to issues of social justice in economics, coloniality, racism, militarism, freedom, privacy, and oppression--to name a few (Garraghan, 1978; McGucken, 1932).

The American Narrative. American exceptionalism, the American dream, and the idea of meritocracy are three key elements that form the American ethos. This ethos lives on today. Alexis De Tocqueville was one of the first to speak of this concept of American exceptionalism. De Tocqueville was a Frenchman visiting and researching America in the early 19th century. He characterizes American exceptionalism in the following way:

> The position of the Americans is therefore quite exceptional, and It may be believed that no democratic people will ever be placed in a similar one. Their strictly Puritanical origin, their exclusively commercial habits, even the country they inhabit, which seems to divert their minds from the pursuit of science, literature, and the arts, the proximity of Europe, which allows them to neglect these pursuits without relapsing into barbarism, a thousand special causes, of which, I have only been able to point out the most important, have singularly concurred to fix the mind of the American upon purely practical objects. (De Tocqueville, 2003).

De Tocqueville looks at American exceptionalism as achieving the great balance between European enlightenment and sheer American practicality. He admires the ability of Americans to embrace the balance not only between theory and action, but also in regard to social, moral, and political issues having to do with the proper role of religion, government, education, and other aspects of culture in daily American societal life (De Tocqueville, 2003).

The concept of American exceptionalism has continued and thrived since De Tocqueville. It became more honed and focused contributing to the idea of the American dream. The phrase was coined by James Truslow Adams in 1931 in his book, *Epic of America*. In this book, Adams characterized the American dream thus:

> life should be better and richer and fuller for everyone,
> with opportunity for each according to ability or achievement…
> …It is not a dream of motor cars and high wages
> merely, but a dream of social order in which each man and each
> woman shall be able to attain to the fullest stature of which they
> are innately capable, and be recognized by others for what they
> are, regardless of the fortuitous circumstances of birth or
> position (Adams, 1938).

While American exceptionalism spoke of the United States and the American story in generalities and in a national collective sense, the idea of achieving the American dream spoke of an ethic of individuality. Adams explores what achieving the American dream means to individuality and how people could specifically go about attaining it.

Adams points to the idea of individuality in America as unlike Europe, having a greater capacity to become a reality in America given its political and societal structures. He also points out that maximizing one's potential is more than simply about attaining economic and fiscal wealth, but is also about attaining status and constantly achieving to one's best ability. This idea compares favorably to the Jesuit notion of "Magis" and the seeking of the "more" or the "best" in all aspects of life. It should be noted that both Adams' concept of the American dream and the Jesuit "magis" both referred to aspects of life that are immaterial and not solely economic in value/status.

The third idea that fits into the American ethos is meritocracy. As the ideas of American exceptionalism and the American dream spread, they were emboldened by the idea of meritocracy. The idea of meritocracy was coined by Englishman Michael Young in his book on the *Rise of the Meritocracy*, which focuses on England and was later adapted by the United States (Young, 1958). In his book, Young defined meritocracy as:

> Merit is equated with intelligence-plus-effort, its possessors are identified at an early age and selected for appropriate intensive education, and there is an obsession with quantification, test-scoring, and qualifications (Young, 1958).

Young's concept of intelligence is the learning of knowledge strictly driven by formal educational structures producing quantifiable results in the form of test scores. This idea of meritocracy, as well as the means to assess it, left a heavy footprint in America's educational system in the form of notions of intelligence/credentials/qualifications. This idea also reinforced America as a place unlike any other as the land of opportunity, where meritocracy came closest to becoming a reality. America was perceived as place where status and power were not given due to merit, but from merit that had to be earned and

validated by everyone to achieve both American exceptionalism and the American dream.

Emergent Free Market Capitalism and Rising Economic Inequality.

While mindful of these three aspects of the American narrative, one must look at the current ethos of the United States today. It is important to determine whether America is investing its efforts to see these ideas of the American experiment become a greater reality in American life or whether it is investing more in protecting these aspects to preserve the status quo of power. A recent notion is that these three aspects are tied simply to individual success from an economic perspective and nothing more. Over the last thirty-five years or so, hypercapitalism in the form of neoliberal economic policies has taken effect in the United States. The federal deregulation of banks/companies, the combining of investment and consumer banking, the emergence of a derivatives market, and the growing number of bank loans allotted are examples (Graham, 2006; Phillips, 2008). All of these events reached a tipping point with the economic crash of 2008, which caused the federal government to step in and bail out many of the larger banks and companies with taxpayer money.

Both before and after the crash of 2008, the economic disparity between Americans seemed to be increasing. The collective goal for the United States always appeared to be a large and flourishing middle class, while providing the incentive and freedom for those striving for greater economic heights. While the faith of the American people is intact regarding the state of the middle class, the numbers tell a different story. Over the last few decades, it appears that the goal of enhancing the middle class has been undermined. Instead, America seems to be focused on pursuing the economic success for

the economic elite. The recent economic policies to further liberate the market while decreasing any regulations created the impetus for those who desired and had the "merit" to gain economic success. The pursuit of neoliberal economic policy reached its crescendo when President Bill Clinton in 1999 signed a bill repealing the Glass-Steagal Act, a law created as the main regulatory device by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1933 (Phillips, 2008) .

More neoliberal economic policies contributed to America's economy endeavoring to become more competitive with potential for huge returns but failing to ensure a level playing field accessible to all of its citizens. Consequently, the wealthiest in America grew much wealthier while the rest of America stagnated. This condition is evidenced by the change in collective distribution of wages and total accumulation of wealth over the long haul (Phillips, 2008; Stiglitz, 2012). The wages for all economic classes grew at roughly the same rate from post World War II until the late 1970's. However, in 2011, the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) reported that from 1979-2007 the income growth of families representing the top 1% increased by 278%, while the middle 60% increased by 40% over the same time period. The accrued income share for the top 1% increased by 13.5%; this increase in growth for the 1% is more than the total amount of income growth for the bottom 40% over the same time span (Krueger, 2012).

Along with stagnating wages and declining economic wealth for the majority of Americans, there is also the issue of economic mobility. Despite the neoliberal economic policies and the free flowing of cash, indicators such as the Gini Coefficient and the Catsby Curve seems to confirm that economic mobility in the United States is at an all-time low (Hayes, 2012; Krueger, 2012; Stiglitz, 2012).

Along with the economic challenges for economic mobility, there is also the issue of social distance or, in some cases, outright dissonance with, among, and between certain aggregate social and income groups in America (Hayes, 2012; Murray, 2012). As the issue of socio-economic class has emerged more defined and distinct, the connection between social groups has developed a substantial gap resulting on occasion in social dissonance. Social dissonance, seen in terms of the growing divisions between government and citizens, businesses and consumers, leader and followers, etc., is occurring in America (Hayes, 2012). In terms of power and influence, there appears to be a growing divide between those in positions of leadership and those being led. Special interests appear to be served by the political process more than the public interest. In terms of social capital, there is a decrease in the ability to socially network up and down the power continuum, thus limiting the ability for economic, social, and political mobility in spite of work ethic, desires, and high aspirations (Putnam, 2001; Soares, 2007). The lack of social connection hinders community-building mechanisms and the idea of civic engagement, both attributes integral to American exceptionalism (according to De Tocqueville, Robert Putnam, James Coleman, and others). The values of meritocracy contributing to the ideas of opportunity and the American work ethic have been compromised because of systemic inequality and the lack of economic mobility. While the problem appears to be plain, the solutions are debatable. However, one way to stem the tide may lie in one of the characteristics of the zip codes in Murray's study. Murray points out that one of the watermarks of success is in the percentage of people possessing a college degree. It seems plain, therefore, to state that a possible way to equalize societal gaps is to provide affordable, quality education to all citizens.

The Changing Face of America. Growing economic inequality in America is occurring as the demographic landscape of America is changing. The total population in the U.S. is projected to exceed 400 million by 2051 and approach 424 million by 2060. The non-Hispanic/White population is projected to peak at 199.6 million by 2024 and decrease to 179 million by 2060. All minority or underrepresented populations, which currently make up 37% of the total American population, are projected to make up 57% of the American population by 2060. It is projected that this population will more than double from 116.2 to 241. 3 million by 2060 and thus become the majority population. Today one in six U.S. residents is Hispanic, and by 2060, that ratio is projected to be one out of three. The Hispanic population is projected to more than double from 53.3 million today to 128.8 million by 2060. The African-American population is projected to grow by 20 million from 41.2 to 61.8 million, and the Asian American population is predicted to double from 15.9 to 34.4 million. By 2060, it is predicted that African-Americans will make up about 14.7 % of the US population and Asian Americans will make up about 8.2% up from the current day 13.1% and 5.1%, respectively. It is worth noting that the U.S. Census looks at African-Americans and Asian Americans from a mostly monolithic perspective, not presenting a more concise demographic framework or noting the many nations and cultures represented by both those categories (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011).

By 2050, Hispanics will outnumber the non-Hispanic Caucasian population, making it the majority population in the United States. The overall “minority” population from 2000-2010 grew by 29 percent from 86.9 to 111.9 million. Texas, New Mexico, Washington DC, Hawaii, and California demonstrate the irony of having the the minority

population be the majority. Overall, the U.S. population grew by 9.7 % over the same time period of 2000-2010 from to approximately 308 million. 51.0 million or 16% are Hispanic, which represents a growth of 43% percent from 2000 when it was 35.3 million. The Hispanic population increased by 15.2 million over that time span, thus accounting for half of the population growth overall, which was 27.3 million in total in the United States. This is in contrast to Whites/Non-Hispanics who decreased within the American demographic mosaic from 69% to 64% of the overall US population and grew at a rate of about 5%, significantly lower than Hispanics. The White/Non-Hispanic population grew from 194.6 to 196.8 million over this time period (Humes et al., 2011). In terms of rate of population growth, the Asian American community grew fastest, with the White/Non-Hispanic community being the slowest. Asian Americans increased by 43% over this time period to from 10.2 million to 14.7 million. Percentage-wise, the Asian American population moved up from 4 to 5% of entire American population. The African-American population grew by 4.3 million over this time, the 3rd largest increase among underrepresented or minority groups increasing by 34.7 million to 38.9 million. Native American and Alaskan Native populations rose 18% from 2.5 to 2.9 million. The white population shrank during this same time period by 75% from 223.6 to 211.5 million (Humes et al., 2011). These demographic shifts, that reside in mostly the urban areas of America, create an impetus for enhancing the access of quality education to the entire population to ensure the future prosperity of America (Anyon, 2014; Friedman & Mandelbaum, 2011; Gore, 2013; Howell, Lewis, & Norvella, 2011).

The State of American Education and the Achievement Gap. The changing face of American society is closely linked with the current state of American education.

A major conduit to making American exceptionalism, the American dream, and American meritocracy a reality to more Americans is the educational system. Education is engrained with the belief is that any man or woman, regardless of their demographics or living conditions, can achieve educational success based solely on their merit leading to economic mobility and the attainment of the American dream. However, as the economic disparity in the United States has widened, the rate of economic mobility has been constrained (Krueger, 2012; Stiglitz, 2012). Additionally, the cost of American education has skyrocketed (Soares, 2007; Weininger & Lareau, 2003). The gap within higher education between prestigious schools and the rest of the schools has grown along with the overall country's economic disparity (Anyon, 2012; Gallagher, Goodyear, Brewer, & Rueda, 2011; Lipman, 2011). This gap translates into social distance and a decrease in communal, civic engagements, previous hallmarks of American life (Lin, 2000; Murray, 2012; Putnam, 2001). The growing economic disparity combined with the explosion of costs has an indelible effect on access to quality, affordable American education

Along with the widening economic disparity and the changing demographics of America, there is the growing achievement gap in American education. The achievement gap refers to the circumstances in which a larger number of students from underrepresented populations (in terms of race, culture, language, socio-economic class, etc.) achieve significantly less than students from the more representative population do. The tendency is to use the terms, "minority", to refer to the former group and "majority" to refer to the latter group, but the demographic statistics defy the use of these terms. All of the demographic trends coincide with the growing achievement gap, particularly as it

relates to Hispanic and African-American students in the classrooms (Anyon, 2014; Rothstein, 2004).

According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), White/Caucasian students score higher than their African-American and Hispanic counterparts do in certain assessments. The gap that exists within the scores is worth noting. In mathematics and reading scores at the 4th grade and 8th grade level, white students scored on average 26 points higher than African-American students on a scale of 0-500. At the 4th grade level, 41% of Caucasian students are proficient in reading while only 16% of Hispanics are. At the 8th grade level, this gap is about the same with the percentage of white student who are at a proficient reading level reaching 39%, while for Hispanics it is only 15%. One sees a gap of almost two grade levels; this statistic is same as it was in 1992--only the population is evolving and changing at a much faster rate (Lee, Grigg, & Dion, 2007; Vanneman, Hamilton, Anderson, & Rahman, 2009). Unfortunately, the achievement gap is actually a gap of resources, opportunity, and expectations. These circumstances act as an "education debt"--as Gloria Ladson-Billings points out--that transcends test scores and alludes to issues of racism, coloniality, and cultural oppression (Hall & Ushomirsky, 2010; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006).

The achievement gap not only relates to test scores, but to high school graduation and enrollment. Based on projections from the 2007-08 to 2020-2021 school year, public American high school enrollment is expected to decrease by 3%. White/Non-Hispanic high school students are expected to decrease by 11%, with African America students decreasing at a projected rate of 2%. This is in sharp contrast to the Hispanic population, which is projected to increase high school graduation rates by 27% and the Asian

American population projected to increase by 46% by 2021. Finally, both public and private secondary education are projected to decrease in total with public projected with a 1% decrease and private secondary education projected to decrease by a staggering 27%. Again, all of these school projections are predicted to occur between 2008 and 2021. These numbers are in sharp contrast to the past decade where both private and public secondary education rates increased. From the 1995-96 school year through 2007-08 school year, public high school graduation increased by 32% while private secondary education increased by 27%. It appears that as the U.S. becomes more populated and racially diverse, high school graduation rates are going to continue to decrease unless. This decrease is potentially problematic given essential role of high school and college graduation in attaining some economic mobility in the United States. The need for quality, affordable, education for the poor is immense given the economic and demographic changes in the United States.

Catholic Jesuit Education in America. According to a study released in March 2013 by the National Catholic Education Association (NCEA), two million students currently attend Catholic schools in the United States. This is a 1.5 percent decrease compared to the 2011-12 school year, a decrease representing around 30,000 students. The report asserts the number of students enrolled in Catholic schools in the U.S. reached its peak in the early 1960s with more than 5.2 million students. That population declined steeply in the 1970s and 1980s, dropping to about 2.5 million students by 1990. Between 2000 and 2013, 2,090 Catholic schools closed or consolidated, and the number of students declined by 651,300 (McDonald & Schultz, 2013). This study points to middle-income families' flight from urban areas, declining financial support from the

church/arch-diocese, and higher operational costs as among the reasons for these changes.

Some argue that today's Catholic schools require new management to weather the fiscal challenges. Others point to the rise of charter schools as one reason why Catholic school enrollment has declined. Despite the decreased in attendance, the report also notes that nearly a third of the nation's Catholic schools (2,166 of them) have waiting lists for admission. Karen M. Ristau, the NCEA president, says part of the problem is that the construction of new facilities for Catholic schools in urban areas has not kept up with the demand. In this study, only 19.6% of Catholic school students were classified as racial minorities with 14.3% being Hispanic/Latino. Thus, more than 80% of the students in schools are Non-Hispanic/White. In terms of location, 35% of Catholic high schools exist in the suburbs, 38% are urban schools, and 10% are located in the inner city. The average Catholic high school tuition for the 2012-2013 was $9622.00 a year (McDonald & Schultz, 2013). The NCEA report indicates that increasing costs in Catholic education, the lack of Catholic archdiocesan support for further construction of urban Catholic schools, and the lack of racial diversity within these Catholic schools are in conflict with the national demographic trends. These trends are the growing urbanization of an increasingly diverse America, and the rise of alternative school reform movements such as the charter school. Part of the reason the Catholic Church has not kept up with these trends is due to changes taking place within the structures of Catholic American education in general. As the vocations to Catholic religious orders began to decrease in the 1960s, more laity/nonreligious were needed to lead and maintain the Catholic schools (Dolan, 1985; Douthat, 2012; Hennesey, 1981). This change required financial

compensation for these lay people. Catholic schools were also required to shift to a business model and look to fundraising to help sustain operations. Many of these schools went to the suburbs to follow the money and the wealth of families. The money in the suburbs not only kept the suburban schools open, but also helped fund other Catholic groups that focused on Catholic social justice or Catholic social teaching efforts to help the poor and marginalized. Thus, a tenuous dialectic took full shape in American Catholic education. The collateral cost for Catholic education was that it left a huge lack of Catholic education in the urban centers of America where so many Catholic immigrants reside. The American hierarchal Catholic Church leaders need to continue to invest in urban Catholic education, as they did a century ago when the first major wave of immigrants came to this country during the Industrial Revolution seeking a job and an opportunity to be successful. At present, a second wave of Catholic immigration is taking place in America--in the form of Latinos, Africans, and Asians--that requires a similar investment, which the Cristo Rey model is trying to address. .

Summation. There are two trends in the American narrative connected to American education. The first trend is the growing rigidity of economic mobility and the widening economic disparity gap, which require a greater focus on the issue of socio-economic status in the United States. Education is closely linked to certain occupations and careers. Most students begin considering career prospects in 4th or 5th grade of elementary school (Choy, 2001; Engle, 2006). As economic disparity has increased, the access to affordable, quality education has decreased, and this decrease limits the above-mentioned consideration of career prospects.

The second trend is the social justice implications occurring because of these economic changes and their effect on world conditions. Social concerns stem from an overreliance on capitalism and the free market leading to the commodification of human beings and human capacity (Francis, 2013; Graham, 2006; Phillips, 2008; West, 2004). Such commodification has led to the rise in significance of people's socio-economic status in American culture and the resulting decrease in human connectivity—or human community. This trend poses questions about the value of human life, human community, and human meaning apart from market value. These issues affect how we treat each other on a global scale in terms of equity, justice, and freedom (Arrupe, 1977; Francis, 2013).

These two trends capture the problem space in which American Jesuit Secondary Education exists. It exists within an American cultural context of a mission that seeks to engage in cultural diversity and advocate for the marginalized in society. Realistically, the spread of the Jesuit mission also entails the promotion of it, which is the selling of the Jesuit brand; this requires economic wealth and political power, both of which pose justice implications. Collectively, the Jesuit mission and brand contribute to a Jesuit social justice dialectic that is integral to contemporary Jesuit secondary education in America and warrants in-depth exploration, which this study endeavors to achieve.

Problem Space: American Jesuit Secondary Education

The central problem space in this study is American Jesuit Secondary Education and the Jesuit social justice dialectic that resides within it. American Jesuit Secondary Education refers to the fifty-nine Jesuit high schools in the United States sponsored by the Jesuit order and linked by the Jesuit Secondary Educational Association (JSEA). All

of these Jesuit high schools have social justice as major aspect of their institutions. The institutions also depend upon and promote the Jesuit brand. The Jesuit brand, remember, is dependent on the status quo of power for cultural influence and economic support for its apostolates, yet its social justice mission is inherently about challenging these same systems of power in a prophetic way. The coordination of the brand and social justice is the Jesuit social justice *dialectic*, which is as much a part of the Jesuits as social justice, evangelization, and cultural immersion. The dialectic is integral to the Jesuit mission because of the Jesuit ambition to transform the world. This mission requires not only prophetic zeal on behalf of the marginalized, but pragmatic engagement with those in power in order to have an influential voice. This Jesuit social justice dialectic will be explored within the Jesuit mission in contemporary American Jesuit Secondary Education with a historical backdrop, and then through the lenses of a Cristo Rey Jesuit high school case study. A core Freirian principle of this study is that education is linked to society and is thus political in nature (P. Freire, 1993). The historical and contemporary American narrative is therefore inevitably linked to American Jesuit Secondary education. The Jesuits are part of American education and part of that American narrative.

The Jesuit Mission and American Jesuit Secondary Education. As stated previously, a major aspect of Jesuit evangelization efforts is education. Education is seen as a conduit to intellectual and existential enlightenment. Historically, as graduates of Jesuit institutions throughout the world acquired fame and fortune, the influence of the Jesuits also rose in prominence. As the number of graduates from Jesuit institutions grew, so did the Jesuits' status as the best educators in the world (Whitehead, 2007).

This increase took place in the United States as well, with its growth of prestigious higher education institutions covering the entire continent. Eventually, Jesuit education became a symbol of social status in America similar to other prestigious American educational institutions. In America, education is seen as a vehicle for economic and political mobility--an oasis of opportunity for achieving the American dream. Learning in American schooling is not seen simply as end in itself, but rather as an instrument of social capital to achieve something greater. Learning is linked to branding: an important aspect of education is acquiring credentials from the most prestigious institution possible. American schooling uses learning as a means of achieving success - some form of American economic, political success that serves as conduit to power.

The pursuit of the American definition of success is interwoven into the Jesuit mission in Jesuit education, along with Catholic evangelization and social justice. The Jesuits take advantage of this attaining of American success by garnering economic and political support for their apostolates. In the 1960s, following the changes prompted by Vatican II, Jesuit educational institutions, which once employed only Jesuits (who required no salaries or compensation) now looked to the laity (non-clergy) for human structural support. They needed the laity to lead some of the apostolates and take on a more active role in the Jesuit mission. This shift required not only extensive training, but also involved a salary (previously, Jesuit educators were primarily members of the order and did not require conventional compensation). As a result, previously fully endowed education was now forced to charge higher tuition to cover their operational fees. For Jesuit schools to maintain their prestige to sell their brand, they had to raise their tuition costs and expand their infrastructure.

Consequently, the Jesuits began to charge higher rates of tuition and thus began excluding many families who no longer could afford a Jesuit education. As a result, many American Jesuit high schools transitioned to catering to--and becoming part of--a more affluent constituency. During this transition, many of the Jesuit high schools began to move, along with a portion of the population, to the suburbs. Places like Chicago, Denver, and St. Louis saw this relocation, leaving behind an urban population seeking a quality Catholic, Jesuit education (Meirose, 1994; Thomas P. Rausch, 2010; Robert J. Starratt, 2004). While some of these Jesuit high schools did not necessarily leave their urban locations, they started to recruit students from the wealthier suburbs to make the commute rather then students in their own backyards. Ironically, while this gentrification was taking place in the populations of these schools, the curriculum/pedagogy reiterated social justice values and ideals in the classrooms.

The Jesuits recognized this trend towards catering to a wealthier clientele and were concerned about it from a Jesuit mission standpoint. They began to devise ways to address this phenomenon, both within the curriculum of their traditional schools and within their modus operandi. As a response to the economic/mission conflict, the first Cristo Rey High School opened its doors in the fall of 1996. This original Cristo Rey was bilingual, coed, Jesuit, and sought to serve the Latino community, many of whom had not considered education as a long-term path toward greater economic stability (G. R. Kearney, 2008; Thielman, 2012). Many of the Cristo Rey students would be the first generation of their families to complete high school, and with determination, to graduate from college. Cristo Rey schools formed in the urban pockets of the United States. As with the JSEA, a Cristo Rey network was created to oversee all of these schools. As of

the summer of 2012, this network has helped spearhead the creation of twenty- four high schools throughout urban pockets in the United States sponsored by Catholic religious orders and archdiocese of all kinds including the Jesuits ("Cristo Rey Network 2014," ; Thielman, 2012).

The Jesuits have proven a capacity for living and thriving within the tension of several dialectics that apply to many aspects of the culture - religion, politics, opinions etc. The central purpose of this dissertation is to study the Jesuit social justice dialectic in Jesuit high school education in America through historiography and a case study of a Cristo Rey Jesuit school. How does this Cristo Rey case study school experience the tensions of this Jesuit social justice dialectic? On the one hand, this social justice dialectic has been fruitful, beneficial, and empowering for Jesuit education and the religious order at large. On the other hand, this social justice dialectic is inundated with social justice questions. The school has contributed and continues to contribute to colonialism, cultural oppression, and modernity. The perpetuation of these conditions pose many implications when compared to the social justice vision of Pedro Arrupe, the unofficial patron saint within all Jesuit high schools today. The dialectic piece is central to identity of the Jesuit mission and brand; the American ethos has contributed to this identity. An American Jesuit identity is culturally complex, multilayered, and embedded within all the Jesuit, Catholic, and American spheres.

The Jesuit Social Justice Dialectic in American Jesuit Secondary Education.

The United States remains the most influential country in the world, and thus American Jesuit high school education can be tremendously influential with regard to the future welfare of all people. Along with the political, cultural, social, and psychological diversity within their religious order, the Jesuits exist in a world ripe with complex justice issues. As a result of globalization and coloniality, systemic inequality is occurring in a demographically complex cultural mosaic, a setting which is driven by the emergent role of technology (Friedman & Mandelbaum, 2011; Gore, 2013). It is within this changing world context that several established institutions are undergoing an identity crisis of sorts; among them are the United States, the hierarchal Catholic Church, and the Jesuit order, which is where Jesuit secondary education finds itself. As with most things Jesuit, Jesuit secondary education represents values of both Catholicism and American culture. American public policies that have caused the increase in national economic disparity and social distance between the socio-economic classes over the last thirty years have caused Jesuit high schools to pivot from their Jesuit mission of working with the poor towards emphasizing the selling of their brand. A great majority of the Jesuit high schools are catering now to a wealthier clientele, at the expense of fewer Jesuit high schools catering to families from middle or lower socio-economic status. Large scale institutional practices seem geared towards continuing expansion, garnering the finest students and families to attend their institutions, and sending their graduates to the most elite higher educational institutions in the country, while at the same time inculcating them with the values of the Jesuit mission.

In an effort to balance the inherent elitism of this trend, in the 1990s American Jesuits launched the first Cristo Rey School in Chicago. Cristo Rey Chicago was a Jesuit

high school that would work only with the impoverished students/ families in Chicago in the Pilsen neighborhood. Pilsen was a poor-inner city suburb, predominantly Latino/Hispanic. Cristo Rey Chicago gave these students a Jesuit high school education and an opportunity to attend college. Many of them would be the first in their families to attend college. Soon after the first Cristo Rey School opened, several of these Cristo Rey schools sprang up all over the urban corridors of America. Many of these Cristo Rey schools are still Jesuit, and they educate in the more marginalized urban communities throughout the United States. This return to the urban mission helped alleviate concerns about Jesuit "mission creep;" it also made more clear a key divide in the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit Secondary Education between the traditional Jesuit high school and the Cristo Rey schools. Simply put, the traditional Jesuit high schools cater to a wealthier, homogenous, powerful clientele while the Cristo Rey schools cater to a poorer, more marginalized, diverse clientele.

While creating the Cristo Rey School model addressed the Jesuit mission in a collective way, it did not address the other traditional Jesuit high schools, which continue to cater to a more affluent, elite population. It addresses the collective Jesuit mission but not the Jesuit mission at each individual Jesuit high school. The suburban schools remain wealthy and (often) elitist. Consequently, the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit high schools became more crystalized into two distinctive Jesuit high school models serving two distinctive populations. For the purpose of this study, The Jesuit high schools that serve the more affluent, elite, powerful constituency in society will be referred to as the traditional Jesuit high school and the Cristo Rey Jesuit high schools will refer to those schools, which serve the poor and marginalized contingents of society.

While both types of Jesuit high schools are part of the Jesuit Secondary Educational Association and are considered Jesuit following the same Jesuit mission, the reality is much more complex. There are major justice implications in terms of education each type of Jesuit high schools is delivering, as well as long-term ramifications to the kind of citizens Jesuit education is producing in the context of this Jesuit social justice dialectic. The two paths illustrated by these schools show the problem space area this study explores within the larger context of an American society consisting of economic and social groups, which are becoming more polarized from each other.

Jesuit social justice in American Jesuit high schools is inspired by the vision of Pedro Arrupe and is a staple of Jesuit education. How this social justice manifests itself at a Cristo Rey Jesuit high school in comparison to a traditional Jesuit high school is one of the key areas of exploration in this study. The Jesuit social justice dialectic is explored in this dissertation as it pertains to Jesuit secondary education in the United States both in the context of mission and brand.

There are fifty-nine Jesuit high schools in the United States. Many of these schools reside in some of the wealthiest places in the U.S. The annual median tuition is $13,195.00 per student (Bouillette, 2013). The Jesuits founded the first Cristo Rey School in Chicago in 1996. Since then twenty-seven Cristo Rey model schools have arisen throughout urban areas of the United States, from New York to California. Of these Cristo Rey schools, the Jesuits sponsor seven. The annual tuition for these schools range from $300.00- $500.00; students make up the rest of the cost through a corporate work study program ("Cristo Rey Network 2014," ; Thielman, 2012). The Cristo Rey Network, in April of 2012 signed a formal agreement with the Walton Foundation to

build twenty-five more Cristo Rey Schools in the next decade ("Cristo Rey Network 2014,"). As the Jesuit-sponsored Cristo Rey schools continue to embody the mission, the traditional Jesuit high schools continue to expand the Jesuit brand.

Summation. The ambition of the Jesuit mission is very similar to the pursuit of the American dream in that it knows no bounds. The Jesuit mission seeks to transform the world attempting to have it represent the values of the gospel, while American dream seeks to fulfill the promise of the Jeffersonian Trinity in seeking life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Both entail tremendous complexity and challenge within the context of American capitalism and Jesuit social justice. The question this study explores is how the Jesuit mission coexists with this American narrative dialectically in American Jesuit Secondary education as it pertains to the Cristo Rey model and the Jesuit social justice.

Significance of this Study

Objectives of this Study. This in depth exploration of context is a prelude to explaining the significance in conducting this study of the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit Secondary Education. Data will be gathered using two modes of inquiry: historiography and case study research. The historiography will cover the evolution of the Society of Jesus in America and the case study will be of a Cristo Rey Jesuit High school located in the same city as a traditional Jesuit high school. More specifically, this dissertation will accomplish the following:

1. Provide an in-depth chronicle of the Jesuits in historiographical form. This includes the history of the Jesuits, beginning with their origins, missionary work throughout the world in European politics, their role in

Colonial/American history, and including their current role in secondary education/social justice work in the United States.

2. Look at the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit Secondary Education within many contexts, including American Catholic education, the Jesuit social justice mission, the Jesuit brand, American urban education, and American society.
3. Explore the history of the Cristo Rey case study school and examine the innovative ways the Cristo Rey school model is addressing issues of urban education in the United States.
4. Look at the Jesuit social justice implications of Jesuit high school education in America, incorporating the Arrupian social justice theoretical frameworks for analysis of the Cristo Rey Jesuit high school and the key areas of juxtaposition where the Jesuit social justice dialectic resides.
5. Explore explicitly how the Jesuit social justice dialectic exists within Cristo Rey High school models and the role the traditional school models play.
6. Utilize the Arrupian social justice framework to analyze how the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit Secondary Education influences society from cultural, political, and social justice perspectives.
7. Determine the extent to which resurgence in Catholic urban education is taking place due to the influx of Catholic immigrants coming to the United States and who are interested in maintaining a strong Catholic foothold of relevance in American cultural affairs.

Purpose of this Study. The purpose of this study is to explore this Jesuit social justice dialectic looking at the historigraphic data of the Jesuits and case study data from a Cristo Rey Jesuit School model. All of the data presents a synthesis of Jesuit social justice dialectic as it pertains to American Jesuit Secondary Education. This synthesis addresses the following two research questions:

1. How does this Jesuit social justice dialectic manifest itself within the Cristo Rey case study model school, given the current state of American urban education and American Jesuit secondary education, which exists in the context of an American capitalist society?
2. What are the social justice implications (i.e., potential strengths and challenges) in maintaining this social justice dialectic within the Jesuit mission and brand, specifically in reference to the Cristo Rey case study school? Cristo Rey presents implications to the overall state of American Jesuit Secondary Education and its influence on society, both in the short term and long term.

The Cristo Rey School model is no longer solely Jesuit-sponsored. Many Catholic religious orders now sponsor and run Cristo Rey schools throughout the United States. The focus of this study is on exploring the Jesuit social justice dialectic in Jesuit high school education, of which the Cristo Rey Jesuit school model is integral. The Jesuit mission places a high standard on social justice, while being renowned for producing one of the finest educational products in the world, which involves the promotion of the Jesuit brand. Looking at the manifestation of these two important components of the Jesuit social justice dialectic within American Jesuit Secondary

Education, given its potential influence on the world, makes this study significant, as does the current crossroads of issues that intermingle with education and are important from a global perspective. These issues include globalization, coloniality of power, changing world demographics, global interdependency, and the importance of a quality, affordable education for all who desire it.

Chapter Overview. This dissertation will consist of seven chapters. The first four chapters set the parameters and context of the study. They consist of an introduction, a literature review, a methods section, and a conceptual/theoretical framework. In these first four chapters, the premise of this study is explained in detail. This includes discussing and expanding on the problem space utilizing different perspectives including the literature review and conceptual/theoretical framework. The methodology chapter presents the layout of the methods and procedures of the study.

The final three chapters is the actual study itself including the historiography, results/analysis, and discussion. Chapter five is the historiography chapter, which is the first part of the data results. This chapter covers the history of the Jesuits from its inception as a Catholic religious order, throughout their emergence in the United States, and their prominent role in Jesuit secondary education. Chapter six presents the second part of data results from the case study Cristo Rey School and includes the analysis of this case study data using the theoretical framework of Arrupian social justice. Chapter seven continues the analysis of the study with a discussion section presenting the conclusions of the study, possible implications of these conclusions, limitations of the study, and recommendations for future research.

Key Terms.

1. Jesuit Social Justice Dialectic - This term is used in this study to refer to the often paradoxical and dialectical nature that the Jesuits have demonstrated as it pertains to social justice issues. This study will explore this Jesuit dialectic in more depth from a historical perspective, as well as through American Jesuit Secondary Education.
2. American Jesuit Secondary Education - This is the central problem space area of study. It encompasses both the traditional and Cristo Rey Jesuit School models and refers to all Jesuit high school education in the United States.
3. Jesuit Secondary Educational Association (JSEA) - This is the association of umbrella leadership that sponsors all of the Jesuit high schools in the United States. It includes both the traditional and Cristo Rey Jesuit high school models.
4. Traditional Jesuit High School - This term refers to the American Jesuit high schools, which cater to and serve an affluent, elite population. These schools originally served immigrant urban populations until many moved to the suburbs for budgetary reasons and thus began to serve the elites they educate today. While many of these traditional Jesuit high schools remain in the cities of America, they continue to cater to this affluent population. Traditional Jesuit high schools form the first part of this Jesuit social justice dialectic in this study.
5. Cristo Rey Jesuit High School - Refers to a type of American Jesuit high school specifically targeting the poorer, urban, and often under-represented populations in America. While many Cristo Rey schools are sponsored by

other Catholic religious orders, the focus of this study will be the Cristo Rey Jesuit model because the area of study is the Jesuit social justice dialectic. Therefore, the case study is a Cristo Rey Jesuit high school. Like the traditional Jesuit high school, the Cristo Rey Jesuit high school falls under the umbrella leadership of JSEA, but also under the leadership of the Cristo Rey Network.

6. Cristo Rey Network - Refers to the network that sponsors all of the Cristo Rey schools in the United States. It serves as almost a district for these schools, in that in provides grant money and other tools to start these schools, while also presenting a set of ten standards, which each Cristo Rey school must abide by to ensure its Cristo Rey status. All of these schools are Catholic, with the original school being Jesuit and the idea being conceived by the Jesuits, but they are now also sponsored by various Catholic religious orders.
7. Ignatius Cristo Rey High School (ICRS) - This is the fictitious name that will be used to reference the central case study school for this study, a Cristo Rey Jesuit high school.
8. Urban Education - Refers to an education that takes place in the urban corridors of the United States. These urban corridors usually consist of people who are from a lower socio-economic status. These families might need their children to join the labor force at a younger age to help support the family. These families do not usually have access to the same opportunities as they pertain to education, social capital, and other instruments of economic mobility as might families from other parts of the city.

9. Coloniality of Power - A term that refers to the current stratification of the labor force to serve the interests of globalization and global capitalism often to the peril of certain populations. This contemporary coloniality of power is a form of colonialism that involves the subjugation of workers. It is derived from past colonial history and still incorporates issues of ethnicity, race, coloniality, and modernity in justifying and enforcing economic imperialism, resulting in the stratification of the labor force. It is the central conceptual framework of this study.
10. Arrupian Social Justice refers to the Jesuit social justice framework incorporated by all the Jesuit apostolates particularly in American Jesuit high schools. It is a framework based on the social justice vision of Pedro Arrupe, who was the leader of the Jesuit order in the latter part of the 20th century. He remains the central role model and inspirational figure for Jesuit social justice in the 21st century.
11. Critical Pedagogy - Refers to a philosophy that views education as a product of society and thus politically- socially-, and economically constructed and constrained by it creating societal justice implications that require attention and action.
12. Evangelization - Refers to the act of inculcating and converting people to a specific religious faith or affiliation. There are many avenues toward achieving evangelization, one being the creation of various forms of missionary work including the establishment of educational institutions.

13. Catholic Hierarchy - Refers to the governing body of the Catholic Church, which exercises authority over the Catholic Church. The Catholic hierarchy refers to the Pope, the Bishops, and the clergy who preside over the governance of the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Jesuit mission consists of cultural immersion and social justice in pursuit of global Catholic evangelization. The historiography, chapter five, chronicles the evolution of this mission in American Jesuit secondary education right up to the creation of the current Cristo Rey school model. The Cristo Rey school model is attempting to spearhead a second wave of Catholic urban education by reaching out to the influx of Catholic immigrants (mostly Latino/Hispanic) coming to the United States.

The first wave of Catholic urban education arose in the late 19th century as an abundance of Eastern European Catholics immigrated to the United States seeking opportunity to a new life during the American Industrial Revolution. These European immigrants sought to retain their Catholic identity, which was closely tied to their cultural heritage (Hennesey, 1981). As a result, local neighborhood Catholic churches attached to Catholic parochial schools emerged throughout the United States, particularly in the cities. Escalating costs due in large part to the decline of Catholic clergy caused Catholic urban education to plateau beginning in the middle of the 20th century and it has not recovered (Dolan, 1985; J Fichter, 1958). Catholic schools, once a staple of urban education, are becoming more and more expensive, thus diminishing access for those with limited income. For all American Catholic high schools, the average tuition was $9,622 in 2013 (McDonald & Schultz, 2013). The original Cristo Rey school in Chicago remains Jesuit sponsored; of the twenty-eight Cristo Rey schools that exist today, seven are Jesuit high schools ("Cristo Rey Network 2014,"). The rest of the Cristo Rey schools are sponsored by other Catholic religious orders or by the local Archdiocese. There are 50 traditional Jesuit high schools along with the seven Cristo Rey Jesuit high schools with Red Cloud a Jesuit high school supporting the Native American community in South

Dakota and Belen, a Jesuit high school in Miami serving Poor, Hispanic students, but not a Cristo Rey school. For American Jesuit secondary education, the Cristo Rey school model is a way to embody the Jesuit mission of social justice by reaching out to the poor, something increasingly lacking in the rest of the Jesuit high school education as the median tuition cost of an American Jesuit high school was $13,195 in 2013 (Bouillette, 2013).

Since the historiography captures the essence of Catholic, Jesuit education, this literature review focuses primarily on two areas, American public urban education and the Cristo Rey model. This first section of this literature review on American urban public education consists of an initial introduction of terms that apply to urban education, followed by an overview of American educational public policy, and the reforms it has inspired. Two approaches to addressing the challenges of urban education are then presented. This first section of the chapter concludes with a summation of the status of American urban education and how it pertains to the Cristo Rey model. The second section of this chapter will cover the historical evolution of the Cristo Rey model, its policies, practices, and prospects for the future. This section will conclude by presenting Cristo Rey's potential contribution to the overall narrative of American urban education if its entire vision comes to fruition.

The State of American Urban Education

Concepts and Connotations of American Urban Education. "Urban education" is a concept that is socially constructed, as are many concepts that are ascribed to it. Determining the relevance and influence of these elements in urban education is an ongoing process. The context of this study will primarily be secondary

education within the cities of the United States. When looking at urban education, there are key terms associated with it that require some conceptual and connotative clarification.

