EXTENDING THEORIES OF CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE PEDAGOGY: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC EXAMINATION OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLING IN AN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY IN CHICAGO

by

Christian M. Dallavis

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Anne Ruggles Gere, Chair
Professor Jeffrey E. Mirel
Associate Professor Anne Leslie Curzan
Associate Professor Lesley Ann Rex

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Dedication

To my great-aunt, Sister Olive Louise Dallavis, CSJ, whose reminder that "patience gains all things" remained tacked above my desk as I wrote this dissertation. With thanks for her lifetime of commitment to Catholic education and for the love, support, and encouragement she shares with each member of our family.

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the intersection of culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP), Catholic schooling, and immigrant education. Theories of culturally responsive pedagogy emerged in the 1990s in response to demographic changes that brought the educational concerns of cultural and language minority students to the forefront. Culture-centered education, however, is not a new phenomenon; Catholic schools, for example, originated as culturally responsive institutions for 19th-century immigrants. Today, more than two million students attend more than 7,000 Catholic schools in the United States, many of them cultural minorities or children of immigrants. This research focuses on one of those Catholic schools in Chicago that has served immigrant communities for more than a century.

This qualitative research study contributes to theories of CRP in two distinct ways. First, this research extends theories of CRP to consider religion, a dimension of student culture that has largely been overlooked in the literature surrounding CRP. In particular, this dissertation demonstrates how religious belief, identity, and practice can inflect cultural competence. Second, this research points to tensions that emerge when teachers seek to foster sociopolitical consciousness, an important tenet of CRP, in the Catholic school context. As a result, this dissertation complicates the notion of forming sociopolitical consciousness as a dimension of CRP and it builds on theories of CRP to theorize a form of culturally responsive pedagogy possible in the Catholic school context.

Through archival research, this project places theories of CRP into historical context, identifying the historical qualities and practices of Catholic schooling that resonate with contemporary theories of culturally responsive education. Through ethnographic observations and interviews, this project also identifies the qualities and practices of a contemporary Catholic school that reflect cultural responsiveness. In particular, this study describes how religious connections between the home and school

facilitate cultural competence and how teachers in Catholic schools might struggle to foster a sociopolitical consciousness in students.

This study also contributes to the field of school leadership in Catholic education. By pointing toward features of culturally responsive pedagogy that are particularly well-suited for Catholic schools, this dissertation suggests ways to enhance the education offered in urban Catholic schools serving immigrant communities.

Chapter 1: The demographic imperative

Introduction

Between the Pilsen neighborhood in Chicago and my home in South Bend, Indiana, there is a billboard on the north side of the tollway that features an iconic image of Albert Einstein sticking out his tongue. The sign reads, "As a student, he was no Einstein. Confidence: Pass it on." The sign is part of a national campaign sponsored by an organization called "The Foundation for a Better Life" consisting of inspirational images and quotations encouraging passers-by to be more heroic, strong, creative, patriotic, daring, or persistent.

The sign draws upon the well-known story of the genius Einstein's failure as a student in school, which, according to a recent biography, has made Einstein "the patron saint of distracted school kids everywhere" (Isaacson, 2007, p. 9). Culturally, the story of Einstein's failure in schooling—like all the other stories told by the images and taglines featured in this series of billboards[1]—works to inspire and comfort us while reinforcing an aspect of our collective American identity. The cultural narrative about Einstein's failure serves at least two purposes: it helps struggling students feel better about their long-term potential, and it comforts us with the idea that our own genius might be misunderstood or go unrecognized. Any one of us may be the next Einstein, no matter how low our grades may be.

The story of Einstein's failure, however, is not entirely true—or at least, it's not true in ways that would support the cultural narrative that the billboard promotes. Einstein's most recent biographer notes that, while his childhood "offers history many savory ironies," the idea that Einstein was a poor student "is not one of them" (Isaacson, 2007, p. 16). Einstein was, in fact, "a wonderful student" (p. 16) and was even something of a prodigy. It is true, however, that Einstein famously failed an important entrance examination in 1895 for a university in Zurich, and this incident is probably the kernel of truth that gave rise to the claim that even Einstein "was no Einstein." He did not, however, fail the Zurich exam because he was a poor student. Instead, it appears that he failed the test because of a language barrier—the young German Einstein was being taught and tested in French (Isaacson, 2007; Mathews & Strauss, 2001). He passed the math and science sections but failed the general test, and so he was required to take a year of private lessons in French before he could be admitted to the university.

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[1] Each sign consists of an image and an inspirational tagline. For example, a picture of Abraham Lincoln says, "Failed, Failed, Failed…And then…. Persistence: Pass it on." An image of a firefighter from September 11 says, "When others ran out, he rushed in. Courage: Pass it on." An image of the World Trade Center rubble and an American flag reads, "No setback will set us back. Determination: Pass it on." Images at: http://www.forbetterlife.org/main.asp?section=billboards&language=eng.

Our cultural narrative about Einstein allows us to believe that even geniuses can fail at school. The story helps us believe that schools and teachers may not always recognize exceptional intelligence, and it encourages us to believe that the classroom may provide limited opportunities for extraordinary intellect to flourish. But the real story behind Einstein's failure—that it was a result of a language barrier—reflects a simpler but, in the context of contemporary American education, more troubling truth. Einstein simply did not know the language of the school, and as a result, the young genius, who would soon change the way we view the universe, flunked a test.

Einstein's failure on that test, then, was a function of his immigration from Germany to Zurich, and this failure has implications for all immigrants learning in cultures and languages different from their homes. If language and culture barriers can cause even Einstein to fail, then what of the millions of non-English speaking immigrants who have come to the United States in recent years? What of the one-fifth of all children in the United States who are the children of immigrants (Waters & Ueda, 2007)? Or the one-third of all children in Chicago who are Latino, more than a quarter of whom grow up in "linguistically isolated" households, and 33% of whom speak English less than "very well" (Ready & Brown-Gort, 2005)? What will become of them?

Research tells us that many of the immigrant students in U.S. schools today will suffer the same short-term fate that Einstein experienced in Zurich—academic failure (Ready & Brown-Gort, 2005). For many of these immigrants, however, that failure will be more extensive than a single test, and it will also be more damning in terms of its impact on their futures. As Suàrez-Orozco and Suàrez-Orozco state, "Formal schooling has become a high-stakes goal for children of immigrants. For many of them, schooling is the *only* ticket for a better tomorrow" (2002, p. 124, emphasis in original). Einstein was able to study the language for a year and re-apply, and so he managed to survive his failure at Zurich. Research suggests, however, that it is unlikely that the children of immigration in the contemporary United States will enjoy such second chances or recover as easily.

This dissertation examines the educational opportunities that many children of immigration experience in the United States. In particular, this project examines the experience of schooling for the children of immigrant families who attend Catholic schools in urban areas in the United States. By examining the history of Catholic schooling for immigrants in Chicago and by considering one contemporary Catholic school that serves an immigrant population, this research seeks to investigate the intersection of Catholic education and culture-centered pedagogy in the context of urban immigrant communities.

The demographic imperative

Language differences, like those that contributed to Einstein's difficulties in Zurich, represent one dimension of the larger phenomenon of increasing cultural diversity in American schools. Dramatic demographic shifts arising from large-scale migration have brought the academic needs of culturally diverse students to the forefront of education concerns. In recent years, U.S. classrooms have seen a rapid rise in the portion of students who belong to a racial or ethnic minority group. Reports issued by the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) illustrate what some researchers call the "demographic imperative" (Dilworth, 1992), which refers to the need, triggered by demographic trends, to improve urban education for the growing number of minority students in American classrooms. For example, in the western region of the United States, the NCES reports that White students became a minority group for the first time in 2003, with non-White students comprising 54% of the student population. Nationwide, 42% of all public school students belonged to an ethnic or racial minority group in 2003, up from 22% in 1972 (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2005). By contrast, the teaching force remains mostly White: a recent Schools and Staffing Survey conducted by NCES indicates that, in 2003-04, 83.7% of all U.S. teachers were White, 7.4% were Black, and 6.0% were Latino (Strizek, Pittsonberger, Riordan, Lyter, & Orlofsky, 2006).

This increase in student diversity includes a rapidly growing number of Latino students, many of whom are language minority[2] students. By 2000, Latinos had eclipsed African Americans as the largest minority group in the United States (Waters & Ueda, 2007). The percentage of Latino students in American schools has more than tripled since 1972, accounting for nearly one in five students by 2003. In the two largest school districts in the United States, New York and Los Angeles, Latinos account for the majority of students (Telles & Ortiz, 2007). The number of students who speak a language other than English at home increased to 19% of all public school students in 2003 (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2005). The number of students limited in their English proficiency has risen by 150% in the last decade, and by 2025, it is estimated that a quarter of all public school students will come from non-English speaking homes (Goldenberg, 2006).

Immigration accounts for much of this growth in diversity. Between 2000 and 2005 alone, nearly eight million immigrants entered the United States, increasing the total population of foreign-born residents to 35.2 million people. By 2000, one in nine residents was an immigrant and, as mentioned above, one of every five children in the United States were the children of immigrants (Waters & Ueda, 2007). Even the grandchildren of immigrants were found to maintain cultural and linguistic identities. For example, while previous waves of European immigrants tended to assimilate culturally and linguistically in a generation or two, contemporary Latino immigrant descendents maintain their cultural and linguistic ties with more persistence. For example, in 1999, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that 95% of first-generation Latinos in the United States were bilingual, but also noted that 90% of second-generation, 43% of third-generation, and 30% of fourth-generation Latinos also maintained their family's native tongue (López & Estrada, 2007).

Large urban areas are home to particularly dense clusters of language minority students. Many of these children live in segregated ethnic enclaves, where students "are clustered into under-resourced, high-poverty schools that too often have not met the expectations of residents" (Ready & Brown-Gort, p. 15). Latino students in particular find themselves in heavily segregated schools that "tend to be the most underfunded, with few advanced courses and the most low-level technical courses" (Telles & Ortiz, 2007, p. 199). Research underscores the failure of these urban schools, particularly for Latino students. In 2000, only 29.7% of U.S. residents of Mexican origin had graduated high school, and only 4.2% had college degrees. For native-born U.S. residents, these figures were 83.3% and 24.4%, respectively (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). And while college attendance rates have risen for African American and White students over the past few decades, Latino rates have not improved (Suàrez-Orozco & Suàrez-Orozco, 2007). Perhaps most troubling is research suggesting that "the educational progress of Mexican Americans does not improve over the generations" (Telles & Ortiz, 2007, p. 210); the gap is evident even into the fourth-generation for Mexican Americans, whose high school graduation rates are 17% behind their U.S.-born non-Hispanic[3] White peers (Telles & Ortiz, 2007). The presence—and persistence—of this achievement gap in education has led some to conclude that "public schools are the single greatest institutional culprit for the persistent low states of U.S.-born Mexican-Americans" (Telles & Ortiz, 2007, p. 214).

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[2] I use the term "language minority student" to refer to students for whom a language other than English is the dominant language of the home.

The immigration debate

At the 2008 annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association[4], Marcelo Suárez-Orozco, co-director of immigration studies at New York University, used a joke to describe the contemporary debate over immigration in the United States. Suárez-Orozco said that the immigration debate is like a drunk in a bar who has lost his keys. The drunk gets down on his hands and knees and searches all around the floor under a light in the corner. A friend approaches the drunk and asks, "Why are you looking over here? Is this where you dropped your keys?" and the drunk replies, "No, I dropped them on the other side of the room. But the light is better over here."

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[3] I recognize the inadequacy of terms like "Hispanic" and "Latino" given the diversity of the people the term are meant to, but do not accurately, represent. For political reasons, I generally prefer "Latino" to "Hispanic," because I recognize "Hispanic" as a political term created by the US Census in 1973 and imposed on a too-diverse group of people in order to mark them as "non-White," while "Latino" is considered a self-chosen label. In some places, however, I use "Hispanic" when it is the nomenclature used by the source I cite. In making decisions about naming groups of people in this essay, I am particularly influenced by Richard Rodriguez's reflection on the nomenclature used to identify those he calls "Brown" people, in chapter five of his book, *Brown* (Rodriguez, 2002, pp. 103-124).

[4] Suarez-Orozco, M. (2008). "Beyond geography: Reflections on three decades of basic research on immigration and education." Paper presented at annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York City.

In other words, the recent national conversation about immigration has focused on the easy-to-see, in-your-face dimensions of immigration. Policy debates focus on the easiest solutions and most obvious problems, like building a fence to reduce border-hopping, or creating identification cards to verify the legality of workers. The debate has, thus far, focused narrowly on resolving the legal status of undocumented workers and the "perceived threat" to national unity posed by the growing population of Spanish speakers (López & Estrada, 2007, p. 229). As a result, the educational needs of the "children of immigration" (Suàrez-Orozco & Suàrez-Orozco, 2002) have largely been overlooked. The demographic statistics cited above, however, demand that conversations about immigration begin to recognize those educational needs as a national priority. Furthermore, these statistics ought to compel those charged with improving education, particularly in the field of teacher education, to focus research and interventions toward meeting the varied needs of the children of immigration.

The presence of such large numbers of language and cultural minority students in American classrooms warrants the concentration of efforts that take their educational needs seriously. Demographic trends in Chicago illustrate this point. No matter how one feels about guest worker programs, amnesty, or the criminalization of border-hopping, it remains a fact that 28% of schoolchildren in Chicago are Latino, two-thirds of them are the children of foreign-born parents, and 86% of them come from households where Spanish is the dominant language (Ready & Brown-Gort, 2005). The future of Chicago is tied to the future of these children of immigration, whether their parents are documented or not. The education of these children represents one of the most critical issues facing American education, the American economy, and the national culture. The future of Chicago—and the future of the nation—will be shaped by these children of immigration, and educators and researchers must begin working on innovative ways to facilitate their potential contributions to the nation sooner rather than later.

Culturally responsive pedagogy

Educators must address cultural disparities in education, because, as Gay (1997) argues, "When the cultures of students and teachers are not synchronized, someone loses out. Invariably, it is the students" (p. 223). The presence of a large and persistent achievement gap between White and non-White students supports Gay's assertion that cultural incongruity between the home and school contributes to lower student achievement for non-mainstream students. This gap is evident in Chicago, where only 53% of Latinos who enter high school graduate within 4 years versus 84% of White students (Ready & Brown-Gort, 2005). For Mexican-born immigrants, the gap is even greater (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Test scores reveal the gap as well: the 2002 National Assessment of Educational Progress indicates that 12th grade Black and Latino students were reading at the same levels as White students in the 8th grade (Darling-Hammond, 2007). Because, according to a growing body of research, "socioculturally centered teaching does enhance student achievement" (Gay, 2000, p. 25), one promising approach to closing this achievement gap is "to make classroom instruction more consistent with the cultural orientations of ethnically diverse students" (p. 29).

For immigrants in the contemporary information economy, the consequences of school failure are greater than ever. Researchers in teacher education (Delpit, 1995; Gay, 2000; Irvine, 1992; Ladson-Billings, 1994, 2001; Nieto & Bode, 2007; Villegas & Lucas, 2002b) have responded to the demographic imperative of improving education for cultural and language minority students by developing a theory of culturally responsive (or "relative") pedagogy, which explicates an approach for educators to address the needs of culturally different students. The goals of culturally responsive pedagogy include producing students who achieve academically, fostering cultural competence, and developing sociopolitical awareness among students.

The history of Catholic schooling

While contemporary demographic trends have sparked the theorization of culturally responsive pedagogy, the challenges of cultural difference in schooling are not new, nor are educational models that privilege the role of culture in education. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco (2007) argue that there is value in examining historical precedent when considering contemporary immigration, writing, “Americans increasingly look to our past successes at absorbing immigrants to ask how we did it then and whether we will do it the same way now” (p. 3). Similarly, in a historical overview of minority education, Ladson-Billings (1999) draws a direct connection between the educational experiences of earlier European immigrants and the present-day Latin American immigrant population. She writes, “Although school personnel may not be as overtly nativist and xenophobic toward recent immigrants as they were toward their turn-of-the-century counterparts, the message that these newcomers should conform to White, middle-class cultural norms and identity representations persists” (p. 88).

While Ladson-Billings recalls the educational difficulties faced by earlier immigrants, she does not describe how thousands of those families responded to their struggles: by building and attending Catholic schools, where immigrants’ home cultures were valued and accepted and where cultural incongruity was minimized. These schools promoted an early form of an “accommodation without assimilation” approach to education that sociologists have recognized as a positive attitude toward schooling for students from immigrant families (Gibson, 1989; Greeley & Rossi, 1966; Waters, 1999). These theories—and the historical experience of Catholic schools for immigrants—all fit an alternative model of cultural assimilation proposed by sociologists Alba and Nee (2007), which acknowledges that “in our rapidly globalizing world it seems quite undesirable to extinguish the distinctive cultural and linguistic knowledge that immigrants could pass on to their children” (p. 130).

Hundreds of urban Catholic schools emerged in the 19th century as safe havens from the imposed assimilation that Ladson-Billings decries, serving as places where native discourses were valued and utilized as educational resources. In these schools, the process of Americanization took place on the immigrant families’ terms, within their own communities (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993). Built by communities of immigrants, Catholic schools helped generations of ethnic minority students attain school success and social mobility. These schools helped maintain cultural, linguistic, and religious ties to the homeland for the immigrant communities they served, though the historical significance of the cultural work that these schools pursued is now largely overlooked. While historians have described the important role that culture played in the emergence of Catholic schools, few contemporary scholars in other fields have considered the legacy of American Catholic schooling for immigrants and how it might inform efforts to educate more newly-arrived immigrant communities.

Catholic schools have been, however, gaining attention in educational research. The achievement of students in Catholic schools was first considered in the early 1980s, when researchers found that Catholic school students achieved at higher levels than their public school peers, even when controlling for socioeconomic status (Coleman, Hoffer, & Kilgore, 1982). Furthermore, studies suggested that the "multiply disadvantaged," particularly poor and minority students, benefited most from this "Catholic school advantage," and Catholic schools were found to be effective at reducing and even eliminating the negative effect of social class on academic achievement (Greeley, 1982). A decade later, additional qualitative and quantitative research confirmed that students in Catholic schools seemed to enjoy an academic advantage over public school students (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993).

A review of research (York, 1996) surrounding the academic achievement of minority students in Catholic schools links the historical legacy of culture-centered education in Catholic schools to the Catholic school advantage, suggesting that the Catholic "tradition of respecting other cultures and giving them voice, visibility, and power in their schools became the model" (p. 20) for the effective education of minority groups in Catholic schools in more recent years. All of this research suggests that Catholic schools represent a "widespread and sustained example of bilingualism and biculturalism" (Greene & O'Keefe, 2001, p. 163) in America's educational history. When we recognize that Catholic schools historically utilized strategies that are now recognized as central to sound culturally responsive pedagogy, we see that the legacy of culture-centered education in Catholic schools and research suggesting a Catholic school advantage together have implications for contemporary educational theory and practice for immigrant communities.

In particular, theories of culturally responsive pedagogy may be enhanced by an examination of the ways in which practices in Catholic schools resonate with culturally responsive teaching. In particular, a consideration of Catholic schooling can illuminate the role of religious identity, belief, and practice as a cultural dynamic that may help bridge the home-school divide that many children of immigration experience. Theories of culturally responsive pedagogy argue persuasively that culture plays a critical role in education, but discussions in the literature about how to centralize culture in the classroom and in teacher education programs typically ignore the role of religious identity, belief, and practice in culture. If we accept that culture is central to the educational enterprise, and if we accept that religion is, for many, a critical piece of culture, then we must consider how religious identity, belief, and practice can inflect cultural responsiveness in schools. A consideration of Catholic education can therefore help us to extend theories of culturally responsive pedagogy to take religion into account as a cultural dynamic and begin developing a theory of cultural responsiveness in the context of private religious education. Such a consideration might also have implications for public schools. For example, this research resonates with reforms demanded recently by Prothero, who calls for increased "religious literacy" (Prothero, 2007) in public schools, arguing that American students and teachers need "a basic understanding of Christianity and the world's religions" in order to be fully "equipped for citizenship" (p. 178) in "a world as robustly religious as ours" (p. 182).

While Catholic schools served language minority students in large numbers at the turn of the 20th century, the onset of World War I, the Immigration Act of 1924,[5] and other political developments (which will be discussed in chapters three and four) resulted in English-only Catholic schools by the 1960s. In recent years, however, like their public counterparts, urban Catholic schools have been enrolling increasingly large cultural and language minority populations, particularly among the largely Catholic population of recently-arrived Spanish-speaking immigrants. Among recent immigrants, 42% are Catholic (Jasso, Massey, Rosenzweig, & Smith, 2003) and 47% are from Spanish-speaking countries (Camarota & McArdle, 2003). In 2001, ethnic minority students constituted 25% of the national enrollment in Catholic schools, though in the West they accounted for nearly half of all students, at 48% (Savage, 2002). Demographic variation is dependent on school location as well, as Catholic schools in large urban areas experience significantly higher percentages of minority enrollment (Frabutt, 2004). In 2006-07, Latino students accounted for nearly 300,000 students, or more than 12% of all

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[5] Also known as the Johnson-Reed Act, and includes the National Origins Act and the Asian Exclusion Act.

Catholic school students, and demographic trends suggest that Latino enrollment in Catholic schools will continue to rise, especially in urban schools and in the West (McDonald, 2008). These statistics suggest a different sort of demographic imperative reflecting the need for an examination of Catholic schooling through the lens of culturally responsive pedagogy.

Catholic schools have long served immigrant and cultural minority communities in urban areas, providing an important alternative to public education for many families. Their presence in urban America, however, cannot be taken for granted. In recent years, enrollment has declined, operating costs have increased, and Catholic schools have closed at rapid rates. The primary reason for increasing costs is related to the decline of members of religious orders, particularly sisters, in the teaching force. In 1950, 86% of all Catholic school teachers were religious sisters, brothers, or priests (Thavis, 2007); in 2003-04, they accounted for only 4.4% of faculty (McDonald, 2007).

Declining enrollment and increasing costs have led to extensive school closures, especially in urban areas. Nationally, 1,267 Catholic schools have closed between 2000 and 2008 (McDonald, 2008). The Archdiocese of Chicago, which operated about 500 schools for 366,000 students in 1964, retained 257 schools and less than 100,000 students by 2007. In the past decade alone, the state of Illinois has lost 82 Catholic schools (Rado, 2007).

The maintenance of Catholic schools is important to the Catholic community but has implications for the common good as well. As the largest alternative to public schooling, Catholic schools help keep public schools accountable to the public (Gabert, 1973), and their viability ensures that Catholic schools continue to save public schools billions of dollars each year. For example, it costs Chicago city schools more than $10,000 each year to educate each elementary school student and more than $13,000 to educate each high school student. By educating 96,197 students in the 2007-2008 school year, Catholic schools in the Chicago area saved the public school system $1,031,415,280 ("Office of Catholic schools report," 2008).

Urban Catholic schools are enrolling increasingly large numbers of children of immigrants, though these are typically the same schools that are most in danger of closure. I argue that the historical legacy of culture-centered education in Catholic schools ought to inform present-day urban Catholic schools coping with the demographic shifts described above. As urban Catholic schools adapt to serving a new generation of largely Spanish-speaking immigrants, they might benefit by embracing the culturally responsive approaches that facilitated the social mobility of earlier European immigrants. In addition, there is much in contemporary theories of culturally responsive pedagogy that resonates with the philosophy of Catholic education, and Catholic schools might benefit by adopting and adapting these theories explicitly and intentionally.

Project description

Though the recent immigration from Mexico and Latin America represents a dramatic shift for major urban areas, cities like Chicago have decades of experience taking in generations of immigrants. The history of urban immigrant communities and schooling can be a tremendous resource for those who look for ways to improve the quality of schooling and life chances for the children of immigration who currently populate city schools.

The legacy of Catholic schools in these immigrant communities, the research indicating the "Catholic school advantage," and the demographic imperative to improve education for cultural and language minority students all raise important questions about how the fields of culturally responsive education and Catholic schooling might inform one another. This dissertation examines the intersection of Catholic schooling, immigration, and culturally responsive pedagogy in an effort to extend theories of culturally responsive pedagogy. In particular, this study considers historical and ethnographic research to illuminate the role of religious identity, belief, and practice for teachers and schools that seek to make cultural connections with students. This research also provides a critical examination of one contemporary Catholic school, identifying dimensions of Catholic schooling that resonate with the major tenets of culturally responsive pedagogy.

This project employs historical and qualitative research methods to study Catholic schools that have served immigrant communities in Chicago for over a century, focusing in particular on Sts. Joachim and Ann Catholic School, an elementary school in the Pilsen neighborhood in Chicago with a long history of service to two distinct immigrant communities.[6] Sts. Joachim and Ann (J&A) was founded in 1903 to serve the immigrant Polish community that had come to Pilsen to work in the nearby Chicago stockyards and produce market. Over the years, as immigrant families began to experience social mobility, the Poles, Slovenians, Bohemians, and other Europeans have moved out of Pilsen while more recently-arrived Mexican immigrant families have taken their place. A few Poles remain in Pilsen, but the neighborhood has, over the past few decades, taken on a distinctly Mexican flavor.

The most visible traces of the neighborhood's Eastern European roots can be seen in its skyline. As one exits the Eisenhower Expressway, a high bridge over Chicago's Industrial Canal provides a panoramic view of the Pilsen skyline, which is punctuated with a large number of Gothic-style church steeples. Looking down on the neighborhood from this vantage point, it appears that a church can be found on almost every block. Up close, however, as one drives down the main streets of Pilsen, the remnants of Eastern Europe are obscured; signs are nearly all in Spanish, taquerías abound, graffiti is dominated by images of Our Lady of Guadalupe, and sidewalks are occupied by tamale and churro vendors at most intersections.

J&A's mission is described in part on its website, which states: "For more than 102 years, Saints Joachim and Ann Catholic School has been enriching lives in the Pilsen community by providing high-quality Catholic education, cultural, and community programs" ("Saints Joachim and Ann Catholic school," 2005). By engaging in an ethnographic study of the J&A community, I seek to provide a detailed and compelling account of the ways that the school's particular approach to education affects the lives and aspirations of its students and how that approach resonates with theories of culturally responsive pedagogy.

In this dissertation, I focus specifically on the city and immigrants of Chicago, partly because of the city's rich history as a destination for new immigrants. Chicago is considered "the only major destination for immigrants in the Midwest"—all of the other top thirteen cities are on the coasts or the border—and Chicago has the third largest immigrant population in the nation, behind Los Angeles and New York (Logan, 2007, p. 87). The wealth of historical research materials already compiled about Chicago's immigrant communities also informed my choice of Chicago as a focal city. Finally, I chose Chicago in part because I secured access to a school in the city that has served immigrant communities for more than 100 years. I believe this study of a school in Chicago reveals patterns and suggests implications that will also apply to similar schools in St. Louis, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Kansas City, or any other Midwestern city that welcomed both large numbers of European immigrants in the 19th and 20th centuries as well as large numbers of Spanish-speakers in the 20th and 21st centuries.

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[6] The name of the school and all participants are pseudonyms.

Research questions

This research is guided by four primary research questions.

1. What historical qualities and practices of Catholic education resonate with culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP)?
2. What qualities of Catholic education are evident at Sts. Joachim & Ann Catholic School that resonate with CRP?
3. How do religious connections between the home and school contribute to cultural responsiveness?
4. How does attending Sts. Joachim and Ann Catholic School affect the aspirations and achievement of students?

1. What historical qualities and practices of Catholic education resonate with CRP?

The history of urban Catholic schools reflects a rich tradition of culture-centered education, but the potential contributions of historical analysis to contemporary thinking about CRP have not yet been considered. Within the ideology of Catholic education for immigrants, a culture-centered pedagogy emerged that, in some ways, reflects contemporary theories of CRP. This dissertation presents archival research and considers historical accounts that explore the origins of Catholic education in Chicago and the practices employed at J&A that reflect culturally responsive approaches. An examination of the archives of J&A, the archdiocese, and local newspapers enhances understanding of culture-centered pedagogy by placing it into a historical context.

2. What qualities of Catholic education are evident at J&A that resonate with CRP?

This dissertation also considers the contemporary J&A experience. By employing an ethnographic approach to observe, describe, and analyze the Discourses (see theoretical framework in chapter two) of the home and the school, I identify the specific practices at J&A that resonate (or not) with CRP.

J&A does not explicitly embrace the theory of CRP and there is no evidence to suggest the curriculum or philosophy of J&A was based on the principles of the theory as it is described in the literature (reviewed in chapter two). In the context of the goals of the school (as expressed by its website, promotional literature, and by members of the staff), the community it serves, the history of Catholic education for immigrant communities in Pilsen, and the ideology that informs Catholic education (discussed in the review of literature found in chapters three and four), this dissertation examines the practices, policies, and mission of J&A to determine the extent to which they resonate with the tenets of CRP as it is described in the literature. By describing the ways in which J&A is culturally responsive (or not), I identify what J&A's particular variation of CRP can contribute to the fields of both education and Catholic education.

3. How do religious connections between the home and school contribute to cultural responsiveness?

For many students, religion plays an important role in the home culture and community, and Catholic schools encourage explicit connections between religious identity and education. Through interviews and observations, I interrogate the role of religion in the cultural models of the students and school, focusing on the ways that religious belief, identity, and practice inflect cultural responsiveness.

This description of J&A's version of cultural responsiveness informs the larger question, "What might cultural competence look like in a Catholic school?" The ideological foundation and historical experience of Catholic schools suggest that the Catholic identity of a school can contribute to the achievement of cultural competence, and J&A provides a case study to situate my consideration of this question concretely. Like J&A, the Catholic schools of a century ago did not consciously employ CRP. Instead, a culture-centered pedagogy emerged that we can now recognize as having many qualities in common with what has come to be known as CRP. A study of J&A enables me to articulate the ways in which the Catholic identity of a school might inflect the cultural competence of the institution and its students.

4. How does attending J&A affect the aspirations and achievement of students?

In this era of accountability, the central question asked of all educational initiatives is, “Does it work?” Through ethnographic analysis and quantitative data collection, I illustrate how students benefit and are challenged by the culturally responsive aspects of the J&A experience and how that experience shapes their long-term aspirations and school achievement.

The accountability movement equates success with high scores on achievement tests, and I present quantitative data related to student test scores, graduation rates, and high school attendance rates in order to assess these measures of achievement. Certainly the administrators, faculty, and parents at J&A expect improved test scores as a result of their educational approaches, but scores only partially reflect the goals of holistic approaches to education like culturally responsive pedagogy and Catholic education. Test scores may matter most to legislators, but for students, parents, and teachers, there may be other indicators of “success” that are more salient.

By providing students with the opportunity to describe their experiences at J&A, my research takes a social constructivist (Patton, 2002) approach to data analysis. The most compelling and effective way to depict the experience of J&A students is to present an emic, or insider, perspective, using the students’ own language to define constructs like “success” and “improvement,” allowing them to answer the central question—“Does it work?”—for themselves. A constructivist approach allows students to augment the mainstream definition of what it means for a school to “work” and to provide their interpretation of whether and how the school’s approach “works” for them.

Dissertation overview

In the following chapters of this dissertation, I argue that theories of CRP can be extended by a consideration of Catholic schooling. In chapter two, I review the literature related to CRP and point toward ways that a consideration of Catholic schooling might make a significant theoretical contribution to the literature; in particular, I argue that theories of CRP can be enhanced by a consideration of religious identity, belief, and practice. In chapter three, I review the history of Catholic schooling to outline the ways in which Catholic schools that served immigrant communities reflected practices and beliefs that resonate with contemporary theories of CRP. In that section, I draw on the work of historians of Catholic education as well as primary archival documents to demonstrate how historical Catholic schools made use of religious identity, belief, and practice to centralize culture in the educational enterprise and to describe how the relationship between the home, Church, and school evolved in the history of Catholic schooling. Chapter four continues the historical review of chapter three, focusing in particular on the development of urban Catholic schools for immigrant communities in Chicago, providing the historical context for considering the establishment of the J&A parish and school in Pilsen.

Chapter five presents the methodology and methods employed when conducting the ethnographic work that constitutes the heart of this dissertation. Chapter six provides a detailed explanation of the process of data collection and analysis employed. In chapters seven, eight, and nine, I provide a detailed discussion of the ethnographic data that I collected at Sts. Joachim & Ann School, providing data analysis and interpretation that examine how the practices and beliefs observed at this school do—and, at times, do not—resonate with and extend theories of CRP. These chapters are organized according to the lens of CRP (Ladson-Billings, 1994), and so chapter seven presents themes in the data related to academic achievement, chapter eight considers data related to cultural competence, and chapter nine discusses data related to sociopolitical consciousness. Finally, the dissertation concludes with chapter ten, which includes a discussion of the implications of the findings of this study for both theories of CRP and Catholic schooling. In the conclusion, I point toward avenues of potential future research for myself and other scholars interested in the intersection of religion, education, and cultural responsiveness.

Chapter 2: Reviewing the literature on culturally responsive pedagogy

Introduction

In the 1970s, educational researchers began working in earnest to address the achievement gap and demographic imperative described in the previous chapter by considering the role of culture in education. Because "teaching is a contextual and situational process," these researchers work from the assumption that education "is most effective when ecological factors, such as prior experiences, community settings, cultural backgrounds, and ethnic identities of teachers and students are included in its implementation" (Gay, 2000, p. 21). This assumption emerged from Vygotsky's notion that schooling is "the quintessential sociocultural activity," that human development has fundamentally "social origins and cultural bases" (Moll & Gonzalez, 2001, p. 1). The central assumptions of the Vygotskian sociocultural perspective on education that serve as the foundation for a number of researchers and theorists studying the role of culture in education are that "thinking is a product of cultural practice and so people from diverse backgrounds often frame social situations and how to act in them differently" and "thinking is mediated by cultural tools such as speech, which again may be employed differently by people whose backgrounds have reinforced particular ways of using them" (Smagorinsky, 2007, p. 66).