In this study, *urban* refers to the major cities in the United States. American cities are quite diverse in their organization and structure. Some are densely populated in relatively small pockets of land, while others are spread out over a large area. For this study, an urban area will be defined as a city with a population density of 1,000 people per square mile and a building appearing at least every two acres (Steinberg, 2010). Closely associated with the term urban is the term *inner city*. Inner city usually refers to the poverty-stricken areas in American cities. A significant contributor to the poverty in these areas was the suburbanization trend beginning in the middle of the 20th century. Economic investments in jobs and housing began leaving the cities heading into the suburbs, and the disinvestment trapped inner-city residents in a cycle of poverty. Overtly racist housing policies at the time prevented people of color from buying houses in the suburbs, leaving them disproportionately impacted by the problems of the inner-city (Anyon, 2014; Steinberg, 2010; Wilson, 1987). Immigrants and working-class people coming to the cities began having tremendous difficulty finding good-paying manufacturing jobs (Kincheloe, 2007). Dependence on public transportation by many inner-city residents made going farther out of the city to work a serious challenge. A lack of quality affordable health care or access to quality urban education continues to contribute to the overall diminishing economic value of many inner cities by lowering the property tax base, which reinforces the cycle of decay (Anyon, 2014).

These inner cities and urban areas are underresourced, undereducated, and isolated from the mainstream, but gentrification continues to emerge, paving the way for the affluent to come back to these areas looking to rebuild and inhabit them (Anyon, 2012, 2014; Gallagher et al., 2011; Kincheloe, 2007). *Gentrification* is the term for urban revitalization projects sponsored by the wealthy that take place in American working-class and low-income urban neighborhoods to rebuild pockets of the inner city, making them more attractive for investment. Once the makeover is complete, they soon become too expensive for the local residents to afford, thus forcing them to leave and supplanting them with a wealthier community (Anyon, 2014). The government often collaborates with private investors in these gentrification efforts through programs such as tax increment financing (TIF) to incentivize these types of urban revitalization. Using TIFs, cities can lure investors in to build tourist attractions, city beautification projects, gentrification projects, and retail (Joravsky & Dumke, 2009; Lipman, 2011).

Glocalization, the competition between local and global forces in political, economic, and social relations, reinforces these gentrification efforts. Glocalization refers to the network of interactions or within many aspects of local society, which now includes a global dimension. Technology, innovative global communication, and the information age enhance glocalization in many public and private entities of society (Drori, 2014). As more of these investments become transnational in nature, it becomes harder to trace, regulate, or hold anybody accountable for the supplanting of local communities (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). These global investors are potentially making an economic windfall, utilizing the low property taxes and often displacing the poor in the process (Lipman, 2011). As a result, some American urban areas are characterized by

extreme contrasts: pockets of wealth intermixed with pockets of poverty. Tall skyscrapers, gated communities, fancy restaurants and shops, and expensive condominiums on one block may be followed on the next block by government-funded housing projects, liquor stores, abandoned buildings, and run-down areas (Anyon, 2014; Kincheloe, 2007).

Urban education in this study explores issues of diversity and plurality from a social justice perspective as it pertains to the areas of low socio-economic status in America's cities. Urban America is a landscape of diversity in everything from terrain to population to vitality. This diversity is structural as it pertains to socio-economic status, race, ethnicity, language, immigrant status, and so on. Urban areas are also diverse in terms of experiences, ideas, and lifestyles. Population projections and trends indicate that the innovative future of the United States lies within this growing urban diversity, which dramatically changes from city block to city block depending on locale. Like the rest of the world, the United States has become less rural and more urban requiring a greater investment of political, economic, and educational resources to ensure its future prosperity (Gore, 2013; Katz & Bradley, 2013; Steinberg, 2010). Those involved in gentrification efforts that come to live in the city often tout diversity as a main reason, yet without realizing they are driving local communities off their land or sheltering themselves away from the original residents.

Traditional, affluent urban Catholic schools, including traditional Jesuit high schools, are prone to follow this pattern, whether it is through walling off their campuses or purchasing more property every year for infrastructure. There are racist and colonial elements of these issues of American urban education dating back to the 15th century and

the displacing of the Native Americans and later the Mexicans off their lands to form the United States of America (Howell et al., 2011; Kincheloe, 2007). Capitalism has and continues to play a role in these displacement efforts as demonstrated by the profit being made through gentrification efforts (Kincheloe, 2007). The question of investment and underinvestment in these American urban areas presents challenges and opportunities that are high-risk/high-reward and have serious justice implications for the United States (Steinberg, 2010). All of these societal issues are linked to the quality and success of American urban education. Approaches, public policies, and reforms in urban education ultimately must come to grips with the issues of race and poverty that continue to hinder the United States from being able to fully tap into the valuable resource of its diversity.

Learning and education are linked, but also conflict with each other in American formal schooling. Learning is ongoing and is an inherent part of being human (Smith, 1998). Beginning at birth, one learns about the environment and reacts to the surrounding social context, including parents, siblings, friends, living conditions, eating, sleeping, playing, etc. Interpreting and reacting to all of these constitute human learning and it continues for the rest of human life.

In this study, the term *education* refers to either the strictly formal, structural learning obtained in school classrooms or the obtainment of various school-level credentials. Education attempts to formalize learning in a structured setting of schooling organized around large-scale assessment that requires a standardized formal curriculum and teaching pedagogy in the classrooms of all educational institutions. Learning is involved in this formal schooling, but the relationship between learning and education in this context can be complex. Since learning is inherently human it is important that

schools incorporate the personal experiences of students into the school curriculum to ensure greater learning (Banks & Banks, 2009; Rogoff, 2003). However, when interwoven with human diversity, this endeavor can conflict with formal education and its pursuit of standardization through large-scale assessment. Large-scale assessment often intends to be learning- and knowledge-centered, but tends to be centered on the assessment itself (Banks & Banks, 2009). Ideally, the relationship between education and learning should be more synchronous. This coexistence has proven more challenging as the diversity of the United States continues to grow, with America's educational system lagging behind in their efforts to embrace this diversity and relying instead on standardization and large-scale assessment (Banks & Banks, 2009).

Educational Public Policy. When exploring American urban education in depth, it is important to look at it from a public policy perspective, which continues to have profound effects, both positive and negative, on educational outcomes within individual educational institutions. The public policy of American education bases many of its current ideas on the Prussian model in the 19th century, placing heavy emphasis on structure and precision in the form of stringent class periods, class schedules, separation of particular school subjects, chronological stratification of students, and student tracking based on clearly delineated assessments. The American system also continues to emulate the Prussian model's nationwide standardization of education, consisting of attendance requirements, teacher training/credentialing requirements, a national curriculum, and student assessments (i.e., testing) (Khan, 2012; Tyack, 1974). The majority of this standardization was finalized at the end of the 19th century by William Elliot, president of Harvard and the "Gang of Ten," which became the inaugural American National

Educational Association. These ten educational leaders came up with a set of recommendations that included requiring 12 years of schooling with a standardized curriculum, required coursework for each student, uniform training of teachers, and establishing a definitive set of criteria for standards/requirements of learning for every school (Callahan, 1962; McGucken, 1932; Tyack, 1974; Urban & Wagoner Jr, 2009).

American education has always been concerned about continuity and consistency within their schools nationwide, assuming an equal playing field. This might have been a more reasonable assumption when public school funding began in the 18th century because education at that time was only intended for wealthy, white males. This is not the case today, but the assumption of an equal playing field persists despite policy that has sought to address the systemic inequalities, beginning with the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling in 1954 and the push for school desegregation. The decisions and laws that followed this Supreme Court decision, including aspects of civil rights legislation and the War on Poverty, targeted educational inequality by increasing funding and providing greater access to education for the poor. This movement was spearheaded by the federal government through the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Educational Act in 1965 that sought equality through federal revenues (Howell et al., 2011). The act also signified federal and state government emergence in overseeing American education, not only from a civil rights standpoint, but also in terms of standardization. This would cause tension among federal, public, and local policy makers in terms of control and influence over education, particularly within the urban, poor communities who did not feel well represented among the decision makers (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; Kincheloe, 2007; Steinberg, 2010).

In 1979, President Jimmy Carter created the federal Department of Education to expand the federal government's involvement in local educational affairs. In 1984, President Ronald Reagan created a commission to look into educational excellence. This commission produced *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Reform*, a document which stated that American K-12 education was on the decline (Gardner, 1983). President Reagan endorsed the policy suggestions from this document, suggesting that they be pursued at the state and federal levels. The governor of Tennessee, Lamar Alexander, as chairman of the National Governors Association in the mid-eighties, led the nation's governors to embark on a comprehensive, multi-year commitment to school reform (Gallagher et al., 2011). Consequently, in the 1980s, many state governments began to dismantle local school boards and take over their school districts; this happened in the inner city areas of Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, and Philadelphia, among others. Notably, these districts enrolled mostly Latino and African-American students. Most of these state takeovers came without a vote and were justified by low test scores and financial crisis (Epstein, 2006). Alexander himself would eventually serve as Secretary of Education under President George H.W. Bush from 1991-1993, where he continued to push for more federal and state oversight of local school districts. This oversight took the power over education away from the neighborhoods and the communities themselves (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; Epstein, 2006). In the midst of these questions of jurisdiction and turf battles, the one constant was that policy makers continued to operate on the notion that there was an equal playing field among schools—despite structural inequalities, a homogenous, dated curriculum in the midst of growing cultural diversity,

and deepening poverty in the urban cities of America (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008).

Policies and Reforms Targeting Urban Education

The push for more federal and state oversight of local school districts continued into the 1990s, hinging on the idea that public funding going to improving urban education needs to be linked to assessment tools that lead to sterner accountability. If public school districts did not abide by the standards allotted or if their assessments were low, they would lose their resources, causing school closures.

No Child Left Behind. All of this set the stage for the passing of the legislation, No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB), led by President George W. Bush, in collaboration with the late Senator Edward Kennedy, in 2002. NCLB implemented large-scale national systems of school accountability in an effort to improve the quality of American schools. The majority of this accountability had to do with a national, large-scale assessment of student achievement in the form of standardized testing. The accountability piece would be the linkage of student test scores to the allocation of financial resources and structural support for a particular school. It was an attempt to close schools that were considered inept or “dropout factories” (Guggenheim, 2010). As the Governor of Texas from 1994-2000, George W. Bush implemented a similar plan of school assessment and supported stringently following through with the consequences, withdrawing government resources from underachieving schools and paving the way for school closures. When Governor Bush became President Bush, he immediately proceeded to turn his state’s educational initiatives into federal legislation. The resulting

No Child Left Behind Act, passed Congress with bi-partisan support and consisted of the following key components:

1. Annual testing of students in grades 3-8 in reading and math, with one test in science during grades 10-12. The test score results were the primary assessment tool, while graduation rates were used as a secondary indicator.
2. Requiring states and school districts to report this data and break it down demographically into several sub-groups, including race, special education, limited English proficiency (LEP), and low income. The goal was to have the best in-depth data to assess the changes in the achievement gap.
3. Requiring all states to set adequate yearly progress (AYP) goals for each school beforehand. Subgroups in each school were required to regularly meet to discuss their AYP goals. AYP goals for all schools were to be attained with close to 100% progress by the year 2014. Annual progression assessments towards meeting these AYP goals were to be made by the schools and reported every year.
4. Labeling schools that failed to meet AYP goals in two years as in Need of Improvement (INOI). These INOI schools would be required to offer their students access to learning opportunities and programs from other public schools and/or to receive federally funded tutoring. Funds would also be provided for professional development of teachers in these schools during this same time period. If a school, after undergoing these remedies, continued to not reach their future AYP targets, they would be subject to substantial

restructuring and/or possible takeover of the school by the state or a private company.

5. Requiring schools to have highly qualified teachers in the core subjects (math, science, and English) who would be regularly assessed and held accountable based on NCLB standards (Gallagher et al., 2011).

The goal of NCLB was to hold all public American schools more accountable, particularly in urban school districts producing insufficient results, in order to reverse the growing achievement gap between white students and people of color, particularly African American and Hispanic students. After a decade or so, research indicated some initial improvements, but by and large, the achievement gap has not changed dramatically. The goal of eliminating the achievement gap by 2014, which was established at the passage of this NCLB legislation in 2001, was apparently not met (Sadovnik, 2008).

Critics of NCLB point to the lack of value-added measures of school improvement in the definition of AYP. They also feel NCLB has labeled these predominantly urban schools, with their failing low-income students, as failing based solely on test scores, when there is more involved, such as the conditions of poverty surrounding these students as a result of urban policies of inequality (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008). Decades of structural inequalities between schools in high- and low-income communities makes it unfair to compare these schools and hold them to the same scale of success, as NCLB does (Darling-Hammond, 2000; Kozol, 2012). Urban schools exist in a system where they are designed to fail; therefore, there is a predetermined set of

winners and losers in society contributing to the tracking division of labor (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008).

Proponents of NCLB praised the inclusion of a standard, regulated level of accountability in education. Holding schools accountable and closing them if necessary was a far better alternative, they felt, than having them function as mediocre. Other proponents point to innovative school models that have arisen as result, such as charter schools (Gallagher et al., 2011). Proponents of NCLB look on it as the beginning of a trajectory of change and accountability in American public education.

Race to the Top. President Obama and Secretary of Education Arne Duncan proposed some overhauls to NCLB, but they essentially followed the same script of large-scale assessments with accountability. In 2009, as part of the $831 billion economic stimulus plan called the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA), approximately $4.35 billion was allotted to create a program called "Race to the Top." Race to the Top is a program in which the federal government awards states points for incorporating certain educational policies and innovations and achieving a defined level of success in implementing their programs. These points would translate into additional funding provided by the federal government. The goal of Race to the Top appears to be to continue using accountability measures that are based on test scores, while focusing more on college/career readiness and other reforms. It links teacher evaluations to student achievement. The Obama Administration has sought to enhance educational innovation while also increasing the number of charter schools (Gallagher et al., 2011).

Vouchers. Vouchers are funding stipends given directly to parents who use it to fund their choice of school to send their children to (Gallagher et al., 2011). The debate

has been whether the voucher system should place the choice in the parents' hands and whether that choice could transcend the public school system to include other schools such as religiously affiliated schools. In the 1990s, school voucher programs began to take effect in several states that allowed school choice to include religiously affiliated schools. These vouchers were challenged in state courts as compromising the separation of church and state. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 2002 in *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris* that Cleveland's voucher program did in fact violate the First Amendment clause related to the establishment of religion since voucher money went directly to the families and not the religious or private schools. In spite of this setback, vouchers used at religiously-affiliated schools began to take effect, but their use continues to vary state by state (Gallagher et al., 2011). In 2006, the Florida Supreme Court ruled that state's voucher program unconstitutional, but there are more and more states including the District of Columbia offering vouchers to parents to fund their child's private school education. Several states provide additional aid in the form of student scholarships and savings account programs for students desiring a Catholic education (Weatherby, 2012)

Advocates believe that school choice can give low-income parents the same choices as middle-income parents, leading to increased parental satisfaction with the schooling of their children. They argue that vouchers would reduce the public school bureaucracy, therefore allowing investment to be put more directly into providing better learning for low-income students. Finally, voucher advocates argue that vouchers increase public schools' competition with charter and private schools, thus forcing public schools to either improve or be shut down—hopefully producing public schools with higher test scores and lower costs (Hoxby, 2001).

Charter School Movement. Along with vouchers, the charter school movement in public education is an alternative approach to improving urban education. The first charter law was passed in Minnesota in 1991, and there are now 41 states with charter school laws. There are over 3700 charter schools serving over a million students nationwide(Gallagher et al., 2011; P. A. Reed, 1951). A charter school is a public school that is exempt from many of the public school regulations, but which is held accountable for student performance, based on a series of guidelines and standards. This is known in the movement as the "autonomy for accountability" trade. The charter is a contract detailing the school's mission, program, goals, students served, methods of assessment, and ways to gauge success. The charter is a formal, legal document between those who establish and run the school, known as operators, and the public body that authorizes and monitors it, known as the authorizers (Manno, Finn, & Vanourek, 2000). A charter school is paid for by tax dollars. There is no tuition cost, and it must be open to all students in the school district. Agencies review charter schools on a regular basis, and funding is determined by these assessments. If the charter school does not fulfill its requirements, its funding will be pulled, and it will be forced to immediately shut down (Gallagher et al., 2011).

Proponents of charter schools argue that, while it takes time for charter schools to produce an impact, they also allow all students to receive a good education at a low cost. The schools balance educational innovation with stringent accountability. Opponents, while admitting that some charter schools are exceptional, say that many more are as mediocre as, if not worse than, some of the traditional public schools (Gallagher et al., 2011).

American Urban Education Reform: School-Level Reforms

There are two major approaches to reforming American urban education. Both deal with issues of race and socio-economic class, but from different perspectives. The first approach focuses on the field of education and the schools themselves. In this approach, urban education reformers look at funding, educational leadership and teacher competency.

Public Funding. A key aspect of urban school reforms is a focus on the allocation of public funding for resources that can improve school facilities, find solid educational leadership, and assist in the hiring/retaining of an invested staff all in order to enhance successful educational outcomes. A lack of funding in urban schools creates the impetus for unqualified staff and facilities, which contribute to lower student expectations, dumbed-down curriculum, and high turnover of teachers (Gallagher et al., 2011). The United States in 2001 had an effective funding gap of $773 per student between the richest and poorest school districts and a gap of $1,122 between high-minority and low-minority school districts (Gallagher et al., 2011; Hall & Ushomirsky, 2010). This funding gap is increasing as school districts that educate the poorest students are receiving on average $966 less per student in comparison to wealthier school districts; this according to a 2012 study composed by the Washington Educational Policy Think Tank, The Education Trust. Nationally, public funding is also decreasing for urban students of color (Education Trust, 2012). This is occurring as the poverty of American children was accelerated by the economic recession. As of 2010, 44% of children were living in low-income families an increase from 40% in 2005 (Addy & Wright, 2012). Forty-two percent of these children live in urban areas and more than half are children of

color (Anyon, 2014). The economic disparity is increasing not only between urban and suburban children, but between races as well. African American, Hispanic, and Native American children are more than twice as likely to live in a low-income household in comparison to white and Asian children (Anyon, 2014). In addition, the discrepancy of the taxes paid by the rich versus the poor districts plays a role. In the low-income areas where taxes are low, there is an intense competition for limited resources, which can spur rivalries that result in infighting and dysfunction on school boards (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; Gallagher et al., 2011; Hall & Ushomirsky, 2010).

Educational Leadership. Education leadership is crucial in urban educational settings given the complexity of challenges, facing both students (chronic student absenteeism, high rates of failure, dropout, and low student achievement), and staff (teacher turnover, staffing policies), which can be overwhelming (Gallagher et al., 2011; Ingersoll, 1999, 2005). Educational leaders in urban schools are especially pressed to initiate certain reform efforts, curriculum offerings, achievement milestones, and requirements, often serving as guinea pigs for the entire field of education, which can be constraining (K. A. Leithwood & Riehl, 2003). It requires urban educational leaders to be acutely aware of both the assets and challenges in their urban community and the ability to balance the level of institutional investment in both areas (Gallagher et al., 2011).

Educational leadership of urban schools must be transformative in involving the engagement and inclusion of several diverse constituents and adapting a shared leadership approach that involves teams gathering to grapple to find solutions to difficult problems. It is essential to include external stakeholders like parents and community

leaders on these teams in the hopes of building partnerships that garner trust. It is a transformative leadership that must be fearless in challenging people's perceptions and beliefs, particularly as they pertain to issues of race and poverty (Burns, 1978; Gallagher et al., 2011).

It is imperative that the leadership of urban educational systems possess a solid understanding of equity and adequacy. This entails an awareness and knowledge of the history of racial oppression in this country and the current trends of globalization that continues to perpetuate inequality and injustice. Equity in urban education is more than simply closing the cultural achievement gap and treating everyone the same because not everyone is situated equally in society due to the history of systemic racial and cultural oppression and systemic economic inequality. It is important that educational leaders are not only aware of these complex socio-political issues and their impacts on urban schools, but that the leaders do not shy away from dialoguing about them. This would at times run counter to the common narratives of American exceptionalism, the American dream, and the myth of the meritocracy, which have been heavily espoused in American schools past and present (Michelli, 2005; Oakes, Rogers, & Lipton, 2006; Tyack, 1974).

Equity is closely linked to adequacy, in that all children must be provided with the structural support and resources they need to receive a sound education. From an equity standpoint, this might call for some children to be eligible for more resources in order to attain an adequate education. This brings up the notion of horizontal versus vertical equity. Horizontal equity means that students who are equally positioned in society receive equal treatment, whereas vertical equity means that students who are differently situated based on societal factors such as socio-economic status, culture, gender, etc.,

receive more funding and resources (Auerbach & Hassett, 1999). This clarifies the distinction between an *equal* education—which provides the same resources and opportunities for all students regardless of their situation—from an *equitable* education, which ensures that no matter their situation, students have the necessary resources to ensure an equality of outcomes (Nieto, 2013; Nieto & Bode, 2008).

Data shows that school principal leadership does affect student performance through key avenues of influence with students, staff, and other constituents (K. Leithwood & Jantzi, 2005a; K. A. Leithwood, 2000; Waters, Marzano, & McNulty, 2003). These leaders have the ability to enact a transformative leadership and have a firm grasp on the vision, goals and structure of the school (Hallinger & Heck, 1996, 1998; K. Leithwood & Jantzi, 2005b; Supovitz, 2010).

Teacher/Staff Competence. Along with excellent leadership, there is a need for outstanding, well-qualified teachers who have an awareness of the uniqueness of urban education. These teachers need to teach their subject of expertise to counter out-of-field teaching, which is rampant in urban schools that often lack an adequate number of competent subject-specific teachers. Teacher attrition and teacher misassignment are more prevalent in urban poor schools than in richer schools due to poor work conditions and burnout. As a result, urban schools with a high number of low-income students tend to have a larger number of novice teachers and more out-of-field teachers than other public schools (Ingersoll, 2003, 2005). Programs like Teach for America, the New York City Teaching Fellows Program, and New Jersey's Alternative Certification Program are trying to address these issues, but they are not enough to address these organizational problems within urban schools over the long term (Ingersoll, 2003, 2005). While these

programs can serve as a hub for teacher recruitment many of the programs' volunteers placed at poor, urban schools do not possess the expertise and are not equipped with the training or the passion needed to work in these environments. Many of them are volunteers who eventually move on to other schools or other professions that are more lucrative (Anyon, 1997; Lareau & Weininger, 2003; Waters et al., 2003).

Teachers who are successful in urban education retain high expectations for their students and establish solid relationships with them. Teachers with low expectations for their students contribute to the students' lack of interest and their low achievement. A teacher's low expectations can be communicated by their body language and/or level of investment in the student, which have a major effect on the student's academic performance. Some students internalize these negative teacher reactions as reflective of their own performance, rather than the teacher's lack of ability. This Pygmalion effect (De Boer, Bosker, & Van der Werf, 2010; Rosenthal, 1968) is the result of attributional biases and cultural deficit attitudes. Cultural deficit perspectives are the result of racism, which espouses that certain cultures and populations lack the necessary requisites to be academically successful (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994; Murray, 2009). As civil rights legislation endeavored to put an end to this bigotry, in 1966 the Coleman Report further enhanced deficit attitudes by concluding that no amount of resources or funding could assist in the education of certain populations (J. S. Coleman, 1966). These cultural deficit attitudes harm educational outcomes when they are internalized by students and cause them to feel they simply are not good enough in academics to succeed or they simply notice the whiteness of education around them and choose not to be a part of it (Howell et al., 2011; Noguera, 2008).

Attributional bias is based on attribution theory, which states that teachers interpret their experiences with their students based on how they interpret and internalize student behavioral patterns, and how much they feel empowered to influence their students. When teachers misinterpret their experiences with students, particularly when they feel powerless to do anything to change them, the teacher becomes vulnerable to attributional bias. The students internalize the teacher's sense of pointlessness and it impacts how they perceive themselves, rather than how they perceive the teacher (Schunk, Pintrich, & Meece, 2008). Both a cultural deficit perspective and attribution bias can have a negative psychological effect on the student, affecting their level of hope and motivation in school.

Only through ongoing critical self-reflection can teachers address these issues within themselves. Teachers can undergo educational facilitations that call for them to reflect on their own personal experiences with cultural bias and its consequences in the classroom. They can become more aware and learn their level of intercultural sensitivity and its progression as they grapple with important issues of cultural bias (Gudykunst, 2005). Once a teacher becomes aware of these issues and their origins, they can proceed to grow as educators; ultimately this is a lifelong process for all educators who must begin considering their teaching in the context of social justice in the world (Banks & Banks, 2009; Nieto & Bode, 2008).

Those who approach educational reform at the school level advocate for equity in school finance reform and for higher qualified teachers and principals in urban schools. They push for district-level reform based on best practices research, exploring other

successful urban school districts as case-study examples. They also emphasize the importance of relying on verifiable research and data for any school-based reforms.

American Urban Education: Focus on Urban American Society

The second approach to addressing urban education is to look at American society as a whole, addressing the socio-economic state of urban America within which urban education exists (Nieto & Bode, 2008). This approach to urban education reform operates under the notion that societal issues need to be addressed if there is to be any chance of urban education improving. Urban schools are a place where society's struggles are lived out as they pertain to race, class, gender, and other issues of social justice (Banks & Banks, 2009; Epstein, 2006; Nieto, 2013; Noguera, 2003; Noguera, Ginwright, & Cammarota, 2006; Steinberg, 2010). Thus, this approach advocates a movement to eradicate racial and economic oppression because they have an effect on academic achievement at all levels. These reformers further argue that only by changing the wealth gap can the achievement gap in education truly be addressed (Anyon, 1997, 2011; Rothstein, 2004). Simply put, if there is no improvement in these areas of urban society, urban schools will continue to be in trouble (Anyon, 2012).

The history of race and poverty in this country plays a major role. Beginning in the 15th century on this continent, white, European males oppressed Native Americans, Latinos/Hispanics, African Americans, and women. When these injustices started to be addressed in the 20th century, all of these groups were still at a disadvantage in terms of education. Geographically, the rate of progressive change varied with the north moving significantly quicker than the south to provide free education for all people, particularly African Americans. Strict enforcement of school laws of assessment, curriculum, and

attendance were not adhered to in many places in the southern United States (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; Kincheloe, 2007; Lieberson, 1980; Noguera, 2008; Patterson, 2001; Steinberg, 2010). All of these acts of discrimination began to be finally brought to light in the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court case in 1954 (Kluger, 1976). While the court's decision led to laws that eliminated some of the systemic inequality, there continued to be discrepancies due to continuing systemically supported racism and the pursuit of the "one system education" (Tyack, 1974) that was primarily designed for a white, male constituency, but remains prevalent in American education. Since the early 20th century, those rejected as inferior in education have been funneled into vocational or trade schools to serve the job market and American capitalism. This process, originally termed *social efficiency* (Tyack, 1974) is a globalized phenomenon today, manifesting into a coloniality of power that continues the stratification of labor based on race (Anibal Quijano & Ennis, 2000).

Economics plays a major role in economic justice and issues of social difference. There is a large economic disparity not only between urban and suburban schools, but also between the urban schools themselves. Some of these urban schools are very wealthy because they operate in higher property tax areas often due to gentrification efforts, or they cater to wealthy families that can afford a long commute from other neighborhoods. The majority of urban schools serve poor and serve low-income neighborhoods (Anyon, 2014; Duncan, 2010; Steinberg, 2010; Tough, 2012). As globalization continues to emerge, school decisions continue to be made with consideration for local, global, and national interests (Kincheloe, 2007; Lipman, 2011). Neoliberal, centralized educational policies are contingent on and affected by the global

forces shaping urban labor markets and urban space (Kincheloe, 2007). For example, when in Chicago, Arne Duncan championed an education employing free market business principles. In 1995, Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley appointed his budget director, Paul Vallance, not a school superintendent, to be the Chief Executive Officer of Chicago Public Schools. Both Vallance and later Duncan introduced multimillion-dollar grant programs into Chicago schooling and urban renewal. They closed failing schools and incorporated "turnaround" corporate models including greater school choice (i.e., vouchers) and the rise of charter schools to create a free market of educational choice. Since Duncan became Obama's Secretary of Education, many American cities have followed Chicago's model as way to garner some of the $4.35 billion targeted for education in economic stimulus legislation (Tough, 2012). These policies enhance capitalism and commerce in some urban areas, however, they do not affect poverty or access in the urban poor communities themselves (Anyon, 2014). There is a need for programs to reduce income inequality and to create stable, affordable housing in these poor urban areas. Outside-of-school factors like community, peer group, health, and environment must also be taken into consideration and addressed (Anyon, 2012; Rothstein, 2004; Sadovnik, 2007).

Critical Pedagogical Approaches to Urban Education. Critical pedagogy looks at American urban schools within their historical, cultural, and political context (H. A. Giroux, 2006; Kincheloe, 2007; Nieto & Bode, 2008). This involves not only utilizing aspects of educational theory, but critical theory, sociology, and cultural studies that explore society. American society is united and diversified by many cultural aspects that are socially constructed. American education is a mechanism utilized for political

motivations driven by issues of power and privilege. These are manipulated in educational settings to justify their legitimacy.

Critical pedagogy is an instrument urban educational leaders, activists, and teachers can use to deconstruct structures of power and privilege to explore ways of ensuring greater democracy. This requires ongoing critical reflection, questioning, and dialogical engagement that explore the complex questions of urban education to find complex solutions. Paulo Freire helped bring critical pedagogy to the forefront of education because of his desire to enable the urban poor to achieve literacy not just of literature, but the way the world works (P. Freire, 1998). American urban education is not politically neutral and social power transactions are ongoing (Foucault, 1980; P. Freire, 1993). Examples of these include the inclusion and omission of certain curricula, policies, and political agendas that encourage transformative change, or conformity to the status quo, particularly in regards to issues of societal inequality and injustice (Pratt-Adams, Burn, & Maguire, 2010).

Incorporating a critical pedagogical approach requires looking at urban education as a vehicle of self-empowerment, individual agency, and personal liberation. It is a rejection of the “banking model” of education, which viewed the teacher as the depositor of knowledge and the students as the depositories (P. Freire, 1989, 1993)—a system that preserves the status quo of power (A. Freire & Macedo, 2001; P. Freire, 1989). Schools tend to reproduce social inequality (Foucault, 1977; Rabinow, 1984; Sadovnik, 2007, 2008) and as a result, education becomes a vehicle to preserve the status quo and reproduce it in student after student, class after class, school after school. In the banking method of education, knowledge is viewed as a gift bestowed by the elite to those who

are considered to be ignorant or lacking in knowledge (P. Freire, 1993). The cultural oppression on which this ideology is based translates into urban education with low expectations of students (H. Giroux, 2005; H. A. Giroux, 2006). Two examples of critical pedagogical approaches to urban education are multi-cultural education and educative organization. Both are expressions of critical pedagogy in the form of praxis (P. Freire, 1989, 1993).

Multi-Cultural Education. Multicultural education is about interweaving the socio-political context into the entire learning curriculum and pedagogy of schools (Nieto, 2013; Nieto & Bode, 2008). It includes these components not as an addition in the form of a separate class or periodic training sessions, but instead engraining them throughout the entire learning curriculum. An education seeks to create awareness of the value of diversity of people and ideas, which ensures an excellent education that embraces pluralism while countering cultural oppression of all forms, which stifles the inclusion needed for an excellent education. The premise of multicultural education is to promote greater democracy and social justice within the learning experience. This type of education is considered important for all students not just those who are underrepresented in the community because inclusivity and community engagement are essential in interconnected world (Nieto, 2013; Noguera et al., 2006). This approach involves not only curriculum and pedagogy, but also the educational institution’s relationship with the community they serve. Further, the approach acknowledges the local and global dimensions that education will need to serve in an ever growing interdependent and globalized world (Nieto & Bode, 2008).

Educative Organizing. Educative organizing is a mechanism of social activism in which urban communities are intentional in improving their schools by addressing issues in their community. This involves gathering parents and community leaders together in coalitions to collectively take ownership of their schools (Anyon, 2014). They do this by creating social capital by unifying parents, communities, and their resources collectively as a force for change (Oakes et al., 2006). This involves developing leaders through creating greater awareness, learning skills and being involved in community mentoring. It is the parents and community leaders themselves that allow the neighborhoods to assess their schools, and campaign for greater equity and resources directed at school district leaders and government policy makers (Anyon, 2014; "Profiles in school transformation," 2011). These educative organizations collaborate with other community leaders/organizations and not directly with the schools themselves to preserve their autonomy (Fruchter 2011) and build their collective social capital. This approach is reminiscent of the ways parents in affluent communities use their collective social capital as a force to be reckoned with for schools. Educative organizing spearheaded by parents in inner cities is rising throughout the United States and these groups' influence is as well (Anyon, 2014; Gold, Simon, & Brown, 2002; "Profiles in school transformation," 2011; Su, 2009). In the spirit of glocalization, some of these educative organizations are transcending their neighborhoods, collaborating with state and regional organizations to address state and federal policy that affects their neighborhoods. One such group is called Southern Echo, which originated in Mississippi, but now is expanding to grassroots organizations throughout the southern part of the United States, including

labor unions and civil rights activists whose interests converge (Anyon, 2014; Warren, 2011).

Summation

The perspectives, policies, and reforms of American public urban education exist against the backdrop of an American society not immune to systemic injustice, particularly on issues of race, which continue to overlap with those of poverty. The relentless pursuit of a one-school system that provides standardized, large-scale education continues to challenge the quality and equity of the educational product provided. It also contributes to a misinterpretation of educational outcomes in the form of standardized testing that states that urban education is failing, which is an over-simplistic conclusion given the conditions of certain pockets of American society (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008). Growing reliance on the standardized test reinforces mythical notions of the meritocracy and offensive cultural deficit perspectives toward certain students, which hinder American democracy overall. Furthermore, standardization's "one size fits all" rationale hinders the utilization of diversity, one of America's chief resources, by obfuscating genuine learning and inclusivity in the process thereby constraining educational innovation crucial to the long-term prosperity of America in a globalized world (Banks & Banks, 2009; Nieto, 2013; Noguera et al., 2006). American urban education is linked to community engagement, investment, and development.

Standardization needs to coexist with an urban education that seeks to produce creative and innovative students in order to maintain our country's prosperity in a globally competitive world (Friedman & Mandelbaum, 2011; Gore, 2013). Among the positive attributes of urban education are its structural diversity (e.g., race, language,

socio-economic status, schooling types) and diverse worldviews (e.g., ideas, cultural experiences, religions). While these assets are complex and challenging, they also present tremendous opportunity for innovation and educational growth (Heindel, 2005). As Jeff Duncan-Andrade, an educational activist, says (paraphrasing the late Tupac Shakur), teachers and schools must "find the roses within the concrete" (Shakur, 1999). In order to achieve this, schools must acknowledge that students socially construct their learning based on their own experiences (Banks & Banks, 2009; Rogoff, 2003). If learning is about personal growth, both a student's personal experience and the school curriculum must successfully coexist to ensure American vitality and greatness. The ongoing challenge is to find innovative ways that large-scale regulation and standardization can coexist with educational equity; this requires identifying and addressing the external factors of poverty and justice in substantive ways.

The Cristo Rey School Model

The Jesuit mission very quickly realized the potential for education to transform society. The Cristo Rey model endeavors to proceed in the same spirit. It faces the same challenges as all American urban education approaches, and seeks to incorporate their philosophy into specific policies and practices in their own unique way, reminiscent of charter schools. The Cristo Rey school model emerged to attempt to revitalize the Catholic Church's investment in disadvantaged urban communities. It also sought to retain balance within the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit secondary education from a mission and brand standpoint. The traditional Jesuit high schools were catering to a wealthier clientele, which empowered the Jesuit brand, but constrained their

mission of social justice on behalf of the more marginalized population. The dialectic sought balance and the Cristo Rey School model sought to achieve this balance.

This part of the literature review will look at the Cristo Rey school model and its contribution to the narrative of American Jesuit secondary education and American urban education overall. It is a model that originated out of these two contexts, developing into an innovative urban school model that has expanded beyond the Jesuit realm to include all of Catholic education. There are currently 26 Cristo Rey schools in operation in the United States, with several more in the planning stages ("Cristo Rey Network 2014," ; Thielman, 2012). This section will explore the origins of the model, later efforts to take the model to scale, and its trajectory into the current Cristo Rey Network.

Origins of Cristo Rey in Chicago. The idea of Cristo Rey originated within the Chicago Jesuit Province office in the early 1990s. The Jesuit Provincial of Chicago at the time, Father Bradley Schaeffer, sought to have the Jesuits work more closely with social justice issues, particularly in direct engagement with the marginalized communities in the Chicago metropolitan area. He had several conversations with the late Cardinal Joseph Bernardin, the Archbishop of Chicago at the time, who suggested working more closely with Latino immigrants in southwest Chicago in a neighborhood called Pilsen. Cardinal Bernardin discussed the need to provide affordable, quality Catholic education for this community (Astorga-Velasquez, 2012; Race & Brett, 2004). In July 1992, Cardinal Bernardin invited a Jesuit influence into the neighborhood’s Catholic Church, St. Procopius, and Provincial Schaeffer appointed Father James Schultz to be the pastor of the parish. As Father Schultz acclimated himself as pastor of St. Procopius, he began to immerse himself into the Latino Pilsen community. As Schultz and other Jesuits became

more visible to and familiar with these families, they began to query the families about their needs. The families confirmed Cardinal Bernardin's notion of a need for an affordable, Catholic high school education for the Pilsen boys and girls. Upon hearing this feedback from Schultz, Provincial Schaeffer quickly appointed Fr. James Gartland to conduct the first feasibility study in the Pilsen community. This study consisted of intense information-gathering by Gartland, based on conversations with various constituents of the Pilsen community including families, community leaders, educational experts, and Catholic leaders. All of these conversations led to Gartland's recommendation that a new Jesuit high school be created in the Pilsen neighborhood. Following Cardinal Bernardin's approval, Fr. Schaeffer made the announcement at a press conference at St. Procopius in January of 1996 that a new Catholic high school would be created in Pilsen and that plans for the construction of this new urban Jesuit high school would shortly be underway (G.R. Kearney, 2008).

At the same press conference, Schaeffer announced the selection of Fr. John Foley as the founding president of this new urban Jesuit high school, which would be called Cristo Rey—Latin for "Christ the King." Foley was a graduate of Loyola Academy, a prominent Jesuit high school located on the other side of Chicago in the affluent suburb of Wilmette. He came to Cristo Rey having spent more than three decades in Jesuit education working with the poor and marginalized in Peru. Upon his selection as school president, Foley quickly put a leadership team together and began to contact potential donors, most coming from his Loyola Academy Jesuit roots. He hired Sister Judith Murphy as school principal and Preston Kendall as the inaugural director of

what would be a central innovation of the Cristo Rey model, the corporate work-study program (G. R. Kearney, 2008).

Corporate Work Study Program. The biggest challenge for Cristo Rey Chicago was financial sustainability. Kendall, with several others, brainstormed ways that students could work earning money to cover a large portion of their tuition costs. The plan they developed was the corporate work-study program (CWSP) in which teams of four students would work eight-hour shifts one day a week instead of attending classes on that day. Collectively, these groups of students would work a 40-hour week, equivalent to a full-time job; an individual student would work 40 hours, or five days, a month (G. R. Kearney, 2008). The second part of their plan addressed the complex issue of where and how to find these corporate jobs. The Kendall-led group made overtures to executives of some of the most prominent corporations in Chicago, telling them about the school and their idea for how these students would pay for their tuition. Lastly, they requested that the businesses become corporate worksites and offer jobs to these students (Thielman, 2012). These corporations agreed to contract jobs within their companies to Cristo Rey. Cristo Rey then prepared the students to do these jobs and assigned them to companies, with their salaries going back to the school to cover tuition costs. A final selling point to the corporations was that the jobs must be legitimate work that would contribute to the workplace and be paid for from the company's operating budget, not its philanthropic wing.

All of this became the corporate work-study program, a cornerstone for every future Cristo Rey School. Each Cristo Rey school hires a director to run the corporate work-study department. This department recruits and retains corporate work-study

sponsors. They also serve as liaisons between the work-study sites and the faculty. They oversee the students at these worksites, arranging transportation, and training them in proper work etiquette and attire.

It became quickly apparent that, in addition to the income this work model provided to the school, it gave students exposure to corporate America, giving them the opportunity to acquire social capital that could shape their college readiness and career planning (Astorga-Velasquez, 2012; G. R. Kearney, 2008; Thielman, 2012).