Researchers who take a sociocultural view of education accept that, "when the cultures of students and teachers are not synchronized, someone loses out. Invariably, it is the students" (Gay, 1997, p. 223). From these assumptions, researchers have developed and supported theories of culture-centered pedagogy (Au & Jordan, 1981; Delpit, 1995; Gay, 2000; Howard, 2001; Irvine, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1994, 1995a, 2001; Lee, 1995; Villegas & Lucas, 2002a), which contend that the best way to close the achievement gap and attend to the demographic imperative of improving education for minority students "is to ensure that the delivery of all of [minority students'] educational services…[be] culturally embedded" (Gay, 1997, p. 224). In other words, these researchers contend that "since how one thinks, writes, and speaks reflects culture and affects performance [in school], aligning instruction to the cultural" paradigms of different students "can improve student achievement" (Gay, 2000, pp. xv-xvi).

Given the demographic imperative and achievement gap described in chapter one, contemporary immigrant communities are particularly vulnerable to "losing out." In order to improve educational opportunities for the children of these immigrant communities, it is critical to consider the potential of theories of culture-centered education. For immigrants in an information economy that centralizes "the production and manipulation of knowledge," the consequences of school failure are greater than ever (Lee, 2007). Suàrez-Orozco and Suàrez-Orozco underscore this point, which bears repeating: "Formal schooling has become a high-stakes goal for children of immigrants. For many of them, schooling is the *only* ticket for a better tomorrow" (2002, p. 124). In this chapter, I review the literature related to culture-centered education, focusing in particular on theories that fall under the rubric of "culturally responsive pedagogy" (Gay, 2000). By defining and describing central constructs in the field (including "culture," "multicultural education" "macroculture," "microcultures," "Discourses," and "culturally responsive pedagogy"), this chapter provides a vocabulary that enables us to consider the theoretical potential for cultural competence in Catholic schools serving immigrant children.

Culture

Before discussing pedagogical theories that centralize culture, it is important to first define the term. According to Erickson (2007), who identifies at least seven different ways of thinking about culture, "no scholar has tried to put forward a single, authoritative meaning of the term" in more than 50 years (p. 37). The definition of culture that follows, therefore, draws upon the work of numerous scholars to describe the ways of thinking about culture that inform this dissertation.

In contemporary education studies, aspects of human life including ethnic traditions, religion, and language are often grouped under the umbrella of "culture" because they are elements of a "way-of-life," representing beliefs, values, activities, rituals, and ways of communicating. This "way-of-life" model employs culture as an umbrella term that includes "the values, traditions, worldview, and social and political relationships created, shared, and transformed by a group of people bound together by a common history, geographic location, language, social class, religion, or other shared identity" (Nieto & Bode, 2007, p. 171).

A conceptualization of culture as "way-of-life" provides a stable, static model of culture that emphasizes how culture shapes people; the "way-of-life" model, however, fails to consider how people in turn shape culture, and it does not allow for much variation among members of a culture. If culture merely describes our way-of-life, we can only be products of our culture, not creators or interpreters of it (Eisenhart, 2001).

A consideration of the role of culture in schooling demands a dynamic theory of culture that accounts for creativity and agency (Gay, 2000). In the context of the school, it is more helpful to examine how students creatively develop their own "cultural productions" (Willis, 1977, 1981). Willis talks about culture in terms of "cultural materials" that are "constituted by varieties of symbolic systems and articulations," and that are manifested in a variety of ways, "from language to systematic kinds of physical interaction; from particular kinds of attitude, response, action and ritualised behavior to expressive artefacts and concrete objects" (1977, p. 172). In other words, cultural materials are the products of living within the influence of a particular culture. These cultural materials give rise to cultural productions, which include "discourses, meanings, materials, practices, and group processes to explore, understand, and creatively occupy particular positions in sets of general material possibilities" (Willis, 1981, p. 59). By looking at students' dynamic "cultural productions" rather than their static "ways-of-life," Willis views culture as a resource for transformation, attributing to students the capacity to marshal their cultural resources to exercise creative agency.

Willis's theories of cultural production provide ways of thinking about what culture *is* as well as what culture *does.* Swidler (1986) takes up this agentive sense of culture as well, providing the helpful notion of "strategies of action" to describe what people do with their cultural resources, or "toolkits." Each person is situated within a particular historical cultural context that shapes their "symbolic vehicles of meaning, including beliefs, ritual practices, art forms, and ceremonies, as well as informal cultural practices such as language, gossip, stories, and rituals of daily life" (Swidler, 1986, p. 273). This cultural context "provides the materials from which individuals and groups construct strategies of action" (p. 280), which are general ways of organizing actions that can help us understand why we do the things we do.

Like Willis, who points out the likelihood of "distinctions and contradictions between [cultural] forms" (1977, p. 172), Swidler recognizes that each culture has within it "diverse, often conflicting symbols, rituals, stories, and guides to action" and therefore culture cannot simply prescribe a static way-of-life. Instead of a "unified system that pushes action in a consistent direction," Swidler describes culture as a type of "tool-kit" that people can draw upon to help them make decisions, take actions, and make sense of the world in their everyday lives (277).

While culture can empower people, it also constrains. Because "there are real social, economic, and power differences that separate people and their experiences," individual choices about how to view the world, how to act, or how to construct one's own identity "are constrained by culture and the enduring social structures that culture mediates" (Eisenhart, 2001, p. 215) like race, gender, and social class. As a result, those who study culture need to "tread the line between attending to the significance of culture as resource…while at the same time attending to how it is both constituted by and contributes to the reproduction of enduring structures" (Eisenhart, p. 216).

This dialectical sense of culture as both resource and constraint complicates any attempt to observe culture in practice. Because it is dynamic, we cannot take a "snapshot" approach to observing a way-of-life. Instead we must look for culture over time, in the "patterns of organization, those characteristic forms of energy which can be discovered as revealing themselves…within or underlying *all* social practices" (Hall, 1980, p. 60). The observation and analysis of culture therefore requires careful attention to patterns of social practice, disciplined interpretation, and a significant period of time to collect data. The study of culture, then, is best approached through ethnographic research. The value of ethnographic research when considering culture will be explored in greater detail in the discussion of methodology in chapter five.

In a school context, cultural productions are the meaningful forms that students produce that grow out of actual relationships, systems of belief, and positions of people and institutions in the school and community. They are patterned, dynamic, fluid, and dialectical, and they constitute the object of study for researchers interested in identifying the role that culture plays in schooling. These cultural forms are expressed in texts, discourses, artifacts, and actions that students produce, and patterns within these forms reveal the logics of the group and the strategies of action that influence cultural productions.

Culture is, therefore, a toolkit that consists of systems of meanings within webs of relationships. Hays describes this dialectical conceptualization of culture by arguing that "culture is a social structure with an underlying logic of its own…a social, durable, layered pattern" of systems of meaning (Hays, 1994, p. 65). She explains that systems of meaning include "not only the beliefs and values of social groups, but also their language, forms of knowledge, and common sense, as well as the material products, interactional practices, rituals, and ways of life established by these" (p. 65). Systems of meaning, however, are only meaningful in their relational context. Because culture is social, Hays suggests that one cannot understand systems of meaning without taking into account the systems of relationships that accompany them—what Erickson refers to as "communities of practice" (2007, p. 39). Cultural beliefs, values, and practices do not exist in a vacuum; they are created and shaped by people, who are historically situated in particular positions dictated by "class, gender, race, education, and religion…age, sexual preference, and position in the family" (Hayes, p. 65).

The cultural productions that can be attributed to an individual are mediated by the multiple social groups that each individual inhabits, and each of these groups provides a different set of resources that can be drawn upon. As such, culture is functional, a tool that is both "learned and transmitted from our elders and also…invented" by us throughout our entire lives (Erickson, 2007, p. 41). Erickson describes these cultural resources as "the primary human toolkit" that is "a product of human creativity in action" (2007, p. 33), a description which nicely captures the potential for culture to be both a resource for and product of human agency. This toolkit, which informs how we act and react in every moment of our lives, comprises the systems of meanings that we learn from social groups as well as the relationships with other members of the groups themselves.

Religion and culture

Religious groups represent one of the multiple social groups that many people inhabit, and as such it inflects a particular set of cultural resources that in turn shape cultural productions. We can consider religion itself to be an especially influential cultural production that both shapes and is shaped by people who belong to a religious group. Religion is a particularly influential piece of the cultural toolkit because, for many, "what [one] thinks about religion is central to what [one] thinks about life and the universe as a whole," and for these people, religion provides "the key to the meaning that one finds in existence" (Smith, 1991, p. 18).

There is more to religion than group affiliation; it is not just membership in a religious group that dictates one's sense of the "key to the meaning" of existence. It is important to note that religion itself, like culture, is "notoriously difficult to define" (Smith, p. 17). Because the term "religion" has multiple meanings, it can be more helpful to talk about particular dimensions of cultural life that can be considered "religious." For example, religion can describe a system of beliefs about the meaning and origin of life, the existence of a supernatural power, and all things "sacred; it can refer to the social organization that an individual can belong to with others who share these beliefs; and it can refer to the rites and rituals that constitute a performance that makes those beliefs actionable (Durkheim, 1912 [1995]). In these cases, it may be more precise to talk not about religion but about religious belief, religious identity, and religious practice.[7]

Culture is comprised of systems of meaning, and these systems are often influenced—or, in some cases, even determined entirely—by shared beliefs, by a common social network, and by participation in shared practices. For people whose systems of meaning are influenced by beliefs about the nature of existence, the existence of a deity, or the meaning of life, religious belief inflects culture in important ways. For communities in which the web of social relationships that constitute the cultural milieu are determined at least in part by religious group membership, religious identity can be considered a functional dimension of culture. Finally, when the cultural productions of religious individuals and communities take the form of religious rituals and routines, religious practice becomes a salient feature of culture.

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[7] According to Durkheim (1912 [1995]), religion requires all three of these components—beliefs about the sacred, rites and rituals that operationalize those beliefs, and, importantly, the social group consisting of believers, because "religious beliefs proper are always shared by a definite group that professes them and practices the corresponding rites" (p. 41)

It is, therefore, more precise to consider that religion inflects culture in three different dimensions: through religious belief, religious identity, and religious practice. Religious belief can inflect the system of meanings, beliefs, and values that are found in the cultural toolkit. Religious identity situates the individual in a community, a system of social relationships that constitute the cultural group. Religious practices are the cultural productions that result when individuals draw upon the religiously-inflected pieces of their cultural toolkits to make sense of their lives.

While religious belief, identity, and practice can be seen in this way as important dimensions of cultural toolkits, they are often overlooked in discussions of the role that culture plays in education. One of the goals of this dissertation is to interrogate the ways that religious identity, belief, and practice can be seen as cultural productions that can be utilized in educational models that centralize the role of culture in education. Before detailing the specific role of religion in schooling, it is important first to examine the role that culture plays in education.

Culture and schools

Because education is a social process, it is necessarily cultural, and Erickson argues that "culture shapes and is shaped by the learning and teaching that happen during the practical conduct of daily life within all the educational settings we encounter" (p. 34). Indeed, the process of education is, at least in part, a process of cultural transmission—the passing down of cultural standards, norms, and values from one generation to the next. As such, "at every moment in the conduct of educational practice, cultural issues and choices are at stake" (Erickson, p. 34). And while most cultural productions are neither inherently better nor worse than any others,[8] "not all cultural practices are equal in power and prestige in the United States or in any other country" (p. 34). Educational practices in schools can reflect—and perpetuate—these inequalities of power and prestige. Some cultural forms are privileged in schools while others are marginalized (Bernstein, 1977; Bourdieu, 1977, 1980), leading Boykin (1994) to describe the process of schooling as “a profound cultural socialization process” (p. 245-246).

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[8] This statement bears some explanation. It is tempting to argue that no cultural production is inherently better or worse than any other, but at its extremes that claim falls apart. For example, I would not try to claim that human sacrifice is neither better nor worse than, say, community service.

Spindler and Spindler (1994) capture much of this understanding of the role of culture in education when they describe the implications of the cultural nature of schooling:

> Teachers carry into the classroom their personal cultural background. They perceive students, all of whom are cultural agents, with inevitable prejudice and preconception. Students likewise come to school with personal cultural backgrounds that influence their perceptions of teachers, other students, and the school itself (p. xii).

As a result, students and teachers together “construct…an environment of meanings enacted in individual and group behaviors” (p. xii).

For students from minority groups, whose cultural toolkits differ from those of mainstream students, the social structures present in the school often serve to “constrain [them] ideologically by limiting [their] choices” (Hays, 1994, p. 66), effectively repressing marginalized groups of students (Bernstein, 1977; Bourdieu, 1977; Willis, 1977). When the strategies of action among students resonate with that of the school, however, the school can become a place that empowers students and facilitates social mobility (Suàrez-Orozco & Suàrez-Orozco, 2002, p. 132). When the school recognizes and nurtures the development of the students’ cultural tool-kits and takes advantage of their “funds of knowledge” (Moll & Gonzalez, 2001), we can begin to imagine the school as a catalyst that encourages the development of cultural forms that interrupt existing repressive social structures.

Multicultural education

The United States is home to many different cultures, and the presence and persistence of the achievement gap described in chapter one demonstrates that American educators often fail to serve students who are not part of the mainstream culture. To address this disparity, the field of multicultural education “grew out of the ferment of the civil rights movement of the 1960s” (Banks, 2007b, p. 6), when scholars began to consider how the American educational system took (or failed to take) each of the many cultures present in American schools into account.

Banks, the leading theorist in multicultural education, describes culture as the "shared beliefs, symbols, and interpretation within a human group," arguing that "the essence of a culture is not its artifacts, tools, or other tangible cultural elements but how the members of the group interpret, use, and perceive them" (2007b, p. 8). Banks suggests that in the contemporary United States, there exists a central shared macroculture that co-exists with (and is mediated by) multiple microcultures. Because there are many diverse microcultures—and there are many children from diverse microcultures in classrooms—Banks and others advocate an educational approach, called multicultural education, that gives attention to the multiplicity of microcultures in society.

In his argument for a multicultural approach to education, Banks draws on the work of Heath (1983), whose study of African American families "found that the pattern of language use in school was very different from the pattern used at home" (Banks, 2007b, p. 8). Heath's work indicates that there is often a disconnect for cultural minority students between the macrocultural productions expected of them at school and the microcultural productions they have been socialized to produce in the home and community. Banks also draws on Mercer's research (1973), which considers why African American students are labeled mentally retarded more frequently than their White counterparts. Banks suggests that the discrepency—as well as the contemporary achievement gap—exists partly because "most African American and Latino students are socialized within microcultures that differ in significant ways from the U.S. core culture," with the result that "these students often have not had an equal opportunity to learn the knowledge and skills" needed to be considered "normal" or "capable" in schools (Banks, 2007b, p. 13).

Banks also provides insight into the specific social group memberships that influence an individual's microcultural productions. While group membership does not allow us to predict individual behavior, membership in particular social groups can provide "important clues to and explanations for the individual's behavior" (Banks, 2007b, p. 13). Group membership is multiple and may be contradictory. For example, in his memoirs, writer Richard Rodriguez provides eloquent insight into his childhood struggle to reconcile his Mexican American identity with his desire to speak English, the language of school, as well as his difficulties reconciling his membership in the Catholic Church with his sexual orientation (Rodriguez, 1982, 1992, 2002).

Banks identifies six salient group memberships in contemporary American society that inflect or define cultural groups, explaining that each is a socially determined, constructed category: race/ethnicity, gender, social class, nationality, exceptionality/nonexceptionality, and religion (Banks, 2007b, p. 14). By saying that each of these categories is socially constructed, Banks does not suggest that differences within these categories do not really exist or that differences do not matter; rather, he argues that the significance of such differences is purely social. For example, there may be real physical or biological differences between two people of different races—the presence or absence of melanin in the skin, for example. But race is said to be socially constructed because that physical, biological difference is not physically or biologically significant—it is only socially significant.

Given the presence and influence of a diverse array of social groups and microcultures on the lives of children in the United States, Banks argues that educators must take a multicultural approach to ensure that each individual member of each group receives equal educational opportunities. Banks (2007b) outlines five dimensions that are essential for any multicultural education reform program. First, multicultural education involves "content integration," which Banks describes as "the infusion of ethnic and cultural content" from multiple cultures into the curriculum (p. 20). Second, multicultural educators must be cognizant of the "knowledge construction process" (p. 20), which involves helping students develop a critical understanding of how school and learning work. Third, multicultural education involves active steps toward "prejudice reduction" by helping students form positive attitudes toward people who are different from themselves (p. 21). Fourth, multicultural education demands an "equity pedagogy" that centralizes the need to "modify…teaching in ways that will facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse" microcultures (p. 22). Finally, multicultural education requires an "empowering school culture and organization that promotes gender, racial, and social-class equity" (p. 22). Theories of culturally responsive pedagogy attend to each of these dimensions, but they particularly seek to flesh out the fourth dimension, equity pedagogy, that Banks's reform model demands.

Religion and multicultural education

Before moving to a consideration of culturally responsive pedagogy, it is important to take note of the ways that religion is taken up—or not—in work related to culture and multicultural education. Banks (2007b) devotes significant attention to each of the six salient social groups he describes except one: religion. He summarizes research findings that link educational achievement to reforms that take advantage of student membership in these social groups. In his review, for example, Banks describes research studies that link race-relevant pedagogy with student achievement, as well as research that indicates a connection between socioeconomic status and achievement. He does not, however, describe the influence of religion on culture or education in any detail. While Banks rightly identifies religion as a salient social group that influences culture, he does not give religion the attention he gives to race/ethnicity, social class, gender, and exceptionality/nonexceptionality. This omission highlights the absence of research into the intersection of religion, culture, and education.

Similarly, Banks's edited volume on multicultural education (Banks & Banks, 2007) dedicates only one chapter to religion (compared to three chapters devoted to gender, four to race/ethnicity, and three to exceptionality). The lone chapter that discusses religion (Lippy, 2007) merely provides a historical overview of religious affiliation in the United States. It does not seek to make links between religious belief, identity, and practice, culture, and education in the same ways that the chapters on race, gender, social class, and exceptionality make connections between membership in these social groups and educational achievement.

While religion is not taken up in a significant way in the literature on multicultural education, it is frequently discussed as an important dimension of culture in the literature surrounding immigrant studies. Research suggests that religion may "matter" more in the lives of immigrants than it does for non-immigrants, as immigrant populations in the United States tend to be more actively religious in the U.S. than they were at home and they tend to be more active in religious communities than native-born Americans (Foley & Hoge, 2007, p. 14). Religious participation seems to have concrete benefits for immigrants; Foley and Hoge conducted a three-year study of more than 200 faith communities that suggests that religious institutions help immigrants build social capital and engage in civic participation.

In some immigrant communities, religion is so influential that religion and culture become conflated, as Eck argues in a review of research related to religion in immigrant studies: "For many immigrants, religion and culture are indistinguishable, and religious centers become bridging communities where the comfort zone of language, custom, food, and festival is maintained" (Eck, 2007, pp. 215-216). Eck's review found that churches serve a "bridging" function that helps immigrants maintain ties to the native culture, acting as "anchors of cultural identity for first-generation Americans" (p. 222). And while religious identity, belief, and practice seem to inform the cultural productions within immigrant communities, so to are they influenced by those cultural productions. Eck points out that, within immigrant communities, religious institutions "are often created with the express intention of passing on traditions of culture and faith to the next generation" (p. 222). In these communities, the church does not just influence cultural productions; it reflects them.

Culturally responsive pedagogy

Banks (2007b) succinctly summarizes a central challenge of multicultural education and a goal of culturally responsive teaching when he argues that schools need "to help students from diverse groups mediate between their home and community cultures and the school culture" (p. 8) Banks argues that "students should acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function effectively in each cultural setting" (p. 8), meaning that teachers must help students learn to navigate both their microculture and the macroculture.

In response to growing concerns about the inequality that arises from cultural and discursive disparities and within the context of research and theory related to multicultural education, researchers have developed and supported a theory of culturally responsive pedagogy that explicates an approach to equity pedagogy for teachers to address the varying needs of culturally different students. Howard (2001), borrowing Vygotsky's language, suggests that the central task of such an approach is for educators "to counter the academic underachievement of students of color" by "[recognizing] the cultural signs these students bring to the classroom and [making] curriculum and instruction more compatible with these signs" (p. 183). Culturally responsive pedagogy shares a central goal with Banks's model of multicultural education, which is "to help students to develop the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function within their own microcultures, the U.S. macroculture, other microcultures, and the global community" (Banks, 2007b, p. 25).

Culturally responsive pedagogy tackles the fourth dimension of Banks's model of multicultural education by describing an educational approach that seeks to take advantage of the cultural toolkits and webs of relationships that students bring with them to school. Culturally responsive pedagogy rests on the recognition that "students are less likely to fail in school settings where they feel positive about both their culture and the majority culture and 'are not alienated from their own cultural values'" (Cummins, as quoted in Ladson-Billings, 1994, p. 10). Instead of viewing students' cultural productions as deficiencies to be corrected, culturally responsive educators see those productions as resources that can be marshaled to build knowledge.

Fundamentally, culturally responsive teaching seeks to counter what Erickson calls the "cultural hegemony" that pervades American education and marginalizes students from minority microcultures. Instead of assuming the values and standards of the dominant macroculture to be normative, culturally responsive teaching "centers classroom instruction in multiethnic cultural frames of reference" (Gay, 2000, p. xix). As a result, the culturally responsive approach is both "radical" and "routine" (Gay, 2000). The approach is "routine" because it does for marginalized students what traditional pedagogy already does for mainstream students: "it filters curriculum content and teaching strategies through their cultural frames of reference to make the content more personally meaningful and easier to master" (p. 24). At the same time, cultural responsiveness is radical because "it makes explicit the previously implicit role of culture in teaching and learning" (p. 25).

Nomenclature: 'Relevant' vs. 'responsive'

Before discussing theories of cultural responsiveness in detail, it is important to note that theorists and researchers in the field have employed a wide variety of carefully nuanced labels to describe the role of culture in schools, including “culturally congruent” teaching (Irvine, 2003; Mohatt & Erickson, 1981),“cultural appropriateness” (Au & Jordan, 1981), “cultural responsiveness” (Cazden & Leggett, 1981; Gay, 2000; Irvine, 1992), “cultural mismatch”(Villegas, 1988), and “cultural synchronization” (Irvine, 1990). Ladson-Billings sought to integrate all of these perspectives into a theory of practice that she termed “culturally relevant pedagogy” (Ladson-Billings, 1994, 2001, 2007). In its annual meeting program, the American Educational Research Association has adopted “culturally responsive teaching” as the keyword for research that explores these approaches (American Educational Research Association, 2007, p. 484).

In the past decade “culturally relevant pedagogy” and “culturally responsive teaching” have emerged as the most common ways to refer to this field of study. While each of these labels essentially refers to the same set of sociocultural assumptions about education—that “culture counts,” as Gay puts it (2000, p. 8)—and both terms are often used interchangeably, it is important to consider the nuances and choose a term that fits the theorization of culture in schooling that informs this dissertation. While “cultural relevance” adequately reflects the goals of a teacher who believes that culture matters in the classroom, it also conveys a passive sense of attention to culture. For me, “relevance” does not sufficiently capture the sense of the dynamic production of cultural forms that happens in schools. Given this dynamism, teachers and schools need to be active if they hope to identify and build upon the cultural forms and strategies of actions that students produce. Because I believe this approach demands an active posture toward culture in education, I have come to prefer “culturally responsive” over “culturally relevant.” “Responsiveness” implies an active, dynamic disposition on the part of the teacher, and it corresponds better to the notions of cultural productions and strategies of action that comprise cultural forms as described above.

In my writing, I have chosen to adopt the same policy as Gay (2000), who explains that “labels other than ‘culturally responsive’ appear only when scholars quoted directly use different terminology” (p. 29).

Theoretical overview: Synthesizing frameworks

In the literature, there are two primary theoretical frameworks for thinking about culturally responsive pedagogy (or CRP): a three-fold framework articulated by Gloria Ladson-Billings (1994) and Geneva Gay's more extensive model (2000), which identifies six characteristics that are central to sound culturally responsive teaching and which explicates four aspects of teacher practice that must be informed by these characteristics. Both frameworks reflect Gay's overarching call to embrace a new pedagogical paradigm for teaching students from diverse backgrounds, one that "teaches *to and through* their personal and cultural strengths, their intellectual capabilities, and their prior accomplishments" (p. 24, emphasis in original).

These models evolved in different ways. Ladson-Billings's framework is the product of her own research (Ladson-Billings, 1994, 1995a, 2001, 2007), which sought to identify qualities of successful teachers of African American students. Gay's model (2000), on the other hand, represents a synthesis of best practices and research investigating sociocultural approaches to education.

I believe it is most useful to combine these two frameworks, as they are not mutually exclusive and they complement one another in important ways. While I prefer Gay's more nuanced descriptions of cultural responsiveness (which are also more thoroughly and explicitly supported by research), I prefer the simplicity and structure of the Ladson-Billings model. Also, I believe that some of Gay's elements can be collapsed into the broader categories that Ladson-Billings describes, creating a resulting framework that is both simpler and richer than the two frameworks considered separately. For example, three of Gay's dimensions can be considered as different aspects of Ladson-Billings's broader construct of cultural competence (see table 2.1 below).

In this combined framework (Ladson-Billings, 1994, 1995a, 2001, 2007), teachers with culturally responsive dispositions maintain high expectations for academic achievement for all students; they foster cultural competence among their students and themselves; and they facilitate the development of a sociopolitical consciousness among students. Within each of these tenets, we find educational practices that fulfill Gay's (2000) descriptive criteria—that practices must be validating, comprehensive, multidimensional, empowering, transformative, and emancipatory.

Table 2.1: Synthesizing theories of CRP

Gay: Dimensions of CRP teacher praxis	**Ladson-Billings: Tenets of CRP**
Attitudes & Expectations	Academic Achievement
Communication	Cultural Competence
Curriculum	Cultural Competence
Instruction	Cultural Competence
	Sociopolitical Consciousness

As the table shows, Gay suggests that there are four dimensions of teacher praxis that must adhere to these descriptors, each of which can be mapped onto Ladson-Billings's tenets to enrich our understanding of sound culturally responsive pedagogy. In the following sections, I consider each of Ladson-Billings's three tenets individually, describing how each is enriched and informed by Gay's descriptors and aspects of practice.

Academic achievement

The first tenet of culturally responsive pedagogy demands a hopeful and optimistic attitude toward student achievement among teachers, school administrators, and students. Ladson-Billings (1994) situates this demand for high expectations of academic success for all students in terms of academic "self-determination" (p. 137), arguing that "teachers with culturally relevant practices believe that all students can succeed" (p. 44). This conviction is rooted in a constructivist approach to pedagogy (von Glasersfeld, 2005), in which teachers hold "an overriding belief that students come to school with knowledge and that that knowledge must be explored and utilized in order for students to become achievers" (Ladson-Billings, 1994, p. 52). This knowledge and expertise is the product of the students' home cultures and life experiences, and teachers with culturally responsive dispositions recognize the value and potential to be found in students' home cultures. For Gay, this means teachers must have "uncompromising faith in their students" (p. 76).

By holding high expectations of students, teachers meet Gay's demand that culturally responsive teaching be empowering. Teachers with culturally responsive dispositions view students as experts, "the primary source and center, subjects and outcomes, consumers and producers of knowledge" (2000, p. 33). While empowerment is the goal, developing a caring disposition that entails high expectations is the method. Culturally responsive teachers must, above all else, care for their students, and this caring must be "manifested in the form of teacher attitudes, expectations, and behaviors about students' human value, intellectual capability, and performance responsibilities" (p. 45). For Gay, above all else, culturally responsive teachers must demonstrate caring dispositions.

Gay theorizes caring to be more than "merely exhibiting feelings of kindness, gentleness, and benevolence toward students" (p. 48), because truly caring teachers challenge and make demands of their students as well. Gay draws on the work of Noddings (1992) and others (Mercado, 1993; Tarlow, 1996; Webb, Wilson, Corbett, & Mordecai, 1993) to argue that "caring in education has dimensions of emotion, intellect, faith, ethics, action, and accountability" (p. 48). When teachers fail to hold students accountable to high standards, they also fail to truly care.

For Gay, caring thus demands concern for both personal well-being and academic achievement (p. 45). Gay argues, "Genuinely caring teachers are academic taskmasters" (p. 75), and research suggests that even students themselves recognize that the teachers who care most for them are those with high expectations for academic success (Ladson-Billings, 1994), much like the effective teachers of Athabascan students that Kleinfeld called "warm demanders" (1975, p. 335).

Furthermore, research suggests that the attitude of caring in the classroom can influence student achievement. Siddle Walker (1993), for example, found that "the psychological and tangible attention revealed in the interpersonal relationships [between teachers and students]…contributed strongly to [students'] academic and life success" (p. 75). Similarly, Mercado (1993) presents research that suggests that the caring dispositions of teachers can enable students to achieve "beyond their capacity" (p. 80) on standardized tests.

Tarlow's (1996) theorization of caring suggests that this increased achievement is the logical result of caring being necessarily relational and reciprocal. Because caring consists of "instrumental interchanges embedded in reciprocal relationships" (p. 81), it fosters responsiveness to the other. In the classroom, the result of such responsiveness to high expectations is higher academic achievement, and Gay marshals extensive research to support her contention that “teacher expectations significantly influence the quality of learning opportunities provided to students” (p. 57). Sleeter (2005) concurs in a review of research on teacher expectations that suggests that cultural minority students “can achieve when the teachers and school believe they can” (p. 128).

Nieto and Bode (2007) provide yet another review of research supporting the claim that expectations influence achievement, pointing toward extensive research describing the “self-fulfilling prophecy” of low and high academic expectations (p. 76). They suggest that the problem of low expectations for cultural minority students is partly a function of teacher ignorance, that low expectations result because “many teachers know little or nothing about the background of their students” (p. 79). Teachers who know little about their students tend to expect less of their students. To combat this tendency, theories of culturally responsive pedagogy demand that teachers develop a disposition of cultural competence, which is, for Gay (2000, p. 70), the manifestation of true care for students.

Cultural competence

Cultural competence is perhaps the most complicated aspect of culturally responsive pedagogy, because theorists apply the term differently to teachers and students. In some writing, cultural competence is described as a capacity that teachers should help students develop, while others ask the teachers themselves to become culturally competent. Both students and teachers can be culturally competent. I believe that both of these tasks are important, and in this section I will discuss how they are interrelated.

The emphasis on fostering cultural competence among students emerged in response to studies that described African American students who felt the need to “act White” or at least “raceless” in order to succeed in school (Fordham, 1988; Ogbu, 1987). According to Ladson-Billings (1994), students should never feel they need to camouflage their academic achievement, nor should they feel they need to sacrifice their racial and cultural identity. Her model of culturally responsive pedagogy does not demand trade-offs that jeopardize students’ cultural integrity, but rather seeks to help students negotiate the difficult terrain they may face when the values of their home culture are challenged by the values of schooling. This sense of cultural competence emphasizes the students' capacity to navigate between their own microculture and the macroculture, and it seeks to make space for students to enjoy both strong cultural identity and academic success. When applied to students, cultural competence refers to the validation of feelings of cultural affiliation, pride, and worth.

Gay (2000) attributes cultural competence to teachers rather than to students, arguing that the caring disposition required of culturally responsive teachers must be made manifest in the teacher's willingness to work toward cultural competence. Becoming culturally competent means that the teacher must become, in essence, a student of students' cultures, acquiring "thorough knowledge about the cultural values, learning styles, historical legacies, contributions, and achievements of different ethnic groups" (p. 44).

In her later writing on preparing culturally responsive teachers, Ladson-Billings reframes the way she describes cultural competence (2001). Instead of ascribing cultural competence to students, Ladson-Billings, like Gay, moves toward describing the need for teachers to be culturally competent. She highlights four critical qualities of culturally competent teachers: they must understand "culture and its role in education," they must take "responsibility for learning about students' culture and community," they must use "student culture as a basis for learning, and finally, they must promote "the flexible use of students' local and global culture" (p. 98).

This description of cultural competence makes the teacher responsible for serving a bridging function, an image which appears frequently in the literature. Ladson-Billings (2001) suggests that teachers need to "bridge the school-community chasm" (p. 33), and Nieto (2002) imagines the teacher "as a bridge between student culture and the dominant culture" (p. 18). Gay (2000) expects culturally responsive teachers to "build bridges of meaningfulness between home and school experiences" (p. 29), and thereby validate the home life and culture of students.

By "acquiring a knowledge base" (Gay, 2000, p. 70) about students' home lives and cultures, teachers can begin to help students make connections across the gap between their home culture and the school culture. Gay suggests that the cultural competence needed to build these bridges can be developed by focusing on three areas of teacher practice: curriculum, instructional strategies, and communication.

By infusing the curriculum with materials that represent the experiences of culturally diverse students, teachers can make their curriculum validating for those students, helping to enhance student cultural affiliation. Efforts to diversify the curriculum represent the most common nods in the direction of cultural responsiveness, though research indicates that most attempts at multicultural education remain superficial (Banks, 2007a, 2007b). In order to be truly transformative, cultural diversity in curricular materials needs to "be chosen and delivered in ways that are directly meaningful to the students for whom it is intended" (Gay, 2000, p. 112). In other words, teachers must consider both curriculum and instructional strategies when attempting to implement culturally responsive pedagogy. Because, as Heath's research indicates (1983), students are often "not being taught in schools as they learn in their cultural communities," curricular changes must be accompanied by instructional changes (Gay, p. 182). Curricular and instructional reforms are important, but they will only be effective to the extent that the teacher is similarly committed to developing cultural competence in communication.

Educational theories that link language, learning, and culture originate with Vygotsky's contention that learning is rooted in language and culture (Vygotsky, 1978, 1986 [1934]). In these sociocultural theories of education, language is the vehicle that relays the "patterns of seeing, knowing, talking, and acting" embedded in cultural productions, and language "shapes consciousness, shapes ways of seeing and acting, ways of thinking and feeling" and ways of learning and knowing (Agar, 1994, p. 71). Because language and culture are so inseparable—indeed, Agar insists on combining them into a single term, "languaculture"—communication styles are infused with "cultural values and ways of knowing that strongly influence how students engage with learning tasks and demonstrate mastery of them" (Gay, 2000, p. 81). If culture counts, so too does communication.

The theory that cultural congruity in communication enhances educational achievement is a corollary to the idea that culture and language shape ways of knowing (Eisenhart, 2001). If culture and language count in education, then teacher efforts to communicate instruction in ways that better reflect the “languacultural” styles of the students should result in improved educational achievement. Indeed, much of the research that supports theories of culturally responsive teaching focuses on the role of language and communication in education, supporting the idea that teachers who employ “culturally congruent” communication styles elicit improved student achievement.