College Preparatory Education. At the start of Cristo Rey, Principal Murphy and her committee of educators realized that the education at Cristo Rey would be different from other Jesuit high schools, based not only on the corporate work-study program, but also on the type of students served. The major goal of Cristo Rey Chicago was not only to graduate students from their high school, but also to have them attend and successfully graduate from college. The changing American economic and demographic landscape in a globalized world required a heavy emphasis on college persistence and career readiness in a Cristo Rey education. Inspired by a report published by the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) called, “Breaking Ranks: Changing an American Institution,” Murphy sought to have Cristo Rey faculty become intentional about connecting school curriculum to the real-life experiences of the students. She wanted assessments that matched this type of curriculum and stressed the need for individualized learning. Also, inspired by this report, she sought smaller class sizes and enhanced faculty/staff engagement with the Pilsen community and business organizations (Principals, 1996). After the first few years, the academic and corporate work-study program aspects of Cristo Rey Chicago began to blossom and were hailed as a milestone

in both Catholic and Jesuit educational circles, and in broader in urban educational circles as well.

Scalability of the Cristo Rey Model. The discussion of the scalability of the Cristo Rey model started to take root in 1998 at a Christian Brothers Communities (CBC) educational conference in Chicago, at which Fr. John Foley was a keynote speaker. Earlier in the year at the CBC conference in Rome, its leaders had encouraged the religious order to be creative and innovative in serving the poor. At the conference in Chicago, Foley challenged CBC to replicate the Cristo Rey school model. Matthew Powell, president of a CBC Catholic high school in Chicago, visited Cristo Rey and decided to try to copy it. The CBC committed one million dollars to Powell's goal of creating a Cristo Rey school in Portland, Oregon, and they formed a board of directors in July 2000. De LaSalle North Catholic High School, the second Cristo Rey Model School, opened in 2001 in Portland with Powell as president ("Cristo Rey Network 2014," ; Thielman, 2012).

B.J. Cassin was a successful venture capitalist and fervent supporter of Catholic education. He had graduated from Holy Cross College and become a very successful business owner; he also donated financial support to Jesuit education for the impoverished (G.R. Kearney, 2008; Thielman, 2012). In June of 2000, Cassin intrigued for several years by this new Cristo Rey model visited Cristo Rey Chicago and shortly thereafter launched the Cassin Educational Initiative Foundation. This foundation would commit to contributing $12 million toward replicating the Cristo Rey school model nationwide. Cassin hired Jeff Thielman, director of the Cristo Rey Chicago Corporate Work Study Program, away from Cristo Rey Chicago to run the foundation (Thielman,

2012). Along with fiscal support, Cassin volunteered his expertise to bring sound business practices to the Cristo Rey model. This included fine-tuning the feasibility study outline and ensuring that the appropriate research was done prior to opening such a school. Thielman would spend three years getting this foundation off the ground before returning to Boston to serve as president of a Cristo Rey school (Astorga-Velasquez, 2012; Thielman, 2012).

The Cristo Rey Network. As De LaSalle North Catholic High School was getting ready to open in late 2001, several other feasibility studies began to take shape, led by people in different cities. This rapid growth was a mixed blessing; there was concern that the duplication attempts were proceeding too quickly, before some key aspects had been decided, including whether all of these Cristo Rey schools should be sponsored by the Jesuits. At the 2000 United States Jesuit Conference, the Jesuit Provincials agreed that Cristo Rey would be a stronger entity if different Catholic Religious Orders and Archdioceses were allowed to sponsor and take part in them. The next question was to determine what non-negotiable criteria were needed to ensure a Cristo Rey identity if Jesuit sponsorship was not a fundamental requirement? Three Jesuits and one layman came up with nine items to define the Cristo Rey school model ("Cristo Rey Network 2014,"). This list, later modified, is posted on the Cristo Rey Network website and includes:

- Commitment to serve the urban poor;
- College preparatory educational program;
- Dual-language program (i.e. graduates read, write, and speak fluently in both Spanish and English;

- Instructional model appropriate to the needs of urban, immigrant students;
- Commitment to the corporate work-study program;
- Community-based, neighborhood school;
- Catholic affiliation;
- Strong family support; and
- Integrated curriculum to incorporate these items.

The Jesuits' decision to open up this model to other Catholic religious orders to sponsor, determination of the nine fundamental items that defined the Cristo Rey model, plus the Cassin Foundation's support, combined to accelerate the efforts to scale up the Cristo Rey model. It was decided that an umbrella organization would be needed to oversee all of the details. The result was the creation of the Cristo Rey Network. The first formal meeting of the organization took place in May 2001, convened to discuss the viability of the various feasibility studies taking place all over country. Six of these feasibility studies were approved to move forward with funding from the Cassin Foundation. The newly formed Cristo Rey Network consisted of thirty people who took the nine fundamental items and refined them into five that all Cristo Rey schools would abide by. 1) serve materially poor families; 2) offer a college-prep curriculum; 3) be faith-based and sponsored by a Catholic religious community; 4) have up to 70% of their budgets be funded by the corporate work-study program; and 5) be intentional in their cultural sensitivity, placing a high priority on family involvement. This gathering culminated with the adoption of the Cristo Rey slogan, "Cristo Rey Network Schools: Transforming Urban America One Student at a Time" ("Cristo Rey Network 2014,"). Shortly after this, the Cassin Foundation was officially launched. This was followed in

2003 by a donation of $9.9 million by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation toward the scaling effort. The Gates grant also helped build and solidify the Cristo Rey Network. The Cristo Rey Network was established as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit, which collects dues from all the Cristo Rey Schools and assists them with research, collecting and analyzing data, networking, and conducting feasibility studies. The Network revised the criteria, created and modified earlier, into ten fundamental items for Cristo Rey schools ("Cristo Rey Network 2014,"). They include:

1. Are explicitly Catholic in mission and enjoy Church approval;
2. Serve only economically-disadvantaged students, but are open to students of various faiths and cultures;
3. Are family-centered and play an active role in the local community;
4. Prepare all of their students to enter and graduate from college;
5. Require participation by all students in the work-study program;
6. Integrate job, classroom, and extracurricular experience for the fullest benefit of their students;
7. Have an effective administrative and board structure and comply with all applicable state and federal laws;
8. Are financially sound and dependent on revenue from the work-study program to meet 70% of their operating expenses;
9. Support their graduates' efforts to obtain a college degree; and
10. Are active participants in the collaboration, support, and development of the Cristo Rey Network("Cristo Rey Network 2014," 2014).

Summation

Urban schools are linked to the development and evolution of the communities/neighborhoods in which they are located. They exist within the larger context of these urban societies and are a reflection of them. This is why societal issues such as poverty, racism, and inequality counteract efforts to produce the most innovative, inclusive, and rigorous American education possible. Along with school reform, there is a need for urban reform. It is imperative that urban educational initiatives continue to pursue innovative ideas for reform to address issues of educational access, purpose, and expectations while at the same time address issues of societal inequality and injustice.

The Cristo Rey school model contributes three aspects to the urban public school narrative and literature. It operates a financially sustainable business model, educates students towards college persistence and career readiness, and helps students develop real-world skills/values with its mission for a global world. Its corporate work-study program stands out as its signature innovative contribution to urban education. The program has demonstrated its ability to build successful partnerships of many kinds, bringing diverse constituencies together. The schools also act as beacons for the community they serve. The Cristo Rey model also is an avenue for Catholic and Jesuit leaders to live up to their mission to reach a diverse, underrepresented population. American urban education and Jesuit, Catholic education is about community engagement, which the Cristo Rey model seeks to achieve.

This study teases out these aspects of the Cristo Rey model in greater depth, looking for examples of successes as well as challenges in implementing their policies

and vision. It explores this within the larger context of American Jesuit secondary education, the Jesuit social justice dialectic, and American urban education.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This methodology chapter begins with this overview of the qualitative design of this study followed by descriptions of the sample selection, the data collecting, and data analysis processes while providing rationales for each aspect of the methodology (interviews, historiography, case study data, accumulation/organization of data, analysis, data finds, etc.). The chapter will then describe some possible limitations and challenges in the methodology in hindsight before concluding by exploring in depth the role/reflexivity of the researcher throughout the dissertation process.

The methodology for this dissertation study was solely qualitative in nature with two areas of focus. The first focus was on deciphering the characterizations of the Jesuit social justice dialectic within American Jesuit secondary education as it pertains to the preservation of both the Jesuit mission and the Jesuit brand. The second focus was on how these characterizations of the Jesuit social justice dialectic translate into action specifically within the Cristo Rey model. Historiography was the primary methodology for the first focus while case study was the methodology of choice for the second focus. It was assumed that the data findings from each method could pose mission implications for all of American Jesuit secondary education.

The concept of culture and the role it plays in terms of the characterizations, descriptions, and depictions of the Jesuit mission by its constituents was to play an important role in the data analysis, findings, and conclusions. The intent to emphasize the potential importance of the many aspects of culture throughout the study required

extensive attention to detail regarding two major components of culture, context and complexity.

Context and Complexity

When considering context, there is no entity, no person, place, or thing exists within a vacuum or in complete isolation. Everything exists within a system and every system is contextual, conveying aspects of the culture of that system. For the purpose of this study, culture refers to shared beliefs, values, and practices of a system (Banks & Banks, 2009; Gudykunst, 2005; Nieto & Bode, 2008; Rogoff, 2003). Considering these cultural aspects requires vigilant cognizance of the complex hybridity of culture within the multi-contextual nature of the system as well as the saliency of culture, in which context plays a role. A system is comprised of other systems and subsystems that interact and are interwoven within each other, potentially forming cultures and subcultures (Gudykunst, 2005). In looking at the context of this study, it is important to be mindful of this concept of systems and present the context through thorough, thick descriptions of the many systems within which this setting of this study exists. It was crucial in this study to also incorporate a micro approach and go into depth, thus the case study methodology.

Within the cultural context are the many relationships, interactions, and interconnectivity through which all cultural systems endeavor to coexist. These relationships and interactions comprise the complexity that shapes the culture and subcultures of the system. They are fluid, constantly evolving or devolving around different functions further adding to the complexity. The goal of this study was to utilize a methodology that would address this complexity, honing the lenses in to magnify

certain aspects of culture in depth while simultaneously zooming the lenses out to get a broader holistic perspective.

The case study design provided an opportunity to delve in more depth and take a magnifying-glass approach to a specific Cristo Rey Jesuit high school. The driving motive in this methodology was that by providing a thorough case study and historiography, the context and complexity of the problem space within which the study exists would be revealed. All of this data was presented within an educational and social justice backdrop that endeavored to be inclusive, allowing study participants to lend as much authentic personal voice to their experiences as possible. This extensive pursuit of cultural context and complexity incorporated aspects of American urban education, Catholic Jesuit education, the American narrative, the Jesuit mission/brand, social justice, and dialectic thought into the data gathering/analysis process.

The data gathering was an inductive process through which many of the study's methodological structures continued to evolve before finally crystallizing. For example, the use of historiography as a source of data emerged as the case study data was being collected (Berg, 2009; Creswell, 2007; Wolcott, 2009). As the study progressed, the role of historiography in the methodology grew to stand in tandem with the case study design for data gathering. Likewise, in determining the case study design and finalizing the case study site, the framing of the data and participants continued to evolve. This was based on the data gathered and the constraints encountered throughout the data gathering process (Spradley, 1979; Yin, 2009). This included, among other things, the process of setting up the interviews, presenting the talking points, and arranging the logistics, which were adaptable. All of this will be chronicled in this chapter.

The intent of the methodology for this study was to explore the complexity of the Jesuit social justice dialectic within American Jesuit secondary education. This was done by compiling a thorough inquiry, which included an extensive historiography incorporated throughout this study to provide background in formulating and addressing the research questions. Initially the intent of the historiography piece was to better define and formalize the problem space and to merely serve as prologue to the case study. However, it became increasingly evident as the case study data accumulated that the historiography would serve as an integral part of the data analysis. Thus, historiography served as a rich source of data that informed the study's methodology by establishing the macro context, thus further illuminating the complexity of the case study data. The historiography provided the macro context of Jesuit history and education that informed the data analysis, findings, and conclusions.

Historiography

> History, as nearly no one seems to know, is not merely something to be read. And it does not refer merely, or even principally, to the past. On the contrary, the great force of history comes from the fact that we carry it within us, are unconsciously controlled by it in many ways, and history is literally present in all that we do. It could scarcely be otherwise, since it is to history that we owe our frames of reference, our identities, and our aspirations. —James Baldwin (Baldwin, 1998)

> History is always written by the winners.
> —*The Da Vinci Code* (Brown, 2006)

As James Baldwin points out, history is not simply about the past. It is part of our present and influences our future in terms of shaping the context in which hopes and fears are constructed. Historical perspectives position everyone in a place in time, thereby creating various identities in the process. Historical positioning and identity formation contribute to our aspirations for the future. History, multi-layered and multi-dimensional,

is strongly influenced by the perspective and position from where it is being told. There are justice implications involved in the positioning of the person, which affects their perspective, skewing it at times. Therefore, an ongoing fluidity exists in constructing the meaning of history. It is not constant in perpetuity, but always prone to change like human perspective and meaning making.

Positionality and identity are aspects important to those influenced by history, as well as to the historian doing the documentation (Berg, 2009; Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998). Dan Brown in his quote from *The Da Vinci Code* touches on the immense power and function of history storyteller. Those who construct history and shape it for others can influence the narrative, thus making historical narrative an instrument of power. History can be a function of hegemony, extolling certain values and norms and giving them a sense of normalcy through their historical context. Hegemony can oppress by subversively infiltrating controlling collective cultural norms and values (Crehan, 2002; Forgacs, 1988; Hoare & Smith, 1972). Hegemony has proven powerful in shaping the American story. Terms such as “American exceptionalism,” “the American dream,” and “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” all have become part of the American lexicon. The hegemonic function of history has deemphasized some of the systemic inequality and marginalization in the American story. The American story often does not emphasize issues of slavery, genocide, empire, violence, and other less flattering aspects of American history, though critical historians like Howard Zinn have helped shed a critical light on such issues.

Social justice can counter this hegemonic historicizing with a justice mindset. Employing a critical pedagogical dimension towards history can achieve this by

including various voices from different perspectives and positionality. It can also focus attention on certain aspects of history that are inflated and other aspects that are omitted for political reasons. The power of voice as it pertains to history is important. If there are an abundance of perspectives on and narratives of a particular history, it is important that voice is given to as many of these perspectives as possible. There are primary sources, which are considered authentic recordings that come directly from the historical players themselves. There are also secondary sources, which are second-hand oral and written testimonies. Textbooks, encyclopedias, edited books, and oral histories are examples of secondary sources. All of these sources face both external and internal criticism. External sources of criticism consist of public critiques of and commentaries on the sources. Internal criticism looks at the accuracy and reliability of the sources themselves (Berg, 2009).

Historical research examines the social parameters of how history is recorded, created, analyzed, and ultimately how the narrative if formed, shared, and presented. Historical research assumes history to be factually fluid. It focuses on how events unfold, focusing specifically on the relationships and networks between people, events, phenomena, and historical situations that ultimately produce the history. History is not just about facts, but theoretical explanations and interpretations of the historical events themselves (Berg, 2009)

However, this is not always obvious due to the inequities of voice in the United States that result from capitalism. That is, he or she with the most wealth is given the loudest microphone. These narrators of history usually assist in influencing and unifying the public to conform to the perceived national interests as dictated by a powerful few.

Taking this critical, justice-based approach to history became a major catalyst for determining that historiography would serve a major role in the methodology of this study. The process of composing the historiography was an ongoing process throughout the project. It was integral to this study and consisted of several stages spanning the comprehensive exam, pre-proposal, proposal, and data collection/analysis phases, culminating with the finished product.

This historiography is delineated into four key phases. Phase one, early Jesuit history, begins with the biography of its founder, Ignatius Loyola and how he conceived the Jesuit order during those early years. Phase two, the Jesuit arrival in the North America and its eventual emergence in the United States, includes the paradoxical relationship between the Jesuits and American culture. The third phase of the historiography explores the revival of Jesuit social justice pedagogy beginning in the late 18th century, influenced by American culture and world events and culminating in the Vatican II Council and Pedro Arrupe's spearheading of the Jesuit social justice vision. Phase four of the historiography chronicles American Jesuit high school education beginning in the early 20th century. This provides the context of events leading to the creation of the Cristo Rey school model and the Jesuit social justice dialectic as seen in American Jesuit secondary education today.

These four major areas of the historiography arose based on the need to place this case study data in a larger, historical context that includes Jesuit history, American history, and the state of urban education currently in the United States, with its changing demographics. Along with the reflexivity of the researcher, composing a historiography during the preproposal and proposal stages of this dissertation was crucial in determining

the problem space, the case study site, and the process by which case study data would be accumulated. It also played a role in the process of determining the theoretical framework with which the case study data would be analyzed. The Arrupian theoretical framework used for the data analysis arose from the historigraphic data. The research reflexivity in this study includes the personal experience of the researcher in traditional American Jesuit education combined with the researcher's perspective that current American education is the social justice issue of our time. While the majority of this historiography was composed during the preproposal and proposal stages of this study, it was revisited repeatedly throughout the study and additions were made during the data gathering phase.

Case Study Design

Along with historiography, a case study was the second prominent methodology for this study. A methodology for gathering data that would further inform the historigraphic data was desired. There was also a need to gather feedback from various constituents heavily involved and invested in American Jesuit secondary education, especially from the Jesuit Cristo Rey school model. There was a need for more voices to provide depth and assist in composing the narrative of the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit secondary education. Finally, this study endeavored to showcase the Cristo Rey school model for other urban models and Catholic education to notice. Based on these intentions to feature the Cristo Rey model, add depth to the historigraphic data, and to garner more voices to tell this story, focusing on a single case study of a Cristo Rey school appeared to be the most effective direction in which to proceed. This determination was also based on how best to address the research questions of the study

and to present the data findings and analysis. Finally, the single case study would provide a micro-level perspective of the Jesuit social justice dialectic in Jesuit high school education that would balance the macro perspective provided by the historiography.

There are both sociological and historical orientations in this case study research (Hancock & Algozzine, 2011). Both of these orientations look at the context of the case study. This case study is sociological in that the Cristo Rey Jesuit high school will be studied through a variety of identities and the contexts in which these identities exist. A sociological orientation looks at these identities and how they are embodied given the contextual setting. Some of these identities are very specific and demographically structured, such as being a Catholic, Jesuit high school serving a predominantly Latino/Hispanic population who will be first-generation college students. Other identities are more general and harder to pinpoint, such as working with the marginalized in society, which many perceive to be Jesuit mission-driven work. The case study research revealed these identities and several others.

Identities often build on a foundation over a length of time in a given context. A historical orientation was taken for this case study by exploring how some of the identities within the context of this case study evolved and have been sustained over time. Additionally, aspects of identities were explored within the case study context that did not survive the test of time or for some reason were nonexistent within the sample of this case study. Some of these identities were perhaps less emphasized and therefore they did not form major aspects of this study. The historigraphic data provides some insights into the context, but the case study data provides insights more directly from the voices of its

many constituents. By including many divergent voices, the historical analysis of this case study will inform the thick descriptions and narrative presented (Creswell, 2007). Through this case study data, the evolution of some of the identities that formed within a context that includes Catholic, Jesuit, urban education, and Cristo Rey will come to the surface.

This study explored how these identities and contexts evolved and how they contributed to the overall identity/mission of the case study school, Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School. Additionally, the study explored the external sociology of the community in which the case study school is located, as well as the demographics of the study's sample population and their degree of influence/power. Coupled with a historical orientation to case study research, this study explored why certain insights/contexts/identities in the data are salient and why some are not.

This case study draws from sociology as it pertains to the landscape of urban secondary education and Jesuit high school education in the United States. Within this landscape is a backdrop of the American narrative, capitalism, and inequality. The case study also draws from history as it pertains to situating the Cristo Rey school model within a multi-contextual history that spans of chronological time from the past, to the present, and informs what the future holds. It is a school model that exists against a historical backdrop of systemic racism, cultural oppression, and white male supremacy. The interplay between these two disciplines along with the embedded context of Catholic, Jesuit Cristo Rey secondary education shapes and informs this study's data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2007).

In summation, applying both sociological and historical orientations to this case study contributes to its ability to address the social justice implications of sustaining a Catholic, Jesuit, Cristo Rey high school in the current American urban educational landscape. This case study will provide insights into the research questions and present the manifestation of the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit secondary education.

Case Study Interviews. For this qualitative case study, the interview was chosen as the primary source for data collection. Interviews can be recorded, listened to repeatedly, and effectively translated for meaning. Due to mass appeal and our current technological age, interviews can efficiently influence worldview. Interviews can make people quickly aware of the interviewing process, the content, and its societal importance. This mass recognition piece legitimizes interview data/content as a form of knowledge while lending voice to the masses often lacking it (Silverman, 2005).

There are essentially three types of interviews: the standardized interview, the unstandardized interview, and the semi-standardized interview. The standardized interview features very formally, tightly structured questions where nothing is reworded, clarified, or changed for any participant. The semi-standardized interview allows for some flexibility for probing or rewording with the main structure remaining intact for each interview. The unstandardized interview is completely unstructured and features rewording, clarifying, and varying follow up questions for each participant (Berg, 2009; Hancock & Algozzine, 2011). The semi-standardized interview was used in this case study to ensure autonomy for the participants in sharing their insights and experiences in their own words while maintaining the focus of the study. It also revealed demographic

aspects of the interviewer's identity, though anonymous, which would figure into the analysis. The interview data collected in this study was presented and analyzed in its original form.

The Case Study Site Selection Criteria. The first criteria for determining the case study site was that it needed to be a Catholic, Jesuit high school in the Cristo Rey school model. Such a study site would be affiliated with several umbrella organizations, including the local Catholic Archdiocese with its Catholic affiliation, the Jesuit Secondary Educational Association and the specific Jesuit Province, which allowed it to retain its Jesuit affiliation, and the Cristo Rey Network. In addition to these formal affiliations, the site would also be an American urban high school located in a primarily working-class, Latino/Hispanic community whose students would mostly be first-generation college students. These attributes of the case study presented additional, more informal affiliations that were important to this study. The formal and informal affiliations of this case study site would provide tremendous insight and add complexity to this study.

Case Study Sample Selection. The experience, status, and pedigree in Jesuit education of the primary investigator of this study contributed to his ability to recruit potential case study sites by opening access to the proper channels. Before approaching the potential sites, initial contact was made with the Jesuit institutions to acquire prior approval to potentially use them as the primary research sites. A contact of the primary investigator who is a current president of a Jesuit high school made the initial contacts with several potential Jesuit Cristo Rey secondary educational institutions on behalf of

the primary investigator. Largely by directly communicating with their leaders, relatively swift approval was acquired from several Jesuit institutions.

Upon acquiring initial acceptance of several Jesuit institutions, the process of narrowing down and making final selection of the case study site took place. The potential case study site needed to fulfill the main requirement of being a Cristo Rey Jesuit high school, as well as address the other issues pertaining to the investigation of the study addressed above. Location and proximity were considered, as well as the existence of several Jesuit institutions in the nearby area. In addition, selecting a school in an area familiar to the researcher enabled understanding of the broader context of the school site, including awareness of the politics of the local Catholic Archdiocese and the Jesuit influence in the region. The state of public urban education within the particular city, and the overall Catholic, Jesuit influence in the city also arose as tipping points in the decision-making process. The selected site was located in very close proximity to a Catholic, Jesuit University and maintained an important reciprocal relationship with them. This Cristo Rey site was also located in a predominantly Hispanic/Latino neighborhood where a previous Jesuit high school had already cultivated the students from this neighborhood. Several generations of graduates came from this earlier Jesuit high school until it decided to move to the suburbs a generation ago for primarily economic reasons. This decamping by the Jesuit high school created some hard feelings within this community, much of which remains to this day. However, the move created an opportunity for a Cristo Rey Jesuit high school to be created. The researcher noted the potential triangular relationship that the Cristo Rey Jesuit case study site had with the now-suburban Jesuit high school and the nearby Jesuit University, during the site

selection process. This triangularity would enable the researcher to tease out some of the complexity of the Jesuit social justice dialectic and inform it in ways that the other potential case study sites would not. Ultimately, the site selected would serve as an instrumental case study with which to explore the Jesuit social justice dialectic and its function in American secondary education.

The design of this case study research was exploratory and descriptive. It was exploratory in that studying Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit School created the impetus to explore Jesuit social justice pedagogy and urban education in the United States from both a historical and literature review perspective. There were initial research questions posed at the start of the study, however new questions arose throughout the data-gathering process making it a fluid process prone to constant reassessment.

Interview Participant Selection Criteria. The key criteria in seeking participants to interview for this study was that they have or had at some point in their lives a direct affiliation with the case study site. A current or past employee, board of trustees member, corporate work-study sponsor, school founder, consultant, student, alumni, or parent would all be eligible to participate in this study. The researcher paid attention to having as diverse a pool of participants as possible within the sample, reflecting a desire to acquire representation from across the stratification of the case study population. A plethora of different roles, histories, and experiences would be crucial in composing a thorough study. In consideration of the researcher's connection to Jesuit education in the area, it was decided that a snowball sample would be the most appropriate way to proceed. There was a need to limit the influence of the researcher on the sample selection, and snowball sampling would allow the participants themselves to

determine the diversity of the sample. Thus, while the desire to ensure diversity within the participant pool remained, it was outweighed by the need for snowball sampling.

Snowball Sampling. Snowball sampling is a process whereby the study participants themselves help create the sample by recommending future participants in the study. The conceptual underpinning of snowball sampling is that members of a special or rare population are familiar with others in that population; they give the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a second, third, and so on (Vogt, 1999). The snowball sample ensures that the participants themselves take an active role in creating the overall sample pool and thus in the data collected.

In this study, there was a heavy reliance on the participants to recommend other participants based on common interests as well as who they deemed to be informative for achieving the goals of this study (Miles & Huberman, 1994). At the end of each interview, the participant was given the opportunity to recommend future prospective participants. They also were given the opportunity to think about possible future participants on their own after the interview and email them along with their contact information to the researcher. These future participants would subsequently recommend the next participant and so on thus creating the snowball sample. Most participants recommended several names, often overlapping with those recommended by other participants. There was no direct influence on this selection process by the researcher.

Participant Recruitment. Once the sample snowballed and participants were recommended, prospective participants were contacted by emailing them a scripted introduction.

Approximately two weeks were allotted to wait for a response. If there was no response in that time, a second email invitation was sent out. If there was no response after the second invite, the researcher moved on to other recommended participants. Several potential participants did not respond immediately, but did after an extended period of time. In these cases, the researcher sought to include them in the study at a later date.

Sample Size. The sample size projected for this study remained intentionally fluid throughout the data collecting process. As the data gathering progressed, data saturation began to occur within the interviews, thus the number of participants needed decreased. The initial sample size was 50 participants, but this changed to 40 before finally settling on 34. The researcher concluded that at 34, the sample had an excellent representation of board of trustees members, faculty, administrators, founders, alumni, corporate work study sponsors, etc. Once these two precepts—data saturation and sample representation—were accomplished, the case study data gathering phase of the study concluded.

Participant Confidentiality. At the onset of this study, the researcher decided that the anonymity of all participants would be preserved. It was also determined that the name of the case study site along with subsequent related sites and locations would remain in anonymity. This was to preserve the confidentiality of the conversations and to provide a secure space for sharing information. For data analysis purposes, each study participant was assigned a participant number, which was used to refer to them throughout the study. These numbers were assigned randomly to all the individual participants in the study. As mentioned, a fictitious name for the case study school was

created: Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School. All other relevant organizations, locations and sites such as the larger umbrella affiliations—the Cristo Rey Network, the Jesuit Secondary Educational Association, and the original Cristo Rey School Chicago were openly used in the study as they did not compromise the identity of the participants. Along with interview data, some aspects of demographic information of the participants were incorporated into the data collection and analysis while preserving participant anonymity. Consequently, in addition to participant numbers, a letter "I" or "O," indicating if they fit the insider or outlier categories, was also assigned to each participant. This aspect of sample identification would figure into the presentation of the data results and findings.

Case Study Interview Logistics. The researcher determined that interviews would serve as the primary basis of data gathering for this case study. Interviewing is a transmission of information and data. In an "interview society," there is an acknowledgement of the subjectivity of the data provided, but an appreciation of the legitimacy of the data gathered through interviewees articulating experiences in their own words (Lynn, 2002; Ortiz, 1982). The interview can be a prime source of data gathering that presents a formulation of meaning often accompanied by the expression of a particular identity of the interviewee as the backdrop (Silverman, 2005). It is the autonomy within the interview granted to the interviewee that allows their identity to become a source of information and insight.

Once connection was made with a participant who agreed to participate in the study, a place and time to meet was agreed upon. The consent form was emailed to them to be completed and sent back to the researcher prior to the interview. The interviews for

this study were semi-structured, including some uniform formal structures for consistency purposes. Each interview with a participant began with the signing of the permission forms and a quick review of the basic aspects of the permission form and the overall study. Time was given to discuss the study with each participant and take possible questions. The confidentiality of the study was reiterated one more time. Before delving into the questions, the interviewer requested permission to make an audio recording of the conversation. The researcher showed to them a pen and paper he would use simply for jotting down notes for future consideration or possible follow-up questions.

Once the basic parameters of the study were established, each participant received a page that listed three questions. It was established that these were simply talking points that the participant could use at their own discretion. They could follow and answer each question or discard the page if they desired. It was mentioned that the goal of this interview was for it to be a conversation and an open dialogue between two people. Thus, the researcher would only nudge the participant every now and then, but would cease to interrupt the participant as they were telling their stories. It was made clear to each participant that the researcher might ask follow-up questions for clarification on some topics. The researcher only asked questions during long pauses, when encouraged by the participant or at the end of the interview during lapses in the conversation.

In addition, the participant was invited to at anytime ask the researcher any questions pertaining to the study, with the exception of the names of other participants in the study. (This happened with a few participants and the researcher gently reminded them that for confidentiality purposes this information could not be revealed.)

The initial intent was for the researcher to conduct all interviews face-to-face with each participant. This would provide opportunities for both interviewer and interviewee to convey body language. It would also allow greater ease in carrying on an informal dialogue or conversation. This intention became impossible, however, due to the number of recommended participants and their geographic locations all over the United States. Since these participants were part of the snowball sample, the researcher decided to amend this requirement of the study to allow for these exceptions. In these instances, interviews were conducted by phone in a personal office in the researcher's home. All correspondence was done via email prior to the interview phone conversation, including the consent forms.

The Talking Points. There were three questions, described as "talking points," provided to each participant. The talking points were distributed systematically and in a consistent order to each participant. When some of the interviews took place via telephone, the talking points were emailed to the participant immediately before the interview began so that all the participants had roughly an equal amount of time to reflect on them and provide answers. The researcher gave special attention to the wording of each talking point. If the participant required clarification about any of the talking points, the researcher provided it to the extent that the conversation would continue. The researcher did not correct the research participant at any point during the interview.

The three talking points were:

1. Describe your role at or in relationship to Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School? How did you connect with Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School?

2. Are you familiar with Pedro Arrupe? How does Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School embody social justice as it pertains to urban education?
3. What are some of the challenges and strengths in embodying social justice at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School?

All three of these talking points were intentionally vague so that there was ample opportunity for the participant to answer the question in a variety of ways. Many participants asked for further clarification of the talking points during which the researcher reassured them that they could answer how they saw fit. The result was often that the participant would answer the question while providing additional information, which was the goal of the data gathering process.

Personal Story Sharing and Composing a Single Narrative: A Delicate Balance

When presenting the narrative of a particular person in a particular context, it is imperative to have this story come from the original source. Stories expressed directly by a person in their own words are more revealing, authentic, and therefore ultimately more truthful. This is because the person feels a sense of ownership of their personal stories, which makes them more authentic. The challenge for the researcher of this study was to find the right balance between providing a well-defined context in which the dialogue could take place and refraining from directly interfering in the actual stories. The researcher always strived to remain steadfastly loyal to the actual personal accounts or narrative accumulated for this study (Atkinson, 1998; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; Spradley, 1979).

The Researcher's Role in the Study

The researcher's role in this study encompassed three chief functions. First, to provide thoughtful, well-informed research questions and determine the appropriate talking points that would touch on the research questions while being general enough to allow the participants the autonomy they needed in answering. The second function was to serve as a historian of the Jesuits and American Jesuit education in order to establish the context within which the case study could take place. Finally, the researcher sought to conduct this study cognizant of issues of power, access, autonomy, and inclusion, particularly within the case study. Consequently, the narrative has justice implications in terms of who is telling the story, to whom, and for what purpose. Thus, the selection of this topic, the methodology of this study, etc. are influenced by who the researcher is, given his history and context in Jesuit education, which will be elaborated upon below.

As the sole investigator of this study, the researcher oversaw and implemented every aspect of the study. The researcher received ongoing guidance from an adviser, a dissertation committee, and a research lab in fine-tuning the research problem space and the conceptual framework during the pre-proposal and proposal stages. Following these stages and approval from the dissertation committee, an extensive IRB process was completed. The researcher then embarked on the data collection through case study interviews, followed by interview transcriptions, data coding, and thematic categorizing. The theoretical framework that formed the basis for the data analysis was based on the historiography and literature review conducted by the researcher.

Researcher Reflexivity in this Study. The researcher of this study was cognizant of his potential subjectivity as this study unfolded due to his extensive

experience in Catholic, Jesuit education. As a result, precautions were taken such as relying on snowball sampling. Nevertheless, it is important to convey the reflexivity of the researcher as it pertains to their identity as an educator, researcher, and activist, which has taken place predominantly within Jesuit education. Researcher reflexivity was framed in two ways: the researcher's life as a student and as an educator in Jesuit education.

Life as a Student in Jesuit Education. The researcher is a product of Jesuit education and has been personally exposed to the issues that are explored in this study. While being exposed to a traditional, Jesuit education, the researcher is also a first-generation American, whose family is from India with a father who, while Hindu, was exposed to Christian and Jesuit education. It was the researcher's father, who introduced him to Jesuit education beginning with high school and continuing on to college and graduate school at Jesuit institutions throughout the United States. All of these Jesuit institutions instilled within the researcher a religious faith linked to maximizing one's potential and utilizing it to help make the world a better place through Jesuit apostulates. All of the Jesuit institutions the researcher attended and later worked at were predominantly white institutions. The researcher struggled with this, ignoring it at first since everyone around appeared to be; at times he deemphasized his identity as a person of color while embracing the values of diversity, unity, and community. Friends and colleagues supported this endeavor most of the time, but every once in a while there would be a painful reminder of difference and otherness. The veil of difference to which Du Bois refers does in fact exist, no matter how everyone pretends it does not, contributing to a double consciousness and cultural code switching as a result (Du Bois,

2004). Though the researcher tried to ignore this, the reminders persisted, and overt appearances of the veil continued in the context of predominantly white institutions. In his 20s, the researcher did not know how to articulate or characterize these feelings of cultural dislocation, grappling with these issues without any real context. This continued as he finished graduate school and took a job teaching at a predominantly white traditional Jesuit high school.

Life as an Educator in Traditional Jesuit Education. The researcher has worked at several traditional Jesuit high schools throughout the United States. He has also served as a board of trustees member at one of these Jesuit high schools as an administrator in both a Jesuit high school and Jesuit college setting. When he began his first full-time job teaching theology at a traditional Jesuit high school, he was one of three people of color working in the entire institution at the time. The three comprised entire the diversity of this Jesuit institution—one Asian, one Hispanic, and one African-American, with the latter serving as the diversity director of the institution. All three would become confidants for each other in the years to come. The diversity director, who had been at the school for over 40 years, would be an important mentor for the researcher. At the end of the first year of teaching, the researcher would reluctantly succeed this person as diversity director of the school, which became a tipping point that accelerated a personal awakening and would dictate the future trajectory of his life.

The researcher's characterization of social justice has been textured by Jesuit education, specifically the complex role that religion plays in social justice work. Religion as it relates to issues of charity and justice when interwoven with efforts of evangelization is complex, presenting the dialectic of whether the goal of social justice is

empowering the actual person or religiously inculcating that person. There are justice implications to this question and while diversity and culture were staples of Jesuit education, there was initially little consideration given to the imbalance in power dynamics or the structural inequalities that existed within these Jesuit institutions. Traditional Jesuit institutions that did diversity work still appeared to embrace the American meritocratic model enhanced by economic injustice, racial stereotypes, and colonial tendencies despite the social justice vision of Pedro Arrupe that vilified all of these.

The researcher of this study has sought to change this over the last decade, pushing the Jesuit institutions for which he works to be more cognizant of the need to change some of their mission language and be more self-critical of these efforts. The researcher brings a diverse perspective yet there are still too few of these. As of 2013, including the Cristo Rey schools, 14% of the faculty at all Jesuit high schools are people of color, 7% of Assistant Principals are people of color, and no data was presented in terms of number of people of color serving as Principals or Presidents. In terms of women, the numbers are a bit more promising with 37% of women serving as faculty, 28% serving as Assistant Principals. Data was also presented indicating 19% of the principals are women and of the 59 Jesuit high schools, two have women Presidents (Bouillette, 2013). Not the paltry diversity of staff in Jesuit high schools gets worse as the level of power goes up. The few diverse individuals with some influence and power working in these schools are challenged in terms of maintaining their self-respect and credibility while succeeding in the field of Jesuit education. The few, who are underrepresented in Jesuit education, are always asked to perform the impossible task of

representing the underrepresented as a whole, posing monolithic dangers over the long term. The majority of people of color in administrative positions serve as the diversity directors of their institution. The researcher of this study is one such case.

Reflections on Researcher Reflexivity

The intent of the researcher in his work as a researcher and educator is to remain connected to Jesuit education in some capacity, but to make it better and truer to the ideal of its mission. There is a call for a critical pedagogy in Jesuit education, not for it to be solely an instrument in promoting the Jesuit brand, but for it to live up to the Jesuit mission. This requires openness towards innovation, communal engagement, and addressing the social justice implications of Jesuit secondary education today in America. The hope is that this study will serve as a critical lens on the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit high school education. Leaders of American Jesuit education need to be more acutely aware of this dialectic and seek to engage in critical pedagogical reflection in guiding the future vision of American Jesuit high school education in the years to come within both the traditional and Cristo Rey models. The ultimate goal of this study, to publicize the Cristo Rey School model, can be an important first step in exploring the Jesuit mission in action and the embodiment of the Jesuit social justice dialectic as it exists in American Jesuit secondary education.

The study, however, also transcends the Jesuit model, as a significant contributor to the overall narrative of urban education. Only through enhanced dialogue and collaborative efforts that include all the different American educational constituents—private, public, charter, etc. can American educational reform truly come to some

fruition. These are the attributes and personal agenda items that the researcher of this study brings as an educator and researcher.

CHAPTER IV

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Arrupian Social Justice

An integral part of the Jesuit, Catholic mission is social justice. It is a prerequisite for personal salvation for Catholics because it is an expression of God's love. Catholic teaching stipulates that love for God be inherently linked to love of neighbor. This is expressed in the Bible in the gospel of Matthew: chapter 22, verses 36-40 when Jesus Christ encapsulated all of the Ten Commandments into one. This one commandment, known as the greatest commandment, proclaims that love of God and love of neighbor are intertwined. Christian love is expressed through relationship with one another; this involves considering the welfare of society through acts of charity and service. This communitarianism requires addressing issues of injustice that hinder human engagement and neighborly love.

In Jesuit terminology, love is expressed more in deeds rather than words (O'Brien, 1992; O'Malley, 1993) . Jesuit social justice engages the larger community by introducing them to the gift of God's love through selfless, altruistic acts. Pedro Arrupe, the superior general and leader of the Jesuits presented in the latter part of the last century a vision of social justice that incorporates the greatest commandment more intentionally with a social justice component. It is a vision of social justice that calls for civic engagement that expresses love for one's fellow neighbor. Arrupe refers to this vision as "a faith that does justice" (Arrupe, 1972, 1973, 1974; O'Brien, 1992; O'Malley, 1993). Arrupian social justice is about making the world a more just, equitable place to build genuine, inclusive community within society. Arrupian social justice stipulates that those

who are intentional in addressing the greatest commandment must consider a social justice perspective. Those who work for the Jesuit mission must consider social justice in every context. Arrupian social justice is inspired by the belief that God actively engages in the world and in the lives of human beings.

These Catholic teachings with a particular emphasis on Pedro Arrupe's social justice vision provide the basis for the theoretical framework for this study. Furthermore, I build the frame around American Jesuit high school education, specifically the Cristo Rey model school.

Arrupe's vision of social justice centers on the importance of human relationships built across diverse communities expressing mutual love through acts of justice. Relationships are paramount in Arrupian social justice; in particular, the relationship between the community being served and the community that is serving the members of the community. Theoretically, these relationships are mutually beneficial. However, the dynamics are made more complex by considering an economic dimension. Not all community members are equal.

Arrupian Social Justice and Critical Pedagogy

Political power is heavily driven by economics that legitimizes the structures of unjust privilege and inequality as the status quo of society. Economics and power together play a major role in people's lives, leading to unequal statuses for those without capital and power. Since economic power is integral to societal status, economic inequality contributes to the injustices of structures that perpetuate this power at the expense of human dignity. Arrupian social justice emphasizes the critique of these unjust societal structures and advocates their dismantling. Injustice in the form of

privilege impairs human freedom, which is essential in loving one another and building community. This idea of liberation is integral to Arrupian social justice and is reminiscent of Freirean critical pedagogy.

Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy calls for a political and an academic education; a critical pedagogical teaching style enables all students to become critical collaborators in dialogue with their instructors. The function of education is to "read the world " as well as read the text (P. Freire, 1998). Critical pedagogy assumes the non-neutrality of education due to the structures of power and privilege in society within which it is embedded (Foucault, 1980). These structures are manifested, for example, in the inclusion and omission of certain texts accompanied by political agendas promoting conformity to societal norms. Arrupian social justice and Freirean critical pedagogy both characterize education as a catalyst for transformative, societal change. Both are based on the way the world is perceived, particularly in regards to issues of societal inequality and injustice (Pratt-Adams et al., 2010). Critical pedagogy is a vehicle for self-empowerment, individual agency, and personal liberation as a result of learners engaging in critical, dialogical thought. It rejects the "banking model" of education which views the teacher as the depositor of knowledge and the students as the depositories (P. Freire, 1989, 1993). Critical pedagogy is a mechanism through which people develop the power to perceive their place in the world and what the world truly looks like in relationship to them. Only through this realization can one seek ways to transform one's role in the world and influence it (A. Freire & Macedo, 2001; P. Freire, 1989). Critical pedagogy views education to be about freedom and liberation, not simply learning to earn successfully within an economic system that will only minimally benefit those without

capital and power. Students are encouraged to be social agents and confront real problems facing their communities (P. Freire, 1989). Critical reflection combined with critical theory lead to a critical pedagogy that translates into actions based on "conscientization" or ongoing critical thinking and self-reflection. It is this transformation of the human spirit that leads to transformative action (P. Freire, 1993).

Critical reflection is integral to an Arrupian social justice that embodies the Jesuit mission in Jesuit high school education. The Arrupian social justice vision consists of a religious perspective on critical pedagogical themes, incorporating the three major aspects. The first aspect is the preservation of human dignity for all human beings in all contexts. The second is that no one should passively or actively benefit from one's own ascribed privilege or position of power. The third aspect of the Arrupian vision of social justice is that it is not enough to refuse to benefit from privilege and/or live a just life, but is necessary to pursue prophetic action that actively is against all forms of injustice throughout the world.

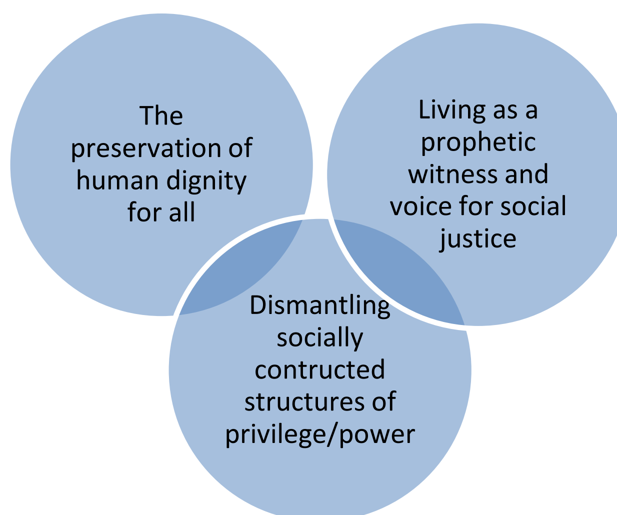

Figure 1. Arrupian social justice

The Preservation of Human Dignity. Arrupian social justice entails ensuring the dignity of all human beings and their inclusion into the community. Human dignity requires that all human beings be respected for their inherent human value and not exploited as instruments for material, economic, or political gain (Arrupe, 1977). Like Freire, Arrupe discusses human dignity as being linked to human liberation, which involves being empowered and having one's voice be heard. Freire's refers to "humanization,"or the liberation of human beings so they can aspire to reach their full human potential (P. Freire, 1993; McKenzie & Scheurich, 2004); similarly, Arrupian social justice views humanization as the ability for humans to reach their full humanity. This only occurs in relationship with one another on this earth. Human beings are not only in relationship with God, but are interconnected with each other. This is the rationale for the Catholic virtues of love to be expressed through social justice (Arrupe, 1974). When violation of human dignity occurs, the human relationship is broken, compromising the Catholic virtue of love. Human relationships include not only one on one interaction, but also interactions among communities of people.

Socially Constructed Privilege and Power. The second aspect of the Arrupian vision of social justice is the dismantling of unjust structures of privilege and power in society. These structures are based on biases having to do with perceived values of race, gender, language, and other social constructions camouflaged as natural or normalized. Acknowledging unjust power and privilege in society in a critical pedagogical way is imperative to any Arrupian social justice action. The recognition of privilege enables Jesuit social justice to be a catalyst in the remaking of the world into a more socially just place and in a Freirean sense to liberate the oppressed, thus empowering them as a result.

Many of these privileges are historically engrained and are repackaged to reinforce the systemic inequality and distribution of power. The structures of privilege are supported by robust hegemony supported by public acquiescence. Activists of Arrupian social justice utilize the power of their voice and their lives as a living witness to dismantle these unjust privileges (Arrupe, 1972, 1977). Changing one's lifestyle to minimize one's ascribed privilege, as a show of solidarity with the powerless is a powerful display of prophetic witness. Activists choose to live more simply by relinquishing unnecessary possessions and power; this is a major component of Arrupian social justice. Resolving the issue of unfair privilege and status involves advocacy for the voiceless and the relinquishing of privilege (Arrupe, 1972, 1977, 1986).

Prophetic Action. Finally, Arrupian social justice includes prophetic action that sheds a critical lens of awareness on the injustice in the world. Prophetic action is a countercultural response to society's status quo, which is reinforced by the powerful, privileged, and elite in society. The status quo acquires consent from a populace that is unaware and/or indifferent. Arrupian social justice considers simply relinquishing privilege and living a just life to be insufficient; actions that actively counteract injustice in a prophetic way are required. This requires the courage to speak hard truth directly to those in power, which can mean sacrificing one's own power and privilege. Prophetic action manifests itself both as a prophetic voice that speaks truth to power and in one's daily living—a practice known as prophetic witness (Arrupe, 1977). This includes having a minimum of material possessions, which embodies detachment from and indifference to them. This practice represents an important theme in Jesuit spirituality: the idea that all possessions, particularly material, are to be utilized in the service of God

and fellow humankind, but to be discarded at any time when they serve as a detriment to this purpose. This idea of indifference is part of the first foundation of Jesuit spirituality and adapted by Arrupian social justice in the articulation of prophetic action (Arrupe, 1972, 1977).

Living in community with people who have similar social justice beliefs and employ them to create social movements is known as solidarity (Brackley, 1996; Kammer, 2004). Solidarity is an important component of prophetic action in Arrupian social justice, as it unifies people around a particular justice cause as a community of God. Solidarity provides a venue where hope is sustained through communal support strengthening collective will and prophetic voice.

Along with solidarity, prophetic action requires ongoing discernment. Discernment is an intentional, ongoing investment in prayer and critical reflection on Arrupian social justice. Prayer and reflection enables one to discern the signs of the times and problematize a world in which oppressive systems are a reality (Arrupe, 1972, 1977). Arrupian social justice emphasizes that any social justice activism must include a thorough awareness and knowledge of the degree of injustice that exists in the world. This awareness is attained in solidarity with other like-minded people and in community with each other.

It is imperative that social justice activists not only advocate against issues injustice, but also be present with those impacted. This important aspect of solidarity may involve a change in lifestyle based on one's evolving worldview. Solidarity may contribute to changing one's worldview, which subsequently leads to daily living that is intentionally present with and for the marginalized in society (Brackley, 1996; Kammer,

2004). Prophetic witness in the form of solidarity keeps the people in mind along with the justice cause when pursuing action. Prophetic voice needs to be articulated by individual people and institutions alike. These institutions include nation-states, companies, and corporations—all of which are made up of people who must engage in prophetic action. It is inevitable that prophetic action will cause conflict, which is why ongoing discernment is required. All of this contributes to the complexity of Arrupian social justice and its pursuit.

The means of achieving social justice is very important, as well as the ends. All acts of Christian love involve a faith that does justice in a prophetic, activist way (Arrupe, 1977). Arrupian social justice requires charitable, loving acts with prophetic activism that enhances human community.

The Jesuit Social Justice Dialectic in American Jesuit High School Education

The three aspects of Arrupian social justice are the basis for contemporary Jesuit social justice pedagogy at all American Jesuit high schools. Along with Arrupian social justice, however, the Jesuits' secondary institutions rely on economic wealth to garner the power and influence to achieve their mission. Together, this Jesuit ambition for cultural influence and the Jesuit mission of Arrupian social justice form the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit secondary education. It is based on the Jesuit hallmark of endeavoring to serve both the powerful and the powerless of society. The Jesuit intent is to maintain the dialectical tension of both of these goals, which appear contradictory, in creative balance to pursue the ambition of the Jesuit mission to transform the world in a dramatic way. The Jesuit social justice dialectic is the Jesuit solution to pursuing social justice in an unjust world. The ongoing challenge for American Jesuit secondary

education is to maintain this dialectic and keep it from turning into a dichotomy that is divisive instead of unifying.

Traditional and Cristo Rey Jesuit School Models

The Jesuit social justice mission is integral to the Jesuits since their inception as a Catholic religious order and is being reiterated in American Jesuit secondary education. Along with the Jesuit mission, the concept of the Jesuit brand is emerging intent on promoting the mission using capitalism, which counterintuitively can constrain its mission. Jesuit high school education in America attempts to maintain this dialectic by utilizing two separate school models: traditional and Cristo Rey. The traditional Jesuit school model caters to the white, male, wealthy population while the Cristo Rey model caters to the urban, poor, people of color population. These two models segregate the population based on their perceived contribution to the capitalist system and status in society turning the Jesuit social justice dialectic into a dichotomy. There is a growing tendency to wrap all human relationships quite tightly around the idea of economic worth, which is driven by capitalism. The result is that these two models of Jesuit high school education endorse the importance of capitalism while trying to embody Arrupian social justice.

As the traditional Jesuit high schools became more prestigious, white, and wealthy, the constraints on their social justice mission of reaching out to the poor were impossible to ignore. The solidarity of these institutions with the poor and marginalized in society given the trends of their institutional practice continues to be lacking. Consequently, the Cristo Rey model addresses these concerns regarding the Jesuit mission by targeting poor, urban, families of color. However, introducing the Cristo Rey

model constrained the Jesuit social justice dialectic and the segregation between the two school populations became more pronounced. The wealthy, white, suburban students attend traditional schools while the poor students of color attend Cristo Rey Jesuit schools as factors such as geographic location, requirements, and tuition costs weigh in.

Traditional Jesuit High School ⟷ Capitalism ⟷ Cristo Rey Jesuit High School

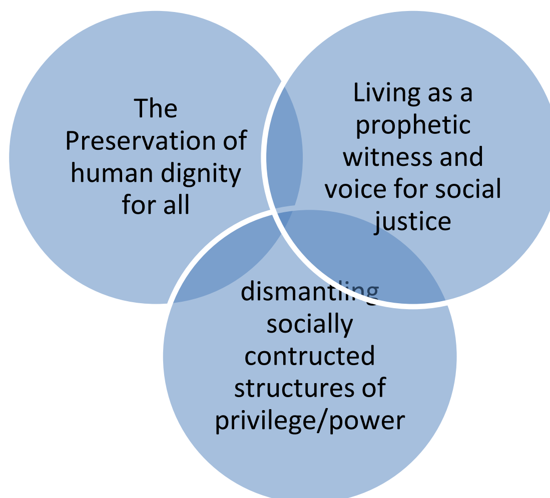

Figure 2. Jesuit social justice dialectic

Summation

By targeting the poor, marginalized students of color, the Cristo Rey Jesuit schools have liberated the traditional Jesuit high schools from having to address the issues of their mission and prophetic social justice. The Jesuit social justice dialectic enables the traditional institutions to continue to educate a wealthier, whiter, male class every year. Theoretically, they can defer to the Cristo Rey Jesuit high school as the answer to the mission question. This dissertation seeks to explore this assertion.

CHAPTER V

HISTORIOGRAPHY: THE JESUITS

Introduction

The historiography chapter consists of two parts. The first part chronicles the life of its founder, Ignatius Loyola, the origins of the Jesuit religious order, the emergence of education as its central apostolate, and its rise to prominence in Europe and Asia. It also covers the Jesuits early presence in North America, colonial life, and early American history. Jesuit history includes tangentially the suppression of the Jesuits throughout all of Europe, which took place beginning in the 1770s and lasting until the 1820s throughout most of the world, including the United States, with the exception of parts of Russia. Part one concludes chronicling the diverse role of the Jesuits in the creation of Jesuit apostolates beginning with Georgetown University in 1789 in the early history of the United States.

Part two discusses the growing role of the Jesuits as an integral part of an emergent distinct form of American Catholicism in the latter 19th and early 20th century. An American Catholicism spearheaded by the emergence of Catholic parochial education as a result of an influx of European Catholic immigrants created by the Industrial Revolution. It was also spearheaded by the emergence of American Catholicism that was accompanied by American cultural values of democracy. American Jesuits were in the midst of this emergence of American Catholicism, which this section of the historiography chronicles in depth. This second part of the historiography culminates with the emergence of Pedro Arrupe during Vatican II and the emergence of social justice

Jesuit pedagogy in contemporary Catholic Jesuit secondary education within the traditional high schools later on embodied by the Cristo Rey Jesuit schools.

Part One: The Origins and History of the Jesuits and Jesuit Education

Ignatius Loyola and Origins of the Society of Jesus. The Society of the Jesus, also known as the Jesuits, is a Catholic religious order founded by Ignatius Loyola in the 16th century. Inigo (Later Ignatius) Loyola was born in 1491 in Spain and raised a Roman Catholic. He came from a renowned family that consisted of thirteen children. Jesuit folklore stipulates that early in his adult life, Loyola indulged himself hedonistically, living the life of a soldier, gambler, womanizer, and occasional mercenary (Bangert, 1986; O'Malley, 1993). He proceeded on the career path of a soldier until he was badly wounded during a battle against the French. Although wounded, Loyola continued to wage battle, and it was his French adversary who, in awe and admiration his apparent adversary, carried him in a stretcher off the battlefield according to Jesuit folklore. Serious injury to his legs ended his aspirations to become a career soldier. Because of the seriousness of his injuries, Loyola was in a hospital for almost a year and became greatly disillusioned (Schroth, 2007). While lying in bed during his long hospital stay, Loyola had a spiritual conversion leading him to rededicate himself to his Roman Catholic faith and to commit himself to becoming a Catholic missionary evangelizing the word of God to all the ends of the earth. Loyola sought to translate all the energy, determination, and fervor he had previously invested in becoming a military soldier into becoming a “soldier for Christ” ((Fleming, 1996; O'Malley, 1993).

Upon leaving the hospital, Loyola hoped to immediately become a priest wishing to travel to Jerusalem in order to to retrace the steps of Jesus Christ (Schroth, 2007). His

desire to become a priest immediately and to avoid going through the required training was rejected by the Catholic Hierarchy. This was the time of the Spanish Inquisition, so any hint of unorthodox methods of religious practice were unacceptable to the Catholic Hierarchy. Loyola did not have the required education and training to become a priest, which was extensive and took several years. He first refused to conform to the Church requirements for becoming a priest. He eventually did make it to Jerusalem and during his journey began writing what would become the spiritual documents of the future Society of Jesus, known as the Spiritual Exercises. The earliest notes found on the exercises date back to 1522 (O'Malley, 1993; Schroth, 2007).

But, his repeated efforts to bypass priestly training resulted in his being thrown in jail several times (Schroth, 2007). Following his trip to Jerusalem, Ignatius slowly and finally began to resign himself to accept the prerequisite training to become a priest. Loyola's demonstration of pragmaticism in making this decision would be a prelude of things to come for the Jesuit order as whole and their dialectic tendencies. Ignatius did not believe he needed the required training, but did not render it worthwhile to continue fighing it. He visited Barcelona, Alcala, and Salamanca, where he took courses in philosophy and learning Latin. During this time, he along with his growing cadre of friends, began to preach to crowds about the spiritual exercises he had composed (O'Malley, 1993). In 1528, Ignatius began attending the University of Paris, where he took the classes in theology and philosophy, which were required to become an ordained Catholic priest. During his first year at Paris, Inigo formally changed his name to Ignatius (It had previously been Inigo then Ignacio, and finally Ignatius) (Schroth, 2007). In Paris, the seeds of what would become Jesuit education began to take shape, as Loyola

developed an appreciation of the Parisian educational model realizing the potential transformative power, which was possible through education. He also realized the importance of doing this work in communion with other like--minded individuals the forming of a coalition. During this time, he formed important and influential friendships with Francis Xavier and several other future Jesuits.

Early Years of the Society of Jesus. The original seven Jesuits were Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Pierre Favre, Diego Lainez, Alfonso Salmeron, Nicholas de Bobadilla, and Simao Rodriques. Ignatius was clearly the leader of the seven (Fleming, 1996; O'Malley, 1993). By 1534, the seven had experienced Ignatius's Spiritual Exercises, a series of intensive and extensive exercises, both cerebral and emotional, in which one attempted to engage God in relationship in order to determine one's future path as a soldier of Christ. This group of men sought to create a Catholic religious order, not initially for educational purposes, but to do missionary work in the Holy Land, the present-day Middle East. Loyola originally had wanted to evangelize the Holy Land almost single-handedly, but then he decided, in obedience to the Pope, to create a small cadre of elite men to address the rise of heresy in Europe. Heresy was a pressing concern of the Catholic hierarchy as the Protestant Reformation had just occurred and the Catholic response to the Reformation, the Council of Trent, was twenty years or so away from happening. The young Catholic religious order of Jesuits, as commissioned by the Pope and Loyola, embarked on saving the European nations from the dangers of heresy. The Catholic Church at this time feared losing its followers to their fervent Protestant rivals and wanted the newly-founded Jesuit order to help counter this potential movement (Schroth, 2007; Wright, 2004).

The Society of Jesus followed its leader and founder in spirit, personality, and mission. The appetites, passions, drives, and ambitions that Loyola had exhibited in his youth were consolidated into a spiritual quest for God. Jesuits who have followed in the more than four-hundred- fifty years since continue to look at Ignatius as their inspiration. All Jesuits go through an extensive training that lasts for most of a decade and consists of several stages, vows, education, retreats, discernments, and spiritual direction. The long training process is reminiscent of the long journey Ignatius himself had to go through, following his conversion, to find his place in the world (O'Malley, 1993). The Jesuits elected Ignatius as their first Superior General. Ignatius would spend the rest of his life in an office in Rome in close proximity to the Pope, to whom he would report on a regular basis. In Rome, Loyola refined the Society of Jesus in terms of their mission, rules, and training, all of which resulted in the Jesuit Constitution and the Ratio Studiorum (Bangert, 1986; Schroth, 2007). He would also correspond regularly with all Jesuits worldwide about their experiences and adventures. Biographers, particularly within the Jesuit tradition, discuss the desire Ignatius himself had to be one of those Jesuits traveling and engaging the world’s cultures; however, he sacrificed these desires to do what he felt was in accordance to the will of God. He would spend the last years of his life in an office in Rome, composing the Jesuit Constitution, overseeing the Jesuits and the apostolates they were creating, and serving as the first Superior General of the Jesuit order. He would pass away in 1556, yet his spirit is alive and well in every Jesuit apostolate to this day (O'Malley, 1993).

Organization and Structure of the Jesuits. Jesuits were organized in a way that is reminiscent of the Catholic hierarchy, placing a high emphasis on obedience and

community. A Superior General, appointed by the Pope, oversaw the entire Jesuit religious order worldwide and served as liaison between the religious order and the Catholic Hierarchy. The early established Jesuit conclaves were known as missions and/or apostolates. Jesuits in every mission and/or apostolate were organized under larger regional Jesuit provinces run by a Provincial; this Provincial reported directly to the Superior General in Rome. Within each specific mission/apostolate was a Jesuit Superior who ran the community of Jesuits for that particular apostolate and reported directly to the Jesuit Provincial. Thus, a line of hierarchical command within the Jesuits was established as follows: the Priest, the Superior, the Provincial, and the Superior General (Bangert, 1986; McDonough & Bianchi, 2002; Schroth, 2007). The linkage in this line of hierarchical command was the vow of obedience each Jesuit was required to take to the hierarchical command beginning with the Pope on down. This organizational structure was fluid in that Jesuits tended to go up and down the hierarchy depending on the needs of the mission at particular times in their life. Throughout this process, the vow of obedience is taken seriously at each hierarchical juncture (O'Malley, 1993; Schroth, 2007).

The training to become a Jesuit, as delineated by Loyola, continues to be extensive, as it takes nearly a decade and, consists of several stages, forms of study, apostolates, and ongoing spiritual direction. It is intentionally reminiscent of the journey Ignatius went through in his life and the founding of the order, which took on many twists and turns. The stages generally proceed in the following order, with the number of years varying.

A. The Novitiate is the first stage of Jesuit training and consists of two years or so of spiritual formation, which includes a thirty-day silent retreat and taking the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

B. A Jesuit moves on to become a Scholastic, which consists of several years of study and education in theology, philosophy, and other areas of emphasis. At least one year of theological studies is required for Scholastics. During this stage, the Jesuit is a full-time student.

C. Regency is usually a three-year period. In that time the candidate engages directly in a Jesuit mission and the Jesuit community that accompanies it, followed by a period of study, this time focusing on theology. Priestly ordination takes place at the end of this stage.

D. Tertianship is the final stage, the one in which formal Jesuit training culminates. During this stage the Jesuit, now more seasoned, might take another thirty-day silent retreat, revisit Jesuit documents and the spiritual exercises in more depth, and engage in some apostolic experiment, which challenges them. This experiment could be working for marginalized communities in some capacity or an intense effort of research. During this time they take final vows; these are a renewal of the first vows but might include an additional vow, such as obedience to the Pope (Bangert, 1986; McDonough, 1992; O'Malley, 1993; Schroth, 2007).

As mentioned, the Jesuit training varies in terms of the length of each stage, with some autonomy provided to the Jesuits in training. Ignatius wanted both structure and freedom within the training, and he wanted it to be a lengthy time period in which a Jesuit either freely continued the training or decided to leave and pursue other life opportunities.

Women as Jesuits. Loyola worked with women on many church projects, which caused him to seriously consider them as potential members of the Society of Jesus, although not as Catholic priests in accordance to Catholic dogma. A woman named Isabel Rosser, whose husband had passed away in 1541, along with two other women headed to Rome to meet Loyola, with the intention of working for him in some capacity as part of the Society. Loyola put Rosser in charge of the Martha House, a house he had founded to care for prostitutes. Rosser considered this both her home and a convent. She filed a petition with Pope Paul III for permission to be admitted into the Society as a "least member". The Pope accepted this offer, and thus Rosser and her two women companions took vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience- the same vows that the Jesuit priests and brothers take (Schroth, 2007). After a year, Loyola noting the political, cultural climate of the times and the potential controversies that allowing women to be Jesuits could cause to the vitality of the order released the women from their vows. A bitter falling-out ensued between Rosser and Ignatius that lasted until near the end of their lives, when they finally reconciled. After being rejected by the Jesuits, Rosser became a Franciscan nun and died in 1554 (Petrino, Boryczka, von Arx, & Jeffrey, 2012; Rahner, 2007; Schroth, 2007).

Another instance of women potentially becoming Jesuits occurred when the second daughter of emperor Charles of Spain, Juana, who was married to the heir to the throne of Portugal, became widowed in 1554. Shortly after her husband's death, she sought entrance into the Jesuit order. Due to the political and religious complexity involved, as outlined above, it was discreetly agreed that she be admitted, but that it be kept secret. According to Hugo Rahner's, *St. Ignatius Loyola: Letters to Women,*

Ignatius oversaw Juana's Jesuit training and her progress. She exerted great political influence throughout Spain while promoting the Jesuit agenda, and when she passed away at the age of thirty-eight she was a Jesuit, the only woman with this distinction, as far as we know (Fullam, 1999; Rahner, 2007; Schroth, 2007).

The Emergence of Jesuit Education. In 1540, the constitution or the Formula Instituti of the Society of Jesus was approved by Pope Paul III, making the Society of Jesus an official religious order in the Roman Catholic Church. The original bull (Catholic document) by Pope Paul III did not explicitly state anything about education but referred to "the catechetical instruction of the poor and ignorant people in Christian doctrine"(Schroth, 2007). Once officially recognized by the Vatican as a religious order, the Society quickly began to disperse throughout the world to evangelize doing missionary work on behalf of the Catholic Church. Teaching children catechism classes, providing shelters for prostitutes, working in hospitals, preaching, and hearing confessions were all examples of this missionary work. As their evangelical pursuits increased, they found themselves in more prestigious roles, including serving as confidants to influential government officials of several countries and serving as theologians for the Council of Trent from 1545-1563 (Barthel, 1984; Schroth, 2007; Wright, 2004).

During the early years of the religious order, it became apparent to the Jesuits that education could serve as a powerful conduit in spreading the Catholic faith, the primary focus of the Jesuit mission. Up to this point, missionary work consisted primarily in the saving of souls and converting them to Catholicism, with Baptismal count serving as a the definitive indicator of a mission's success (Schroth, 2007). Jesuit Spiritual Exercises

viewed Christ as their supreme commander sending forth his disciples (i.e. Jesuits) all over the world to rescue people who were not Catholic from the clutches of Satan(Wright, 2004). Satan for Christians was evil incarnate (This Catholic theology would become nuance in the 20th Century, in the midst of growing decolonization and movements towards greater inclusion and freedom throughout the world). Thus the urgency of the Catholic mandate of converting souls has been curtailed a bit, making missionary work more palatable for the changing cultural times (McDonough, 1992; Schroth, 2007). During those early years of Jesuit history, along with this mandate to save souls, they also identified a need for educational institutions throughout Europe and the world. The Jesuits quickly realized that education was invaluable in inculcating and engaging the various cultures that they would encounter in the "New World". Thus a major change in the vision of the Jesuit mission for the Jesuit order took place (Bangert, 1986).

This change in Jesuit vision contributed to the revision of the Formula Instituti document in 1550 to include education as an integral part of the Jesuit mission. Beginning with the creation of the first Jesuit school in Gandia, Spain in 1546, until the time of Loyola's death in 1556, forty Jesuit schools were opened worldwide (Bangert, 1986). Students, who continued their Jesuit education beyond studying philosophy and theology, would be invited to study medicine or civil law at what would be later known as a Jesuit university. Jesuits began hiring lay professors who specialized in these careers to become part of these Jesuit educational institutions (McGucken, 1932). Early Jesuits saw the long-term benefits of a unified body of educators. Bringing in professors from different parts of the world would hasten the creation of educational institutions

worldwide combining the best pedagogy and curriculum. They would exert a vast influence on Jesuit evangelization and missionary work on a much larger global scale. Jesuits also sought to interweave a spiritual, moral, value-laden piece into education (Duminuco, 2000). Although a noble goal, it would prove to become more difficult as they would soon become intertwined in the web of European culture and political intrigue.

The Ratio Studiorum. The Ratio Studiorum is still considered the universal educational plan for all Jesuit educational institutions to abide by. The Ratio first began to take form under the leadership of Ignatius himself, shortly before his death. Following Ignatius's death, several of the subsequent Superior Generals contributed to the creation of the Ratio, but it did not come to fruition until appointment of the fifth Superior General, Claudio Acquaviva in 1581. At the time, Acquaviva took over, in 1581, the Jesuit order had grown to over 13,000 members, comprising thirty-two provinces, and one hundred twenty- three residences. These men created and worked in over three hundred seventy-two educational institutions worldwide (Schroth, 2007). Acquaviva put a committee together to compose a Ratio Studiorum that consisted of teaching curriculum and pedagogy for all Jesuit educational institutions. It underwent many publications and subsequent revisions, beginning in 1586 and continuing until 1599, when the definitive version was completed. In the Ratio, the Jesuits emphasized a practical application of theory that would attempt to transcend nation-state boundaries and potential cultural barriers in order to emphasize a global perspective. Inspired by Loyola's Spiritual Exercises and the fourth part of the Society's Constitution, this document helped create a formidable, enduring global network of schools, colleges, and universities that remains to

this day (Bangert, 1986; Duminuco, 2000). This network would eventually include women as well, but slowly as the cultural times changed. Along with Loyola, chief contributors to the Ratio included James Ledesma, the administrator and organizer of the Ratio; Jerome Nadal, who oriented the course of studies at Jesuit institutions in an attempt to unify them making them more interdisciplinary and holistic, thus forming the early remnants of the modern-day Jesuits liberal arts school. In 1599, Superior General Aquaviva and the Jesuit order officially approved the Ratio (Chapple, 1993; Donnelly, 1934; Duminuco, 2000; Farrell, 1938).

Jesuit Arrival in Colonial North America. Following Loyola's death in 1556, as Jesuits continued to expand their school system throughout Europe and into Asia, it was only a matter of time until some of them decided to proceed to the "New World". Jesuit Pedro Martinez, along with Father Juan Rogel, Brother Francisco Villareal, and a handful of sailors/soldiers arrived in North America in 1565 in present-day Florida to establish the first North American Jesuit mission, at St. Augustine. Almost immediately, conflict with the Native Americans ensued in the region and Martinez was killed (Cushner, 2002, 2006) (Schroth, 2007). The Jesuits clashed with the various tribes of Native Americans who thwarted their attempts to indoctrinate them in Catholicism. These missionary endeavors were complicated by European colonialism and subsequent cultural conquest. In 1570, some thirty-seven years before the Pilgrims landed in Jamestown, more Spanish Jesuits and their lay assistants were allowed to land safely, but were then killed by Native Americans a year later. Due to these events, Jesuit Superior General Francis Borgia ordered Jesuits from Spain to leave Florida. The first attempt by the Jesuits to come to North America had failed, but subsequent trips would follow over the next two centuries

that would include Jesuits from England, France, and Italy. These Jesuits would set the stage for European colonizing efforts become enmeshed in the political intrigue that would result in the birth of the United States of America (Cushner, 2002; Schroth, 2007).

Shortly after the Jamestown settlement in 1607, Jesuits from all over Europe, along with several European colonial powers, began to voyage to North America. French Jesuits arrived in the 1640s at parts of modern-day Maine and began a mission with Native American tribes. They also launched missions in what became New York State among the Huron tribes finding themselves caught in the middle of the five nations of the Iroquois, whose intent was to destroy the Huron; at the end, most of the Huron were killed and the Jesuit missions destroyed. Among the dead were five Jesuit priests, who were later recognized as the first Jesuit martyrs of North America. Skirmishes occurred periodically between the Iroquois and the French colonists. In the midst of these violent battles, French Jesuits continued to build missions (McGucken, 1932). From 1667-1684, French Jesuit missions were created within each of the five nations of the Iroquois. After the Iroquois tribe was decimated their land taken, tensions arose between the French and English colonists. The English would eventually reoccupy the land assuming colonial control of New York, in the early years of the 18th century, expelling the French Jesuits and traders bringing all French Jesuit missionary activity to a halt. These French Jesuits, known as the Black Robes, proved more successful in their missionary work elsewhere throughout the east coast, in particular in Maine, all along the Atlantic shoreline, around the Great Lakes, and in the Detroit, Michigan area. Jacques Marquette, along with the explorer, Louis Joliet, in 1763 started missions along the Illinois River (Cushner, 2006) Schroth. In 1687, Padre Eusebio Kino and the Spanish Jesuit community entered

present-day Arizona. The Spanish Jesuits continued traveling along the western part of Mexico into what is now California. From 1611 -1763, there were about three hundred twenty Jesuits in French Colonial America, in contrast to Spanish Colonial America, which had over two thousand Jesuits (Curran, 1966; Cushner, 2002; Hughes, 1908).

There was a small but influential number of English Jesuits who made their mark on the British colonies in America. When settlers landed in Maryland in 1634, Andrew White and a small group of English Jesuits were among them. Civil war among the Puritans, beginning in 1644, caused many Jesuit missions to be destroyed and White to be expelled back to England in chains. These Puritan civil wars persisted throughout the rest of the century, with brief periods of peace intermixed. Consequently, Jesuits and Catholics, in general, found themselves in limbo, as their freedom of religion was determined by who was leading the Puritan delegation at the time. In 1708, of the 34, 000 inhabitants of the Maryland delegation, only three thousand were Catholic. Between 1648 and 1675 there were never more than 3 Jesuits present at one time in Maryland (Curran, 1966; McGucken, 1932).

In the New York area in 1683, English Jesuits first arrived at the time Thomas Dongan was appointed governor of the Duke of York's colony on the Hudson River. These Jesuits were not successful and left before the 18th century began. The Quaker colonies north of the Maryland area, under the rule of William Penn, allowed Catholics to navigate freely in the Delaware and Pennsylvania areas. Subsequently, in 1733, English Jesuits opened their first church in Philadelphia (Bangert, 1986; Curran, 1966; McGucken, 1932).

The Jesuit Suppression of 1773. The rapid rise of the Jesuit order into the European, Catholic religious elite was far-reaching and innovative. Jesuits, due to their educational prowess and their pragmatic tendencies, befriended many of the most powerful political figures in European society. The Jesuits gained many of these leaders' confidence by administering the sacraments and providing other religious indulgences to them. The goal of the Jesuit mission was not just to do missionary work in Europe, but do it all over the world. Their innovation, courage, and ability to work with different cultures and engage different worldviews, while at the same time incorporating Catholic teaching, led to the Jesuits' rapid rise and foreshadowed their suppression. A group called the Jansenists accused the Jesuit forms of worship and ritual of being too flexible with Catholic doctrine in order to appease diverse cultures and befriend new people. The Jesuits' accumulation of wealth also led the ministers to suspect questionable business practices (Curran, 1966; Whitehead, 2007). The suppression of the Jesuits by the Vatican in 1773 was the result of the Catholic hierarchy's concern over the growing power of the Jesuits throughout Europe. The Pope felt compelled to act as result of political pressure from European monarchs concerned about the growing influence of the Jesuits through their educational institutions- and their growing financial assets, which often transcended colonial boundaries. Royal Ministers from several of the most prominent European nations also wanted to decrease the overall power of the Papacy, and destroying the Society of Jesus would be they felt, a big first step toward attaining this goal. Critics of the Jesuits questioned the accountability of the Jesuits worldwide to the hierarchy, the nature of their involvement in European politics, the nature of their cultural immersion in the New World, and their growing influence on the world at large. In terms of

hierarchical leadership, the Jesuits maintained the protocols of a Catholic religious order, and yet many Jesuits living all over the world had great liberty and independence in their work. It was feared that the Jesuit and Catholic hierarchical authorities did not know many of their experiences. The Jesuits were becoming deeply enmeshed in political intrigue and conflict within several European nations which had colonial designs (Cordara, 1999). Much of this the result of Jesuits being the priests/counselors to the most influential and powerful in European society, many of whom were devout, pious Catholics who looked upon the Catholic Church as an authority. The European governments often utilized the Jesuits as an instrument of colonization, but were also concerned at what they saw as the growing power and influence of particular Jesuits within the colonies themselves. They accused some of the Jesuits of lacking accountability in their policies and practices to either the Catholic Church or the European government (Bangert, 1986; Schroth, 2007).

The nations that spearheaded this suppression were Portugal, France, and Spain. Suppression took place over several years, as a series of key political decisions led to the expulsion of Jesuits from several European nations beginning with Portugal and followed by France and Spain (Curran, 1966; Cushner, 2002; Grawe, 2008; Wright, 2004). Soon countries in other parts of the world followed their lead. Most of these Jesuits were exiled to other places in which the Catholic Church still had a major political influence and could oversee Jesuit influence under the watchful eye of the hierarchy. At the start of suppression by the Vatican in 1773, there were more than seven hundred Jesuit institutions educating up to 250,000 students throughout the world (Bangert, 1986). Pope Clement dissolved all Jesuit societies throughout Europe, with the exception of those in

parts of Prussia and Russia. Catherine the Great of Russia refused to abide by the papal decree, citing the damage to the educational and spiritual state of her country should the Jesuits be removed from their mission (Cordara, 1999; Wright, 2004). With special approval from the Papacy, these Jesuits continued to exist and operate as an order throughout the suppression. This suppression would last until 1814, when Jesuits were allowed to resurface throughout Europe and the world.

In 1773, within the colonies in North America, as the suppression of the Jesuits officially began, twenty-one Jesuit priests signed an act of submission, agreeing that the Society of Jesus no longer existed. In the previous one hundred forty years or so, approximately ninety Jesuit priests and thirty-three Jesuit brothers had served the Catholic Church in British colonies in America (McGucken, 1932). During the suppression, several congregations of men formed religious communities based on the values of the religious order, to keep the Jesuit spirit alive and well. Through the influence of Bishop John Carroll, a Jesuit before suppression, and other former Jesuits from Maryland, a petition was filed for affiliation in the Society of Jesus in Russia. In 1805, with the consent of the Jesuit vicar general in Russia, these three former members of the old society pronounced their vows anew as Jesuits (Cordara, 1999; Curran, 1966; Hughes, 1908).

Jesuits in the Young United States (1789-1920). In 1789, the first president of the United States, George Washington, assisted the first Catholic bishop of Baltimore, John Carroll, in empowering the American Catholic population. When Carroll became bishop, the Catholic Church was hanging on by a thread. Among the four million or so Americans at the time approximately 35, 000 identified as Catholic. He had only thirty-

five priests to work with and no nuns or religious brothers. There were no Catholic colleges or seminaries. The English always suspected Catholics of subversive activity, specifically intrigue with the French and Spanish. Because of this suspicion, the British colonies imposed social and legal restrictions on Catholics (Dolan, 1985; Hennesey, 1981).

The year 1789 brought signs of change. Discriminatory laws against Catholics were lifted, Catholics were venturing out into public life, and the young country was embarking on a new spirit of religious liberty. During this time, many ex-Jesuits continued as teachers and tutors, often employed privately by prestigious families. Many stayed within the Catholic Church as academics, scholars, and writers. During the suppression, once it became known that many Jesuits were still active and living in community in Russia, American ex-Jesuits in Maryland renamed themselves "The Corporation of Roman Catholic Clergy" (Bangert, 1986; Hughes, 1908). While they were together in community and wanted to serve as Jesuits, they remained underground during the suppression. This made the establishment of the first American Jesuit University rather challenging. Nonetheless, the creation of Georgetown University proceeded forward. Former American Jesuits were now under the leadership of Bishop Carroll, who was the Prefect-Apostolic appointed by President Washington to oversee the Catholic population in Maryland and New York. Carroll wanted a classical school that would serve as a conduit to having more American-born candidates join the priesthood. He wanted this educational institution to serve as seminary (Curran, 1966; McGucken, 1932).