For example, Mohatt and Erickson (1981) utilized microethnographic research methods to examine classroom discourse in Native American classrooms, finding that culturally different teachers managed student participation differently. The differing levels of cultural congruence Mohatt and Erickson observed had implications for student learning, leading them to conclude that culture is “an important factor in Indian children’s school experiences,” even when the children are native English speakers (p. 106).

Similarly, Au and Jordan (1981) found that culturally congruent instruction improved reading achievement among native Hawaiian students. Their research found that successful teachers in an experimental school employed culturally responsive pedagogy that enabled them to “capitalize on the pre-existing cognitive and linguistic abilities of the children” (p. 140), which contributed to enhanced student achievement in reading.

Lee (1995) utilized an experimental design to demonstrate that “signifying,” a form of discourse employed by African American students, could effectively be used as a scaffold to teach literary interpretation techniques. Lee’s work affirmed “the efficacy of culturally sensitive instruction” by demonstrating that student reading achievement improved when teachers built upon students’ cultural and linguistic resources explicitly (p. 357).

Howard’s (2001) case-study research of four teachers of African American students found that teachers considered effective by parents, principals, community members, and peers utilized strategies that were consistent with culturally responsive pedagogy. Howard found, in particular, that the effective teachers “tailored their instructional strategies in ways that allowed students’ methods of communication to be used as academic strengths and not cognitive handicaps,” allowing them to “offer students a better opportunity for academic success” (p. 199).

This research all underscores Ladson-Billings's (2001) suggestion that teachers need to learn about student culture and its attendant communication styles. Gay (2000) interprets that research to suggest that those communication styles can be reframed as educational strengths rather than liabilities. The notion that cultural competence in communication is necessarily "bi-directional" (p. 95) suggests that teachers need to help students learn to communicate in two ways: students should be encouraged to maintain and understand more explicitly the communication styles of their home culture while simultaneously developing their ability to communicate effectively within the mainstream culture. In other words, the communication styles of the mainstream and the marginalized need not be mutually exclusive. In order to successfully build bi-directional linguacultural bridges, teachers need to understand the role of culture in education generally and they need to know about the particular culturally-inflected communication styles of the students they serve.

This idea is taken up by Delpit (1995), who affirmed the value of culture-centered education in response to the work of Gee (1989 [2001]). Gee provides the useful theoretical framework of "Discourses" to consider the goals of culturally responsive teaching and, in particular, the need for bi-directional cultural competence. Gee examines the function of discourse in processes of social reproduction, identifying the appropriation of the discourse of the mainstream as a central means to achieving social mobility for members of non-mainstream groups.

Gee distinguishes between "discourse," which consists of discrete units of communication, and "Discourse," which can be considered a form of cultural production. Gee defines "Discourse" as a type of "identity kit" that encompasses "how to act, talk, and often write, so as to take on a particular role that others will recognize" (p. 526), similar in several ways important to this study to what Bourdieu calls "habitus" (1977), and an aspect of what Banks (2007) calls microculture. Discourse thus defined includes, but is not limited to, the language and codes discussed by Delpit as well as cultural productions and signs (Agar, 1994; Howard, 2001; Willis, 1981). Gee claims that "Discourses are used as gates" (p. 531), and he argues that Discursive gate-keeping ensures the reproduction of social inequality. These claims echo the cultural reproduction theories of Bourdieu and Bernstein, who identified the school as a primary location where the reproduction of social inequality occurs through the privileging of certain cultural content (Bourdieu, 1977) and linguistic forms (Bernstein, 1977). Gee explains how the cultural reproduction Bourdieu and Bernstein describe occurs via the privileging of particular Discourses, highlighting the difficulties of achievement and mobility for children whose "primary," or home, Discourse differs from the "dominant" Discourse practiced in mainstream society and school.

The dominant Discourse refers to the Discourse of access and power, while the primary Discourse is the original home Discourse (Gee, 1989 [2001]). The problem confronting non-mainstream children, as Gee sees it, is two-fold: they are not provided sufficient educational opportunities to acquire the dominant Discourse, and even if they had such opportunities, such Discourse acquisition demands a difficult negotiation of conflicting cultural values. These values and the home Discourse are instilled in children at a very early age, and as a result, non-mainstream children are at a great disadvantage before they even arrive at school. Because "they cannot practice what they haven't yet got" (p. 543), the mainstream "dominant" Discourse taught in school is often never truly acquired.

This conclusion stands in contrast to the assumptions of culturally responsive pedagogy, which hold that a student's primary, home Discourse can be respected and maintained while the teacher facilitates the acquisition of the dominant, mainstream Discourse. This contradiction arises because Gee's application of his own framework is limited in two ways. First, Gee expects that the dominant Discourse needed for academic success is beyond the means of most non-mainstream students. As a result, Gee's perspective might be considered a "sociopathological" explanation for the failure of minority students in schools (Irvine, 2003, p. 3). Second, for non-mainstream students who do have access to the dominant Discourse, Gee insists that such students must sacrifice their primary Discourse in order to acquire the dominant Discourse. Students are faced with an "either/or" proposition: either sacrifice the home Discourse for the dominant or accept a lack of achievement in school. For these students, the home Discourse and school achievement are too often, according to Gee, incompatible.

Gee's perspective on Discourse acquisition for non-mainstream students may be viewed as overly deterministic, relegating minority children to an impossible situation of irreconcilable Discourses. The theory of culturally responsive pedagogy rejects the impossibility of this situation and instead engages it as a challenge to educators to respect students' primary Discourses while facilitating the acquisition of the dominant Discourse. The end result of cultural competence, then, is that cultural minority children have opportunities to acquire the dominant Discourse in an environment that respects the integrity and values of their primary Discourse. Indeed, culturally responsive teachers view the primary Discourse as a resource to enhance and facilitate student acquisition of the dominant Discourse.

Delpit (1995) dismisses the determinism of Gee's perspective on the acquisition of the dominant Discourse by illustrating the real possibility of achieving transformative education, offering several examples of non-mainstream individuals who have successfully navigated the challenge Gee presents. In addition, Delpit's description of her own experience as an African American in Catholic schools (1996) tells a story that mirrors those she presents in her response to Gee, a story of academic achievement in a school that fostered the acquisition of the dominant Discourse without demanding the sacrifice of the primary Discourse of the home and community. Delpit's experience challenges Gee by showing that "acquiring the ability to function in a dominant Discourse need not mean that one must reject one's home identity and values" (1995, p. 163). Bi-directional cultural competence provides the theoretical means by which this challenge can be overcome.

The notion of cultural competence further resonates with contemporary theories about immigrant assimilation. Old "straight-line" theories consider assimilation to be a process in which immigrants trade ethnic loyalty for social mobility, dooming immigrants to Gee's paradox of irreconcilable Discourses, as the marginalized primary Discourse needs to be shed in order to take on the dominant secondary Discourse of the mainstream. Alba and Nee (2007) provide a new theory of assimilation that provides a positive role for the ethnic community and which allows space for immigrants to assimilate without sacrificing the entirety of their home culture, language, faith. In other words, Alba and Nee describe a way of becoming American without giving up one's primary Discourse.

In this new model, Alba and Nee define assimilation as "the decline of an ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences" in which an "individual's ethnic origins become less and less relevant in relation to the members of another ethnic group" (p. 130). For them, assimilation "is not a dichotomous outcome and does not require the disappearance of ethnicity; consequently, the individuals and groups undergoing assimilation may still bear a number of ethnic markers" (p. 131). Instead of boundary crossing, in which individual immigrants shed old identities for new (like Jay Gatz becoming the Great Gatsby), and instead of boundary shifting, in which groups of immigrants seek to move boundaries entirely (as when the Irish "became" White), Alba and Nee propose that people can engage in boundary blurring, which "entails the ambiguity of a boundary" for a set of people (p. 131). Cultural competence provides one means by which a teacher can blur boundaries and can facilitate the blurring of boundaries for one's students.

To be culturally competent, "educators must have knowledge of children's lives outside of school so as to recognize their strengths" (Delpit, 1995, p. 172). Teachers must learn as much as possible about the families, communities, and cultures of the students they will serve if they hope to build effective bridges from students' home cultures to the school culture and, ultimately, to the mainstream culture of power. Teachers with culturally responsive dispositions value and build on students' prior knowledge, and they work to instill a sense of pride in the students' home culture, utilizing the "funds of knowledge" (Moll & Gonzalez, 2001) students bring with them from home to build knowledge and achieve school success. When teachers are culturally competent, "academic success and cultural consciousness are developed simultaneously" (Gay, 2000, p. 34). These teachers both enhance cultural affiliation and academic achievement by creating opportunities for students to do well in school by utilizing—instead of disparaging or denying—the resources of their home cultures.

Sociopolitical consciousness

Educators with culturally responsive dispositions see themselves as realists who recognize that the world is not fair, that social structural inequalities like race, gender, and class prevent many children from receiving an equal education and a fair shot at socioeconomic success. The notion of American education as a true meritocracy is recognized as a myth, as these teachers understand that hard work is often not enough to overcome oppressive structural obstacles like racism, discrimination, and poverty. Such teachers understand that education is socially and politically situated, and that school is often an institution that serves to preserve the status quo and reproduce social inequality (Althusser, 1972; Bernstein, 1977; Bourdieu, 1977; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Willis, 1977). As a result, they encourage students to be critical thinkers, developing a sociopolitical consciousness that recognizes societal injustice, and they seek to move their students toward action that benefits the common good.

As realists, culturally responsive teachers cannot ignore power inequities, just as they cannot ignore or gloss over the home culture of all students. By acknowledging the realities of inequality and the liabilities (and responsibilities) of the educational system, culturally responsive teachers reject a color-blind approach to education. These approaches, which are in reality "culture-blind," often serve to perpetuate rather than mitigate inequality (Schofield, 2007; Tochluk, 2008). It is not sufficient to treat all children the same, because "if one does not see color, then one does not really see children" (Delpit, 1995, p. 177). Color-blind approaches ignore both the realities of social inequality and the strength and vitality of different cultures.

Ladson-Billings (1994) captures the essence of this element when she explains that teachers who serve African American students with culturally responsive attitudes attempt to "help African American students understand the world as it is and equip them to change it for the better" (p. 139). They do not sugar-coat inequality—instead, they recognize injustice and help their students learn how to succeed in spite of it. Such an approach is necessarily termed "power pedagogy" (Gay, 2000, p. 21) because it tackles the problems of power inequities head on, up front, and out loud, and refuses to gloss over them.

While cultural competence is critical to effective culturally responsive pedagogy, without a sociopolitical lens, cultural competence is insufficient. Delpit (1995) underscores this point, arguing that teachers need to send the message to minority students "that their language and cultural style is unique and wonderful but that there is a political power game that is also being played" (p. 40). She suggests that minority students "must be encouraged to understand the value of the code they already possess as well as to understand the power realities in this country" (p. 40). Superficial multiculturalism and good intentions do not suffice. Mere appreciation for the home culture and discourse falls short, because “study after study reveals that social structural constraints, economic barriers, classism, racism, inadequate school facilities, and a host of other constraints are real and influential” (Dance, 2002, p. 105). Students must be aware of the challenges they will face, as well as the societal implications of race, poverty, and language bias that limit their capacity for social mobility. To ignore those realities is to do students a grave disservice.

This tenet of cultural responsiveness, the critical lens, is woven throughout Gay’s (2000) framework. Each of the four dimensions of teacher practice she describes (expectations and attitude, communication, curriculum, and instruction) must be essentially empowering, transformative, and emancipatory (pp. 33-35). Fundamentally, culturally responsive teaching calls for teachers to consider multiple cultural frames of reference in the classroom, thereby introducing students to new and different ways of knowing. By helping students become social critics, schooling becomes liberating for students from marginalized microcultures, giving them the tools to “combat prejudices, racism, and other forms of oppression and exploitation (Gay, 2000, p. 34).

Religion and culturally responsive pedagogy

As discussed above, there is general consensus in the literature that culturally responsive pedagogy demands cultural competence (Ladson-Billings, 1995b, 2001), or “thorough knowledge about the cultural values, learning styles, historical legacies, contributions, and achievements of different ethnic groups” (Gay, 2000, p. 44). There is not, however, much discussion describing the particular values, styles, legacies, or achievements that should be known, nor is there much specificity about which dimensions of student culture must be understood and utilized in the classroom. Typically, discussions of culturally competent teaching address only racial, ethnic, or linguistic dimensions of culture, and there is virtually no consideration of the role that religious identity, belief, or practice may play in the development of cultural competence. This oversight is important because, as discussed above, religious identity, belief, and practice often influence how people make meaning of their lives, and so, for many, religious identities, beliefs, and practices shape the cultural values, learning styles, historical legacies, and contributions of their cultural groups. To fully understand a student's culture, it seems a teacher would be well-served to have some understanding of the student's religious identity, beliefs, and practices.

There is an interesting rhetorical phenomenon among scholars of culturally responsive pedagogy in their frequent use of religious language to describe the attitudes and goals of a culturally responsive approach to teaching. For example, Delpit (1995) concludes her collection of essays, *Other People's Children,* with a prayer for children and teachers (p. 183). Ladson-Billings takes the title of her guide to culturally responsive teacher education, *Crossing Over to Canaan* (2001), from Scripture, and she begins the book by recounting that "an important part of my own education took place in the Black church" (p. xi). In her collection of exemplars of culturally responsive teaching, *The Dreamkeepers* (1994), Ladson-Billings introduces the chapter "Does culture matter?" with a passage from Christian scripture. Gay (2000) uses religious language to describe the central feature of cultural responsive dispositions, writing, "Culturally responsive teachers have unequivocal faith in the human dignity and intellectual capabilities of their students" (p. 43).

Despite the abundance of religious language and imagery in the literature, discussions of religion itself are conspicuously absent. Gay (2000) provides a seemingly comprehensive list of the dimensions of education that culturally responsive teachers must consider: "They view learning as having intellectual, academic, personal, social, ethical, and political dimensions" (p. 43). The spiritual and religious dimensions of education are missing from this list, and indeed, religion is almost never discussed as an important feature of the home culture in the literature surrounding culturally responsive pedagogy. While scholars interested in culturally responsive pedagogy use religious language and imagery to talk about the role of culture in education, they rarely talk about religion as a dimension of culture itself. Indeed, Ladson-Billings even calls attention to the fact that her use of scriptural citation "may seem out of place" (1994, p. 15) in the context of the teacher education discourse.

Irvine (2003) provides the only theoretical discussion of religion as a dimension of culture in the literature surrounding the role of culture in education. Irvine's discussion focuses on her own experience as an African American non-Catholic in

Catholic schools as a child, and she translates the language and experience of religion into sociological terms, discussing religion as a set of beliefs, values, and norms. Irvine explains how, in her experience, the norms—religious practices—differed between her home and the Catholic school she attended. Because the beliefs and values were largely congruent between the two, however, it was possible for Irvine and her peers to achieve in school despite the cultural and religious differences between her home and school discourses.

Certainly religious identity is a central feature of the home discourse for many students, but the secular context of public schools presents an obstacle to the engagement of explicit attention to matters of religious identity and faith. In Catholic schools, however, religious identity can play a role in the development of a culturally responsive disposition. Catholic schools, which would place the "spiritual" dimension at the top of Gay's list of the dimensions of education, are capable of tapping into an important institution in the landscape of the community culture—the church—in a special way. As Irvine's experience indicates, even students whose denomination differs from that of the school can experience cultural congruence in a private religious school. This observation is important particularly for urban Catholic schools, as the non-Catholic population in Catholic schools has grown from 2.7% in 1970 to 14.1% in 2008 (McDonald, 2008).

As will be shown in chapter three, Catholic schools emerged in the United States because immigrant families refused to grant the state the right to educate their children *in loco parentis*, reserving the privilege to educate for the Church (McCluskey, 1964b). As a result of this special relationship between the school, family, and community, Catholic schools have the potential to engage in a variety of cultural competence that takes full advantage of multiple cultural connections, including religious belief, identity, and practice, that already exist between the home and the school. Shared religion can strengthen the bridge that narrows the distance between the cultures and Discourses of home and school.

Furthermore, the Catholic Church's stance acknowledging the primacy of the parent in education (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1972) underscores the Catholic school teacher's need to acquire "thorough knowledge about the cultural values, learning styles, historical legacies, contributions, and achievements" (Gay, 2000, p. 43) and also encourages the Catholic school teacher's "learning about students' culture and community" (Ladson-Billings, 2001, p. 98), both of which represent critical elements of culturally responsive pedagogy. In other words, in some ways, the ideology of Catholic schooling is consistent with the ideology of culturally responsive pedagogy.

Summary

The model of culturally responsive pedagogy described here has three major tenets. Teachers must have high expectations for their students, they must foster cultural competence, and they must help students develop a sociopolitical consciousness. High expectations are the product of a caring disposition that such teachers demonstrate. Teachers who truly care about students are concerned with the whole child and hold the student to high standards of achievement.

This care is made manifest in the development of teachers' cultural competence. In schools, culture is most often realized in communication, and culturally responsive pedagogy calls for teachers to be communicatively competent across cultures. Teachers are called upon to serve a bridging function between the primary Discourse of the home and the dominant Discourse of the school. In order to successfully fulfill that role, teachers must become students of their students' home Discourses by learning as much as they can about each child's home, family, language and culture.

Finally, in order to be truly empowering, transformative, and emancipatory, culturally responsive teachers must equip their students with a critical lens to enable them to use their education to "become social critics" and change agents. It is not enough to produce students who achieve academically with strong cultural affiliation; students must be inspired and equipped to work for social justice.

Within the context of theories of culturally responsive pedagogy, we can consider the potential for a culturally responsive approach within a Catholic school. In Catholic schools, the church, a cultural institution that organizes one of the social groups that inflects or even defines a cultural group, is expected to educate the child *in loco parentis*. In the data presented in chapters seven, eight, and nine, I examine the extent to which teachers in a Catholic school are able to call on the religious identities, beliefs, and practices of students to make cultural connections. This research extends theories of culturally responsive pedagogy to take into account the religious dimension of culture.

Chapter 3: Reviewing the literature on the history of Catholic education in the United States

Introduction

Ladson-Billings begins her discussion of sociocultural approaches to education (1994) by recalling that, in 1935, W. E. B. DuBois asked, “Does the Negro need separate schools?” (DuBois, 1935). DuBois was essentially asking: Are African Americans so different that African American students are not able to achieve in mainstream schools? He concluded that separate schools were indeed necessary given the “present attitude of White America toward Black America” (p. 328), and he provided a rationale rooted in a philosophy of education that centralizes culture. Indeed, his views continue to resonate in theories of CRP, as DuBois argues that education requires both a “sympathetic touch between teacher and pupil” as well as “knowledge on the part of the teacher, not simply of the individual taught, but of his surroundings and background, and the history of his class and group” (p. 329).

Thirty years after DuBois, a historian studying Catholic education posed the same question of Catholics when he wondered “why Catholic schools exist on the massive scale that they do” (McCluskey, 1964b, p. 1). The American Catholic school system is the largest private school system in the world (Notre Dame Task Force on Catholic Education, 2006), and it is the largest education alternative to public schooling in the United States. It is also the only system of its kind; it is not Roman Catholic Church policy to create a separate, parallel system of schooling in each nation it serves.[9] The development of such a system has not been central to the mission of the Church elsewhere as it has been in America. So McCluskey’s fundamental question remains: why create and maintain these schools? Are Catholics so different that they cannot be educated in public schools?

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[9] The United States is one of the only nations that does not provide public funding to religious schools, and so the Church does not need to pursue any such policy—it can sponsor schools that receive direct state funding (or, in the case of France, federal subsidies) in nearly every other nation. According to the Vatican’s Congregation on Catholic Education, by not providing public funding to religious schools, the United States finds itself in the company of only Cuba, China, North Korea, and Mexico (Filteau, 2005).

The central question posed by historians of American Catholic schooling over the past 40 years concerns the *raison d'être* for the existence of such a large alternative educational system. In a manner reminiscent of Dubois's concerns about the suitability of public schools for African Americans, McCluskey (1964) asked, "Do Catholics have such a different idea of the nature of education that they feel compelled to withdraw from the common community effort and set up separate schools for their children?" (p. 2). What was so different about Catholics in the United States that they felt compelled to create and sustain their own system of schooling? The unique nature of the American Catholic school system in relation to the larger Church begs a similar question but from the opposite perspective—in what ways was *America* so different from other countries that Catholics felt the need to separate themselves in schools?

Historical interpretations of education often center on the role of the state in schooling, asking: to what extent is the state responsible for education? Catholic education adds the Church to this question, encouraging us to ask instead: what are the appropriate roles of the state, the family, and the Church in the education of children? At the root of the development of American Catholic schools is a debate over this very question, and the historical fact of the emergence, expansion, and continued relevance of this school system is, in part, a testament to the appeal of the Catholic answer to the question, particularly for immigrant communities. Furthermore, the Catholic conception of the appropriate role of the family, Church, and state in education provides insight into the depth of cultural competence that is possible for a school in this tradition.

Ultimately, the Catholic answer to the question of the role of the state in education—the answer that spurred 19th-century Catholics to create and support an entire system of separate schooling—embraces a conception of education as the province of the family. This view rejects the notion that the state has a right to educate *in loco parentis*, or "in place of the parent," preferring instead to reserve that privilege for the Church. This belief defines the Catholic perspective on education, which emerged in response to the development of the public school system. This belief also provides a crucial insight into the theoretical potential for cultural competence in Catholic schools.

Beginning in the 19th century, anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic sentiments prompted Catholics to rally around their parishes and create schools. Near the beginning of the 20th century, issues of cultural identity and language joined issues of religious identity, belief, and practice as critical factors in the expansion of urban Catholic schools, which were often built in reaction to the perceived threat to religion and language represented by Protestant, English-speaking, Americanizing public schools (Meagher, 2000). Catholic schools emerged in response to that perceived threat, and as more diverse groups of European Catholic immigrants arrived in the United States, more Catholic schools were founded, each addressing the needs of a particular ethnic group and language, each serving a different immigrant group from a different nation. Though students were expected to acquire the dominant Discourse and gain proficiency with the English language in public school, these ethnic-centered Catholic schools resisted sacrificing the primary Discourse of the home. Just as Delpit argues that, for current language minority students, “the linguistic form a student brings to school is intimately connected with loved ones, community, and personal identity” (Delpit, 1995, p. 53), early Catholic schools recognized educational value in tangible connections to the home country, culture, faith, and family. One of their early champions, German American publisher Arthur Preuss, describes this connection for early Catholic immigrants, for whom “everything that is a link with the old home and keeps its memory alive will also be a safeguard against dangers to faith and piety” (Preuss, 1909, p. 262).

While these schools were accused of promoting ethnic isolation and separatism, from the immigrants’ point of view they offered a more fluid and comfortable transition to a new country, language, and culture. For these immigrants, Americanization was not necessarily incompatible with maintenance of the native language and religious belief, identity, and practice, and the primary Discourse did not need to be sacrificed to become “American.” Instead, these schools served as cultural agents, as “way-stations” (Shaw, 1991) that allowed the new immigrant communities to enter the mainstream on their own terms in ways that enabled both “preserving and transforming” (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993, p. 28) their Discourse, culture, faith, and identity.

In this chapter, I review the literature surrounding the history of Catholic education in the United States, paying special attention to the historical accounts provided by McCluskey (1964); Lannie (1968, 1976), Ravitch (1974); Sanders (1977); Lazerson (1977), Bryk, Lee, & Holland (1993); and Walch (1996). In particular, I consider how these historians have viewed the Catholic response to the question of the role of the Church, the state, and the family in education, and I describe the social, political, and cultural dynamics that shaped the ideology of Catholic education that informs what has become the largest private school system in the world.

Throughout this discussion, I also consider primary source materials that reveal the attitudes of the Catholic press, particularly those that present the views of Catholic immigrants in Chicago on public and Catholic schooling. Primary sources include a variety of Polish-language newspapers published in Chicago between the 1880s, when the American bishops mandated that every Catholic parish build a Catholic school, and 1915, when Archbishop Mundelein was named the first American-born archbishop of the Chicago Archdiocese and when concerns about European language maintenance in schools became entangled with concerns about German aggression in Europe. Other sources include diocesan publications of that era as well as national Catholic publications, including the St. Louis-based *Fortnightly Review*.[10] Finally, I describe how the ideology that emerges from this review resonates with theories of culturally responsive pedagogy.

Historical overview: 19th-century Catholic schools

Preservation of the immigrant home Discourse and service to particular ethnic communities were hallmarks of 19th-century Catholic education. Ethnic Catholic schools were "organized by individual communities around their parish church" and "became the base for the current Catholic elementary school system" (Bryk et al., 1993, p. 18). This model for Catholic schools represents a localized, community-oriented approach that privileges the needs of the immediate local community and primary Discourse over the national—or even city-wide—agenda. In these schools, educators created space for the primary Discourse to exist alongside the dominant Discourse, and they tolerated the existence of numerous primary Discourses within a single school system and city.

While urban Catholic schools were largely ethnicity-centered during this period, there was great tension within the Church regarding the role of the Catholic school and the validity of such ethnicity-centered—or to use Gee's terms, primary Discourse-centered—approaches to education (Bryk et al., 1993). Some American bishops, led by Archbishop John Ireland and James Cardinal Gibbons, believed the Church should engage modern American society and work within American structures like public schools, embracing the dominant Discourse to hasten Catholic assimilation and thereby reduce anti-Catholic hostility. These "Americanists" were staunchly opposed by "nationalists," whose cause became known as "Cahensleyism" for one of its most outspoken leaders, Peter Paul Cahensley. A German nobleman, Cahensley called for immigrant communities in the United States to remain ethnically-centered, urging the support of ethnic parishes and schools organized around the primary Discourse of the home country. Tensions between the two groups were high until 1899, when Pope Leo XIII stepped in to moderate the debate, validating the mission of the immigrant schools that maintained the home Discourse by declaring that, while the total isolation of a ghetto Church is not ideal, American bishops must "heed the diverse needs of an immigrant Church" (p. 26). Leo's decree, *Testem Benevolentiae,* "formally censured 'the errors of Americanism'" (Bryk, et al., 1993, p. 27), protecting a pluralistic system of schools organized by culture and language. The Pope's decree was a defeat for Ireland and the Americanists, as it provided "indirect support for the establishment and maintenance of ethnic schools" (p. 27). Fifteen years later, however, Ireland and his peers would see their vision of American Catholic schools vindicated, as world events—particularly World War I—and a new generation of bishops—namely George Mundelein in Chicago—hastened the demise of foreign-language speaking parochial schools and inspired immigrants to Americanize more thoroughly and quickly.

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[10] *The Fortnightly Review* was a Catholic periodical based in St. Louis and published by German immigrant Arthur Preuss. The paper changed names several times and was also known (and will be cited here) as *The Catholic Fortnightly Review* and *The Review.*

In the intervening years, however, as the debate about Church sponsorship was quelled among the bishops by the Pope, community-centered, culturally-specific religious schools in cities like Chicago began to resemble the Catholic school system of today, in sharp contrast to the state-sponsored public school system that emerged at the same time. Government-funded common schools were motivated ostensibly by the democratic principle of equal education for all, and the primary goal of such schools was to produce citizens who could contribute to a thriving, enlightened industrial democracy. In light of the massive European immigration wave, however, public schools took on the additional role of serving as an instrument of assimilation. For many immigrants, the assimilation project of public schools was perceived as an effort to strip people of their culture and language in order to transform them into functional "Americans" capable of working productively in the dominant Discourse.

Although there was "no single prototype for Catholic education in the last half of the 19th century and first quarter of the 20th century" (Walch, 1996, p. 83), ethnic parish schools emerged in urban areas during this period as responses to individual ethnic community concerns. Because these ethnic Catholic schools emerged *from* the community rather than being imposed *on* the community, Church sponsorship of these schools played out quite differently from government sponsorship of common schools. In places where ethnic Catholic schools developed in response to communities' cultural needs, the Church supported efforts among immigrants to remain close to their native cultures—most concretely via language—in an effort to preserve their religious tradition. Ideologically, those bishops who supported this approach to education thus sponsored a form of education that refused to sacrifice the primary Discourse in favor of the dominant, and the ultimate socioeconomic mobility of these immigrant groups suggests that, contrary to what Gee's description of irreconciliable Discourses might have predicted, these schools nevertheless facilitated dominant Discourse acquisition, academic success, and social mobility without sacrificing the primary Discourse.

Though the bishops informed school structure and practices ideologically, the emerging "system" of Catholic education remained largely decentralized and locally governed. York explains, "When the pope or his representatives spoke of the education of Catholic youth, the directives were filtered through a vast, decentralized, uneven system of U.S. bishops, priests, nuns, and parents" (1996, p. 17). Thus emerged a "multiplicity of perspectives" (p. 17) that resulted in a variety of culturally specific approaches to education, each developed by and for the particular cultural and Discursive needs of the local community. As such, Church sponsorship of schools was unified ideologically but pluralistic in practice. A wide variety of Catholic schools emerged, each the product of its local community, and each free to address the particular needs of its local people.

Urban Catholic schools remained largely ethnicity-centered until World War I, when anti-German hostility and demands for American loyalty contributed to the full de-ethnicizing of Catholic schools, many of which served German communities. Many states created laws that outlawed education in any language but English (Bryk et al., 1993), and by the 1940s, few ethnic schools were being established and most Catholic schools had adopted English as the exclusive language of instruction (Meagher, 2000).

By the 1960s, many of the American-born children of immigrants had grown away from the culture and language of their parents' ethnic homeland. Americanization had slowly worked to assimilate the immigrant communities into mainstream American culture, as many of the children originally served by ethnic schools had experienced upward social mobility. The election of John Kennedy, the first Catholic president, "signaled the ultimate arrival" of Catholics into mainstream America (Sanders, 1977, p. 230), and the need for cultural, linguistic, and religious protection no longer seemed necessary for the descendants of the original immigrant Catholic school students. Indeed, Sanders argues that, by the 1960s, "the Catholic school as powerful cultural agent had ceased to exist" (p. 230). In Chicago, a number of factors led to the decline of national parish schools. Generational social mobility and assimilation, an American-born bishop's efforts to unify city Catholics, decreasing anti-Catholic alienation, and decades of political power culminating in Kennedy's election all contributed to what Sanders calls the "popular consciousness" of "symbolic power" among Catholics in Chicago. As a result, the need to maintain the primary Discourse had faded, and the desire to acquire the dominant Discourse had taken hold.

Theorizing Catholic schooling

Educating *In Loco Parentis*

Fundamental to the Church's sponsorship of schools is the Catholic perspective of the family as the primary educator of a child. McCluskey introduces this Catholic perspective on education in his essay, "America and the Catholic School" (1964a), which argues persuasively that the question of the place of the state in schools played a central role in the development of a separate Catholic school system. Though this central philosophical difference ultimately led to the creation of a separate system, Catholic and

Protestant parents did not always disagree about the terms of public education. McCluskey writes, “It is simply assumed today that the State has the right to establish and operate schools, but this assumption is something that arrived on the social scene rather late” (p. 9). McCluskey observes that, in the mid-nineteenth century, neither Catholics nor Protestants wanted religion-free schools. The Protestant stance shifted however, in response to the growing numbers of Catholics in schools and to Catholic demands for public dollars to fund Catholic schools in New York in 1840 (Ravitch, 1974).

Prior to that time, Catholics and Protestants essentially agreed that schooling was a private matter rooted in the family, with language, culture, religion, and moral development central to the educative enterprise (McCluskey, 1964a). Indeed, though controversy over funding in New York in 1840 led to the eventual removal of all things religious in public schools, at the time “none of the protagonists in the controversy advocated religious indifferentism or secularism in the schools” (Lannie, 1968, p. 251). With the advent of systematic formal public schooling in the mid-19th century, these religious and moral concerns took a central place in the curriculum, which was rooted in the traditions of the Protestant families the schools were designed to serve.

McCluskey (1964a) argues that the Catholic school controversy in New York reveals a fundamental tension inherent in the notion of common schooling in a diverse society. Because education was so intimately wrapped up in religious tradition and moral development, schools could not both ignore religion and teach children, and the religious nature of schooling made completely secular schools unimaginable. McCluskey concludes that there are “limitations inherent in the idea of one *common* school serving a religiously pluralistic society” (p. 18, emphasis in original), suggesting that the only reason common schooling succeeded in America in the first place was the tacit acceptance of an inoffensive form of Protestantism among a homogenous Protestant population. Common schooling might work for a unified community, but the massive influx of Catholic immigrants into the Protestant United States made such schools fundamentally unworkable, for “the common schools had not been designed with Roman Catholic children in mind” (McCluskey, p. 13).

Here, McCluskey seems to echo Gee's claims about irreconcilable Discourses by suggesting the impossibility of educating a student body with diverse cultural values and multiple Discourses. McCluskey's claims also resonate with central tenets of culturally responsive pedagogy, which claim that, because culture counts in education, and because children in schools come from a variety of cultures, teachers need to account for the various cultures of their students when designing curriculum and instruction. Finally, the historical point that McCluskey makes—that it was generally accepted that schools could not both ignore religion and teach children—resonates with my own conclusion about the intersection of culturally responsive pedagogy and religion: that teachers who take culture into account in education would be remiss to ignore religious belief, identity, and practice.

Because the common school curriculum was inoffensive to Protestant parents, and the schools primarily served Protestant families, there was no initial opposition to the religious elements of the public school curriculum; indeed, the prevailing mindset surrounding education demonstrated no awareness that the curriculum might offend anyone. But when waves of immigrants began to arrive from central, southern, and eastern Europe, bringing millions of Catholics to New York (Hunt, 2004), the homogeneous Protestant school population changed. Large numbers of non-English-speaking Catholic immigrants entered the schools, and their presence was perceived as a threat by many native-born Protestants. Common schools represented an opportunity to address the threat presented by these outsiders by providing the state with the means to facilitate the rapid assimilation and acculturation of the new arrivals (Savage, 2004). The common schools provided a location for the "exercise [of] social control" (Sanders, 1977, p. 225) by the Protestant establishment, serving "as the battleground between society's guardians and those against whose contamination they sought to guard themselves" (p. 225).