The creation of Georgetown University was a long, arduous process, often delayed due to division within the larger Baltimore chapter of Catholics. Some in the chapter feared the investments of funds and energy could undermine the restoration of the Jesuit order in future years. Finally, after intense debate and dialogue on May 15, 1789, the chapter voted for the creation of Georgetown University. Although 1789 is considered the official year of the founding of the school, the first building was not ready for student enrollment until 1791. Before Pope Pius VII officially restored the Society of Jesus in 1814, Superior General Gabriel Gruber granted Bishop Carroll permission to reestablish the Jesuit order in the United States in 1806. Georgetown University became officially the first American Jesuit College. By 1814, there were about twenty Jesuits working at Georgetown University, and their numbers increased over time in proportion to the increasing Catholic population in the United States (Hughes, 1908; McGucken, 1932)

From 1790 to 1850, approximately 1,071,000 Catholics immigrated to the U.S. and from 1850 to 1900, an additional five million more Catholics immigrated to America. In 1790, one percent of the American population was Catholic; by 1900 the number had grown to 18 percent (Dolan, 1985). The United States continued to take over vast areas of the continent (through the Mexican War, Louisiana Purchase, and the expansion west); this coincided with the huge immigration push taking place on the east coast. Many of these immigrants proceeded westward to new lands, and the Jesuits followed this progression. In the mid 1850s, Jesuits from Belgium settled in parts of the Midwest, including Missouri, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and towards Oregon Territory; Jesuits from France established themselves in parts of the south, including Louisiana, Alabama, and

Kentucky; and other Jesuits from Italy moved into Oregon and California (Bangert, 1986; Hughes, 1908) Schroth. Much of this land was being taken from Native Americans and Mexicans. In the decade of 1865-1875, Jesuits from Germany spread throughout the urban areas of the northern part of U.S., ranging from Buffalo to Cleveland, while Italian Jesuits entered the Southwest, including Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas(McKevitt, 2007). The majority of these Jesuits, like other Catholic immigrants, had been expelled from their countries due to their Catholic faith. By 1914, there were more than two thousand Jesuits throughout the United States (McGucken, 1932).

Two particular regions in America exemplify this influx of Jesuits: Maryland and Missouri. In 1806, the Maryland mission reported only nine Jesuit applicants coming from their newly created Georgetown Novitiate. In 1821, the Maryland Jesuit Superior Anthony Kohlman admitted seven Belgian Jesuits into the Novitiate, and in 1823, Bishop Louis Guillaume Du Bourg of St. Louis invited them to his Catholic diocese. These Jesuits settled in St. Ferdinand de Florissant near St. Louis and grew into a vice-province, which produced forty-five Jesuits in 1841. The newly-formed Jesuit province of Missouri produced one hundred ninety-four more Jesuits in 1863 and 487 in 1900. Within twenty-five years of their arrival, Jesuits had established colleges in St. Louis (St. Louis University in 1818), Cincinnati (Xavier University in 1840), and Grand Coteau (St. Joseph's College in 1848). The subsequent twenty-five years produced universities in Omaha (Creighton in 1878), Milwaukee (Marquette in 1881), and Chicago (Loyola in 1870) (Garraghan, 1978; McGucken, 1932; Schroth, 2007).

The Maryland Province by 1871 had settled in the major cities between Boston and Washington, D.C. In 1808, the New York Literary Institution was established by

Jesuits Anthony Kohlman, Benedict Fenwick, and four Jesuit scholastics. Fenwick was later appointed bishop of Boston in 1825 and invited the Jesuits to assume control of St. James Academy in Worchester in 1848, which the Jesuits renamed College of the Holy Cross. Philadelphia was Joseph Greaton celebrated another city that, early on, the Jesuits had connected to when Mass there in 1732. In 1851, the Jesuits returned to their old St. Joseph's Church and created St. Joseph's College, granting admission to forty boys. Loyola College near Baltimore was formed in 1852, and in 1863, a house created for Jesuit scholastics was transformed into Boston College (Bangert, 1986; Garraghan, 1978; McGucken, 1932).

During this time Jesuit education became the priority for the order. The American Jesuits' game plan for growth of their educational institutions in the United States during this time period was as follows:

- Start a school or take over a school that a local Catholic bishop or even another religious order wanted to pass on;
- Ensure that the school had an excellent and elite reputation for educational prowess, thus attracting the most powerful, influential, and elite families in society.
- Take these students in as boys and form them into men when their education is complete (McGucken, 1932; Schroth, 2007).

Rise of the American Catholic Parochial School System. The expansion of the Jesuits efforts in the 19th century coincided with several significant historical events including President George Washington granting Catholics the religious freedom to practice their faith, the edict on the Jesuit suppression being lifted, and the continuing

expansion of the United States throughout the North American continent. The biggest factor in the increase in the number of Jesuit educational institutions, however, was the large influx of Catholic immigrants to the United States during the 19th century. This large Catholic immigrant population created the opportunity for the Jesuits to establish themselves as the vehicle for the spread of Catholicism in the United States (Dolan, 1985; Garraghan, 1978; McGucken, 1932).

By the middle of the 19th century, a movement toward public school education in the United States was spearheaded by an amalgam of Protestant advocates, politicians, and educators. The Catholic population in the United States, particularly in the east, felt marginalized by their Protestant counterparts. This was most evident in New York City, where the public school system was growing rapidly and included a Protestant ethic of piety, which many Catholics in New York found offensive. New York had many Catholic churches, which attempted to build schools but lacked the funding to sustain them. Catholics in New York City tried to acquire funding for their schools from the city council, but were routinely denied. The Catholic leaders in New York City petitioned the city for funding for two years before finally giving up. This led them to spearhead a movement to build their own schools, which would become the Catholic parochial school system. This movement in New York City was spearheaded by Father John Hughes, widely regarded as one of the founders of American Catholic elementary education. Hughes had been among those advocating before the city council and in defeat was able to create a coalition of Catholics to embark on establishing school their own. By 1865, seventy-five percent of the Catholic churches in New York City had a school run by religious women and/or Christian Brothers, all recruited by Hughes. Hughes helped

reverse the focus on building churches and created the mantra, "to build the school-house first, and the church afterwards". Catholic communities all over the country picked up on this slogan; places like Cincinnati, Ohio led by Bishop John Purcell, followed Hughes's example, and Catholic schools began to be built all over the country (Dolan, 1985; Hughes, 1908).

The Origins of the American Jesuit High School. The creation of the modern Jesuit high school inevitable due to the vast expansion of Jesuit colleges throughout the United States and the plethora of Jesuits from various European origins - the French in the south, the Belgians in the Midwest, the Italians in the west, and the Germans in the East. Moreover, these provinces, while vast and distant, corresponded with each other on a regular basis, thus preserving the continuity of the Jesuit vision (McGucken, 1932).

The Jesuits continued to conduct a rigid, classically structured system of education inspired by the ratio studiorum; this included the required theology, philosophy, and humanities courses along with daily exposure to Catholic devotions. While the Jesuits were still abiding closely by the Ratio, changes in the American educational system in the latter half of the 19th century were causing Jesuit educational institutions to also evolve and adapt. Federal funding of schooling created the impetus for a large-scale accreditation system to approve and legitimize one standard system of American schooling. The result was the delineation of education into elementary, secondary, and higher levels of education. Most Jesuits institutions at this time lasted up to nine years, which began around eight years of age and went until about seventeen or eighteen. Due to the increasingly transient nature of families and the need for children to

seek sooner employment to help support the family, fewer students were actually staying the full nine years(Bangert, 1986; McGucken, 1932).

Modernism was also a phenomenon that was changing the landscape of Jesuit Catholic education. The idea of modernism within Catholic education was the attempt to adapt the Catholic faith to an innovative, changing culture, which was becoming more intellectual in reaction to the changing American economic landscape. This type of Catholicism differed from the static, ageless, clearly defined hierarchical European Catholicism. American Catholicism became more developmental, changeable, and adaptable than its European counterpart (Dolan, 1985). As new historical events affected the culture, Jesuits reassessed their system and attempted to adapt to the changing culture. Charles Eliot of Harvard University began addressing some of these cultural changes with the release of his essay, "Recent Changes in Secondary Education". In the article, Eliot discussed the need for more electives that emphasize science, math and other subjects. From this article, the Jesuits realized they needed to be open to offering more elective course options after four hundred years of a rigid curriculum. In response, Timothy Brosnahan, former president of Boston College, countered in an article in Sacred Heart Review, stating that Jesuit secondary education only dedicates fifty-three percent of its education to the humanities, while the rest is devoted to english, math, science, and modern languages. While Brosnahan's article gained the Jesuits some much-needed political capital for the moment, it was evident that institutional changes were on the horizon for American Jesuit educational institutions (Dolan, 1985; Hennesey, 1981; McGucken, 1932; Schroth, 2007). These changes took place in four major ways:

- First, most American high schools were now four years, which was mandatory and often was followed by four years of college. Jesuit institutions did not have this distinction, lasting on average seven years with many lasting nine.
- Second, very few Jesuit students stayed the whole course of educational years in continuity. Many of these students had to enter the labor force in order to help support their families. Parents did not often hold the same thoughts on the need for longevity in education that the Jesuits did; they were much more concerned about economic needs in the home, particularly during the American industrial revolution. Educational continuity would be emphasized from here on out in Jesuit education.
- Third, the popularity of public educational institutions was on the rise during this time. The established new standards for public education caused their enrollment to increase, while the number of students at Jesuit schools was dropping. Consequently, for economic and business purposes in was incumbent on the Jesuits to adapt and make the changes necessary to conform to new American educational standard.
- Fourth, the manner in which Catholic institutions and American bishops tried to persuade families to enter into Catholic institutions was beginning to be openly questioned. Many Jesuit educational leaders were accused of using coercion and pressure, often citing their Catholic faith as a reason to enroll children into Jesuit institutions (Bangert, 1986; McGucken, 1932; Schroth, 2007). This issue, whether valid or not, would have to be addressed(McGucken, 1932).

The American educational system evolved in the latter part of the 19th and early 20th centuries, due to the growing influence of American capitalist culture. This affected education in America in that it made it more economically driven. Thus, there grew a need for the incorporation of a new mercantile system of education that included a new emphasis on math, science, and banking within the traditional classical system of Jesuit education which emphasized theology and philosophy (McGucken, 1932). Well before Elliot and Brosnahan, Fr. John Grassi, the president of Georgetown University back in 1812 forewarned that with the industrial revolution gaining steam in Europe, educational curriculum would have to reflect the subsequent changes this event would cause in American life. As a result, the emphasis on the classical humanities was supplemented with specific subject training for practical career development to ensure future employment. Jesuits in the Missouri Province who operated under the same classical themes began slowly integrating a mercantile education with the classical education. A mercantile education consisted of a greater emphasis on math, science, and bookkeeping courses, while the classical consisted of coursework in languages, metaphysics, logic, theology, and philosophy. This mercantile education would serve an American clientele that would soon become heavily immersed into the industrial revolution. The result of this revolution would be a paradigm shift, as the educational purpose of American Jesuit education went from pure learning for learning's sake to preparation for the labor force (Duminuco, 2000; Farrell, 1938; Garraghan, 1978).

Throughout its history, the Jesuits have continued to look to the Ratio of 1599 as their basic guide for educational institutional curriculum and pedagogy. As education continued to evolve, spurred on by historical events such as the industrial revolution, the

Ratio went through a series of revisions, beginning in 1820. In 1848, a revision attempt by Enrico Vasco consisted of a plan to reorganize the curriculum in Jesuit secondary schools. The Superior General at the time, Father John Philip Roothann, approved the plan. This revision of the Ratio was reprinted in 1851. The Vasca Plan described the need to divide education along the American line of junior high school, senior high school, and junior college. The revision process took several decades, with official approval of the revised Ratio in 1893 being revisited and then finally reapproved at the next congregation of Jesuits in 1906 (Farrell, 1938; Garraghan, 1978; McGucken, 1932). Once again, the Jesuit dialectic revealed itself in the fact that, while the Ratio was the set of standards for Jesuit education and had to be abided by, there was room for change and innovation within it so that adjustments could be made to an ever-changing American society and world. American Jesuit educational institutions would be forced to evolve, given the growing standardization of American education.

The American Jesuit High School of the 20th Century. At their inception, the America Jesuit colleges were seen as both secondary and higher education schools. However, American public education was becoming three-tiered, with education taking place in separate levels: elementary, secondary, and collegiate. A new type of school emerged, four years in duration, and the modern American high school was created. At this time, the Jesuits still followed their six-year course, which resembled the European model. The reasons for the Jesuits staying true to this model included its familiarity to Catholic immigrants and the desire to keep Jesuit educational institutions separate from their public school counterparts. There was no need, initially, for continuity because both institutions served different populations. Students attending public schools in America

often went on to public colleges and then entered the professions, while those attending Jesuit institutions usually did not attend secular educational institutions following their Catholic, Jesuit schooling.

The inception of the Catholic parochial school changed this dynamic. Newly created parochial grade schools linked to Catholic churches created a parochial school system that was overseen by their respective Catholic dioceses. Previously, Jesuit institutions needed to either educate children at a younger age or else develop preparatory courses for them in junior high school so they would be equipped to attend Jesuit intuitions. The creation of the parochial school system meant that Jesuit institutions could now begin offering their education starting at the 9th grade (McGucken, 1932; O'Brien, 1992).

The continuing influx of Catholic immigrants forced some Catholics to begin attending secular or public schools. Many Jesuit school students, once they completed their education, began to proceed to the secular colleges for furthering their education. This transition between Jesuit and public schools was initially difficult because there was not a clear, definitive line where Jesuit education ended and public college education would continue. As a result, Jesuits began to reach out to secular institutions to compare graduation requirements. Between 1895 and 1905, college admissions at Jesuit institutions dropped precipitously. During this time, the American Jesuits deliberated on how to evolve their schools while staying true to the Ratio Studiorum. By 1910, the majority of American Jesuits finally concluded they needed to begin a broad scale transition toward making the Jesuit high schools and colleges separate and distinct. The final straw that accelerated this transition took place with the creation of several

educational standardizing agencies, such as the North Central Association of College and Secondary Schools (NCACSS). Amid concerns that belonging to such an association could be antithetical to Jesuit educational principles, the Jesuit provinces began mandating that all of its Jesuit high schools and colleges had to apply for accreditation with NCACSS. The modern-day Jesuit high school as we know it was born (McGucken, 1932; Schroth, 2007).

American Jesuit Education, 1920-1970. America Jesuit education during this time became devoted to intellectual inquiry as Jesuit universities and colleges sought to expand themselves in this direction to take their place among the elite academic institutions in the country. Up to this point, American Jesuit education focused on creating schools not dwelling too much on advancing intellectual thought and scholarship. Part of the reason for this was the incompatibility for Jesuit higher education institutions, and to a lesser degree to American Jesuit secondary institutions, between academic freedom and Catholic doctrine. Did an educational institution's intellectual demands take precedence over Catholic doctrine, or vice versa? If a Catholic, Jesuit educational institution is both a place for education and for the Catholic faith, which takes precedence on those occasions of potential divergence? These questions often put the Jesuits at odds with the hierarchical Catholic Church. This period of Jesuit education began a process where warnings and reprimands from the Catholic hierarchy would become recurrent; a situation that continues to this day (McDonough, 1992; O'Brien, 1992; Paul A. FitzGerald, 1984).

Three Jesuits stood out who endeavored to elevate the global intellectual pedigree of Jesuit education and push the boundaries. There was Pierre De Chardin, a French

Jesuit who pursued cosmology and its relationship to theology; American John Courtney Murray, who addressed the relationship between American government and Catholic theology as it related to American ideals of freedom and pluralism; Karl Rahner, a German, who took Thomistic philosophy and theology to a more modern, progressive level. These and other Jesuits stretched the boundaries of Catholic Church doctrine through their scholarship setting the stage for Vatican II and subsequent attempts by the Catholic Church to engage the modern world "where it is"- a preeminent Jesuit principle (Barry, 1991; Fleming, 1996). It also set the stage for future Jesuits (e.g., Pedro Arrupe, Daniel Berrigan, and Jon Sobrieno) to engage in similar scholarship and activism (Schroth, 2007).

While these examples of innovative Jesuit thought affected primarily American Jesuit higher education, Jesuit secondary education in the United States during this time took a backseat. More attention to evaluation and strategic analysis was given to the Jesuit universities. As a result, the Jesuits focused less on the high schools. The elevated status for higher education was further validated by the Jesuits as they assigned their candidates-in-training (scholastics) to work at Jesuit high schools before embarking onto future studies or ambitions within the order (McDonough & Bianchi, 2002).

In any case, the Jesuits and their educational institutions in the United States were thriving. In 1955, John LaFarge, editor of the Jesuit magazine America, published a report on the American Jesuits with Life magazine photographer Margaret Bourke-White. In this report, Lefarge presented the following statistics: Worldwide there were 32, 899 Jesuits, and 7, 751 of them were in the United States (4,204 priests, 2, 919 scholastics, and 628 brothers). According to this same report, from 1880-1954, total Jesuit high

school, college, and university student enrollments had grown from 4,330 to a staggering 122,338 (Schroth, 2007). American Jesuit Catholicism was at the apex of its popularity.

Beginning in the 1960s, it became more apparent that the trajectories of Jesuit high schools and Jesuit colleges were heading in divergent directions. The higher education institutions operated in a political, secular environment that caused them, according to some, to compromise a bit on their religiosity, given the greater heterogeneous population they were serving. This disturbed the Catholic Church hierarchy, causing them to focus a more critical lens on American Jesuit universities and colleges. Meanwhile, the Jesuit high schools had no such challenge from the Catholic Church hierarchy, as they proceeded to inculcate their students freely within the Catholic faith, due in part to their more homogenous population of Catholics and Christians. This distinction also took place because of the discovered differences in the developmental stages of high school-age vs. college-age Jesuit students and how this in turn affects the educational needs of both (J Fichter, 1969; McDonough, 1992).

A major issue that prevailed within Jesuit secondary education during this period was how to adapt proven teaching methods and vision from the Ratio Studiorum to modern cultural times, specifically social justice issues. The evolution of the social gospel appeared in Protestant denominations because of the industrial revolution, the explosion of capitalism, the debate with socialism and civil rights (Hennesey, 1981). While Jesuits were open to an enhanced emphasis on social justice in American Jesuit education, it was unclear how this would translate into Jesuit high school education. For this venture, Jesuit Lorenzo K. Reed, the director of education for the Jesuit Province of New York, took the lead. Reed created two guides for the Jesuit Education Association

(JEA) that dealt with pedagogical practice specifically for American Jesuit high schools. A pedagogy incorporated a renewed effort into the shaping of ethics, character, and integrity of the Jesuit high school student body. It would pursue this by interweaving these values within the existing curriculum. Reed sought to engage Jesuit high schools in combining a "moral vigor" with the academic vigor already in place. Reed reemphasized the ultimate goal of Jesuit education, dating back to Ignatius, as the "saving of souls" (McDonough, 1992; McDonough & Bianchi, 2002; L. Reed, 1965; Schroth, 2007). This included a renewed emphasis on Catholic doctrine and philosophical thought. What drove this movement to evolve more intentionally into social justice in the 1960s would be Vatican II and the emergence of Pedro Arrupe as the leader of the Jesuit order.

The Jesuits and the Cultural Winds of Change, The 1960s. During the 1960s, a series of societal and cultural upheavals/eruptions worldwide were taking place. The Cold War was at a fever pitch, with both the United States and Soviet Union jockeying for the upper hand. Recent decolonization efforts had led to the independence of several Asian, African, and South American countries, which led to a period of postcolonial uncertainty for many of these nations, as they established their footing on the international stage. There were also social and cultural movements taking place in the United States, including the civil rights movement, which led to the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964.

All of these things led to the hierarchal Catholic Church calling together the largest collection of Catholic leaders known as the Vatican II Council. This council, called by Pope John XXIII, centered on refocusing the Catholic Church into the world's modern church, superseding European influence. Vatican II acknowledged that the world

had changed and that the Catholic Church needed to change the terms of its engagement with this new modern world. This new modern world was no longer Eurocentric and colonial, and changes within the Catholic Church were made with this consideration in mind. Latin, for example, would no longer be the sole language of the Catholic Church. In the spirit of engagement, two key areas of emphasis emerged. First, Catholic social justice, i.e., Catholic social teaching, was reemphasized (Dolan, 1985; Hennesey, 1981). In addition, a more concerted effort to engage the entire world was endorsed by the council. In summary, Catholics were encouraged to pursue social justice in the world, and as a result, to deemphasize the hierarchical church authority to some degree while becoming a more engaged, activist, and coalition-based church. Cultural and political social movements were becoming more the norm in the world than the exception. To become more engaged in the world, the Catholic Church would have to be engaged in social movements, many of which would be developed by grassroots organizations. This led to the second area that Vatican II wanted to address, which was giving a greater prominence and leadership role to the laity (non-clergy Catholic population). Part of the reason for this adjustment to grant the laity greater influence in church authority was in order to become more inclusive and diverse, but it was also due to the decline of the number of clergy in the Catholic Church as a whole. These trends have continued to this day (Dolan, 1985; Hennesey, 1981)

A Catholic Church that engaged the world and became more immersed in world affairs was a source of confirmation for the Society of Jesus, which had been advocating such changes since its inception and which at times had proceeded in these directions in spite of papal protestations. For Jesuits, the Catholic Church was finally on board with

engaging culture more intentionally in an inclusive, evangelical manner and more on Jesuit terms. It validated the cross-cultural and cross-theological endeavors of such Jesuits as Robert De Nobili and Francis Xavier in India and China, for example (Bangert, 1986). For Jesuits, this was the embodiment of the Catholic ecumenism and the fostering of Catholic unity worldwide. As Vatican II proceeded, the Jesuits were integrally involved in the composition and construction of many of its signature documents. The Jesuits also saw the council as an opportunity for themselves as a religious order to reiterate their principles and their views on culture, education, evangelization, and social justice. This combination of events and cultural winds of change led to the emergence of one of the more influential figures in the history of the Jesuits (Thomas P Rausch, 2010).

Pedro Arrupe was serving as Jesuit Provincial in Japan when he was elected as the 28th Superior General of the Jesuit order in 1965, during Vatican II. Up to this point in his adult life as a Jesuit priest and physician, Arrupe had spent his life in Japan, working for social justice issues and with the underprivileged there, in particular during World War II and following the United States atomic bomb attacks in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Arrupe, like Ignatius, was originally from Spain(Arrupe, 1972, 1986). He would lead the Jesuits in the post-Vatican II era with an emphasis on working with and for the poor. The fact that he was selected from a Japanese Jesuit province signified the order's intent to continue to work and invest in parts of the world other than Europe. Arrupe would lead more concerted Jesuit efforts in South America, where Jesuits would be caught up in the Cold War's military, political, and ideological conflicts. This work was often at odds with the Catholic authorities in Rome, particularly Pope John Paul II, a staunch advocate of democracy and opponent of Communism. Arrupe's vision of social justice became the

social justice vision for the Jesuits in print and in apostolate. It would become the challenge of American Jesuit education to both educate people about this vision and embody it immersed in a human culture of complexity. One of the purposes of this study is to look at how American Jesuit high school education has proceeded to achieve this in their schools in the backdrop of American culture (Arrupe, 1986; Burke, 2004).

Jesuit Secondary Education, (1970s-Present.) As the second Vatican Council reformed the Catholic Church to be more inclusive of the modern world, and as Pedro Arrupe formulated the social justice vision for the Jesuits to follow, American Jesuit high school education was caught in the crosswinds in terms of its relevance and focus (Arrupe, 1971). During this time, a Jesuit sociologist, Joseph Fichter, began conducting studies on the sociology of Catholic religious schooling in the United States. His work included a study on the American parochial school and American religiosity. He conducted what became known as "The Fichter Study" in 1964, exploring how American Jesuit high school education was affecting the overall Christian formation of its students. Fichter's major findings concluded that students from Jesuit institutions wanted to be enlightened as to their growing role in civic society. These students wanted to be educated and empowered in making their world a better place (J Fichter, 1966; J Fichter, 1969; McDonough, 1992). The findings of this study, in combination with the political and cultural tumult of American society during the late 1960s, fueled the decision to dissolve the Jesuit Education Association (JEA), dividing it into two separate organizations. In 1970, The Jesuit Secondary Educational Association (JSEA) was created to focus solely on American secondary education, while the American Jesuit

Colleges and Universities (AJCU) was created to focus on higher education (McDonough, 1992).

The desire of Jesuit secondary educators was to make it distinct among other Catholic high schools, independent from their Jesuit higher educational counterparts, and financially sustainable. Unlike the Jesuit institutions of higher learning, Jesuit high schools had no concern about their reputation for academic excellence, nor were they dependent on public funding. The challenge for Jesuit high schools was to become financially sustainable and yet accessible to all who wanted to receive a Jesuit high school education. Maintaining a balance between these two goals would prove to be an ongoing challenge, forming the basis of the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit Secondary Education. The first key step forward for Jesuit high schools was to rededicate their institutions to Ignatian spirituality and to a revamped Catholic religious education (McDonough & Bianchi, 2002; Meirose, 1994).

The Shaping of American Jesuit Secondary Education. The Jesuit Secondary Educational Association (JSEA) was created as a resource in addressing the key goal of Jesuit high school identity, as well as other needs of American Jesuit high schools that would arise. JSEA represented more of a service organization to the Jesuit high schools rather than an authoritarian influence seeking to be democratic, inclusive, and participatory in its operation. It did require all Jesuit-sponsored high schools to pay dues and be a member of the organization. Instead of dictating to Jesuit high schools edicts and orders, JSEA sought to be collaborative, allowing research and scholarship to lead to the composition of JSEA policy. JSEA used their American Jesuit Colleges and Universities (AJCU) higher-education resources to achieve much of this, including the

training of high school leaders, many of whom would be non-clerical due to the decrease in number of Jesuits. The number of Jesuits in the United States peaked in 1960 at 8,338 and has been declining ever since (Schroth, 2007). Some explanations of this decline correlate to the decline in the overall Catholic priesthood and include the Society's failure to change and modernize quickly enough. Others point to the changes made within the Jesuit order that took away some of the spiritual structures many felt essential to men training to be Jesuit priests (Becker, 1992; McDonough & Bianchi, 2002). Due to the declining number of Jesuit Priests, Jesuit education realized the need for an emerging role for the laity (including women and minorities) to reassert the Jesuit character of its institutions. JSEA began to immerse more intentionally the laity within the Jesuit tradition and character thus inculcating them more deeply than at any point in Jesuit history (McDonough & Bianchi, 2002). JSEA sought to build and enhance the Jesuit character of their high schools by addressing four major areas: religious education, staff training, strategic planning, and overall governance ("Jesuit Secondary Educational Association," 1970; Robert J. Starratt, 1973).

In terms of religious education, JSEA took the findings from the Fichter Study in 1964, which followed the work of Reed the generation before, to give a higher priority not only to religious education within the academic curriculum, but also to the overall religiosity of the institution (J Fichter, 1966). This was done in the form of increasing the theology course requirements and creating additional venues for religious worship, such as prayer, liturgy, and retreats. All Jesuit high schools created pastoral departments to implement the religious pedagogy of the Jesuit high school. The pastoral department would organize Catholic liturgies, retreats, and spiritual presentations to complement the

academic religious education classes. All this was done to reiterate the Jesuit, Catholic identity of the Jesuit high school and maintain an ethos of religiosity within the institution. All school staff would have to undergo regular training and exposure to the religious and spiritual ethos of the school. Everyone was expected to participate, regardless of religious affiliation. It was a requirement for employment and student eligibility alike (Jesuit Secondary Education, 1975; Jesuit Secondary Education Association & Development, 1972).

What was becoming an increasingly a lay faculty was also becoming more diverse in terms of gender, race, and religion. For administrative leadership, faculty, and staff, JSEA released extensive literature on the current state and future of Jesuit education within the changing context of the world in which it exists. Beginning in the early 1970s, in an effort to address the decreasing number of Jesuit priests and growing influence of the laity (non-priests), an office for staff development was created at Fordham University in New York. This office sought to train future lay principals and presidents of Jesuit high schools. JSEA also created leadership programs, workshops, and seminars for its constituents to regularly attend evolving into the Jesuit leadership seminars, a three-year training program for prospective future leaders of high school education. There would be JSEA-sponsored conferences for specific department directors or teachers in particular subject areas to attend, such as theology teachers, service directors, and/or admission counselors. These conferences would allow for further knowledge, sharing of best practices, and community building, all converging around how to better embody, animate, and implement the Jesuit mission. JSEA also created several commissions, represented by members from each Jesuit high school, which collaborated in developing

and enhancing areas of Jesuit secondary education policy (Association, 1987; Robert J. Starratt, 1973). Up until 1970, all American Jesuit educational policy had been composed targeting both college and high school, but appeared more geared towards the former. JSEA want to create and implement policy specifically geared towards high school education. Finally, JSEA created large-scale venues called colloquiums for anyone who worked at an American Jesuit high school to attend. These took place every two or three years and consisted of thousands of Jesuit high school educators in collegial social settings for professional development. All JSEA events were seen as mechanisms to build camaraderie among Jesuit secondary educators at various institutions, not just their own unifying this contingent collectively as one Jesuit ministry.

JSEA utilized scholarship and research, along with continued collaboration from its member high schools, to explore, plan for, and strategize the future of Jesuit secondary education in the context of the future of education in the United States. Commissions were formed and they published making available to all Jesuit high schools documents on an assortment of issues, including social justice, technology, diversity, culture, and Jesuit identity. One of its earliest documents, "The Jesuit High School of the Future", presented the vision of this new and emerging world of Jesuit high school education, outlining in detail several trends of both American culture and the possible directions American Jesuit high schools needed to discern and consider in the contextual light (Association, 1972; Meirose, 1994).

JSEA, up until the 1990s, was a voluntary service organization that relied on commissions of Jesuit leaders to congregate and voluntarily assist the Jesuit high schools. In 1993, JSEA began an extensive self-evaluation, which culminated in 1995 in revised

by-laws for all American Jesuit high schools. They eliminated the commissions replacing them with a full-time staff in Washington, D.C. who served as a governing body that, in partnership with the local Jesuit provinces, sets policy for its member high schools to promote the Ignatian vision. Since 1998, after dialogue with its members, it implemented five-year strategic plans that continued to address areas of leadership, resources, networking, and research. Today the Jesuit Secondary Educational Association continues to assist and oversee the Jesuit mission at all the American Jesuit high schools, including the Cristo Rey Jesuit models. As a service umbrella organization, JSEA continues to look for ways to collaborate with the formal governance of the Jesuit provinces to work with Jesuit high schools in America both individually, if needed, and collectively, if so desired. The Jesuit provinces also have installed, along with the formal accreditation process mandated by the government for each high school every few years, a similar accreditation called the sponsorship review. This review resembles the formal accreditation, except it looks to review the implementation of the Jesuit mission within the specific Jesuit high school(Meirose, 1994).

Part Two: Social Justice Policy and Dialectic in American Jesuit High Schools

American Jesuits at the Touchstones of American History. The history of Jesuit social justice traces its origins to its founder, Ignatius Loyola. Ignatius and all of the early Jesuits sought to address issues of injustice and be advocates for the marginalized. Whether it was helping prostitutes, as Ignatius did, or working in orphanages or giving charity to the poor, the Jesuits sought to align themselves with the oppressed and marginalized in society (Schroth, 2007). However, as has been documented, like the Catholic Church itself, the Jesuits were involved in the political

intrigue surrounding some of these issues of justice, particularly colonization, cultural oppression, and imperialism. It was the Jesuits' desire to engage with the culture and be an influence on the culture itself which often led to many in the the religious order at times finding (or putting) themselves in the middle of morally ambiguous situations, and they were at times quite conflicted within the order regarding how to proceed. As a result, sometimes Jesuits represented both sides of a conflict or a justice issue depending on the contingency they expressed their loyalty. The American Jesuits were no exception, as they often found themselves on both sides of some of the more significant political issues in American history.

These moral dilemmas among the Jesuits continued in American colonial life and later in what became the United States. Jesuits found themselves not only in the midst of colonial cultural oppression, particularly as it pertained to the plight of Native Americans, but also as it pertained to the issue of slavery and the subsequent civil war which took place as a result (McDonough, 1992; Schroth, 2007). It is in these instances where the Jesuits remained morally ambiguous at best, with Jesuits taking moral stands on both sides, but with the order itself not taking a definitive stand. This lack of clarity in regards to where the Jesuits, as a religious order stood on these two very important issues in American history is particularly profound when considering that American Jesuit educational institutions were expanding and thriving during this time. Many of the graduates of these Jesuit institutions were taking their place among the most important and influential figures in America. In fairness, it is important to mention that this cautious approach by the Jesuits could be attributed to similar ambiguous stances that the Catholic Church was also operating under at the time (Dolan, 1985; Hennesey, 1981).

Both sought this direction of ambiguity in order to protect and promote their brand at the expense of living up to the ideals of their mission.

American Jesuits and Native Americans. In looking at the plight of Native American, the Jesuits' position is best expressed by the story of Pierre-Jean De Smet who came from Belgium to the United States in 1821. Known for his ability in government, politics, and public relations, beginning in 1833 De Smet began to work with the Native Americans in Missouri, the starting point of both the Oregon and Sante Fe Trails. The goals of the Jesuits were to care for the Native Americans but at the same time to assist the white populations (McKevitt, 2007; Schroth, 2007). This would prove over time to be close to impossible. Nonetheless, De Smet with approval from his Superior General Roothan helped oversee the creation of more than a dozen missions for various Native American tribes. These missions consisted of Catholic chapels, agricultural pursuits, and attention to the arts and music. The missions were to be created based off the missions created in India centuries before. These Jesuits became known as "The Black Robes", and their success was mixed, depending on the perspective of those doing the assessments. Some perceived them as colonial, duplicitous, and culturally oppressive while others saw them as agents of cultural engagement and their advocates(McKevitt, 2007; Schroth, 2007). After several years, it became apparent that these Jesuit missions were caught in the middle of serving and protecting these Native Americans, while also supporting the white American population, which was beginning to head westward. De Smet attempted to find a compromise, but in so doing was accused of trying to not only catechize, but also to civilize the Native American tribes, in essence, to make them white. Many of the Native American resisted these overtures of European modernity, and soon

wars broke out between Native American tribes and the white settlers over the land/resources (Cushner, 2006; O'Brien, 1992). At this point, the Jesuits fell silent and began to distance themselves from the Native Americans. The settlers, for their part, often used the Jesuits as instruments to foster peace treaties that they (the settlers) never seriously considered upholding. As result of this, Native Americans were forced off their lands and confronted with either assimilating into white America or being exiled or killed. Today, Jesuit missions continue in South Dakota with the Lakota Sioux in the form of Red Cloud school (Schroth, 2007).

American Jesuits and the Evil of Slavery. Likewise, Jesuits in the United States were conflicted in terms of how they viewed slavery. Jesuits in the Maryland Province discussed the possibility of selling slaves to raise money to support the newly created Georgetown University. The hierarchical Catholic Church had condemned the practice of slavery in Benedict XIV’s *Immensa Pastorum* in 1741, Paul III’s *Sublimus Deus* in 1537, and Pope Gregory XVI’s *Supremo Apostulatus* in 1839 (Hennesey, 1981). American bishops noted that the encyclicals only referred the slave trade, not to domestic slavery, and thus paid little heed to these documents based on this technicality. Jesuit views on the issue of slavery varied in terms of degree, but few were wholehearted advocates of abolishing slavery before the Civil War. Some Jesuits, like the president of Fordham University Auguste Thebaud, argued for the Union’s cause in the Civil War, but also believed that slaves were not ready to be free. This was in contrast to many Protestants who were integral to the abolitionist movement and were openly vocal in their opposition to slavery (Schroth, 2007).

Ironically, despite their reluctance to support an end to slavery and in some cases engaging in the practice of slavery, themselves, Jesuits attempted to treat slaves humanely, if that is possible. They baptized slaves, catechized them, tried to keep slave families together, and in some cases treated them as they would their missions by trying to inculcate and "civilize" them. This attempt to be humane, however, cannot deny the fact that Jesuits still considered and treated slaves as property. Slaves, to the older American Jesuits specifically, were a means to build and expand the Jesuit educational institutions and missions. Younger Jesuits saw the issue of slavery coming to a head and strongly advocated for the selling of slaves to ensure some profit and acting pre-emptively in getting rid of their slaves before being forced to do so (Schroth, 2007). Much debate and dialogue among American Jesuits ensued over how to deal with this issue. Superior General Roothan finally ruled that the selling of slaves could take place as long as families did not get separated, those sick and old would not up for sale, and that freedom of religion was granted. Some Jesuits proceeded to sell their slaves for profit, for example, Thomas Mulledy of Georgetown University, who used it pay off school debts. Other Jesuits set their slaves free or encouraged them to escape. The American Jesuits' attitude towards the issue of slavery and their behavior can be summed up by a letter a European Jesuit wrote to Roothan stating that "this will be a tragic and disgraceful affair" (Schroth, 2007).

As the Civil War progressed, the Jesuits remained primarily supportive of the Union and yet silent on the actual issue of slavery. Jesuits in places like St. Louis were on both sides of the issue as far as secession from the Union was concerned. Many Jesuits served as military chaplains on both sides of the Civil War witnessing the

bloodshed first hand, which claimed hundreds of thousands of lives. Many of the graduates of Jesuit institutions were required to participate in the war. It was during this time, it is believed that the first black Jesuit was ordained who had been legally a slave, Patrick Healy. Healy and his seven siblings had been ushered to the North by his parents; the father was a Caucasian immigrant planter, and the mother an African slave. The whole family, once they moved up north, assumed new identities, and many of them joined the religious life becoming priests or nuns. Healy graduated from Holy Cross and escaped military transcription by studying theology in Europe later joining the Jesuits. Although the American Jesuits had mixed opinions on the issue of race, there was no official policy excluding African-Americans from joining the order. Healy would rise to prominence, culminating in him being named president of Georgetown University in 1875. It wasn't until the mid-20th century when the University would openly discuss Healy as their first African-American president (Schroth, 2007).

American Jesuits and the Social Gospel in the late 19th Century. The Industrial Revolution began to gain speed in Europe and then the United States when many Christian-justice advocates began to examine it more closely. As production of goods continued to be maximized by the usage of human assembly lines, the rights and conditions of workers began to be scrutinized. Justice advocates noted the societal and economic transitions that many families were undergoing because of the Industrial Revolution. There emerged a demand by American families for housing, schooling, and health care assistance. These needs soon took on a moral imperative, one for which the Protestant and later Catholic groups started to petition the government and employers to take action. Many Christians advocated for daily Sunday worship, less reliance on

materialism, and re-dedication to God. By 1890, many Protestant social movements had begun looking at societal reform and at the economic justice implications that industrialization was causing. They looked to the gospel as their source of inspiration. Thus the social gospel movement was born in America (Dolan, 1985; Hennesey, 1981).

American Catholics began to look at the Industrial Revolution and its effect on the growth of their population. The Catholic population by the late 19th century was comprised of predominantly working-class immigrants from all over Europe. These immigrants had come to the United States for a better life hoping to retain their cultural/religious heritage in the process. Since most of the industrialization of America was taking place in the northeastern urban parts of the country, many of these Catholic immigrants settled and worked there. Since a majority of these Catholics were working class, they were caught up in the tumult in the economy that occurred as a result of the industrialization in the United States. Up until this point, Catholic justice initiatives and charity usually took the form of creating hospitals, schools, and orphanages to serve its population. Organizations like the St. Vincent DePaul Society and the Knights of Columbus sprang up in Catholic parishes as a result, in order to assist the poor and destitute. As labor unions arose in the 1880s, and as Protestant movements, sought to advocate for these unions, American Catholics began to reassess their reliance on charity and considered whether an activist stance was more needed (Dolan, 1985; Hennesey, 1981).

The rise of the Industrial Revolution and the justice issues that accompanied it led the hierarchical European Catholic Church to compose the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. This encyclical, released under the reign of Pope Leo XIII, translates from Latin into

English as “on the conditions of the working classes”(Catholic Church, 1891). The encyclical clearly rebuked socialism as a form of government, but also cautioned against the excesses of capitalism and individualism. It also presented a framework of social justice that would stand in tandem with works of charity (Dolan, 1985). The encyclical supported the ownership of private property and rejected socialism while also supporting the rights of workers to unionize. It requested that the states enact laws to regulate working conditions, thus ensuring the health and safety of the workers (Schroth, 2007). *Rerum Novarum* introduced Catholic social teaching and its key aspects of social justice still used today by Catholic justice activists including the Jesuits.