Catholics under siege

The Catholic Church continues to teach that the role of the parent is that of the primary educator of children, although this important ideological point is often overlooked in discussions of Catholic school history in the United States. Most writers instead focus on the nature of the separation of Catholics into their own school, and in early Catholic historiography, the role of the parent as primary educator is not identified as a central element in the development of Catholic schools. In a review of the earliest histories of American Catholic schools, all written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Lannie (1976) identifies the central theme of American Catholic educational historiography instead as the triumph of a minority Church under siege.

Lannie (1976) focuses on the image of the "Church Triumphant" that emerges from the work of Isaac Hecker (1870), John O'Kane Murray (1876), John Gilmary Shea (1886), and James A. Burns (1908, 1912). The essential character of the writings of this time is one of celebration of achievement. These writers trumpet the establishment of the Catholic school system, which was deemed a heroic triumph of the Church in the United States "in the face of incredible obstacles" (Lannie, 1976, p. 142). Catholic schools are conflated with the Catholic Church in these writings, and these historians consistently portray the establishment of schools as "an integral part of the Church's progress in America" (p. 142).

These historians emphasized the essential compatibility between American patriotism and Roman Catholicism in response to Protestant accusations of disloyalty and anti-Catholic sentiment in the face of growing waves of Catholic immigrants. Public schooling was branded un-American by many of these writers, including Hecker, who wrote,

> The so-called American public school system is a cunningly-devised scheme, under the show of zeal for popular education, for forcing the state, in violation of American principles of liberty, to impose an unjust and heavy tax on its citizens, with the intent of injuring the Catholic Church. (as quoted in Lannie, p. 139)

The separation of Catholics into their own schools is presented as a protective necessity in the face of hostile anti-Catholicism in state-supported schools. Early Catholic historians portrayed the American Church and its children as under attack, threatened by Protestant nativists who sought to strip immigrant families of their faith. As a result, Lannie observes that a Catholic "siege mentality was in full advance" as "Catholics retreated behind the walls and developed a ghetto mentality" (Lannie, 1976, p. 141).

The siege mentality becomes understandable in the context of the shift of educational philosophy toward government-sponsored secular education. The new assumption of state-sponsored common schooling was that deficiencies—of the family and the native culture—had to be corrected by the state. The Catholics described in these historical accounts, on the other hand, held fast to the idea that the family reserved the right to educate.

These early writings on the history of Catholic education focus on the antagonism of Protestant-based public schooling toward Catholics and emphasize the Church as an institution that has weathered attack. The martial imagery and language of war found in these histories reflect the traditional interpretation of the origins of Catholic schools as "the educational rampart of the defensive structure of American Catholicism" (Lannie, 1976, p. 141). This interpretation emphasizes the Catholic defense of faith, culture, language, and community in the face of Protestant hostility, providing an image of a Church united under attack, struggling to fulfill its mission of education and preservation of the faith.

These accounts, which conflate the Church and its schools and portray a triumphantly unified institution, misrepresent the mid-19th-century Catholic Church by exaggerating its unity. The Church of this era comprised a diverse array of immigrant groups from all over Europe that were uneven in their support for Catholic schooling. Even within the American hierarchy there were great differences of opinion regarding support for separate schooling. Furthermore, Lannie offers no explanation for why these writers viewed schools as a natural, "integral" extension of the Church mission, since, as mentioned above, such schools are not the product of Church policy and have never emerged in the same way in other nations. A broader interpretation of the development of these schools is needed to fully explain the Church's commitment to separate schooling, as well as to understand the divisions within the Church itself that have shaped the character of Catholic schools until the present day.

Lannie himself presents a more thorough interpretation in his own account (1968) of Bishop John Hughes's fight to get public funding for New York City Catholic schools during the 1840. Lannie again offers an image of the Church under attack by Protestant-infused public schooling, arguing that Catholics viewed the non-denominational pretense of the public schools "as essentially a Protestant basis for public school education" and saw the Protestant curriculum of public schools as a ploy "intent on subverting the religious faith of Catholic children" (p. ix). In this interpretation, public schooling is positioned as an insidious plot to socialize immigrant children by stripping them of their faith. This account reflects a tone of deep division and outright antagonism between Catholics and Protestants.

According to Lannie (1968), Bishop Hughes initially sought to remove Protestant influences from public schools, but when rebuffed, he began to demand public funding for Catholic schools equal to the funding that supported the Protestant-based schools of the Public School Society. In the end, neither Bishop Hughes nor the Public School Society of New York won the war—Catholic schools received no public funding and public schools were stripped of all religious influence. Lannie echoes McCluskey in noting that "none of the protagonists in the controversy advocated religious indifferentism or secularism in the schools" (p. 251). The presence of religious instruction in public schools was not an issue for Hughes; instead, what was objectionable was the particular brand of religious instruction promoted by the public schools. According to Lannie, the nature of this separation between Catholics and Protestants is rooted in the Protestant refusal to accommodate Catholic demands, though there is a strong sense that Bishop Hughes was personally dedicated to the push for separation in the end.

The threat of imposed assimilation

In the case of Chicago's Catholic schools, the state's imposition of Protestant culture and religion on working class and poor Catholic immigrants provided a clear impetus for the creation of a separate school system (Sanders, 1977). Sanders's history of Catholic schooling in Chicago describes the common school as a social control mechanism designed by xenophobic nativists to protect themselves from the "contamination" of the Catholic immigrants—"those they considered deviant"—by Americanizing and socializing the unruly hordes of newcomers (p. 225-226). The goal of Americanization was stated to be a benign "homogeneity" within society, though some Catholics felt threatened by the notion of assimilation implicit in such Americanization. Thomas Campbell, writing in the *Fortnightly Review*, argued that public school proponents claimed to only want "homogeneity of education to blend the diverse nationalities of our land into one common Americanism" (as quoted in Preuss, 1901b, p. 498), but Campbell saw something more sinister behind the stated desire for homogeneity, arguing that "homogeneity of education is absurd; it is undemocratic; it is un-American; it is often a political scheme; and it is Socialistic; and it is unchristian and irreligious" (p. 498-499).

According to Sanders's interpretation of the role of public schooling in Chicago, the state considered the immigrant family incapable of properly educating and socializing children, and so it attempted to take the place of the parent and family as the primary educator. For some Catholics, this government educational policy represented an imposition of values, culture, religion, and language that intrudes on the domain of the family. Arthur Preuss, editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, argued, "The fundamental fallacy [of this policy] lies in the usurpation by the State of parental authority, in presuming to do for each child what can be properly done by no body else except its own father and mother" (Preuss, 1901a, p. 120).

As public schools sought to train uniform and productive participants for the growing industrial economy, Catholic schools stood in stark opposition as places of "internal social tolerance and permissiveness" (Sanders, 1972, p. 226) of diversity. Catholic schools developed as community-centered institutions with minimal external governance from the Church. According to Sanders, "The Catholic Church in Chicago exercised no central control at all. It allowed the maximum possible local diversity and, as it turns out, each ethnic, cultural, and educational group flourished" (p. 226).

An "unbridgeable cultural gulf"

Although different ethnic groups thrived and created their own schools in Chicago, Catholics in other cities faced opposition when attempting to enter the public school system. When Ravitch describes the 1840 controversy over public funding for Catholic schools as the first of *The Great School Wars* of New York City (1974), she identifies the "unbridgeable cultural gulf" between the Public School Society and the Catholic community (p. 33) as the central reason for the "school war" and ensuing drive for separate Catholic schools in New York. The division is presented as an irreconciliable and inevitable cultural divide, rooted in religious and language differences. Schools, the “institution where culture is transmitted, both formally (in curriculum) and informally (in standards of behavior),” became the battle ground where the culture wars played out (Ravitch, p. 34).

Ravitch’s description of the school as the place where cultures collide brings us back to Gee’s framework of Discourse transmission and acquisition in schools for minority students. Is it possible, as culturally responsive pedagogy contends, for students to acquire a secondary Discourse without abandoning the values attached to their primary Discourse? The “unbridgeable cultural gulf” that Ravitch describes suggests a strong belief that such Discourse acquisition would not be possible across religious and cultural lines. Indeed, in New York, serious attempts at compromise between Catholics and Protestants never took root.[11] Instead, Ravitch argues that Catholics in New York attempted to avoid or at least soften the conflict inherent in Gee’s framework by creating their own schools. This interpretation parallels McCluskey’s argument that the Catholic perspective—that education is the exclusive domain of the family and Church—subverts the possibility of the education of a religiously or culturally diverse student body.

Like McCluskey, Ravitch (1974) recognizes that the conflict in New York revolved around a deeper debate about the appropriate roles of the state, Church, and family in education, culture, and issues of control. The New York Public School Society sought to impose a state-sanctioned, English-speaking, superficially non-sectarian (but fundamentally Protestant) ideology on the public school curriculum, giving the Protestant majority and the state control over education. Parents who accepted the dominant (Protestant) ideology of the time were comfortable granting the state the right to educate, but the growing Catholic minority groups wanted to pass on their own ideologies, cultures, and Discourses to their children in schools. In response, Catholic community leader Bishop John Hughes fought for community control of schools, arguing that “the school should be whatever the community around it wanted it to be” (p. 61). According to Hughes, communities should have the right to determine the ideology of the curriculum, and a majority should not be able to use schools to impose an ideology hostile toward the culture and faith of the growing immigrant minority.

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[11] Such compromises did, however, occur in other places where, presumably, the “cultural gulf” between Catholics and Protestants was less “unbridgeable.” The most well-known compromise plans were in the towns of Faribault and Stillwater, Minnesota, and in Poughkeepsie, New York, and they will be discussed in more detail below.

Because, as McCluskey (1964) points out, all accepted the centrality of religious education in schooling, many Catholics were suspicious of the Protestant-infused curriculum offered in public common schools (Bryk, et al., 1993), though religion was not the only issue at stake. Bryk, Lee, and Holland assert that "issues of culture and language were also central…[because] insensitivity and disdain for ethnic values and language alienated many immigrants and encouraged the establishment of alternative institutions where both their faith and their culture would be valued" (p. 25). Concerns among Catholics about anti-Catholic curricular materials, suspicions of anti-immigrant sentiment among teachers, and the desire to allow native languages in schools all led them to support Bishop Hughes's advocacy for a separate school system. Thus the first urban Catholic schools developed as alternative institutions to serve immigrant Catholics who felt pushed out and unwelcome in common schools, where religious, linguistic, and cultural tension pervaded. Preservation of the primary Discourse was therefore, central to the genesis of parochial schools in New York.

These ethnic communities turned to Bishop Hughes and the Church to support schools that would protect against religious indoctrination while preserving cultural and linguistic heritage (Walch, 2004). Rather than assenting to the assimilationist education mandated by the government, the Church-sponsored schools arose in response to the desires of local communities to preserve their faith, culture, and language. The Protestant curriculum—though ostensibly non-sectarian—certainly made Catholics feel unwelcome in public schools. But the fundamental problem, according to Bishop Bernard McQuaid, speaking in 1876, was that "the Catholic is unwilling to transfer the responsibility of the education of his children to the state. His conscience informs him that the state is an incompetent agent to fulfill his parental duties" (as quoted in McCluskey, 1964, p. 9). When the state was using the school to foist Protestant Bibles, prayers, values—and perhaps beliefs—on children, Catholic parents could not trust the state to act in their place as the primary educator. The Catholic perspective was (and remains) that parents are the primary educators of children, and any agency responsible for schooling must be trusted to act *in loco parentis* (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1972).

Because the state was perceived as hostile, parents turned instead to the Church to establish schools that could be trusted to preserve their cultural, religious, and linguistic traditions.

In the face of common schools that dictated immediate adoption of the dominant Discourse, the movement for native-language Catholic schools gathered momentum among the growing Catholic immigrant population until 1884, when the United States bishops mandated that every Catholic community must build a parish school, and every Catholic student must attend a Catholic school (Bryk et al., 1993). The mandate of 1884, though largely symbolic, underscores the fundamental disagreement that had by now taken shape with Protestants over the role of the state in schooling. Catholics held fast to the notion that the education of a child is the domain of the family, and they refused to allow the state to act in their place as primary educator. Protestants accepted the authority of the state to educate, and as a result they watched as their schools were gradually but thoroughly divorced from religious and moral education. In contrast, Catholic communities turned to the Church to sponsor the education of their children, and the 1884 mandate signaled the Church's acceptance of its role to educate *in loco parentis.*

In Chicago, the Church's tolerance for the diverse array of schools dedicated to transmitting cultural, linguistic, and religious heritage did much to strengthen the loyalty of immigrant families to the system (Sanders, 1977). With its variety of ethnic educational models, the Church signaled its rejection of the search for the "one best system" that characterized public school development (Tyack, 1974) and instead embraced a diverse, tolerant education system that privileged the local community, providing a "safe harbor" for an embattled minority (Sanders, 1977, p. 228). While Sanders acknowledges that this movement has been viewed as a divisive, separatist movement that ghettoized American Catholics and actually increased nativist hostility, he suggests that, for those who saw America as a land of diversity, these schools provided a smoother, easier transition to a new country for many immigrants.

For Sanders, the nature of the drive for separate schools is rooted in the rejection of the state's imposition of its ideology in schools. The division was triggered by Protestant hostility but cohered as a function of religious, class, and ethnic solidarity. His focus on the unity of Catholics within these religious, class, and ethnic groups and his story of the embrace of Catholic schooling in Chicago suggests a Catholic eagerness to widen the gap between Catholic and Protestant rooted in fundamental cultural differences and the Catholic refusal to allow the state to educate in the place of the parent.

Reluctant separation

However, Catholics did not embrace separate schooling universally; indeed, the majority of Catholics never attended Catholic schools and most Catholic families accommodated to the public school system. Even at its peak in 1965, the Catholic school system only enrolled 47% of Catholic school children in the nation (Walch, 1996). Lazerson (1977) casts some doubt on the enthusiasm for Catholic separation from public schools expressed by Sanders (1977) and thereby softens the tone of the discourse, suggesting that there was a stronger desire for compromise between Catholics and Protestants than Sanders allows. Lazerson makes the case that Catholics separated from public schools much more reluctantly than Bishop Hughes might have liked. With this suggestion, Lazerson presents the drive for separate Catholic schools as more of a top-down phenomenon, imposed by Bishop Hughes and others on the community, presumably to solidify the city's Catholics as a political base. Lazerson's interpretation differs from most other accounts presented in this chapter, which all consider the push for Catholic schools to have emerged from the bottom-up as a grassroots-driven response to community desires and concerns.

Both perspectives—top-down and bottom-up—oversimplify the situation. Although millions of Catholics left public schools—or never entered them to begin with—many millions more Catholics joined Protestants in accepting the authority of the state to educate, and millions of Catholic families never sent their children to Catholic schools, despite the mandate from the bishops (Walch, 1996). Others sent their children to Catholic schools through eighth grade and then transferred them to a public high school. As a result, it is likely that the drive for separate schooling among Catholics was not merely top-down or bottom-up; instead, it seems likely that the split resulted from some dynamic confluence of the two.

In Lazerson's (1977) discussion of the New York controversy, he points out repeatedly that, while ethnic parishes rallied behind the effort to build schools and Bishop

Hughes successfully motivated New York Catholics to support a separate system, many Catholics were more willing to compromise with public schools. He argues that many Catholics "were undoubtedly willing to work out a *modus vivendi* that would have allowed their religion and nationality to become part of the public system" (p. 304). Lazerson points to the large numbers of Catholics who never sent their children to parochial schools, as well as the continued attempts among Catholics to develop alternative Catholic/public hybrid models such as the Stillwater-Faribault plan[12] in Minnesota and the Poughkeepsie plan[13] in New York, which lasted until 1898 (p. 306).

Thus, separation was not inevitable. Lazerson (1977) points out effective compromises that were achieved, noting that the Poughkeepsie plan survived for 25 years before it collapsed. Ravitch's cultural gulf, in other words, was not unbridgeable, though the failure to achieve a lasting compromise seems to have left a bitter taste in the mouths of open-minded Catholics that served to deepen the divide between Catholics and Protestants (Lazerson, 1977, p. 308). Lazerson characterizes the origin of Catholic schools as a reluctant response to anti-Catholic sentiment and a failure among some to compromise rather than as the inevitable result of irreconciliable discourses.

Lazerson argues that many ethnic groups embraced the parochial schools as part of a desire to transmit cultural traditions via the school, writing that, for the system, while fears of anti-Catholicism played a role in the origins of Catholic schooling, "major growth came in the vortex of ethnicity" (p. 310) in the early 20th century. The exception to this rule was the Italian community, who "distinguished themselves for their disinterest not only in the parochial school but in the Catholic parish itself" (Sanders, 1977, p. 67). Others, including the Germans, Poles, Bohemians, Lithuanians, French, and Slovaks embraced the ethnic parish schools. As ethnic competition and tense interethnic relations threatened the larger stability of the Church, the hierarchy moved to systematize schools to stem fragmentation (p. 310). Over the years, the Catholic and public school systems, which originally separated on religious and ethnic grounds, came to resemble each other in more ways than they differed, and their similarities underscore Lazerson's belief that the initial separation was not culturally inevitable and might have been avoided with creative compromise (p. 314).

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[12] Bishop John Ireland orchestrated the Stillwater-Fairbault plan, which arranged for public funding to support the teaching of secular subjects in Catholic schools in Minnesota (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Walch, 1996).