At the time of the publication of this encyclical, the Jesuits in America were socially inactive regarding issues around labor and the industrial revolution taking place in the United States. The Jesuits in the mid-20th century continued to be detached from the American culture, much of this due to the hangover from their suppression a century or so before. This conclusion was articulated by Samuel K Wilson, president of Loyola University, who, in an article in America magazine, explicitly stated, “The Jesuits are not modern at all. It is more cautious and conservative, safer and sane, more fearful of making mistakes than the average corporate group which has existed for several centuries” (Schroth, 2007). During the early 20th century, instead of engaging in social activism, Jesuits sought to be more introspective, encouraging their Jesuit apostolates and other Catholics to do likewise. They focused on enhancing and promoting the spiritual exercises through the release of the Woodstock Letters in 1890, which went into depth into the life and miracles of Ignatius Loyola. They also delved into Ignatian spirituality from an individual, personal, and reflective perspective, relying less on communal

devotions (Schroth, 2007). During this time in America, the topic of how to integrate American values into one's Catholic faith was arising. Many Catholics were struggling with what it meant to be an American Catholic. In the 18th century, Bishop Carroll and other American Catholic leaders had wanted the American Catholic church to stand out as a force in American mainstream culture. Carroll wanted a new, innovative Catholic Church in America to match what he viewed as a new and innovative young nation state at work. This included exploring ideas such as as religious liberty and civic engagement. Many Catholic leaders, such as Orestes Brownson, contributed to this notion. Inspired by John Winthrop's "City on a Hill", Brownson viewed the United States as a chosen nation that aspired towards a "higher order of civilization" (Dolan, 1985; Schroth, 2007). Brownson believed it was up to American Catholics to lead the way and that it was these Catholics, many of them the nonclergy, who represented the Church. He and many American Catholic leaders wanted to explore in depth what it meant to be Catholic in an America aspiring to greater heights as a civilization and society (Dolan, 1985).

Many Catholics found this identity to be contrary to traditional European Catholicism. For many American bishops, advocating for religious liberty and the separation of church and state was something unheard of. They were familiar with Europe, where the Papacy and many of the European powers were interchangeable at times. These new ideas coming from Catholic leaders in America provoked European Catholic leaders to release another encyclical titled *Testem Benevolentiae,* which warned Catholic institutions, particularly those in the United States, not to adapt too much to the trending culture and to remain steadfast to Catholic teaching and dogma (McDonough, 1992).

Jesuit Social Justice in the Early 20th Century. The three venues that American Jesuits began to grapple with as the 20th century progressed were the role of their educational institutions in American culture, how to adapt Catholic encyclicals on Catholic social teaching to American conditions, and possible missionary expansion to Latin America (Schroth, 2007). America Magazine, created in 1911, began addressing some of these issues of the time in a political way. America Magazine gave the Jesuits, as well other Catholics, a platform to distinguish themselves as American Catholics. Loosely based on London's Catholic Tablet, America was to represent both North and South American Catholics. It focused initially on the issues of worker rights, but as the 20th Century unfolded, it would explore the Cold War, systems of government, civil rights for African- Americans, and many other politically charged issues. Initially, there was a string of Jesuit editors for America, with many being replaced by Jesuit Superiors for their controversial stances that offended the European Jesuits and the hierarchal Catholic Church in Rome (Dolan, 1985). America's content intended to be solely informative not editorial though this was challenging to maintain. The editor who stood out and gave America Magazine the identity, which it retains today, was a Jesuit John Lefarge. Lefarge was editor of America from 1926 until his death in 1963. He spent his early years as a Jesuit serving and advocating for the marginalized throughout the eastern part of the United States. He maintained friendships with prominent political figures who educated him on public affairs. Lefarge's experiences in justice work and his acumen in public affairs formed the perfect combination when he took over as editor. He was passionate about the race question in America and created the Catholic Interracial Council of New York to address the segregation of Catholic schools in the city (Dolan,

1985). Although some of his views on civil rights would be questionable today, he did attempt to have a thorough, honest dialogue on this issue when few circles did. Along with addressing the race question, Lefarge also discussed issues of international peace, Catholics in rural environments, the rise of Communism, and the role of the arts (Dolan, 1985; Schroth, 2007).

Other Jesuits continued to examine the intersection of American values and Catholic faith, perhaps none more so than John Courtney Murray. Murray was a Jesuit who edited America, worked for the Woodstock College, and the Jesuit seminary in Maryland. He had a deep interest in analyzing Catholicism within the context of the American experiment. He explored in particular the idea that American pluralism thrived under the dualism of two authorities, the Catholic hierarchy and the American Constitution. He explored this relationship between church and state in the "The Problem of Pluralism in America" in 1954. He would appear on the cover of Time in 1960 as a major catalyst in American Catholicism, shortly before the first American Catholic President, John F. Kennedy would be elected (Hooper, 1994; Schroth, 2007). The Vatican was concerned about the notion of equating the American Constitution with the Catholic hierarchy silencing Murray for a time; however, he would reemerge during the Second Vatican II Council, when many of his ideas would be included in the landmark Catholic encyclical, *Humanae Vitae*. Many of Murray's themes, his support for pluralism, striving for world peace, encouraging global dialogue, and his support for democratic ideals became more prominent within the Catholic hierarchy in the latter part of the 20th century as the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union persisted. This was particularly true under the papal leadership of John Paul II, originally

from Poland who grew up under the tyranny and atheism of Communism. He was a staunch opponent of Communism and is credited for helping to end the Cold War. Many of Pope John Paul II's politics stemmed from Murray's original reflections (Hooper, 1994).

Another Jesuit, Joseph Fichter, focused on research into teaching and implementing Catholic values in America. Working for the Institute for Social Studies (ISS), established at St. Louis University in 1944, Fichter's focus was on sociology, politics, and economics in the context of the Jesuit mission. Fichter's emphasis at ISS was purely on research. He imported methodologies from secular sciences into researching American Catholicism. Like Murray, Fichter endeavored to merge the secular and the sacred as research tools to explore Catholicism. He took the Jesuit adage to "find God in all things" in his work, but was also censured for a time by his Jesuit superiors for his controversial findings on Catholic schools and parishes in 1964, called the Fichter Study. The findings were later applied to Jesuit secondary education (J. A. Coleman, 1996; J. Fichter, 1958; J Fichter, 1969).

As some Jesuits explored the role of their mission within the context of America and Catholicism, several Jesuit apostolates addressed the issues of the poor throughout the United Statesa. Jesuits oversaw social work education and hospital and prison chaplaincies throughout New York City in the early part of the 20th century. They also began to get the laity (nonclergy) more involved. Jesuit Terence Shealy spearheaded the creation of Mount Manresa on Staten Island, a retreat center for Catholic lay men, who were alumni from Catholic schools. Shealy oversaw this retreat center from its creation in 1911 until his death in 1922 (Schroth, 2007). Jesuit Joseph Husslein founded the

school of social work at St. Louis University and wrote regular commentaries in *America* magazine supporting the poor. He later educated college audiences during the Great Depression about the potential dangers of an overreliance on capitalism and the sin of liberal individualism that could result. He voiced his support of labor unions and the need for balance between family and work life (Bangert, 1986; O'Brien, 1990). Finally, Husslein advocated on behalf of immigrant communities mostly Catholic working class and their concerns. Social problems were also a concern of Jesuit Henry Spaulding at Loyola University in Chicago, who educated the Loyola community of students with his theories on social problems and the various agencies that could address injustices in American society.

Discussion about racial integration took place at many American Jesuit colleges campuses during this time as well. One of the first such recorded events took place at Saint Louis University on February 11, 1944, when Father Heithaus delivered a sermon on the importance of racial integration condemning racial prejudice as sinful. The sermon served as a catalyst to racially integrating the school, which later that summer admitted five African-American students, becoming the first educational institution at any level in St. Louis to racially integrate (Schroth, 2007).

American Jesuits evolved in the 20th century trying to address social issues particularly the effect American industrialization had on the American family and society. Wlodimir Ledochowski, the Jesuit Superior General during this time, publicly instructed that Jesuits were teachers and should refrain from direct political activity. He supported Jesuits as moral guides, but they should present the facts apart from any social commentary or social activism. Instead, Ledochowski wanted Jesuits to focus on service,

charity, and acts of piety. Though he said this in public circles, Ledochowski was active behind the scenes in helping compose the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* on the 40th anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, which focused on contemporary social justice issues and public policy (Schroth, 2007).

Jesuit Social Justice Policy into the 21st Century. The current social justice policy in Jesuit education traces its origins back to Pope John XXIII in 1958. Pope John, newly elected, wanted to convene a large council of Catholic Church leaders to discuss the emergent role of the Catholic Church in the modern world. This council became the Second Vatican Council, the largest assembly of Catholic leaders worldwide to date, which explored the Catholic Church's evolving role in social justice throughout the world. Some specific social justice issues addressed included issues of peace, the human rights of all people, and the problems of impoverished countries (Dulles, 1986). Pope John XXIII envisioned a Catholic Church more directly engaged with the oppressed in the world, in particular the poor. There had been a Vatican I Council in 1870, but it was a mostly-European affair in which the majority of the Catholic leaders were German and Irish (Dolan, 1985). American Catholics still considered the minority were mostly uninvolved at this point in American politics as they were still exploring the idea of what it meant to be an American Catholic. Vatican II was quite different, in that America at the time had a Catholic President and was the emergent world super power (in contrast to the Soviet Union). Unlike Vatican I, this second Vatican II Council represented Catholics from all over the world, which inspired the council to explore the central question of what it meant to be Catholic in the modern world (Dolan, 1985). Vatican II sought to have the Catholic Church be more engaged in a modern world that was

postcolonial, confronting with nuclear annihilation, the Cold War, and issues surrounding human rights. The Catholic Church sought to be more civically engaged in this world and, in so doing, more directly in touch with the people, both Catholic and non-Catholic (Thomas P Rausch, 2010).

The Superior General of the Jesuits at the time, Pedro Arrupe, followed the Catholic Church's lead on social justice and called for a "reeducation" of the Society of Jesus (Arrupe, 1971). During and following Vatican II, Arrupe took the Jesuits in a new direction in terms of social justice, which came to full focus on July 31, 1973, at the Tenth Annual International Congress of Jesuit Alumni of Europe in Valencia, Spain. At this gathering of wealthy European alumni from Jesuit institutions, Arrupe presented his social justice vision in a speech now famous in Jesuit annals and referred to as the "Men for Others" speech. The title of the speech ,later changed to "Men and Women for Others", remains a milestone in Jesuit social justice policy (Arrupe, 1973). In it, Arrupe began by admitting that justice education had not been a priority for Jesuit education in the past, but that this would immediately change. He referenced Vatican II documents as reading and reacting to the "signs of the time"(Arrupe, 1971). He referred to the 1971 Synod of Bishops statement that justice is the equivalent of loving God and neighbor, a central teaching of gospel and Vatican II (Arrupe, 1973; Burke, 2004; Thomas P Rausch, 2010). Along with referencing the mandates set forth by the Catholic hierarchy, Arrupe pointed to the current state of world events, especially the increasing income disparity between the rich and the poor, the growing violence in the world, and the lack of human civil rights for all citizens. Arrupe argued that the Society of Jesus must be actively engaged with the world and to do this would require changes in the Jesuit mission within

its apostolates (Arrupe, 1973; Thomas P Rausch, 2010). Jesuit teachers needed to educate their students and communities to become actively engaged with these world issues in order to more intentionally address them.

Theoretically, Arrupe viewed justice through three aspects and believed Jesuit educational institutions needed to abide by them to build men and (later) women for others. First, all human beings are to be respected and cannot be used as instruments for any benefit - material, economic, or otherwise. Second, no one should benefit from one's own privilege or position of power; they must also actively seek to relinquish this privilege. Third, and perhaps most provocative, one cannot merely refuse to benefit from injustice or act unjustly but must wage a counterattack against it; this would include working with others to dismantle structures of injustice in order to liberate those who are oppressed (Arrupe, 1974, 1977; Thomas P Rausch, 2010). Practically, Arrupe urged personal conversion, but only as a starting point. He espoused that all Jesuit leaders and educational institutions reevaluate and rededicate themselves to include social justice as an integral part of the Jesuit mission (Jesuits, 1977). They must always be mindful that all actions of and for justice must be driven foremost by love. According to Arrupe, we must love more simply, focusing on people and not on materialism and consumerism. We must not seek to profit unjustly or from unjust resources. Finally, we must be agents of change, activists, and reformers out to change the unjust structures of our society (Arrupe, 1974, 1977; Burke, 2004; Thomas P Rausch, 2010).

Jesuit Social Justice Policy in American Jesuit Secondary Education. The implementation of the social justice policy mandate began in Jesuit education shortly after the 32nd Jesuit congregation. The 32nd Jesuit Congregation released a document

based on the words of Superior General Arrupe that emphasized the need for faith to be intricately connected to the cause of justice for all. For one to be a person of devout faith, one must be actively engaged with the world around them. The Congregation emphasized the need to communicate the Catholic faith through acts of justice in the world. A world in which injustice exists in the form of political, racial, and social discrimination. A world, where, despite technological advances and increasing global interdependence, there is a growing gap between the rich and the poor along with an increasing inequity in the distribution of resources worldwide. In light of these developments in the world, this document mandated the Jesuits as an order, in any, and every context, to take on social justice as part of their Ignatian mission (Arrupe, 1974; Jesuits, 1977).

Upon its creation in 1970, the Jesuit Secondary Educational Association began to conduct research and release documentation addressing a range of issues in Jesuit secondary education, from sound educational theory to issues of Jesuit social justice to the role of boards of trustees within Jesuit high schools. These documents, along with the intentional efforts of the Jesuit high schools themselves contributed to a more thorough social justice curriculum and pedagogy within their classrooms. There were also aspirations to translate Jesuit social justice into institutional practice, although this proved more challenging at times, given the complexity in preserving the credibility of the Jesuit brand in an American cultural context. American Jesuit high schools required more and more revenues to function given the desire to remain an elite product, which required the promotion of the Jesuit brand to especially the wealthy, powerful constituents of American society. This trend would lead to the modern day traditional Jesuit high school

catering to a predominantly wealthy, influential, population. It was the emergence of this trend in the traditional model of Jesuit high school that led to the creation of the Cristo Rey School Model, which lent some balance the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit Secondary Education.

Following the 32nd Jesuit Congregation, American Jesuit high schools sought to interweave values and issues of social justice into the learning curriculum and pedagogy. JSEA released several documents that reiterated the points made by the Jesuit congregation of which two particularly stood out and remain relevant in American Jesuit Secondary Education today. The first was “The Characteristics of a Jesuit Education” complied in 1980 (Meirose, 1994). This document repeated what previous documents had stated namely that the promotion of justice is a requirement of the Jesuit mission’s service to faith. It also reiterated that Jesuit education must connect knowledge to rigorous critical thinking if it was to become an education for justice. Justice issues were to be interwoven into already existing curricula, in order to provide venues for critical analysis followed by courses of action. Justice must be embodied within the policies and practices of the day-to-day operations of the Jesuit school. Finally, Jesuit education must provide opportunities for direct contact with the marginalized and the injustices that reside in the world (Association, 1987). This would prove more and more challenging within the traditional Jesuit high schools, in particular, into the 21st century.

The other significant Jesuit document, “What Makes a Jesuit School Jesuit?” released first in 2000 and then reissued in 2007 by JSEA, presents the basic criteria that make a Jesuit high school Jesuit in nature. This document, along with previous JSEA publications, continues its emphasis on justice. This document, presented to all

constituents of the JSEA schools (i.e. faculty, administrators, board of trustees, alumni, donors etc.), listed ten distinguishing criteria, of which two are solely devoted to justice. Those two are criteria five, stating the need for Jesuit schools to teach and act justly, and criteria six, stating the need for Jesuit schools to incorporate a global dimension in their educational mission (Association, 1987; Meirose, 1994) . Referencing these documents, many Traditional Jesuit high schools began interweaving a justice curriculum into their coursework. Service or community based learning communities were created, as were spring break/immersion service trip opportunities to impoverished places. In efforts to enhance their institutional policies and practices, the majority of American Jesuit high schools today feature offices devoted to diversity, service, justice, and pastoral ministries. There are also events and programs in which these schools collaborate to commemorate and celebrate the sacrifices made by those who chose/choose to participate in forms of activism (Thomas P Rausch, 2010).

Jesuit Social Justice at American Jesuit High Schools. When they were first established, American Jesuit high schools were located within or in close proximity to major American urban areas and their students came primarily from there of predominantly European origin. Beginning in the 1950s, when middle class whites began to move to the suburbs, several Jesuit high schools began to draw their clientele from these same suburbs, but to a wealthier clientele. Consequently, new Jesuit high schools were built there, instead of in the cities as the annual tuition started to increase (Birdsell, 2011; Bouillette, 2013; G. R. Kearney, 2008). Another reason for the shift to the suburbs was the decreasing number of Jesuit Priests in the schools and the resulting increase in school budgets. Until the 1960s, American Jesuit high schools were taught primarily by

Jesuit priests. As the number of Jesuit priests began to decline beginning in the 1960s (Douthat, 2012), there grew a need for laity to become more involved as teachers and eventually leaders of these Jesuit high schools (McDonough & Bianchi, 2002; Schroth, 2007). These lay staff and faculty required fiscal compensation for their work, which previously had not been an issue, since Jesuit priests that ran the schools were minimally compensated. Thus, an emerging need for revenues to keep the schools in operation began to take affect. Jesuit high schools started to have a larger financial budget and had to ensure they had a certain number of student admissions paying an annual tuition fee. This enhanced business model of the Jesuit high school also included into fundraising through alumni and donors in order to promote the Jesuit brand. This Jesuit brand sought to embody the Jesuit mission promoting it along with an outstanding educational product. The quality of this product would be determined based on the acquiring of more prestige that would occur if Jesuit high schools educated the children of the most powerful and elite in American society strengthening the Jesuit brand in the process. What had been solely institutions of learning, whose tuition was an afterthought, now had a definite business aspect to them. Consequently, the Jesuit high schools in America needed to follow the money to the suburbs and beyond. This was the pivotal paradigm shift in Jesuit education, which led to the high schools becoming the bedrock of education for the more affluent, elite, and privileged males of society. Thus a vacuum of mission within institutional practice grew, with Jesuit education not being easily accessible to populations that were not as privileged economically, socially, and politically; this set the stage for the Cristo Rey School model. These trends in institutional practice were taking place as the Jesuit social justice curriculum and

pedagogy in American Jesuit high schools continued to expand becoming prominent eventually becoming one of the five graduate at graduation document requirements. This dialectic between the Jesuit social justice curriculum and institutional practice would further be enhanced by free market hypercapitalism.

Some American Jesuit leaders had taken some steps to address what they perceived as this troubling trend toward serving primarily affluent populations. In 1971, they opened the Nativity Mission Center School on Manhattan's lower east side to provide quality education to middle-school boys there. Many of these boys were first-generation Americans or immigrants who were very poor and lived under challenging circumstances. The Jesuits saw a need, when creating these middle schools, for innovations, such as longer school days and school years. They also provided an ongoing support system for the students as they progressed through their high school and college years, including financial aid and transportation (Thomas P Rausch, 2010). There were enhanced efforts to incorporate social justice education into the school curriculum, as well. Other than these tactical additions, little sweeping change took place at the Jesuit high school level until the 1990s in Chicago.

The Emergence of the Inaugural Cristo Rey Chicago. In reaction to the burgeoning civil rights movement and the influx of Non-European immigrants, the white middle- and upper- economic classes in the United States began to leave the cities heading to the nearby suburbs. Jesuit high schools followed, mostly due to reasons of economic institutional sustainability and the desire for prestige. As these shifts took place nationwide in the middle and latter parts of the 20th century, suburbanization left behind most of the American urban corridors a growing poverty; this was the result of

divestment in these areas from business, education, and political entities (Anyon, 1997; Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008). The result of this suburbanization specifically as it affected American Jesuit high schools, was that many of the traditional Jesuit high schools, while continuing to serve the most powerful, elite, and influential in society, were not able to serve the more marginalized, which was an integral part of their mission. These traditional Jesuit high schools had a dilemma on their hands: How could they maintain their social justice mission in serving the urban poor while their social and physical distance from this constituency continued to increase? For a while, with mixed success, many of the traditional Jesuits high schools created various offices and departments that would address some of these issues from a curricular, pedagogical, and institutional perspective. Admissions, diversity, service, and alumni offices became commonplace in the majority of traditional American Jesuits high schools, in an attempt to remain engaged in these areas. While the classrooms reiterated the importance of these issues, institutional practices appeared at times to contradict the message. This mixed messaging, along with the challenge of location, resulted in a lack of connection to the various communities making it clear to Jesuit educational leaders that drastic action was required. It was clear that traditional Jesuit high schools, for the most part, stood in tandem with the middle- and upper-classes in America and not with the poor and working classes. This along with the changing currents in American economic stratification created a situation, which the Jesuits of the Chicago Province stepped up to address.

The history of the original Cristo Rey High School in Chicago traces back to 1869, when Fr. Arnold Damen helped create St. Ignatius College, at that time a Catholic, Jesuit college and high school located on the west side. These two institutions later

separated, with Loyola University moving to North Chicago in what became the suburb of Rogers Park. The high school stayed put and became St. Ignatius College Prep (G. R. Kearney, 2008). Today, St. Ignatius College Prep is recognized as one of the most prestigious Jesuit high schools in the country and a mainstay presence in Chicago's elite social circles. Just south of St. Ignatius College Prep on Roosevelt Avenue, a neighborhood called Little Pilsen took shape in the late 19th century. Little Pilsen became the first port of call for immigrants from diverse parts of the world. Over the last one hundred fifty years or so, Pilsen as it was later called, has been the home to immigrants from Australia, Poland, Hungary, and Russia, among others. Pilsen stretches from Halsted Street on the east side to Western Avenue and then from 16th Street south to 26th Street. When they came to Chicago, immigrants usually centered their cultural interactions at a Catholic church. Since the 1960s, Pilsen has been the home for primarily Latino immigrants (Astorga-Velasquez, 2012; G. R. Kearney, 2008; G.R. Kearney, 2008).

In the early 1990s, as St. Ignatius College Prep began to cater to a more and more affluent populations, like many other Jesuit high schools at the time, the Jesuit Provincial began to brainstorm ways that the Jesuits could be present to the poor, working-class Latino community in Pilsen, just down the street. A few Jesuits began working at a parish there and embarked on a plan to engage and become part of the Pilsen community. What soon emerged was a Jesuit high school that focused solely on the Pilsen community. This school was called Cristo Rey Chicago, and, with some assistance from the other Jesuit institutions in the Chicago area, became an integral part of the Pilsen community and the Jesuit mission.

The Cristo Rey School Model. As Cristo Rey Chicago was deemed a success, efforts to replicate the model elsewhere began. The Cristo Rey Network formed in 2001 to serve as an umbrella group that would assist in the creation of other Cristo Rey Catholic schools throughout the country with a similar mission as the original Cristo Rey Chicago, i.e. serving inner-city, poor students and their families. The approach was to prepare these students academically for college while incorporating a work-study model in which students would work jobs a day or two a week to help cover their tuition expenses. As of 2010, there are twenty-six such schools in nineteen U.S. cities, with the majority of these students coming from underrepresented communities ("Cristo Rey Network 2014,"). Of these students, almost all would go on to attend a two-or four-year college right after high graduation. The Cristo Rey Network embodies Arrupe‘s vision of social justice as it seeks to work with first- generation college students and their families in the diverse urban corridors throughout the United States. Cristo Rey Schools educate young men and women to succeed not only in college, but also beyond, by giving them an opportunity they might otherwise not have had. Through its innovative corporate work-study program, Cristo Rey Schools provide the essential career development and social capital for their students to succeed. This study looks at the experience of the dialectic in American Jesuit Secondary Education through the qualitative case study of a Cristo Rey Jesuit High school (Astorga-Velasquez, 2012; Birdsell, 2011; Thielman, 2012).

Conclusion

The history of the Jesuits and their evolution in American Jesuit secondary education has always been linked to happenings in American culture. These events along with the

American narrative have challenged the Jesuit mission of social justice while contributing to a notion of American Catholicism that embracing the American ideals of democracy, freedom, and happiness. As has been documented, this evolution has been quite challenging for American Jesuits placing them at odds with each other as well as the Catholic Hierarchy in terms of orthodoxy and practice. American Jesuit high schools are a reflection of these complex themes within their institutions in terms of curriculum and practice. They reflect the dialectic tension of first living the American ideal while being faithful to Catholic dogma, and second embodying the Jesuit mission of social justice while promoting their brand in a capitalist context. This is the context in, which the Jesuit social justice dialectic exists in and that this study looks to explore in the Cristo Rey School Model. This model helped American Jesuit Secondary Education alleviate some of its social justice mission concerns. This is a complex dialectic with many layers as it pertains to the Jesuit social justice mission and the Jesuit brand.

CHAPTER VI

DATA RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Overview of Results

While the historiography chapter presented a broader, historical context of the Jesuit social justice dialectic, the focus of this data chapter will be looking at that dialectic within American Jesuit secondary education through a case study of a Cristo Rey Jesuit high school known by the fictitious name Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School. This overview will summarize the key data findings. The subsequent subsections will present data results that support each data finding. The data will be analyzed through the theoretical framework of the Jesuit social justice dialectic.

Jesuit social justice is also an integral part of the Jesuit mission and was spearheaded in the 20th century by Pedro Arrupe. Jesuit High Schools began implementing Arrupe's vision of justice into their classroom curricula and extracurricular activities. Some of these social justice values collided with the capitalist, institutional practices of both the traditional and Cristo Rey Jesuit high school models. These collisions of values form the Jesuit social justice dialectic that exists in many forms and manifestations in American Jesuit high school education today. The following case study data chronicles three major data findings that contribute and/or detract from the Jesuit social justice dialectic as it exists within Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit in the context of American capitalism.

Data Finding One: The Jesuit Social Justice Dialectic and Capitalism at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. This Jesuit dialectic between social justice and capitalism exists within all of Jesuit secondary education in America. The virtue of the Jesuit

mission and the promotion of the Jesuit brand are inevitably linked because the Jesuits require the wealth and power accumulated through capitalism to sustain its many mission causes. Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit, the case study Cristo Rey Jesuit school model explored in this study is an example of this linkage, which poses justice implications for the Jesuit mission further enhanced by an ever growing reliance on capitalism. Capitalism utilized to promote the brand of all American Jesuit high school education is constraining the Jesuit social justice dialectic making it more difficult to sustain. The Jesuits' growing reliance on capitalism is framed around the Jesuit social justice dialectic consisting of the two school models (Traditional and Cristo Rey) that are distinct, but linked to each other due by capitalism. This key data finding is recurrent throughout the data results in many contexts throughout the interviews conducted and the data presented in this section. As indicated beginning in the interview excerpts in Table 1, many participants referred to the economic dimensions of a Jesuit education alluding to how the Cristo Jesuit Rey model, particularly the case study school, Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit, was created and sustained because of some of the powerful, wealthy constituents from the traditional Jesuit high school model.

Table 1

The Economic Dimensions of an American Jesuit High School Education

Participant ID	Interview Excerpts
I13	I had a heavy involvement with [the local traditional Jesuit high school] and recognized and was frustrated by the fact that there's just not nearly enough emphasis there on diversity. They're renting more of a traditional (I don't want to use the term suburban) white kid school (I'm not trying to be over simplistic, but you know what I mean). I just feel that – that's the way most really successful Jesuit schools are.
I16	I was very encouraged when I first learned that they were trying to reconnect with their roots, certainly for low-income immigrant population. I mean it's interesting, obviously, because of the excellence and the focus on excellence evolved into serving primarily upper-middle income. And in looking at ways to bring back that sort of excellence in the Jesuit education to other student groups.
I18	Years ago I kind of perceived them as wanting to educate well-to-do kids, and I see them now as, yes, we're going to try to influence how they influence the world, but we're also going to reach out to those who don't have the option for a good education.
I6	I'm concerned a little bit about the possibility of – ok, we have the Cristo Rey School for those kids.
I22	I think the challenge for today is to keep that school (Traditional) mixed demographically, not just be a school for rich kids; because the tuition is $12,000 a year.

In the excerpts above, participants I13, I18, and I22 all point out the challenge of traditional Jesuit high schools in terms of retaining their cultural and socio-economic diversity. I13 overtly refers to the racial component of traditional Jesuit education, which primarily educates white students. This increase is significant given the few Cristo Rey Jesuit high schools that exist in comparison to traditional Jesuit high schools (I6 alludes to the potential justice implications of segregating the two populations between the Cristo Rey school model—perceived as strictly for the poor urban students of color, and the traditional school model for white, wealthy kids.

The Capitalism Link Between the Cristo Rey School and Traditional Models. The Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School emerged as a result of a traditional model Jesuit high school, located in the same metropolitan area, but in the wealthy suburb, having a challenging time working with poor and marginalized students due to its elevating tuition costs and geographic location. Yet, it was the wealth and resources of the local traditional school's constituency that helped create and support Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. This is true in the creation of many of the Cristo Rey Jesuit schools including in the creation of the first Cristo Rey School in Chicago as the following quotes indicates:

> Cristo Rey in Chicago owes a whole lot to the Jesuit alumni old boys' school in Chicago. I29

> And I think it's very fair to say that a lot [of] the very generous individual private donors and foundations—certainly the individuals—were largely influenced by the fact that it was Jesuit. I20

Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit was created due to political and financial support from a small group of donors that originated from the local traditional Jesuit high school. These donors represent the demographics and worldviews of the traditional school. They were people who had succeeded financially and politically within the capitalist system, who either grew dissatisfied with the traditional model because of their leaving the working class behind and amid concerns of the growing lack of diversity at these schools. These few folks sought to address these concerns through the creation of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. Without this contingent from the traditional model, the creation of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit would not have been possible.

Data Finding Two: Parochialism within Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit Contributes to the Dialectic. As described in chapter four in the methodology chapter, the sample for this case study research was determined by snowball sampling. When

proceeding with the collection, organization, and coding of the case study data, it became evident that the participants in the study fit into two categories: insiders and outliers. The insiders consisted of a set of common characteristics and spoke with a clear ownership of not only Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit, but also overall Jesuit high school education. They spoke with confidence, power, and a strong sense of authority. The outliers represented the majority of diversity of the sample, which was lacking in part due to the snowball sampling and parochialism. They spoke with a passion for the mission of Ignatius Cristo Rey, but lacked the same sense of ownership and authority. They were not as familiar with the overall Jesuit mission and/or brand focusing only on Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. Table 2 on page 182 summarizes this categorization process.

Table 2

Demographic Breakdown of Case Study Interview Participants:The Insiders (I) and Outliers (O)

Participant letter (I) for insider or (O) for outlier and number #	Gender: Male (M) Female (F)	Race: White (W) Person of Color (O)	Experience in Traditional Jesuit Education 5+ years Yes or No	Experience in Cristo Rey Education beyond case Study. Yes (y) or No (N)	Experience in Public Education? Yes (Y) or No (N)
I1	M	W	Yes	N	N
I2	M	W	Yes	N	N
I3	M	W	Yes	Y	N
O4	M	W	No	Y	Y
O5	F	W	No	N	Y
I6	M	W	Yes	N	N
I7	M	W	Yes	N	N
I8	M	W	Yes	N	N
I9	M	O	Yes	N	N
I10	M	W	Yes	N	N
I11	M	W	Yes	Y	N
I12	M	W	Yes	Y	N
I13	M	W	Yes	Y	N
O14	F	O	No	N	Y
I15	M	W	Yes	Y	N
I16	M	W	Yes	N	N
O17	F	W	No	N	N
O18	F	W	No	Y	N
O19	M	W	No	N	Y
I20	M	W	Yes	N	N
I21	M	W	Yes	N	N
I22	M	W	Yes	N	N
I23	M	W	Yes	N	N
I24	M	W	Yes	N	N
I25	M	W	Yes	N	N
I26	M	W	Yes	Y	N
I27	M	W	Yes	N	N
O28	F	W	No	Y	N
I29	M	W	Yes	Y	N
I30	M	W	Yes	N	N
I31	M	W	Yes	N	N
I32	M	W	Yes	N	N
O33	F	W	No	N	Y

Table 2 presents not only some demographic information, but also the level of educational experience of the participants in various educational contexts. The contexts specified on the table, includes a distinction between an affiliation with the traditional and Cristo Rey Jesuit high school. This distinction became apparent as the interview data started to be aggregated and analyzed for this study. JSEA and other Jesuit organizations do not distinguish the two Jesuit school models. For this reason, in addition to being assigned an arbitrary participant number, all case study interview participants are delineated whether the participant was an insider (I) or an outlier (O).

This categorizing of participants in this way plays an important role in the data analysis as it reveals the extensive parochialism within Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School. This parochialism has been beneficial in the creation and support of new Jesuit ventures such as the Cristo Rey School model. It is so close knit, somewhat insular, social network that complicates attempts for social justice efforts demanding systemic change involving the questioning and perhaps repositioning of the status quo. The outliers, few in number in this study due to the snowball sample, could present new, different perspectives to challenge the status quo. It was the insiders, however, who primarily possessed the influence and power to do this at Ignatius Cristo Rey constraining the social justice mission of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit to a degree.

The insiders in this study made it clear that they are very familiar with each other and run in the same social circles. Positions of leadership, influence, and power are distributed among these insiders because they are deemed trustworthy, safe, and loyal to the Jesuit mission, and to the Jesuit brand by Jesuit authority, the Jesuit priests themselves. The insiders make up the majority of the participants in the study. They

perceive themselves as protectors of the Jesuit mission and the Jesuit brand. They are quick to expound on their extensive pedigree in traditional Jesuit education and in the Jesuit network. All of them speak with tremendous pride, confidently articulating the Jesuit mission the moment when called upon. They convey a strong sense of ownership of the Jesuit mission/brand accompanied by an intense, almost tribal affiliated loyalty to protect and preserve its integrity at all costs. If one of the insiders were to be critical of the Jesuits or their mission during our interview, they did it discreetly and put a positive spin on it.

As table 1 indicates, the insiders in this study possessed several consistent demographic features and were culturally a very homogenous group. They were primarily white males of European descent who were alumni of traditional Jesuit high schools, universities or both. These men ranged in age from their 20s to their 70s. Several insiders had gone on to become Jesuit priests. Others had started families and fully intended to send their children off to receive a traditional Jesuit education. The Jesuits were present with these insiders through some of their most significant life experiences including weddings, baptisms, and funerals. Some insiders participated in voluntary service to the community through Jesuit programs like the Alum Service Corp or the Jesuit Volunteer Corp. Almost all of the insiders continued their postsecondary educational careers at Jesuit institutions, with many looking to pursue lifelong careers at Jesuit institutions. For these insider participants, Jesuit priests remained a source of guidance to them as a life coach, mentor, and/or spiritual guide.

Some informants reported that as they became financially successful in their careers, the Jesuits sought financial and/or political assistance from them. Some were

encouraged to utilize their expertise in service to the Jesuit mission. As these men became professionally, politically, and philanthropically connected with the more elite, influential community, they had time and resources to invest in ambitious endeavors. These small groups, wealthy friends of the Jesuits, helped launch the feasibility studies to start Cristo Rey Jesuit High Schools throughout the country. Their expertise in business, leadership, law, etc. proved invaluable to all Jesuit apostolates including Cristo Rey schools.

The outliers make up the rest of the participants in this study. The term "outlier" was chosen in reference to Malcolm Gladwell's book, *Outliers*, in which he uses this term to refer to something or someone situated away from or classified differently from a main or interrelated body, or a statistical observation deviating from the rest of the sample (Gladwell, 2009). It was used in this context to indicate the immense importance of this group to the findings of this study. It was these outliers who endeavored successfully and unsuccessfully to penetrate the in-group thinking of the insiders challenging notions, perspectives, and beliefs to improve the mission of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit.

This group was much smaller in number than the insiders. The outliers are a very heterogeneous group and therefore hard to pinpoint. They included some women, non-Catholics, non-Jesuit educated, and people of color. Unlike the insiders, these outliers were not heavily invested in the Jesuit mission apart from the call to work with the urban poor that drew the individuals to work at a Cristo Rey Jesuit school. None of them spoke with the same level of confidence and ownership of the Jesuit mission with which the insiders spoke. They were not politically connected within the Jesuit world or as familiar

with the Jesuit lexicon. They articulated themes of the Jesuit mission less in religious terms and without the Jesuit vernacular. These outliers appeared to be less empowered and influential both at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School and/or within Jesuit education in general. Many were not familiar with or concerned with the Jesuit mission beyond the case study school.

This group of outliers shared an affiliation with the case study school because they contributed specific expertise and support, whether to the corporate work study program, urban education theory, educational policy, or administrative leadership. All of the outliers were significantly less inculcated with the Jesuit mission and were less familiar with the mission speak language used repeatedly by the insider participants. All the outliers used third-person pronouns such as O25 does in the excerpt below, indicating their status as part of the out-group at Ignatius Cristo Rey, in contrast to the in-group of insiders who spoke in the first person.

> You know they are a great, great, model and of course, their whole mission of social justice and serving the poor—it became a perfect platform for them really to nationally to expand, you know, their mission into the poor inner cities. Well it [urban education] is a social justice issue. Our education systems are pouring kids out into the work place that aren't prepared for success in life relative to their earning power, and it's a tragedy. O25

In many cases, these outliers had a unique slant on the Jesuit mission, though they would point to the mission as a major reason why they are involved in the work. All of them were passionate about social justice in education and the issues of urban poverty, educational access, and diversity. Collectively, the outliers appreciated aspects of the Jesuit social justice vision as it pertained to their own work at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. They appreciated working at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit, but not because of their affinity

for the Jesuits or their mission, but for the mission of the school itself and all that pertains to urban education.

The Insiders and the Fight for Catholic Urban Education. The insiders voiced concerns that the hierarchal Catholic Church was decreasing its investment in American Catholic urban education. These participants looked to Jesuit education as a major conduit to achieving the Catholic, Jesuit mission of urban education as a social justice issue and a way to maintain Catholic cultural relevance as exemplified by the excerpts in Table 3 below.

Table 3

Insiders Valuing the Jesuit Mission as the way to achieve the Catholic Education

Participant ID	Interview Excerpts
I6	But we have an excellent opportunity in terms of the church's mission for evangelization to do that through Catholic education.
I22	I knew there were families that were not being well served within the existing Catholic school system. They lead by example, it's not by edict.
I20	For Catholics, it's like if we're not doing this it's like we're saying we're fine with a permanent underclass of Catholics in our community.

The insiders expressed frustration in what they perceived as a de-emphasis by many Catholic American dioceses on Catholic urban education, evidenced by a lack of leadership, financial resources, access, and simply the number of Catholic schools active overall. Some of them speculated the lack of Catholic education for culturally diverse communities could possibly be due to cultural barriers, as noted by the speaker of the following quote:

> I don't know if that is necessarily true in the Hispanic population, but I do think there continues to be a barrier in terms of the invitational nature of Catholic education for Hispanics. So, there is a cultural barrier in that sense. I6

The insiders cared very much for the Catholic Church and were concerned about its relevance in the United States given its decreasing investment in urban education. The insiders praised the Jesuits for still being actively engaged in urban education and accused the local Catholic hierarchy in many cases for constraining these efforts. Instead of encouraging the Jesuits in their efforts to engage urban communities, many insiders felt the Catholic hierarchy hindered them. This tension between the insiders of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit and the local Catholic hierarchy revolved around questions of doctrinal soundness. One insider summed up how they felt the Catholic hierarchy viewed the Jesuits:

> We're not sure they are truly Catholic anyway. And it is more important they get a pure, really theologically correct form of Catholicism than worrying about their poverty status. There are some in the Church [who] look at the universities like that, they look at the high schools like that, They would say [a traditional Jesuit high school] is not Catholic, [a Jesuit] U isn't Catholic, [a Jesuit bi-lingual school] isn't Catholic. Why should we even invest in that? So that is a complicating factor here locally. Well 'pruning,' pruning is the word you often hear and even [Pope] Benedict has been shown using that word. So I think they'd feel comfortable with some of those kinda of folks that did all go away and [they would] concentrate on whatever is left that can support itself financially and making sure it was theologically and ideologically pure. The resources of the diocese should go to that and seminary seminary seminary. I20

In this instance, it was clear that this insider was loyal to the Jesuits, first and foremost, before the Catholic hierarchy. He was emboldened by the loyalty he felt from other insiders and the Jesuits. . The loyalty of the insiders allowed them to unify around a common goal—their notion of the Jesuit social justice mission—and pursue it expeditiously and in solidarity. Their creation and expansion of the Cristo Rey model is a testament to this ability, as at times their advocacy placed them at odds with the Catholic

hierarchy. They viewed their affinity for the Jesuit Catholicism to which they belonged was different from the Catholic hierarchy Catholicism. This contributed to a distrust of the Catholic hierarchy, which unified these insiders in countering them. All the insiders were concerned about the status of Catholic urban education in the United States and they were prophetically outspoken on the subject.

In contrast, the outliers did not express concern for the larger context of the Jesuit mission or some of the political issues with the Catholic hierarchy. The outliers had a tremendous loyalty to the Jesuit mission of urban education at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit, but they had nothing to share in reference to the larger Jesuit mission or Catholic hierarchy. They were focused on their work at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit and the status of American urban education overall. They expressed an appreciation for the Jesuits starting the Cristo Rey model school and giving them the opportunity to be a part of the school's mission.

Parochialism and the Community Gap at Ignatius Cristo Rey. Parochialism among the insiders contributed to their mobilization to address Catholic urban education in America, but there were limits, particularly due to issues of patriarchy and culture. The predominant demographics of power (white, male, wealthy) that persist within the Jesuits, further exemplified by the insiders in this study, reinforce their institutions remaining patriarchal, hierarchical, and culturally insular—despite their intentions to engage diverse communities and engage in social justice.

Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit served a predominantly working-class, Catholic, Hispanic, Spanish-speaking student body, whose parents did not attend college. The insiders spearheaded the creation and leadership of the school. They did not have much

in common with the local community. They did not live in close proximity to the school and other than the custodial staff, there was little cultural diversity or leadership or professional staff that represented the demographics of the school community. Moreover, I found evidence that there was little tolerance for dissenting voices, particularly from outliers when they entered into insider discussions. The insiders simply thought they had all the resources and the proper worldview to proceed successfully. This insularity proved a major obstacle for Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit in terms of their engagement with the community they were serving, in spite of their noble intentions.

This cultural disconnect was made more problematic because the insiders did not acknowledge their cultural deficit nor place any importance on it. They were collectively convinced that the issue was purely about socio-economic status and had nothing to do with culture or race. The resulting notions and perceptions within Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit about the community they were serving further hindered their relationships with the community.

This cultural knowledge gap was reinforced by the lack of structural diversity within the institution itself. The leaders, faculty, and staff of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit came primarily from a traditional Jesuit high school educational background and lived far from the school. (For example, the Jesuit community who served Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit all lived at a Jesuit university a ten minute drive away.) While all of those in the insider category possessed the tremendous influence needed to start a school, none of these insiders had a direct link to the community served by Cristo Rey and thus did not represent their desires, concerns, or needs. This cultural gap and lack of representation was a concern articulated by this insider:

> There's a level in which it's a valid critique. There's no doubt that we are strong – but it doesn't change the fact that I think we would do well to be sensitive – to reflect more of the community that we're working with. If we could have 70% of our active Latino, 10% be at meetings, I mean that reflection academically, that would be clearly the ideal, but we're just not there yet. I8

The lack of a direct link between the staff and the community caused mutual suspicion and created tension for the Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit staff, many of whom began to view the community as a challenge to the school's mission. This in turn caused an increased sense of insularity within Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit staff. Further, it contributed to the passion of their school mission and became part of the school narrative amongst the staff.

The educational culture at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit sought to expose students to a blend of notions of American success—college, career, and ultimately, economic mobility—along with aspects of the Jesuit mission: justice, service, Catholic spirituality, and forming fine people. The staff sought to create a school culture of capitalist and spiritual success, but alienated the local community by not including them and caused the social gulf between the school and the neighborhood to continue to enlarge.

The participants in this study predominantly took a cultural deficit perspective toward their students' community. The staff was keen to build a strong culture within Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit through critiques of the culture they perceived these students faced outside of the school walls. Yet, they did not see the cultural gap and social gulf as skewing their perceptions. All the participants in this study were honest in acknowledging how they perceived the conditions and the challenges facing their students outside of the school. These perceptions contributed to the creation of a school

culture that sought to protect the students from the communities in which they lived and had belonged to all of their lives. Examples of these perceptions were encapsulated by this insider quote:

> But they clearly have both at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit and at (college) all of the what do you call them—life factors, family dynamics that are classic to poverty. And when we lose a kid it is for things [like] a girl becomes pregnant—had a little raft of that for a while. Then you have try and work with them part-time. We try to work with them, but it's so hard for young moms because they don't see or have time for one class or so a semester; even if we give them the free class it's like, well, that's way out in the future. It's been a struggle. We see issues where (advocate) calls them saboteurs, [they have] people in their lives who aren't actually enthused about them going to college for all the reasons you might imagine:. 'You're not one of us,' 'you're acting white,' 'you don't think we're good enough for you anymore.' Those are the boyfriends, the girlfriends, the other friends, occasionally even family members. There is also the pressures from families who say 'yeah you're going to college, but we really need you to keep work and help around the house with younger siblings, handle the daycare. Get up and make breakfast for everyone and do the things that you've always done. I20

This quote captured the entire Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit institutional perspective that these students' community would stand as an obstacle to the mission of the school.

The staff's perception of the parents of the students at Ignatius Cristo Rey was particularly negative. The school generally operated under the notion that the parents were a liability in the students' educational success. According to them, the parents lacked the awareness of the importance of an education and did not do a good job keeping community influences away from their children hindering their success at Ignatius Cristo Rey. They viewed the community in which these students lived in as purely negative and a barrier to their educational success. They believed that the parents simply did not want their sons and daughters to be successful at Ignatius Cristo Rey. Table 4 is a sample of remarks that illustrate these perceptions.

Table 4

Participant Perspectives on Ignatius Cristo Rey Parents

Participants ID	Interview Excerpts
I6	I'm not really an economist, but from a pure market perspective how you deliver an education to an unwilling recipient, whether it be the parent or the child.
I26	The thing we see here is so much more of the big stuff of, you know, parents incarcerated and substance abuse. And so he's kind of flying high in some ways at Georgetown and yet he knows every time he comes home his family is desperately poor, his parents only speak Spanish, and I mean that's the kind of stuff we normally see here. You know shit like this happens constantly. There are a few kids who have really wonderful intact families and strong parents.
I27	It's amazing how some people who pay almost nothing for this education think that they're paying a whole lot of money: you know this is costing me a lot of money and blah, blah, blah. Well as a matter of fact, it costs $10,000 to educate your child and you only paid $100. That doesn't give you the right to dictate the program.
I2	So many of our kids are undiagnosed learning disabilities, which are probably related to God knows what, malnutrition or substance abuse in the woman, malnutrition as children, fetal alcohol syndrome, and a million things undiagnosed and untreated. The ongoing effects of poverty in the family, so many kids growing up in dangerous neighborhoods, poor neighborhoods.

Instead of trying to build bridges with the families and community, Ignatius Cristo Rey sought to build a strong school culture of success that would attempt to diminish outside influences. As a result, the parents did not feel welcome at the school and sought to stay away. One of the insiders articulated this issue in the following way:

> Part of the negative perspective of the staff is the hard work they do and the challenging work they do. most part, parents come into the school building for three reasons. They come in for grades; they come in for tuition; and they come in for behavioral problems. And 9 nine times out of ten, all three of those are negative reasons of why people come into the building. So, one of the things that was clear to me when I started is that we have to change that perception. People should come here if they want to and they need to feel welcomed, and that their place is not simply here as the go-between in terms of getting grades. But, in my opinion what we do here for methodically education has embedded in a critique of the family. I8

This insider articulated that the school culture was based on a harsh critique of the family. This strengthened the resiliency and robustness of the Jesuit mission as it emboldened a lot of the Ignatius Cristo Rey faculty, staff, and leadership, but at the expense of perpetuating negative perceptions of the community. The growing social distance between the school and the community because of these perceptions led many insiders to view their work as "rescuing" these students from their own community, believing this was the only way they would be successful. As evidenced below in Table 5, the community was often compared to a trauma center with the faculty/staff as saviors.

Table 5

Participant Perspectives of the community within which Ignatius Cristo Rey Exists

Participants ID	Interview Excerpts
II2	You know I think the biggest issue for the counselors is post-traumatic syndrome of the violence in their lives.
II5	The other thing we deal with are kids that live in a lot of trauma.
I30	It's a model that works you know potentially you take these at-risk kids out, that does a lot of things, right; reduces crime rates, all that type of stuff.

The few outliers in this study found far more value in the students' families and community than the insiders did. They advocated the need for communal engagement on

behalf of the school and the need to preserve the human dignity of the students and their families throughout the educational process. They also saw the positive value of the students' experiences, which gave them a determination and an appreciation for what they were receiving that could not be overlooked. They maintained that these characteristics had to be included when telling the entire Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit story:

> We were really trying to push tickler stories, but there's also truth to the other side of that story of the hard work and commitment of parents. And, the extraordinary creativity kids are showing in the classroom and in the workplace. I think that is what I would come back to, I think we have choices in terms of how we tell the story. And, we can focus on need and powerless and underprivileged people are. And, there is some truth to that, but it surely isn't the whole truth. O10
>
> What you bring to the table is not a disadvantage. We want to affirm that. O8

As O8 mentioned, there is legitimate value in who these students are and what they bring to the classroom at Ignatius Cristo Rey. Only through relationships within the community on their terms and on their turf as well at the school could legitimate engagement happen. The outliers sought to negate the deficit perspective driving school culture with a more balanced perspective of the benefits these students bring from their personal experiences into the classroom. However, the few outliers did not have the influence to change the deficit perspectives held by the insiders. It would take trusted insiders to challenge these perceptions.

After a decade or so of the school's existence, insiders began to realize the need for intentional engagement with the community. Several staff members were assigned with the task of having Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit engage with and be more inclusive of the community. An insider summarized the goal of community engagement in this way:

> Just making sure that we're spending time building relationships that ground us in the community we're serving. Part of it is that I think its part of our own weaknesses, and when you are not used to interacting with kids or kids coming from communities that you're not fairly familiar with. I10

However, this insider continued:

> They had the right idea in getting people together. But, they didn't have folks there to facilitate that conversation. I10

The lack of cultural knowledge among the school staff due to structural diversity constraints contributed to the inability of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit to bring people together.

This situation is beginning to change as several outreach efforts from representatives of the school are being initiated at several different levels, including parent, student, and alumni. Examples of this type of engagement include a regular social event spearheaded by the Jesuits or members of the staff, held either at the school or in the community, to which parents are invited. There is food provided and mass is often celebrated. These gatherings take place periodically throughout the year, not just during the school year. A staff member is trying to connect with alumni and their families. There are enhanced recruiting efforts being made within the community that incorporate the Catholic identity of the community through the celebration of Catholic mass. Though the Jesuits of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit continue to live away from the school, many of them now do invest a tremendous amount of time in the neighborhood. These efforts, which are in their infancy, are noteworthy and open the insider school constituents to a view of the community that transcends the deficit perspective and helps, close the cultural gap.

Parochialism exhibited by this insider group poses both benefits and challenges. The benefit is the resulting ability to unify in solidarity around a particular issue quickly and passionately like the creation of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. This requires economic and political wealth dependent on capitalism and acquired by the Jesuits from their traditional educational model. However, this parochialism poses justice challenges due to its very homogenous demographics and insularity, as exemplified by the insiders' lack of cultural knowledge and sensitivity in engaging with the community of which their students are a part. The few outliers have been very instrumental in cracking the insularity of the insiders and contributing to the Jesuit social mission.

Data Finding Three: A Shared Passion for the Mission of Ignatius Cristo Rey —But Different Motivations. The third major finding in this study is the devotion and passion for the mission of the school that all of the participants in this study associated with share. At Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School, this passion for the Jesuit mission was universal among the case study participants as Table 6 and 7 reveal:

Table 6

Participants Passion and Love for the Mission of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit

Participants ID	Interview Excerpts
I6	If you're a true believer in the mission…
I5	I mean this is mission-driven work
I3	I think people get the mission.
O4	I mean commitment to the mission is my standard.
I1	They're here because of the mission and they live that mission.

The samples above are just a few of the examples that appeared in every interview. Many of the participants mentioned the importance of the mission right at the onset of the conversation and reiterated throughout the interview. They referred to it as the chief rationale of why they were doing what they were doing at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. All

of them were drawn to the mission of the school because of its social justice component. They wanted to work with the urban poor providing them access to a quality education as further indicated here in Table 7.

Table 7

Characterizations of the Social Justice mission of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit

Participants IDs	Interview Excerpts
I23	So our mission is to work with socially, economically disadvantaged families. I mean the mission is so simple in many ways because we really are charged with working with the poor and making education affordable, college prep education affordable.
I11	It requires an incredible passion to this mission, an incredible passion to serving low-income urban students, and the ability to hire the right people to run the school.
I12	I have to be honest with you, I think [Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit] embodies social justice on a number of different levels. I think [the school], just its presence in the community, committed to serving low income kids who might not otherwise have the option of going to college and having a college prep education. That in itself is social justice. We have an uneven playing field in education.
I2	'Men and Women for Others,' but you have to have faith and justice. I mean the closest we can come to equalizing the playing field for the impoverished is to get them an education. So that really fits with what Pedro Arrupe talks about, and some of his talks and all were about education, educating the poor, and bringing education to where it's most needed.

While they shared a passion for the mission of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit, the participants' characterizations of what this mission constituted for each of them are diverse, complex, and multi-layered. All of them conveyed the importance of cultural immersion and social justice as the key cogs of the Jesuit mission at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit, but each characterized it differently. These diverse characterizations were concurrent with the two categories of participants in this case study, the insiders and the outliers.

A major goal for the insiders was the building of the kingdom of God on earth. They viewed it as a way to live their Catholic faith in accordance to the gospel. In keeping with this missionary, evangelization theme, many of these participants referred to the concept of the "Kingdom of God" in Table 8, which is a concept prominent in evangelical circles.

Table 8

Insiders Participant Evangelical Characterizations of the Mission of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit

Participants ID	Interview Excerpts
I4	what has he done, what are you doing for the Kingdom?
I29	…coming back and working for the Kingdom
I15	the faith that does justice was a re-envisioning of Catholic faith, that would tie us into people that are marginalized on the perimeters of society, saying that we as Jesuits have some kind of a call to first challenge ourselves and then challenge society, to bring about systemic changes. Nothing like that had ever been thought about in the Society of Jesus. It was a traditional Catholic piety and working out your salvation through devotions...
I2	I feel that God is calling us to change the world, and Cristo Rey is doing that. You know it's finding God in all things; it's building the kingdom. It's bringing the presence of God into inner city, into that hopelessness, and education does get these kids help.
I24	and …it's a relationship that is grounded in our belief that each kid has inherent value and worth, and it's inherent value and inherent worth that's bestowed upon them by God who loves them and who wants them to be successful, who wants [them] to have a life-long relationship with Him. And the fact that someone that has been distorted by the impact of poverty and is misaligned by the impact of poverty, you know, if we can do our job well enough, perhaps by the end of four years the kids are kind of restored to that vision that God originally intended. And then you start to have that part of the conversation. Everybody starts to get a little nervous.
I15	Here we are running these schools for middle-class and upper middle-class kids and helping them to have a real encounter with Christ in their four years.

The above samples and many others converge around the general idea that this work—whether characterized as social justice, making the world a better place, building the kingdom of God, finding the worth in every human being, showing the poor the love of God, etc.—was an expression of their Catholic faith. Where there was some

divergence was in the areas of their particular faith that they appeared to emphasize more strongly and what influenced this emphasis. Many of this group viewed justice as a function of their faith in accordance to the teachings and actions of Jesus Christ in the gospel. Many of these participants clearly looked at the gospel as a social gospel. Thus, they viewed their purpose in life as making the world a better place. They equated their own personal salvation to improving the collective welfare of the world around them, which many of them viewed as the Kingdom of God. This group also saw themselves as instruments of God and adhering to a calling from God to follow the example of Jesus in the Catholic Gospels. These insiders focused and emphasized their values and beliefs of their Catholic faith and ultimately relied on their faith in knowing that what they were doing was good and served a higher purpose.

Table 9

The Evangelical Component of Ignatius Cristo Rey

Participants ID	Interview Excerpts
I12	And, I also think not having the ability [to have] a faith component outlying everything is a distinct disadvantage.
I3	I feel that God is calling us to change the world, and Cristo Rey is doing that.
I15	Evangelizing is a fine term but it has the connotations of catechizing and getting someone to follow a form of doctrine, but of course, we do.

The theme of "coming back" to do this work resonated in the interviews with a few of the insider participants. It is a familiar theme in Jesuit education that one who is fortunate to receive a Jesuit education and become successful should look to give back in service to the Jesuit mission in a profound way. It is a calling to do more, or in Jesuit terminology, the *Magis* which is Latin for "more." Magis, referred to in earlier chapters

of this study, is a mantra recited in all Jesuit apostolates, and was originally coined by Loyola. It is a complex term, that is often misunderstood, exploited, and utilized in Jesuit circles to rally people to give more of themselves. It is a term that refers to the findings of God's presence within the apostolate's work not simply doing more (Fleming, 1996; O'Malley, 1993). Many of the insiders shared that they received a calling similar the notion of "Magis "and considered it a calling from God.

Finally, all the insider participants who characterized the mission as building the kingdom of God on earth were concerned about the level of investment in Catholic urban education on the part of the hierarchy of the American Catholic Church. Many expressed frustration with what they see as a decrease in emphasis on Catholic urban education in terms of leadership, finances, quality, and access. Many alluded to the wonderful history of Catholic education in America and pointed to the Jesuits and the Cristo Rey model as the only Catholic entities still actively engaged in the education in the urban areas.

> We have an excellent opportunity in terms of the church's mission for evangelization to do that through Catholic education. (I6)

Many of these same participants pointed to the growth of the Hispanic/Latino population in the United States, of which a great number are Catholic, and the lack of Catholic education for this population.

The outliers looked at the mission strictly from one perspective: working and serving the poor through education. These few outliers were not of the Catholic tradition and had no experience with it prior to the Cristo Rey school model. They wanted to work in urban education and found this model to suit their career aspirations as table 10 conveys.

Table 10

Outlier Characterizations of the mission of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit

Participants ID	Interview Excerpts
O25	You know they are a great, great model and of course their whole mission of social justice and serving the poor, it became a perfect platform for them really to nationally to expand, you know, their mission into the poor inner cities.
O28	And so I really had felt in all those areas like I was really called to mission, really called to service with the poor.

The mission for these outliers was simply working with the poor and educating the marginalized. This is what drew them to Ignatius Cristo Rey and what keeps them there. They made allusions to the rigidity of the public urban educational context and expressed their desire to work at Ignatius Cristo Rey to reach kids using greater innovation and creativity.

This group is collectively aware of the Jesuit dialectic as it exists between the traditional Jesuit high school and the Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit School experience. As one of the study participants states: “Helping the poor is a part of your mission (traditional Jesuit high school); for us (Ignatius Cristo Rey) it is our entire mission.” The outliers had really no knowledge of Jesuit social justice mission or history. They were very generous in their praise of the Jesuit mission as they saw it embodied at Ignatius Cristo Rey. They looked at the school as their opportunity to find their niche in urban education and social justice work. In these conversations, there was no mention of the Catholic Church.

Summation.

The over-arching finding in this study is that the Jesuit social justice dialectic is the tension created by the desire of the Jesuits to pursue social justice throughout the world as part of their mission, but is constrained by their tireless pursuit of capitalism in order to promote their Jesuit brand. This pursuit of capitalism is linked to the Jesuits' penchant for power that is chronicled in the historiography in Chapter five. This has been the case for the Jesuits since their inception and throughout their expansion across the United States and the world. Through their close alignment with capitalists and their influence over society, the Jesuits hope that capitalism will enable them to influence the culture in a transformative way. Yet, this capitalism they hope to harness comes as a result of unjust power and privilege.

Data Analysis

This analysis centers on American Jesuit High School Education and the role capitalism plays in maintaining the social justice dialectic between the Cristo Rey school model and the rest of American Jesuit secondary education. This section of the chapter will present the analysis by aligning the case study data findings with each aspect of the theoretical framework, Arrupian Social Justice. It is a theoretical framework mainly comprised of Arrupian Social Justice, but in the context of the Jesuit social justice dialectic within the case study school, Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School.

Traditional Jesuit High School ⟷ Capitalism ⟷ Cristo Rey Jesuit High School

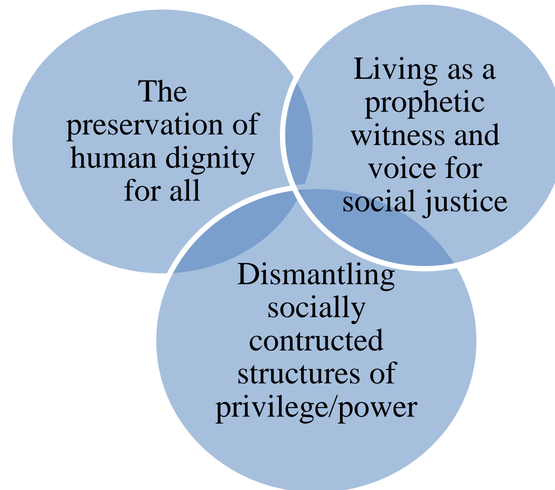

Figure 1. Jesuit Social Justice Dialectic

Figure 1 depicts the Arrupian social justice framework, which includes the three major aspects of Arrupian social justice: preservation of human dignity, dismantling of privilege, and prophetic witness. This data analysis frames the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit high school education, specifically within Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School. The analysis includes the major role that capitalism plays in this dialectic and its effect on American Jesuit high school education. Specific aspects of the Arrupian justice framework was used to analyze the case study data. The chapter concludes by presenting a holistic picture of the data findings maintaining and constraining the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit high schools.

The Jesuit Social Justice Dialectic in American Jesuit Secondary Education. The Jesuits pursue social justice as a catalyst for their educational and cultural immersion purposes throughout the world. This springs from the Jesuit recognition of the inherent good in social justice work and the belief that justice is an expression of Christian neighborly love. These beliefs coexist with the Jesuit's ambitious pursuit of global

influence, which is also an integral part of their mission. Jesuits think that to achieve universal appeal, they need to occasionally align themselves with those who possess economic and political power. In the United States, these people are the successful capitalists. This alignment often comes at the expense of the Jesuit social justice mission to assist the poor because this mission requires prophetically advocating on their behalf to those in power, namely these same capitalists. This tension forms the basis of the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit secondary education.

The dialectic in American Jesuit secondary education is quite apparent and manifests itself within the two models, traditional and Cristo Rey, in two major ways. The first is the challenge of navigating the philosophical differences between the values of the Arrupian social justice curriculum that are taught in Jesuit high school classrooms and some of the schools' institutional practices. This aspect of the Jesuit social justice dialectic is explored in this study in the complexity entailed in preserving the virtue of the Jesuit mission while attempting to promote the Jesuit brand. The second is the distinction and disparities that exist in terms of what constitutes educational success within a traditional Jesuit high school education and a Cristo Rey Jesuit education. This different notion of success at the two school models occurs despite the fact that both are considered American Jesuit high schools. This aspect of the Jesuit social justice dialectic is explored in the study through the case study, Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School. It involves the dialectic of the Jesuit mission and brand, but also poses the justice implications of the two Jesuit schools model in relation to the three aspects of Arrupian social justice to be explored in this analysis.

The traditional Jesuit high school model attempts to interweave the Jesuit social justice mission with notions of American capitalism that produce mixed results from a justice perspective. These mixed results spurred the creation of the Cristo Rey model schools. The Cristo Rey model was formed to target the urban, diverse population that the traditional model had substantially ceased from addressing. While the Cristo Rey schools, like the case study school, Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit, are successful in this endeavor, their existence does nothing to confront the issue of capitalism and the emergent Jesuit social justice dialectic challenges to Arrupian social justice within both Jesuit high school models. The corporate work-study model utilized by Cristo Rey schools for financial sustainability is an unequivocal innovative, pragmatic success. However, the corporate work study program reiterates the Jesuit reliance on capitalism and material wealth. The Cristo Rey model gives the traditional Jesuit schools justification to redouble their efforts to grow wealthier as a result of capitalism providing them a rationale to promote the brand at the expense of their mission because the Cristo Rey model will ensure the mission piece.

All of the data findings in this study sustain the Jesuit social justice dialectic at the case study school, Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. These data findings linked to the Jesuit social justice dialectic are sustained at the traditional model as well. The two models are intricately linked in their dependence on capitalism, which constrains the Jesuit social justice mission while also causing imbalance in the Jesuit social justice dialectic.

Capitalism and American Jesuit Secondary Education. Capitalism is inextricably linked to the sustaining of the Jesuit social justice dialectic in all American Secondary Jesuit education. Capitalism challenges the social justice mission within the

Cristo Rey model and all Jesuit secondary education in America. Capitalism is more prominent in American Jesuit educational institutions due to the increasing cost, the location, and the customers of a Jesuit education. The traditional Jesuit model of education is growing more expensive every year. Its location is either moving geographically to the richer, suburban areas or if it is located in an urban area, the school is becoming more isolated from the surrounding urban neighborhood, instead recruiting students from the suburbs. Finally, the customer of a traditional Jesuit education is homogeneous in terms of race, (white), gender (male) and socio-economic status (wealthy)(Bouillette, 2013).

From a human dignity perspective, the Jesuits repudiate the commodification of human value. There is strong opposition to any and all efforts to exploit human beings for profit. Furthermore, they assert that success in life has to be defined far beyond economic or political power; it must be about recognizing one's inherent human value and self-respect. This involves seeking human engagement and human freedom apart from being involved or benefitting from economic transactions. Capitalism creates a society counter to these values of Arrupian social justice, with political and social structures that creates systemic inequality (Arrupe, 1977; Francis, 2013). In the Arrupian social justice spirit, Jesuit institutions need to decide how much to acquiesce to these values of capitalism and/or when is it necessary to extricate themselves from their dependence on it. Critical self-reflection and assessment is necessary for American Jesuit secondary education to focus on looking for the signs of the times in prophetic way As Arrupe encourages in order to extricate from this overreliance on capitalism towards Jesuit social justice. There is a need for greater collective and personal discernment in

determining how to live one's life in accordance to social justice in the midst of capitalism and the injustices of privilege that it causes. When in doubt, Arrupian social justice suggests advocating for the poor and the powerless as a good starting point in one's discernment (Arrupe, 1977).

Arrupian social justice work is about a dramatic change in the status quo of power and the dismantling of privilege. American Jesuit educational institutions attempt to be robust in their Arrupian social justice rhetoric curriculum in their classroom even while they lack this commitment in their institutional practice. They point to the importance of the social context of justice in which an activist chooses to live as important in an individual's discernment process. All discernment that leads to justice work must involve institutional conversion on the part of Jesuit institutions. The Jesuit social justice dialectic attests that both countercultural, social justice action combined with political power coming from the status quo are needed because only through wealth and influence can systemic justice happen. The dialectic justifies the need for building bridges between the powerful and powerless to achieve transformative change. However, these transformative ideals within the traditional Jesuit high schools have not materialized mainly due to the influence of capitalism.

Within the current Jesuit social justice dialectic, American Jesuit high school education has contributed to greater segregation between the rich and poor with the two school models. Instead of building bridges between the two school communities, the Jesuits appear to have compartmentalized them. When there is interaction, it is colonial in nature, with the Cristo Rey students and schools being supported by those affiliated with the traditional model both fiscally and through service projects for the traditional

schools. There is minimal communal engagement, but rather attempts at the transference of capitalist values from the traditional affiliates to their Cristo Rey counterparts in a charitable, condescending way. This produces major justice implications that will be expounded in this analysis.

The Jesuit Dialectic: Parochialism and Passion for the Mission at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. All of the participants, both insiders and outliers in this study, share a passion for the mission at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. All of them see the school as providing an opportunity to disadvantaged students and families who otherwise would not have access to a Jesuit high school education. While this does not address the issues of the Jesuit social justice mission within the traditional institutions, the insiders view this arrangement as the next best thing. Among the insiders, many of whom are affiliated with the traditional Jesuit high school, the linking of the two models is seen as ingenious on the part of the Jesuits. It is a link based around the utilizing of the resources and political influence from the traditional model to support Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit high school. The link is based on capitalism and some semblance of the Jesuit mission at work. Among the insiders, there is a consensus that the Cristo Rey model is an example of Jesuit social justice in action. They conclude that quality education is crucial in terms of increasing equity and opportunity in America. When referring to the Jesuit mission, social justice arose as a key aspect for both insiders and outliers. The successful finished product at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit is to be a student graduating from high school, attending a college, being a good person, and achieving a successful career in a capitalist world. It is in the process of achieving this ambitious goal where the insider and the outlier perspectives of social justice diverge.

While there is tremendous passion for the Jesuit mission, there are also different characterizations of the mission among the insiders and the outliers. For the insiders, a major aspect of social justice is about doing the work of God and building the kingdom of God on earth. There is little mention of building relationships/partnerships between the traditional Jesuit high school and Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit communities. The insiders see Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit as a personal act of piety for their own personal salvation. There is little consideration given to the fact that the insider could gain as much as the one oppressed, if a genuine human relationship of mutuality is established. This idea of communal engagement in an effort to put a human face to the justice causes is an imperative for Arrupian social justice. It cannot be simply about abstract theory of thought, but love in action. The efficacious action must consist of sentiments of genuine love and faith. Arrupian social justice has to be about the person and not just the cause. This insider also acknowledges the role of social justice in terms of love and faith as integral in the work, but characterizes it as a means to finding the presence of God—undermining the relationship itself. This view of the mission of Ignatius Cristo Rey as a pious, religious act was summarized in the following text from an insider.

> the faith that does justice was a re-envisioning of Catholic faith, that would tie us into people that are marginalized on the perimeters of society, saying that we as Jesuits have some kind of a calling to first challenge ourselves and then challenge society, to bring about systemic changes. Nothing like that had ever been thought about in the Society of Jesus. It was a traditional Catholic piety and working out your salvation through devotions...I15

This is contrary to Arrupian social justice where the relationship as an expression of neighborly love is paramount. For the insiders, there are questions of salvation and faith involved in social justice work, but this should involve the importance of the human

relationship as well. According to the Christian gospel and the story of the Sermon on the Mount, Christ preaches that one's relationship with all human beings is a reflection of the relationship that person has with God. The two relationships are connected and are integral to each other. Relationships are integral to Arrupian social justice, which is why being present with those for whom you are advocating is critically important. From these relationships comes human empathy, which enhances human dignity for all those involved in the social justice work of urban education. This is another important aspect of Arrupian social justice.

There is nothing in the insiders' social justice mission about dismantling structures of privilege that contribute to systemic inequality. There was also no mention of capitalism reinforcing these systemic inequalities or the Jesuit dependence on materialism. Perhaps the insiders do not recognize themselves as benefitting from privilege as products of the traditional Jesuit high school model. It is a model that is a vehicle of privilege, whiteness, and maleness in American society. To address these issues in an Arrupian prophetic way would involve insiders pointing fingers at each other and themselves. This would constrain the Jesuits' ability to influence culture and the mission. The insiders themselves perpetuate much of the privilege, thus the prophetic voice is often silent.

The insiders possess Catholic piety and were successful in forming solidarity around a justice movement supporting the mission of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. They, however, perpetuate the privilege that Arrupian social justice sought to destroy or disrupt. There were two participants categorized as the insiders who were critical of these issues, demonstrated their knowledge on these issues of privilege, and sought to address them in

a meaningful, constructive way within the insider group. One of them was ultimately unsuccessful in persuading his insider cohorts to change and was forced to leave the school losing their insider status as a result. The other one, who arrived later on was actually bought in to explore these issues and was permitted to make changes. The question looms as far as why was one successful and the other was not? Timing, possibly played a role, as the problem of communal engagement loomed more pressing when other school issues such as student recruitment started to become effected. Status also played a role as the latter insider, who was more successful, was much more secure in their status within the group then the previous person, a person of color. He was entrusted with more credibility and latitude to be more prophetic with the insiders who were assured that changes would be made that would not damage the Jesuit brand. The handful of outliers did try to address these issues, but they did not possess the power and influence to be included in these discussions with the insiders, much less be listened to. These issues of injustice are accompanied by values contrary to Arrupian social justice in maintenance of the Jesuit social justice dialectic.

Human Dignity and Privilege at Ignatius Cristo Rey. In Arrupian social justice, human dignity means acknowledging the inherent value that every human being has in this world regardless of power, wealth, and talents. Preserving this human dignity requires relationships that transcend economic or political transaction moving towards genuine human engagement. Capitalism, which feeds off transactional relationships, can produce relationships in which the human dignity of both parties is compromised at times. A lack of human dignity is often linked to the issue of unjust, biased privilege in society, which is often a byproduct of capitalism. Privilege in the form of unequal

distribution of power complicates the human engagement essential for building genuine community. This situation is reflected in the relationship between Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School and the community they seek to serve.

As the case study findings show, parochialism and the various passionate perspectives on the mission play a role in the Jesuit social justice dialectic within Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. The insiders in this study who perpetuate the parochialism are collectively demographically homogenous, lacking the diversity of worldviews to address some of the complex issues of human dignity at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. It fell on the few outliers who were not inculcated or included in enough of the spheres of influence at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit to sufficiently insert their influence among the insiders' myopic perspective. Arrupian justice requires that unjust structures of privilege be dismantled to preserve the human dignity of all involved. At Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit this calls for a prophetic witness that speaks truth to power to change the status quo. This would entail a few of the outliers to become insiders and serve as prophetic witnesses to the insiders who represent the power of the school. The rest of this data analysis focuses on specific examples where Arrupian social justice is needed to address areas where biased privilege harms human dignity at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit, thereby compromising its social justice mission of urban education.

Culture of Poverty. All the participants in this study noted the strong empathy and sensitivity displayed by the faculty and staff in response to the unique challenges that these students face due to conditions of poverty. All of the insiders and a couple of the outliers made a correlation between these challenges and the deprived home lives of these students. Several insiders in the study referred to the need for these Ignatius Cristo Rey

students to escape his or her home life in order to succeed in education and beyond. Instead of considering the importance of the cultural identity of these students, the insiders referred directly to Ruby Payne's notions of a "culture of poverty," to characterize their students' experiences. The term originated from Oscar Lewis who used it to refer to poverty in the developing noting characteristics that perpetuated it (Lewis, 1966; Lewis & La Farge, 1959). It was later adopted for American policy makers in the 1960s to explain how poverty exists systemically despite attempted programs to alieviate it such as the war on poverty initiated by President Lyndon Johnson (Moynihan, 1969). Payne, who ironically works at a Jesuit higher educational institution, refers to the culture of poverty as a system of hidden rules that are the "salient, unspoken understandings that cue the members of the group that this individual does or does not fit" (Payne, 2005). Payne believes that examples of these hidden rules in poverty include: high noise level, a high emphasis on nonverbal information/communication, and a high value placed on entertaining others. Payne cites the culture of poor populations as a main reason for their underrepresentation in educational and business contexts in American capitalism. Instead of placing the primary responsibility for this situation on historically systemic, societal inequalities, Payne placed the burden of responsibility squarely on the poor families who refuse to assimilate enough into affluent cultures. As it relates to education, Payne concludes this culture of poverty manifests itself in a lack of solid work ethic, major ambition, and a worldview that deems it acceptable to rely on government assistance. She concludes that the poor themselves are primarily responsible for perpetuating the achievement gap in education. According to Payne, there are certain cultures that have

more access to wealth and success based on their norms and customs over than others (Payne, 2005).

Payne's culture of poverty is a culture of capitalism that espouses values of materialism, and sees the confluence of economic power with whiteness as a subtext to achieving success. Both the notion of a culture of poverty and culture of capitalism are in sharp contrast to values of Arrupian social justice. Arrupian social justice seeks to de-emphasize the importance of material wealth critiquing hypercapitalism as a conduit to diminishing human dignity while perpetuating the structures of privilege and inequality. Payne's notion of a culture of poverty reinforces stereotypes of certain cultures that previously reinforced colonization, racism, and cultural oppression, and which now reinforce the coloniality of power (Anibal Quijano & Ennis, 2000). While not directly discussing cultural identity, Payne implies that white, European, English speaking, etc. people represent the culture of success and that assimilation into this culture by everyone else is essential for success. This manifestation of privilege contributes to notions of white supremacy, cultural oppression, and coloniality that reinforce systemic inequality. Many of the leaders and constituents of Ignatius Cristo Rey bought into to Payne's theories in their attempted engagement with the families, which contributed to the subsequent results described.

Savior Behavior. The culture of poverty contributes to a predominantly negative general critique of the cultural backgrounds of the students that the Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit staff endeavor to serve. This harsh critique is supported by a consistent narrative of anecdotes depicting the trauma of the students' home lives and the school's successful assistance in redeeming these students' lives. This theme of rescue reverberated

throughout the case study data and contributed to a savior behavior complex on the part of the Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit staff and leadership. Ascribing to Payne's culture of poverty and rejecting the importance of the students' cultural identity set in the motion a strong cultural deficit perspective on the community to which these students belonged. All of this combined with the Messianic elements of the school's mission created a culture within Ignatius Cristo Rey High School where savior behavior is rampant among staff in their work with the students. The Jesuits' identity in the context of Catholicism is based on their ambitious mission to transform the world in the name of saving lives and building the Kingdom of God.

The issues race and ethnicity remained mostly absent from the case study data, instead supplanted by notions of a culture of poverty, particularly by the insiders. Consequently, this notion instilled a strong rescue mentality within all of the participants in the study. Savior behavior thinking galvanized the school's faculty and staff around the Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit mission, but at the cost of the human dignity of the families and the community. It created scenarios in which some of the students felt forced to choose between acquiring an education and staying true to their cultural roots. It also perpetuated unjust privilege in that Ignatius Cristo Rey reinforced the notion that to be successful students must renounce their underrepresented cultural identity to become in essence more Caucasian. This is a form of modernity in which the Ignatius Cristo Rey Staff and leadership espoused hegemonic values maintaining the status quo of power. Instead of countering the injustice of privilege spurred on by capitalism, Ignatius Cristo Rey was intent on teaching its students how to succeed and work within a system that derives its power and relationships from economic wealth.

The negative critique of poor families emphasized in the case study data was an integral part of the Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit master narrative, yet it was incomplete. It did not include the positive narrative of the families of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. It did not include the community's strong Catholic identity and the predominant, Catholic values that exist among the majority of the school families—something that would be thought of as an obvious strength within a Catholic, Jesuit institution. Similarly, no insiders mentioned the obstacles that the families, not just the students, have overcome or the dreams they have for their children. All of this is the result of the privilege of those in power, namely the insiders, to form a narrative of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit that supports their worldviews at the expense of omitting those of the outliers or other members of the Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit community.

When working with Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit families, it is vital to engage them an build relationships with them to learn about what "funds of knowledge" they can bring into the classroom to enhance their children's learning (Gonzalez, Moll, & Amanti, 2005). Educational theorists dating back to Vygotsky discuss the important of engaging students based on their socio-cultural context and bridging that world with the world of the classroom (Rogoff, 2003). Educators also emphasize and reiterate the importance of engaging students by introducing multicultural education and personal life experience into the classroom (Banks & Banks, 2009; Nieto & Bode, 2008; Rogoff, 2003). Jesuit education consists of cultural immersion and reaching people where they are in their lives. The insider participants who represented the powerful constituents of the school ignored these sentiments and instead looked to protect those students from their home lives and what they saw as a culture of poverty; this approach risked cultural insensitivity

and being less inclusive as an educational institution. While there were brief mentions of the importance of these students retaining aspects of their cultural identity, respondents provided little depth in terms of what that entails within the school, other than needing to avoid racism and bias, towards which this cultural deficit model of urban education appears to be moving.

Arrupian social justice emphasizes the importance of human dignity in all social justice work, highlighting the importance of relationships and loving one's neighbor. To engage in relationships requires a suspension of privilege and power on the part of the insiders who lead Ignatius Cristo Rey. They must give some of the outliers and constituents of the Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit community a voice in the leadership of the school as it moves forward. Instead, the insiders used their privilege and power and proceeded without any feedback from the community. This violating of the community's human dignity continued as the insiders linked economic wealth to human value. This caused many of the insiders in the community to view the sons and daughters of the community that Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit serves as powerless and ultimately dispensable. The parents and the rest of the community appeared to serve as impediment to the mission.

Student Expectations at Ignatius Cristo Rey. These perceptions that the students were handicapped by their culture resulted in the research participants having lower expectations of their students, beneath the caliber of a traditional Jesuit high school.

Table 11

Participant Perspectives on Student Expectations at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit

Participants ID	Interview Excerpts
I2	In the years that you look back, the perception of those schools are academically superior. Probably the reality is that it's not true.
I9	It should be. The expectations should be there.
I21	the way Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit is set up [is] that this is a college preparatory curriculum and we're trying to deliver a similar education to (traditional Jesuit high school). We're not there yet—our students aren't there yet. We don't have the resources.
I28	I would say the way that we are not like other Jesuit schools is certainly in our curricular program. It's a very tightly defined program. Our kids have very few options of electives because the work program certainly presents some challenges to our schedule. And yet I think the level of thinking and critical thinking that we're engaging students in in any one of those classes is exactly what you would find in many of the other Jesuit schools.
I13	You know you don't have a lot of the other courses because these kids are behind when they come, and we want them to be up-to-snuff when they graduate. So, we really have to focus the curriculum of the things that are important: math, reading, writing, languages, and sciences. But, it is college prep.

There were different levels of expectations for the Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit students in comparison to the traditional Jesuit student population. The negative perceptions evident in the case study data of Ignatius Cristo Rey's general take on its families and community contributed to compromising students' expectations and standards. As stipulated by #I9, the expectations of traditional and Cristo Rey students, or students of color and their Caucasian counterparts, should be the same, period. There is also the reference by #I2 and #I21 that the quality of education between the Cristo Rey and Traditional models are not the same and neither are the resources despite perceptions that they are. Both participants express a desire that they be the same for both school models are settle for status quo.

The two school models create dialectic that is a two-tiered level of American Jesuit high school education in the United States at it pertains to educational outcomes of success. The traditional model is the top tier and the Cristo Rey model is the bottom tier. The insiders referred to this difference and justified it in many ways. They did not see a problem with it, but saw it as a reality of the situation for urban students of color. A couple of the insiders mentioned that the expectations for all the students should be the same and at the very least worth aspiring towards. One insider who passionately believed this also felt that Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit was disingenuous in how it sold its product to the community.

I9	What I think they could do better is to being very honest with the families and across the board. Don't put out numbers that aren't true. If you have kids that aren't ready to go to college, don't send them.

The location of the two school models within the top and bottom tiers of Jesuit high school education perpetuates the privilege based on race, socio-economic status, and gender. All of these contribute to a violation of human dignity and systemic injustice. Insiders will point to the lack of resources and the unique challenges of the students at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit as the chief reasons why the expectations are not the same, but that is not what is being said to the public. Underlying the difference is the cultural deficit perspective. This was particularly evident in a respondent's discussion about which colleges the Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit students should attend.

> And so our measure, you know, is how many kids get into college and go and persist and graduate, but I think of that when I think of (ICRS) kids because we don't really want to set them up for that saying oh, yeah, you really ought to go to Brown. Well I'm not sure that's a good thing. I27

This insider remark alludes to the difference in college selection process for Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit students and traditional Jesuit high school students based on their unique characteristics. Respondents pointed to the importance of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit students needing to be at a college closer to their home voicing concerns about them successfully persisting in a college that is located far away. #I27 used Ron Suskind's book, *A Hope in the Unseen*, to support the perspective that Ignatius Cristo Rey students should not necessarily attend the finest higher educational institutions. It is highly unlikely that the type of conversation noted in the quote above would take place at a traditional school, as their goal is to advance students to the finest institution and acquiring the most scholarship award money possible.

The Corporate Work-Study Program. The corporate work-study program at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit and other Cristo Rey schools provide the necessary fiscal sustainability given the extensive cost of a Jesuit education and the lack of economic resources from the students' families. The insiders at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit also saw the work program as a way to counter the perceived culture of poverty in a dramatic way for their students. While this perception has been confronted in part by requiring all students to attend all college preparation programming, which includes annual summer workshops, service projects, and other events, nothing quite addresses the notion of a culture of poverty more vividly than the corporate work study program. The idea of the corporate work-study model, essentially creating internships that enable the students to cover a portion of the tuition, not only made the Cristo Rey model more economically sustainable, but also exposed the students to the capitalist world, which will contribute to their long-term economic viability and success. When describing the work-study

program, study participants made rare, direct mentions of the issues of culture and race, as demonstrated in the excerpts in table 12.

Table 12

Perspectives on the Corporate Work Study Program and Culture

Participants ID	Interview Excerpts
I15	It gives them those soft skills which they would not have learned before: how to shake someone's hand, how to answer the phone. In Mexican culture for a young person to look at an adult in the eye is considered disrespectful. When you shake someone's hand or you meet someone that is older than you, the polite thing is to revert your gaze. And, so all of a sudden this kid doesn't know how to shake hands, because they're afraid to look someone in the eye. So, we spend a lot of time on that telling them why that is important, and teaching them how to shake someone's hand.
I2	we give them Dale Carnegie training – a social capital
I19	when we go out and recruit companies we tell them minority recruiting is a big thing for them so you're reaching out to these kids when they're [in] high school so.

Many of the students in Cristo Rey schools not only work to cover their tuition, but acquire valuable experience, enlarge their worldviews, make important social contacts, and establish mentors that could assist them further into their academic/professional careers. The corporate work-study program contributed heavily to the education of the Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit students. The program begins during the summer before regular classes begin, with required classes that emphasize proper work etiquette for their corporate work-study assignment. Some of this etiquette includes communication skills, dress attire, how to shake hands, and other behaviors deemed deemed suitable in a workplace. The program also emphasizes the importance of relationships and social networking in living a successful life in a capitalist world. The

students get a glimpse of the American capitalist system, exposing them to wealth, power, and influence.

The social networking relationships that occur between the work sites and the Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit students play an integral role in not only their education, but also their future career prospects. Within Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit, several graduates have continued to work at their corporate work-study sites after high school graduation into their college years and beyond. In turn, the program gives the participating Fortune 500 companies a wonderful outlet to invest in the community, enhance the diversity of their own institutions, and tout their accomplishments to the public.

The issue of human dignity and privilege arise when these Ignatius Cristo Rey students are immersed into a capitalist world that is just as homogenous as the insiders overseeing the school. They are exposed to a world of privilege where they may feel they have to sacrifice their cultural identity and background to assimilate to the white, wealthy, male world of "success." Instead of working to help support their own families who are often in need, these student are required to work at these corporate work-study jobs to cover their education costs and to contribute to the financial sustainability of the school. In working these jobs, they have to assimilate or conform in the appropriate way or else be asked to leave the school.

There is an unspoken assumption that these students lack an ethic of hard work and that they must learn it. This assumption is alluded to in Payne's culture of poverty notion, and it is communicated in the mission statement of the Cristo Rey Jesuit school model. All Jesuit high schools have five hallmarks as their mission statement; Ignatius and other Cristo Rey Jesuit high schools include a sixth hallmark called "work

experience." This additional hallmark implies that these Cristo Rey students are in need of this character trait more, than their traditional student counterparts, perpetuating the stereotype that people of color lack a solid work ethic. The privilege or power is squarely with the corporate work-study sites and Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit, with the students and their families needing to comply in order to receive their education. Arrupian Jesuit social justice emphasizes the importance of the relationship in social justice work, which requires human dignity. Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit needs to be much more intentional in pursuing both of these aspects of Arrupian social justice.

The Prophetic Voice at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. Underlying the corporate work-study model is the Cristo Rey model's dependence on capitalism and wealth. As with the traditional school model, this dependency on wealth constrains the ability of the Cristo Rey model to be prophetic in terms of social justice issues. Their four years of corporate work-study experience gives students an invaluable experience in how to be successful within the American capitalist system, but it also teaches them to be less prophetic as economic wealth silences them. Exposed to economic power, students are taught to become more compliant to cultural norms, accepting the world the way it is in order to succeed. This contradicts the countercultural Arrupian social justice curriculum they receive in the classroom. The insiders in this study were comfortable with this situation. They saw little contradiction between capitalism and the prophetic voice needed to embody Arrupian social justice. However, the outliers did notice this potential contradiction between mission and institutional practice and sought to counter it. The excerpt below illustrates how this stance can be very challenging at times, such as when particular corporate work-study program sponsors have institutional practices that

counter the values of the Jesuit mission due to their labor practices within the United States and abroad.

> I think there was a tension with the corporate work-study program to a certain degree. I think the goal is to get the kids placed wherever the attorney's office or—the one that kind of struck me, but this happened after I left, but one of the big corporate sponsors is (Name of Company). They're an (description of) company. They have operations in third-world countries, and there's a lot of protest about the practices in terms of an environmental standpoints versus worker's standpoint. From talking to some faculty, I think they felt that tension as well. How do you really profess to be committed to social justice when you have a partnership with an entity that by all appearances is not questionable. O9

The Jesuit social justice dialectic reveals itself here between the classroom curriculum and the institutional practices at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. The Jesuit social justice dialectic involves critically assessing the corporate work-study sites in accordance to the values of Arrupian social justice, but then trying to balance that with the fiscal sustainability of the school. When it comes to Arrupian social justice, it can be impossible to achieve a balance that does not compromise human dignity, perpetuate privilege, and stifle prophetic voice. At the very least, an ongoing dialogue with the various constituencies of the school regarding these issues needs to happen. However, in this instance, instead of listening to the outliers, the corporate work-study office decided to have faculty shadow some of the students to their work-study sites to find out for themselves the value of the work-study experience, which was viewed as condescending on the part of some of the faculty. This further alienated these outliers causing many to leave the school. The corporate work-study office is a very powerful influence with Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit and all Cristo Rey schools because this office seeks to train students to succeed at the work site and maintain solid relationships with the work sites themselves. These relationships are critical to the sustainability of Ignatius Cristo Rey

Jesuit, signified by the status that the corporate work-study director has within Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit and all the other Cristo Rey schools. At Ignatius Cristo Rey as in many cases, the corporate work-study director was hired before the principal of the school. The corporate work-study program enhances the social capital of both the Cristo Rey institution and the students. It also allows all the Cristo Rey schools, including Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit, to establish long-term relationships with the wealthy, powerful corporations participating in the program. Therefore, the same social justice dialectic driven by capitalism in the traditional school model also exists within Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit, most prominently within the corporate work-study program.

Arrupian social justice calls for prophetic witness in words and action. At Ignatius Cristo Rey, this requires critiquing notions of the culture of poverty that forces students to disavow their cultural background as worthless. Culture of poverty contributes to a form of Western modernity that reinforces the injustices of capitalism, by asserting that only white, wealthy, males can succeed. The corporate work-study model needs to be cautious in espousing these values, which are contrary to Arrupian social justice. Together with the savior behavior and low expectations for Ignatius Cristo Rey students in comparison to other traditional Jesuit high school students, the human dignity of the community is compromised. All of these unfortunately suggest paternalistic and colonial tendencies that are oppressive to the community's relationship with Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit and its mission.

> And I don't mean just ethnic culture, but the culture of poverty is also such that there may be values and tension there. So how do you resolve those in a way, and not to be paternalistic, [but] or, you know, so how do you allow the development of conscience, personal freedom, and yet realize that you're in this milieu of a culture of poverty that may carry with it forces and factors that are acting against what you as a school are trying to do and accomplish. I7

This quote alludes to the diversion from Arrupian social justice and the Jesuit mission in the way Ignatius Cristo Rey implemented its mission. On the one hand, they are serving these poor students and families and seeking to elevate their status in society, but by emphasizing capitalist values, threatens their human dignity. In the pursuit of these values, Ignatius Cristo Rey made a critical error in judgment in equivocating human dignity to economic mobility and wealth. They did not see the human dignity of the students' cultural identity and background, which they instead saw as an impediment to their educational success. They reacted by viewing it as a cultural deficit and tried to have the students disassociate from it.

As these Ignatius Cristo Jesuit students are inculcated in the Jesuit mission, they are also inculcated with the culture of American success, which can compromise human dignity. Since its inception, the United States has always been about a few ideas that became values, such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; the American dream; American exceptionalism; and America as the land of opportunity. Underlying these hegemonic slogans was the idea that if you worked hard enough and invested in the American way of life that you would succeed. This implies that if you are not successful in this way that you were lazy and did not desire to be successful—that is, you existed within a culture of poverty.

Prophetic Witness in American Jesuit High School Education. The issue of poverty has continued to be a challenge to preserving human dignity in Jesuit high school education. The traditional Jesuit schools have moved into wealthier places serving wealthier populations. If they still remain in poor areas but do not serve the poor, they are usually fenced off or insulated from the local communities. Many traditional Jesuit high schools have out-priced themselves from not only the poor, but also middle-class Americans. In spite of this, traditional Jesuit high schools have taught a curriculum to their students that incorporate human dignity issues revolving around issues of diversity and poverty. Inspired in large part by Arrupe, the Jesuits have not only done this effectively in their classrooms, but through the extracurriculars they provided devoting time to service projects, justice conferences, and having days devoted to these issues for the entire school community. The hope is that through these programs, these students coming from wealthy, powerful, homogenous backgrounds will be exposed to aspects of the Jesuit mission having to do with poverty. This conflicts however, with the institutional practices of these traditional Jesuit high schools, which emphasize elevating their brand through the construction of outstanding facilities rather than exploring ways to include the poor into their community. Traditional Jesuit high school, while teaching students to be the best human beings they can be, also aspires to elevate the Jesuit brand so that their students can attend the finest colleges in the country. Success for a student from a traditional Jesuit high school includes being a fine human being, but being economically and politically successful is just as important. Arrupian social justice would argue the first part is more important than the second given the issue of human dignity. It would also argue that wealth, which is the result of capitalism, includes

structures of unjust privilege that requires dismantling and must be advocated against in a prophetic way. If the traditional Jesuit institutions were to pursue the critical reflection that Arrupian social justice advises, then they would essentially be biting the hand that feeds them. They would be putting their accumulated wealth and prestige, which comes from wealthy, white, suburban families, at risk. This is the Jesuit social justice dialectic at work within the traditional Jesuit high school model.

As globalization and capitalism were gaining a major foothold in the world, Arrupe repudiated the commodification of human value, describing it as a productive cog in the economic machine. He opposed any and all efforts to exploit human beings for profit. Human rights abuses of laborers throughout the world is an example of this, whether it is utilizing illegal immigrants without any protection from the law or past colonization or slavery. The growing emergence of materialism, consumerism, and immediate gratification as a result of humans' value being increasingly linked to their economic wealth is also a direct violation of human dignity. Due to these aspects, Arrupe was cautious about the growing role of wealth and economic productivity in daily human life. He blamed an overemphasis on capitalism, which defined relationships purely from a monetary perspective, as a cause of the degradation of human dignity and human relationships.

As it pertains to American Jesuit high school education, diversity and poverty remain the most challenging issues in terms of preserving human dignity. Jesuit secondary education in the United States has grappled with these issues in the context of American capitalism and culture. It is a culture that defines success as striving for economic and political influence with capitalism framing the purpose of every

relationship. This cultural compromise of human dignity was what Arrupe was concerned about. Jesuit institutions throughout the latter part of the twentieth century had to grapple with this theme in American culture, which was contrary to their Jesuit mission and to Catholic social teaching. Both emphasized human dignity as inherent to all human beings as children of God. The institutions usually compromised by being countercultural within their classrooms, but pragmatically conforming to some cultural capitalist norms in their institutional practices, for example, advocating for the poor by incorporating service projects into the student curriculum while continuing to cater their educational institution to a wealthy population. Throughout the mid-twentieth century, American Jesuit education continued to educate primarily white male students. This changed slowly as integration in America began to take root and Jesuit institutions followed this positive American cultural trend by providing greater access to women and people of color. Though this is improving, structural diversity continues to be a challenge for Jesuit high school education. Women and students of color remain underrepresented among the Jesuit student body as the historigraphic data and literature review contends. The racial and gender diversity within Jesuit education leadership and faculty is even slower to progress if not completely nonexistent at certain traditional Jesuit high schools. While the numbers are improving in terms of both student and staff diversity, the rate of change continues to be very slow and is significantly slower than the American national population growth rate.

Summation

Ignatius Cristo Rey High School is dependent on a constituency of insiders who are white, wealthy, and capitalistic trying to engage through Jesuit secondary education

with people of color who are poor and marginalized. The insiders, who come from a traditional Jesuit high school pedigree, contribute and scaffold this Cristo Rey model school. They played an important role in the creation, sustenance, and support of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit School, serving as leaders, faculty, fiscal donors, and board of trustees. They collectively and prophetically advocated for greater investment into poor, Catholic urban populations by the Catholic hierarchy. The benefit of this type of support from insiders comes with challenges to the Jesuit social justice mission. Due to the homogeneity of the insiders leading Ignatius Cristo Rey, there emerged a cultural knowledge gap that constrained Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit in their community engagement efforts. The power held by these insiders and their parochialism proved a challenging roadblock in addressing these issues. The passion for the school's social justice mission combined with the extensive parochial power of the leaders of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit produced mixed results that maintain the dialectic. The ability to consolidate people and resources in a swift manner to address Catholic urban education through the creation of a Cristo Rey school was made possible by the unity, power, and passion of the insiders for the Jesuit mission. It was this same unity and power that also contributed to many of the challenges within Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. The lack of cultural knowledge and/or sensitivity compromised the human dignity of the community Ignatius Cristo Rey sought to communally engage and provide a quality education for. As these issues continued to arise, the insiders became more resolute and insular and chose to ignore culture completely as issue in the mission of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit, focusing instead on socio-economic status and Payne's culture of poverty framework. Human dignity was further compromised by Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit's cultural deficit

perspective of the community. The insiders ignored the call to dismantle privilege and in many ways they perpetuated it. Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit also turned away from this call because they needed the wealth and power from the privileged insiders to survive. In terms of prophetic action, the insiders were fearless and unified in calling out the Catholic Church hierarchy for their lack of engagement with the urban American poor. However, these same insiders reflected a lack of prophetic action as it pertained to systemic economic inequality in America. Capitalism reinforces structures of privilege and power within the Jesuit institutions themselves while silencing outliers on major social justice issues. The three aspects of Arrupian social justice—human dignity, dismantling privilege, and prophetic action—attempt to coexist with capitalism in Jesuit American high school education, creating what is known as the Jesuit social justice dialectic.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the findings of the case-study data and presents the major conclusions. The key major finding of this study is the significant role that capitalism plays in Jesuit high school education's attempt to preserve the Jesuit brand while attempting to stay true to the Jesuit mission. The intent to balance both goals within the context of American capitalism is the basis for the Jesuit social justice dialectic that exists in American Jesuit Secondary Education. American Jesuit high educators grapple with maintaining this dialectic and embodying the values of Arrupian social justice. They have collectively concluded that influence and power in America requires an ongoing influx of economic wealth to promote the Jesuit brand in order to spread the Jesuit mission. Placing the Jesuit brand at the same priority level--if not ahead of--the Jesuit mission, makes it challenging to maintain the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit secondary education. The case-study data reveals that the parochialism of the Jesuit secondary educational community combined with an intensely loyal passion to see the Jesuit mission come to fruition only reinforces this reliance on capitalism. Consequently, Arrupian social justice is not prophetic enough to challenge or change institutional policies too dependent on capitalism in American Jesuit Secondary Education.

This study explores the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit secondary education in two specific ways. First, it looks at the Cristo Rey school model and compares it to the traditional Jesuit high school model. Second, it looks at the curriculum of Arrupian Jesuit social justice taught in the classroom at traditional Jesuit high schools

and compares it to the schools' institutional practices. Attempting to maintain the social justice dialectic--the balance between capitalism and Arrupian social justice values--encapsulates the three main conclusions of this study. The first conclusion is that the Jesuit social justice dialectic within the traditional Jesuit high schools is ceasing to exist because the institutional practice to protect the Jesuit brand is becoming harder to reconcile with the Jesuit mission of social justice. The second conclusion is that the Cristo Rey school model, while successful in its mission to serve the urban poor, also embodies tendencies similar to the traditional model in terms of the dependence on economic wealth and this often conflicts with Arrupian social justice. The third conclusion is that the Jesuit social justice dialectic--a characteristic of the Jesuit mission--is in a delicate, tenous position within both two Jesuit high school models, which results in the perpetuation of injustices throughout the world including the coloniality of power..

American Jesuit Secondary Education and the American Narrative

The American narrative scaffolds American capitalism and continues to influence Jesuit high school education. This narrative remains heavily endowed with notions of American exceptionalism and the American dream. American exceptionalism is a form of civic engagement and neighborly concern for the welfare of society (De Tocqueville, 2003). The American dream is the notion that someone possessing a talent and a strong work ethic will be successful in attaining their dreams in America (Adams, 1938). American exceptionalism and the American dream both endorse the ideal of American freedom in which it is conceivable that one could contribute freely and voluntarily to the greater communal good while pursuing individual success.

Notions of American exceptionalism and the American dream fail to acknowledge the underbelly of this American narrative, which is linked closely to capitalism. The economic disparity between Americans has grown in terms of wages and income disparity. Economic wealth is going to a select group and not being distributed evenly among the entire populace ## (Stiglitz, 2012). As these economic issues become more prominent, socio-economic class becomes a more divisive issue, thus hindering American communitarianism, and therefore American exceptionalism. A growing social distance framed around socio-economic class and race is emerging. American exceptionalism in terms of civic engagement and service is taking a backseat to the all-out pursuit of the American dream. The American dream, in turn, is becoming more centered on the individual and more based on economics. The myth of the meritocracy, a staple in the American narrative, spurs the idea that instead of complaining about inequality and injustice, one should focus on working hard to be successful in acquiring the American Dream. All of this is contributing to a growing insularity and subsequent social dissonance in terms of growing divisions within American society (Hayes, 2012). In addition, American exceptionalism often takes place only among an elite, select group that at times excludes women, people of color, the urban poor, and other emergent demographic groups. White male supremacy is and has always been the backdrop in which American exceptionalism and the American dream exist. These conditions make the pursuit of the American dream contingent on one's willingness to conform to the American capitalist system and on one's acceptance of a role in it regardless of equity, fairness, or freedom.

American Jesuit high school education is in concert with these trends of contemporary American culture: its myth of meritocracy, its prioritizing of individualism, and its pursuit of material wealth. Jesuit education views the pursuit of the American dream as something akin to the Jesuit idea of *magis*--the pursuit of "the more" (Barry, 1991; Fleming, 1996; O'Malley, 1993). American Jesuit high schools also gravitate to the idea of American exceptionalism and the importance of charity as part of their mission. These aspects of American narrative influence Jesuit education to become more about individual achievement and success to be followed by collective, voluntary--not mandated--communal service in this specific linear order, not in sychronicity. Though the American Jesuit high schools see the grave injustices in American society, they are often conflicted in how to deal with these issues from a mission standpoint due to concerns of putting their brand at risk. Because of the power of capitalism, Jesuit high school education in America is closely aligned with the very wealthy in America. This alignment contributes to the disparity of opportunity and access by all to a Jesuit high school education. Consequently, Jesuit institutions constrain themselves from prophetically critiquing the injustice of certain societal structures that benefit the rich and marginalize the poor. Jesuit high schools abide by notions of the American narrative while being silent on issues of unjust privilege that contribute to this narrative. Instead, these schools endorse tools of meriotocracy, for example, inflating the value of standardized testing and the power of social status in education. The result is a rugged individualism that can be very self-serving and worldly in pursuit of earthly power. The result is a view of social justice that is charity-based, lacking human engagement, and

denying systemic inequality, which compromises the human dignity of the marginalized, often blaming them for their own predicament.

The Cristo Rey Model and the Jesuit Social Justice Dialectic

The Cristo Rey model addresses the diminishing outreach of the traditional Jesuit high school model towards the marginalized. Indeed, the Cristo Rey Model is a substantial contribution to the narrative of American Urban Education. The innovative corporate work-study program provides not only financial sustainability for the students and the school, but an incredible opportunity for social networking and the expansion of worldview for the students. Along with the corporate work study program, as the Cristo Rey college partnership programs continue to become more established, these burgeoning partnerships ensure important educational continuity for Cristo Rey students so that they can succeed in college. These partnerships with the colleges provide additional financial assistance and mentorship at the college level. The success of the Cristo Rey model is a testament to the dedication of many educators to the urban poor who view urban education as a social justice issue.

In the midst of its successes, the Cristo Rey model maintains a heavy reliance on capitalism. Capitalism endeavors to frame all human values and relationships around economic profit, which may result in forms of systemic injustice leading to a compromise of human dignity and the presence of unjust structures of biased privilege. The corporate work-study program embeds the Cristo Rey institutions in the capitalist system, increasing their dependence on capitalism and potentially stifling their prophetic voice so essential to Arrupian social justice and to their mission. As a result of their dependence on corporate largesse, the Cristo Rey Jesuit schools teach the value of human dignity, but

are selectively prophetic in considering issues of privilege and systemic inequality. While the Jesuit values of Arrupian social justice are presented to students in the classrooms, these values are undermined by the values being espoused by the Corporate Work Study Office. A heavy investment of time and resources is spent training these primarily urban students of color to be user-friendly to their corporate work-study sites. This includes proper social etiquette, dress code, and presentation to a primarily white wealthy capitalist environment. When a clash occurs between the Arrupian social justice based curriculum in the classroom and the capitalist desires of the corporate work-study model, the latter usually prevails. The Cristo Rey Jesuit High Schools maintain this Jesuit social justice dialectic in that it is primarily the wealthy, powerful constituents from the traditional Jesuit high school model that creates, supports, and sustains these urban schools. While the altruism and generosity of these constituents is to be commended, they are also embedded in a value system that is tainted by issues of privilege that is the result of American capitalism.

American Jesuit secondary educational institutions build and sustain their brand utilizing American capitalist principles that have built America's wealth disproportionately creating a class of marginalized citizens and systemic injustice. In spite of this, these institutions attempt to balance their practices by espousing a social justice mission in the curriculum to ensure the Jesuit social justice dialectic is intact. The competitive nature of capitalism and the trend towards a form of hypercapitalism is challenging the Jesuit social justice dialectic in American Jesuit high schools today. As has been seen, one of the results of economic disparity between constituents is the racial segregation between the two school models, Cristo Rey and traditional Jesuit schools.

This racial segregation contributes to the coloniality of power. Coloniality of power is the stratification of the world's labor force in the service of globalization. Its chief function is the spread of world capitalism and to frame all world relationships around the single idea of economic production (A. Quijano, 2000). The two models of Jesuit high school education contributes to racial school segregation with the traditional schools maintaining an upper, elite, white student class and the Cristo Rey model working with a lower socio-economic status, racially diverse, urban student class. Segregation of Jesuit secondary education contributes to future stratification of the labor force and coloniality of power by turning students into capitalists (traditional model graduates) and laborers (Cristo Rey model graduates). If this stratification continues in American Jesuit high schools, it could influence American society towards further economic and racial stratification. The Jesuits are hindered in their outreach efforts to the world by this system. The result will be a reinforcing of coloniality in which people of color continue to work lower level jobs often for the powerful, who are still predominantly represent the caucasian population from European or American descent. The Cristo Rey School model, therefore, provides the space for the coloniality of power by providing a separate space for the Jesuit education of the urban poor who are mostly people of color. By having poor students work for wealthy companies and corporations to cover their tuition costs, the corporate work study model is the main catalyst of this colonial space used to financially support the Cristo Rey school model (Couture, 2007).

Implications and Recommendations of Findings

Arrupian Social Justice reiterates the importance of a social justice that embodies the gift of God's love expressed to all human beings. The Jesuit mission emphasizes this

importance by reinforcing the importance of building an inclusive community through cultural immersion and social justice. American Jesuit Secondary Education is struggling to stay true to this mission as it continues to cater to a predominantly wealthy, homogenous, clientele becoming more reliant on the economic wealth of this clientele. The Cristo Rey model, created to address these issues in the Jesuit mission, is maintaining the legacy of American Catholic Jesuit education and their continuing outreach to immigrant, urban communities of color. The bridging of communities within American Jesuit High School education, however, is constrained by its reliance on capitalism to promote its brand as demonstrated in this case study. As a result, it is difficult to have genuine relationships among the various communities within the Cristo Rey model; often, the interactions between constituents are purely transactional. The key implication of this case study is that instead of building community through the bridging together of diverse communities, the Cristo Rey model is actually segregating the population and contributing to the growing social distance of American society.

The Cristo Rey school model seeks to address the social justice issue of urban education but needs to critically assess how much of a factor race and cultural sensitivity play in this mission. The separation of communities contributes to the false perceptions of various cultures that are potentially harmful. Power and privilege in the form of a lack of diversity among Cristo Rey school leadership prevent these false perceptions of culture from being critiqued and/or corrected. In the case study data, Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit high school showed no inkling of the need to invest in issues of race and culture. This lack reflects the privilege that resides in pockets of Jesuit education. The demographics of the sample, the result of the snowball sample selection, reflects the coloniality of

power that exists within the power structures of the school's leadership itself, in that there is a lack of diverse voices to introduce or carry on a critical dialogue on these issues. The case study school's inability to have this critical dialogue results in them relying on Ruby Payne's overgeneralized, cultural deficit ideas about poverty. The case study findings reveal the need for greater understanding of the important roles issues of culture and engagement play in their mission of urban education. This can only happen if Cristo Rey Jesuit schools intentionally engage more with the community they work with and seek genuine value and worth that speaks of the character of their students. There are funds of knowledge that must be tapped into to counterbalance the cultural deficit perspective (Gonzalez et al., 2005). These issues of race and culture are much more complex than simply providing an educational venue for urban, marginalized students of color. Issues of power, privilege, and coloniality must be included in these dialogues for them to be relevant.

Linked to issues of race and culture is the disparity of power among that reinforces the growing social distance within the Cristo Rey model and its many constituents. Based on the data, this disparity is particularly true between the constituents from the traditional Jesuit high school model that often support the Cristo Rey school model and the local communities being served by it. The Cristo Rey school model is intended to give urban, poor students of color the same quality education and access to opportunities as their traditional Jesuit high school counterparts. The case study findings tell a different story in which there are differences characterized in the data in terms of school standards, student expectations, and quality of facilities in contrast to traditional Jesuit high schools. These differences contribute to the further stratification of the Jesuit

high school student population between the two types of Jesuit high schools and perpetuate future coloniality of power. The implication of this is that American Jesuit high school education has defined a space, the Cristo Rey school model, where the coloniality of power resides. Jesuit high school educators can and should shrink this social distance of power and privilege by working to ensure the same quality facilities, student expectations, parent/school relationships, and mission opportunities at both Jesuit high school models.

The Cristo Rey model targets specifically an urban population who is poor and marginalized; it is the central premise of the model. The acceptance of students is not based on merit, but on economic need. Traditional Jesuit high schools are the exact opposite. The traditional Jesuit brand promotes the concept of merit in its student population--endorsing it with entrance exam scores, high academic grades, and extracurricular activities as qualifications for acceptance. The result is a contradictory message of its educational purpose conveyed by each model regarding the overall mission of Jesuit secondary education. The traditional Jesuit high school espouses educational excellence and the Cristo Rey Jesuit School espouses charity. This contradiction contributes to traditional Jesuit high school becoming more and more elitist while solely leaving it to the Cristo Rey Jesuit schools to address issues of justice, resulting in a multi-tier form of Jesuit education. To ensure less racial segregation and inclusivity between the school models, educational excellence and issues of equity should be considerations of both Jesuit high school models. Cristo Rey schools while being inclusive needs to hold their students to the highest standards and accountability similar to the traditional Jesuit high schools. The Traditional Jesuit high schools, in turn, should

explore being more inclusive of students who might not represent the traditional requirements for admission, but possess a potential worth tapping into.

The case-study school, Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit high school, concludes that the Jesuit social justice dialectic is teetering off balance. The selling of the Jesuit brand appears to be taking priority over the enactment of the Jesuit mission. As a result, the dialectic is leaning towards becoming more reliant on economic wealth while not enough of an emphasis is placed on the inherent value of learning, personal spiritual growth, importance of family/friends, civic engagement, and Arrupian social justice. Jesuit educators, leaders, and policy makers within American Jesuit Secondary Education need to consider the broader implications of the Jesuit social justice dialectic with the two school models and the role capitalism is playing in influencing this social distance in American society. Perhaps a reevaluation of the prominence and purpose of the corporate work-study model is in order. The corporate work-study model-- while essential--must be critically assessed in terms of the level of investment that the Cristo Rey School puts into at the expense of other aspects of the students' experience. With new federal legislation providing some Cristo Rey schools access to parent voucher plans, the corporate work-study program might not be as essential to the fiscal sustainability of some of these schools. The work-study model should be calibrated with the other important aspects of the school such as academic, extracurricular, and the Jesuit mission

Summation. While American Jesuit secondary education seeks to influence American culture, American culture continues to have a major influence on Jesuit high schools in both positive and challenging ways. Jesuit secondary education is influenced

by the American narrative, which causes it to refrain from being more forceful at times in applying the principles of Arrupian social justice. Proponents of the current state of the Jesuit social justice dialectic point to the immense challenge of doing justice in an unjust world. They point to the Jesuit dialectic, which argues that economic wealth lends a prestige and political influence to the Jesuit brand that the Jesuits require to transform the world through their mission. They point to the Jesuit social justice dialectic and the formation of the Cristo Rey school model as a mechanism that can build bridges between various constituents and break down economic, racial, and gender barriers in Jesuit Secondary Education. However, this model appears to cause more segregation because it overlooks integral aspects of Arrupian social justice: the building of an inclusive community that requires the dismantlement of biased privilege. Dealing with privilege contrasts inherent human dignity and prophetically speaking out with the increasing economic inequality resulting from an excess of capitalism. Jesuit institutions must critically explore their dependence on capitalism and how this dependence constrains their Jesuit mission, particularly as it pertains to Arrupian social justice. Ignoring these aspects reduces programs such as Cristo Rey to the level of bourgeoisie charity and is colonial in nature--compromising essential human dignity. Consequently, the American Jesuit high schools, from both school models, present a conflicted characterization of Jesuit educational success coded with notions of success that seek influence and power in pursuit of transforming the world into a better place.

As documented in the historiography chapter, the Jesuits themselves have a history of capitalism and colonization. Their penchant for material wealth and political influence served as part of the rationale for their suppression by the Pope in the late 18th

century. Jesuits must look at their own history as a guide and see how linking economic wealth to inherent human value is problematic in terms of building community. These emergent challenges to the Jesuit social justice dialectic require that the Jesuit high schools reflect on the central question of how important the Jesuit brand is in comparison to the authenticity of the Jesuit mission. This question is the foundation of the Jesuit social justice dialectic in terms of Jesuit high school education and the high premium it places on certain American values (elitism, individualism, meritocracy, and charity) at the possible expense of Arrupian social justice (prophetic witness, looking to dismantle unjust privileges, and maintaining the human dignity of all human beings). These issues are central to the Jesuit mission and the future of Jesuit secondary education in America. What is required is a collective reassessment of American Jesuit Secondary education in the context of American culture as it pertains directly to the Jesuit mission and the brand as distinct entities not always interchangeable.

Limitations and Future Research

A key limitation of this study is the dilemma of scale--the initial size and scope in terms of the number of participants, the initial number of schools involved, and number of research questions. This study began with both large- and small-scale considerations and proved overly ambitious. As the enormity of the task to achieve both levels of considerations became apparent, the downsizing process began. In terms of research questions, the process of narrowing the research questions down and the formulation of sub-questions became an ongoing, painstaking process. Future researchers would benefit from determining the scale of the study from the onset and being faithful to it.

A second limitation is the reflexivity of the researcher in regards to the general topic of this study, American Jesuit Secondary Education. The extensive pedigree of the researcher in Jesuit secondary education was advantageous in quickly determining a problem space, providing background, contextual information, and quickly setting up the necessary logistics to carry out efficient data gathering. This included using social connections to acquire quick consent for the case study as well as the quick recruitment of research participants to participate in the study. Even when it was a snowball sample, the researcher's connection to Jesuit education provided greater access and exposure to participants, which produced mixed results. While the researcher's reflexivity provided quick access, it might have limited the sample pool--despite the snowball sample. This reflexivity proved a limitation because of the close proximity of researcher to the social capital of the research problem space area. The researcher possessed an ingrained worldview of overall Jesuit secondary education that consisted of opinions and perspectives that had to be unlearned when analyzing the data findings and determining the conclusions. This required greater discipline and awareness on the part of the researcher and due diligence in the final parts of the study.

Recommendations for Future Study

Cultural immersion and social justice are major catalysts for Jesuit Catholic evangelization, dating back to its inception and continuing to this day. Future studies need to explore immersion and justice in greater depth in American Jesuit high school education. With the Cristo Rey school model, exploring the coexistence of school culture and home culture for the student, families, schools, and communities involved is essential. This case study provides a starting point, but further study is needed regarding

urban education. Likewise, various forms of cultural coexistence should be also explored within the traditional Jesuit high school model (looking at how and/or if the growing economic disparity and social distance is affecting the essential relationships, for example). One could explore how specific types of relationships (such as parent and teacher or school and community) in both Jesuit school models embody the Jesuit mission and/or the Jesuit brand. Future studies also need to explore in greater depth some of the differences between the educational experiences of the two school models and how these should be addressed in collective American Jesuit high school education as a whole. Future studies could focus on specific aspects of the Cristo Rey model apart from the Jesuits--looking at areas where the model is succeeding or perhaps how other urban educational models are incorporating successes into their own vision of urban education.

One of the major objectives in this study is to present a narrative of Jesuit secondary education and the Cristo Rey school model to bring this innovative idea for urban education to the attention of the readers and illustrate the complexities of bringing the model to fruition. For this reason, this study was designed to be qualitative. Future studies could benefit in adapting a mixed-methods approach including a quantitative component that, for example, looks at school test scores, statistical grades related to high school, college persistence factors, and future career salaries, making comparisons between the two Jesuit school models to further explore the Jesuit social justice dialectic.

In addition, future studies could explore either a macro or micro focus on various constituents of the Cristo Rey model. For example, the Cristo Rey Network (or one the many foundations investing in this model), the Jesuit Secondary Educational Association, the Catholic Archdiocese, or the corporations participating in the corporate work-study

program could be closely examined. One can focus on specific geographic regions of the country and the potential role this Cristo Rey model of education can play, particularly in the rural regions of America where currently Jesuit and/or Cristo Rey programs are unavailable. One might want to explore more what can be done to provide rural educational opportunities throughout America where poverty exists but is often hidden.

Quality urban education is an important issue in the United States and is key to the Jesuit mission. While this study sheds light on this issue and presents the Cristo Rey Model as a possible answer, more research is required to assess this model from both a mission and pragmatic perspectives. Cristo Rey's place in both the Catholic, Jesuit mission and in the narrative of American urban education is essential, particularly in the context of American capitalism.

Conclusion

Intensive critical reflection is required on behalf of the leaders of American Jesuit secondary education regarding the current Jesuit social justice dialectic that is represented by the traditional and Cristo Rey school models. This reflection is required not only of the Jesuits at these institutions, but also of the laity/nonclergy who continue to take on more leadership roles and ownership of the Jesuit mission. As this study shows, it would be beneficial to this critical reflection if Jesuit institutions sought to include diverse voices into the dialogue to avoid insularity, which would require a genuine openness to engage with those outside of the typical Jesuit social, political network. The emergence of the Cristo Rey school model embodies the Jesuit mission by addressing the issue of urban education in America to some degree, but it has not affected the traditional Jesuit high school model or its growing reliance on capitalism that is compromising the Jesuit

mission at these institutions. Jesuits' growing dependency on wealth and power to expand the Jesuit brand is having an inverse effect on the authentic practice of the Jesuit mission. The danger of a moral hazard looms ahead in the form of mission creep for traditional Jesuit high schools if they do not put the brakes on this trend. Perhaps Jesuit secondary education would benefit from looking back at its own history for some perspective. In particular, a review could be made of the financial dealings that contributed to the Jesuit suppression in the late 17th century. American Jesuit high school leaders need to be aware of this historical precedent, particularly within the current state of traditional Jesuit high school model and its intermingling in American capitalist culture. They need to acknowledge the effect that the dominant American culture has on their mission and reassess its influence as it pertains to the American narrative.

The Jesuits realized when they ventured into the field of education that it could serve as a change agent for society and culture. In the spirit of Paulo Freire, they realized that "education is a political act" and could serve as a catalyst for their mission goal of Catholic evangelization worldwide. Contemporary American Jesuits see urban education as an opportunity to produce similar results. What began with the first Cristo Rey Jesuit School in Chicago is today blossoming into a network of Catholic Cristo Rey Schools spread out throughout the United States. These schools are transforming society by providing a quality education to those who otherwise would not have access to it. The vision of the Cristo Rey model is ambitious and large scale, but the task of urban education needs to be about community engagement, an important component of social justice. Notions of charity manifest in savior complexes or rescue behavior are counter to the spirit of relationship building essential in Arrupian social justice. The blending of the

variety of people and relationships involved in this Jesuit mission are crucial (as in all American urban education) but requires a relinquishing of unjust privilege and a critical self assessment of power dynamics within their order. Community building will be the measuring stick by which the success of Jesuit secondary educational will be determined. The American dream can become a greater reality for more its citizens only by tapping into its greatest asset, its wonderful diversity. This will require the cornerstones of the Jesuit mission: cultural immersion and social justice to become prominent again within their mission. The Jesuit social justice dialectic has proven to be an affective technique of the Jesuits in seeing their mission come to fruition in the past. It is time for Jesuit secondary education to explore their Jesuitical nature critically as it relates to the the Jesuit mission in terms of what the future holds.

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