[13] To prevent a 50% increase in enrollment that would occur in the event of the closure of two Catholic schools, the Poughkeepsie, New York school board forged a compromise in which public funding was offered to educate Catholic students in a Church-owned building by Catholic educators, as long as religious instruction took place in the building after official school hours (Walch, 1996). Justice (2005) notes that the Poughkeepsie plan, which lasted 25 years, was neither unique nor the longest-lasting of such compromises that were forged between Catholic and public schools in upstate New York in the late 19th-century.

Lazerson's insistence that separation was not inevitable is supported by Bryk et al. (1993), who agree that Catholics did not deliberately set out to create a separate school system but instead "the idea was largely forced upon them by a hostile 'public' system under Protestant control" (p. 24). These accounts reveal that the perspective of the Church, that the family is the primary educator and that the state is not fit to educate *in loco parentis,* was not necessarily shared by the thousands of Catholics who sent their children to public schools despite the 1884 mandate. These arguments suggest that the Catholic refusal of the state as an educative agent was (and is still) not a universal Catholic stance, and that, for thousands of children, the public schools were able to facilitate socioeconomic mobility for Catholics despite the lack of attention to primary Discourse elements like language, religion, and culture.

Competitive threat to the faith, culture, language

Nevertheless, American Catholic schools evolved to become the largest private school system in the world. The Catholic Church continues to teach that the parent is the primary educator of children (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1972), and Walch's account of Catholic education from colonial times through the 1980s (1996) makes it clear how this teaching developed in response to public education. Walch describes Catholic education as a competition between the state, the family, and the faith, recalling McCluskey's recognition of the Catholic insistence on the parent as primary educator and reflecting this critical Church teaching. Walch writes, "At the heart of the Catholic parochial school movement is the unwavering belief that the education of children is a primary responsibility of the family and the church, not the government" (p. 1).

The systematization of public schooling posed a competitive threat to the "hearts and minds" of Catholic children (Walch, 1996, p. 2) with its Protestant curriculum and

Americanizing agenda. A central theme in Walch's work is the importance of adaptability in the history of Catholic education, which began when Catholics were first forced to adapt to a new paradigm of schooling in the mid-nineteenth century. As noted by McCluskey and Lannie, until the rise of the common school movement, most people recognized the role of the family and parents as the primary educators, but the common school movement sought to shift this role to the state. The motivation for this shift to the state can be disputed—thus far we have encountered claims of anti-Catholicism (Lannie), imposition of values and social control (Sanders), and cultural divide (Ravitch). Whatever the motivation, the effect of this shift on many (though again, not most) Catholic families is clear: they rejected the state's claim of authority over education. Motivated by religious, cultural, linguistic, and ideological concerns, thousands of Catholics refused to let the state act *in loco parentis* and educate their children.

Walch views the separation as a competitive response to the shifting nature of public schooling. In some cities, like New York and Philadelphia, bishops had little choice but to build separate schools in reaction to Protestant refusal to accommodate Catholics in common schools (Walch, 1996, p. 45). Walch's account demonstrates how the development of Catholic schools takes place as a reactive response, never as a proactive initiative. With the help of compelling leaders in the hierarchy like Bishop Hughes, an active Catholic press (which will be described in the next chapter), and the development of ethnic loyalty among immigrant groups, the separatists "ultimately persuaded thousands of Catholic parents of the righteousness of parochial education" (p. 57). Convinced of the need to establish schools to preserve and transmit their culture and faith and to protect their children, large numbers of Catholics bought into the notion of separate schooling.

Walch does not accept separation as an inevitability rooted in clashing cultures, and he argues that the schools arose not so much as a result of anti-Catholic hostility as much as a conflict of education philosophy, rooted in culture. Walch's notion of competition provides a sophisticated framework for understanding the complicated motivations that drove the creation and expansion of a separate school system. While anti-Catholic hostility in the common school curriculum determined the tone of the separation, the competitive threat presented by the ideology of the state-as-educator allows us to see the separation as reluctant but, ultimately, ideologically inevitable given the inability or unwillingness of public schools to accommodate religious pluralism.

Conclusion

The Catholic school system thus began in response to a threat—a competitive threat that was believed to jeopardize the culture, language, and faith of immigrant children. Though Catholics were reluctant to separate—and many never did—enthusiasm and support for the separate system grew with the development of national ethnic schools, where parents came to trust the Church to act *in loco parentis*, passing down their culture, traditions, language, and faith.

Catholic schools thus emerged partly as a result of the Catholic perspective on education that holds that only the Church has the authority and privilege to educate in the place of the family. This perspective grew out of a belief that religious and moral development are central to a child's education, and it developed in response to state-sponsored schooling that was hostile to the religion and culture of Catholic immigrants in the 19th century. The state-sponsored school system, which initially sought to impose the religious beliefs of the dominant culture on immigrants, eventually abandoned the religious dimensions of education entirely in its efforts to provide truly "common" schooling in a religiously diverse nation.

As discussed previously, historical interpretations of education often center on the role of the state in schooling, asking: to what extent is the state responsible for education? Historians of Catholic education ask instead: what are the appropriate roles of the state, the family, and the Church in the education of children? Those who send their children to Catholic schools reject the state's claim to educate and instead designate the Church as the educator of choice *in loco parentis.*

By adding the Church to the equation, Catholic schools implicitly make a political question cultural. The parish school, a cultural institution in which the cultural beliefs and values of the community are transmitted to the next generation, provides, by virtue of those shared beliefs, identities, and practices, a built-in bridge between the home and school.[14] In such circumstances, the competition between Discourses predicted by Gee may be at least somewhat ameliorated, as teachers may enjoy more freedom to engage multiple dimensions of student culture, including the religious. In a school where the parents explicitly trust teachers to transmit religious beliefs, identities, and practices, there is increased potential for cultural competence if only because more dimensions of culture are in play. More importantly, the ideology that emerges from this consideration of the origins of urban Catholic schools—that Catholic schools are entrusted by parents to educate *in loco parentis*—enables us to consider theoretically how cultural competence might be inflected for a school in this tradition. The ethnographic study described in chapters seven, eight, and nine takes up this theoretical consideration concretely.

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[14] This is most clearly the case for Catholic students, though as Irvine (2003) notes, non-Catholic students also are able to experience a variation of this built-in bridge between the home and school because shared beliefs and values between the home and school mean that there is often "more 'match' than 'mismatch' of cultures" (p. 8).

Chapter 4: Urban Catholic schools in Chicago immigrant communities

Introduction

This chapter provides a more detailed review of historical accounts of Catholic parishes and schools for Chicago immigrants during the period when Sts. Joachim and Ann was founded, between the time of the 1884 Baltimore Council that mandated "every Catholic child in a Catholic school" and World War I, when the maintenance of immigrant languages and traditions fell out of fashion, largely in response to German aggression in Europe and its resultant anti-German sentiment in the United States. This section of the dissertation provides a review of the literature related to the first goal of this project, which is to identify practices, beliefs, and dispositions that resonate with CRP in both historical and contemporary Catholic education contexts. This section provides context that informs the research question that speaks to that goal: What historical qualities and practices of Catholic education resonate with CRP?

As discussed in the previous chapter, the history of urban Catholic schools reflects a tradition of culture-centered education, but the potential contributions of historical analysis to contemporary thinking about CRP have not yet been considered. In the history of Catholic education for immigrants, a culture-centered ideology of education emerged that reflects some dimensions of contemporary theories of CRP. This chapter presents both historiographical and archival research to explore the origins of Catholic education in Chicago, seeking to identify the historical practices and attitudes in the particular community that founded J&A that resonate with culturally responsive approaches. This examination of the history of Chicago Catholic schools, the archives of J&A and the archdiocese, and material found in local Polish-language newspapers[15] and national Catholic publications of the time enhances understanding of culture-centered pedagogy by placing it into a historical context.

In order to fully consider the intersection of Catholic education and CRP, it is important to understand the historical context in which culture-centered Catholic schools emerged. This section provides historical background describing in particular the growth of immigrant communities in Chicago, their parishes and schools, and their struggles with issues of culture, language, and religion. Because the orientation toward cultural preservation emerged in the context of a debate surrounding Americanization of immigrants in schools, this section will focus in particular on the tensions Chicago immigrants faced regarding Americanization in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and will consider different historical interpretations of the role that Catholic schools and parishes played in the Americanization process in Chicago.

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[15] Polish-language newspapers, in English translation, are archived in the Chicago Foreign Language Press Archive. The archive can be found on microfilm in the Harold Washington Library in downtown Chicago.

Historical overview: Immigrant Chicago

In Oscar Handlin's famous account of European American immigrant history (1951 [2001]), he offers the image of the "uprooted" immigrants, the desperately poor Europeans who had no choice but to leave friends, family, and homeland to seek better fortunes in the United States. In Handlin's account, upon arrival, immigrants found themselves the target of nativist fear, xenophobic discrimination, and anti-Catholic or anti-Semitic hostility. As a result, the immigrants turned inward, creating tightly-knit, insular ghetto neighborhoods where they were free to speak their language, practice their faith, and celebrate the cultural traditions of their homeland. To protect their children from what they perceived to be a hostile, Protestant-led Americanization process, many immigrants built schools within their communities. These schools were lauded from within as bastions of cultural, religious, and linguistic preservation but were decried from without as separatist, dangerous, anti-American institutions that served as headquarters for fomenters of dissent.

The sentimental tug of the ethnic homeland and culture and the impulse toward Americanization created enormous tensions for European immigrants in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Most of the newly-arrived immigrants were Catholics, and the tension over Americanization created a divide within the American Catholic hierarchy. On the one side, Bishop John Ireland of St. Paul and James Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore argued that immigrants ought to shed their cultural differences as quickly as possible and become American Catholics. Other bishops, including Archbishop Michael Corrigan of New York and Bishop Bernard McQuaid of Rochester, feared that the loss of cultural and linguistic traditions would also result in the loss of religious faith. Because this conflict was central to the entire project of school- and church-building for the 19th-century Catholic community, the debate between the "Americanist," or liberal, wing of the hierarchy and the conservative wing, known as the "nationalists" necessarily defines the terms of any discussion of the role of Catholic schools and parishes for immigrant communities.

The two sides of the Americanist debate can be usefully considered by borrowing language from literary critic Werner Sollors (1986), whose notions of "consent" and "descent" can be adapted to describe how immigrants fit what Sollers called "the codes of Americanness." Sollers points out that schools in particular served as the central location where these codes were transmitted to children via "handbooks of socialization into codes of Americanness" (p. 7). But not everyone followed the same handbook, and the Americanist debate among the Catholic hierarchy indicates a rejection among many Catholics of the particular handbook of socialization embraced by public schools.[16]

Indeed, the creation of separate, non-public Catholic schools stands as the manifestation of an immigrant insistence that there must be more than one handbook to facilitate Americanization, and perhaps there must be even more than one way to understand what it means to *be* American. Sollors describes the dynamic between these differing conceptions of "Americanness" as the tension between "consent" and "descent." The public school approach to Americanization—and the approach seemingly advocated by Ireland, Gibbons, and the Americanists—insisted that European immigrants consent to become full Americans, that they, as John Quincy Adams suggested, "cast off their European skin, never to resume it" (as quoted by Sollors, p. 4), and it treated immigrant students as objects to be actively Americanized by the state, within the school, via curriculum.

The anti-Americanist approach, however, emerged in resistance to the dominant Protestant model of active Americanization, among immigrants who preferred instead to maintain cultural, linguistic, and religious ties to the homeland—precisely the ties that the

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[16] The majority's insistence on a single, Protestant-infused "handbook" of Americanness in education is described by Walch (1996), who writes, "In the mind of the common school advocates, to be American was to be Protestant, and this was a premise that was wholly unacceptable to the emerging Catholic population" (p. 36).

Americanizing project of public schooling sought to sever. Thus, the Catholic approach centered on what Sollors calls *descent*—the ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious heritage that remained central to one's identity and therefore, to one's schooling. The Americanist approach, by contrast, is marked by Sollors's notion of *consent*—in which students' families (if not the students themselves) agreed to become Americans, and their newly chosen nationality becomes central to their developing identity, which is reinforced (or created entirely) within the context of their schooling. Instead of identifying with actual kinship and family ties, these immigrants engaged in "the construction of new forms of symbolic kinship among people who are not blood relatives" (Sollors, p. 7). They become Americans by virtue of their agreement to the terms of Americanization, which entails attending public schools.

The emergence of ethnic parish schools in Chicago

In his 1981 book *Chicago's Catholics: The Evolution of an American Identity*, historian Charles Shanabruch provides a balanced discussion of the tension between Americanists and nationalists in Chicago, which Shanabruch claims "would become Catholicism's largest diocese" (p. 1) by the turn of the 20th century. By looking at the development of the Chicago diocese in the four decades prior to the Americanist controversy, Shanabruch identifies reasonable motivations for those who supported both the consent and descent approaches to Americanization.

Shanabruch (1981) points out the tendency among Chicago Catholics toward a descent-oriented ethnic nationalism that first emerged in the 1840s, during the tenure of the first bishop of Chicago, the Irish-born William Quarter. Shanabruch describes the earliest immigrants' desires for ethnic parishes, writing that they "were generally anxious to reestablish ties to their religion, which was one with their cultural identity" (p. 1). In light of these anxieties, Bishop Quarter allowed for the establishment of Irish and German parishes, and he allowed the Irish to form a Hibernian fraternal society. Quarter and the bishops who followed him recognized the value of this connection between cultural identity and religious faith and saw that, by encouraging the maintenance of traditional languages and cultural practices, the church also encouraged the preservation of the faith of the immigrants. Shanabruch explains that the parishes established by the

Chicago bishops “usually served members of a particular nationality or linguistic group and maintained the Old World language and rites in order to ensure preservation of the immigrants' faith in the period of adjustment to their adopted land" (p. 1).

The establishment of ethnic parishes and fraternal societies under Bishop Quarter, who governed the diocese from 1844-1849, predates the Americanist controversy by about forty years. It is not, therefore, surprising that Quarter’s thoughts regarding the immigrants’ desires for ethnic parishes and community organizations are rooted more in sentiment then in any theory about assimilation or Americanization. In his diary, Quarter wrote, “Whoever looks into his own heart…if he has left the land of his nativity, friends, and home, and seeks to find a new home and new friends in a foreign land, he knows well how much needed is sympathy, encouragement and kindly greeting, to say nothing of assistance" (as quoted by Shanabruch, 1981, p. 8).

This tendency toward tolerance of nationalist communities sponsored by the Church in Chicago was reinforced when German residents of Chicago demanded and received a German-speaking bishop after Quarter’s death. Bishop James Van de Veld, a Belgian, was appointed bishop of Chicago in 1849, and he continued to allow the establishment of Irish, German, and French parishes. For the next thirty years, the bishops of Chicago continued the policy established by Quarter, allowing Irish, German, French, Bohemian, and Polish communities to create their own parishes and schools as more immigrants arrived in the city (Shanabruch, 1981).

By the time the Americanist controversy was fully realized decades later, Chicago had already established a long tradition of meeting the needs of individual national groups, albeit on a small scale. "Nationalism…was a way of life among Chicago Catholics" by the time the city’s first Archbishop, Patrick Feehan, an Irishman, was installed in 1879, and the "continuous flow of immigrants constantly reinforced Old World identity" (Shanabruch, 1981, p. 79). At the time of Feehan’s appointment, there were only 16 national parishes, but the impending massive influx of Catholic immigration would soon change the situation dramatically.

According to Shanabruch (1981), the connection among the preservation of the culture, language, and faith resulted in national parishes being established in places where they were not even logistically necessary, a practice largely overseen by Archbishop

Feehan. For example, when they first arrived, the Poles in Chicago could have joined German or Irish parishes with a Polish-speaking priest, but they insisted on building their own parishes, for "by establishing their own parishes, they created not merely a place to attend religious services but a community center" (p. 47). Chicago Poles were ambitious in establishing these community centers, all of which were "clustered around their churches and parochial schools" (p. 47). The building of a school and parish represented a critical moment for these communities, which linked their cultural identity to the foundation of these Church institutions.

The news coverage of the actual founding ceremonies for these schools provides an opportunity to consider how tightly these Poles linked culture, language, and faith. Local Polish-language newspapers frequently reported on the blessing of school cornerstones in the Polish community between 1890 and 1910. On one of these occasions, the *Dziennik Chicagoski* reported that a local Polish pastor blessed a new school of the Sisters of Nazareth, commenting in his sermon on the intimate connection between culture and faith for the immigrant community:

> Along with the building of a church, [Polish immigrants] thought of the building of a Catholic school in which their children could learn to love God, Poland, and the Polish language. A Pole who says that he is a Catholic but who is ashamed of or neglects the Polish language, is not a true Catholic … But let no one who professes this religion deny his Polish nationality, for that would be contrary to God, by whose will nationalities exist. ("The dedication of the cornerstone for the school of the venerable sisters of Nazareth," 1892)

The establishment of these schools is presented as a manifestation of the community's intertwined sense of what it means to be a Polish (and Polish-speaking) Catholic. Archbishop Feehan himself presided over this particular ceremony, and his remarks indicate that he recognized the value of honoring this intimate connection between culture, language, and faith. He closed the ceremony by saying that the school "will be a beautiful evidence of how the greatly sacrificing Polish nationality is attached to the Catholic Church … I sincerely offer this school to you, whose students will be equally good Catholics and good Poles" ("The dedication of the cornerstone for the school of the venerable sisters of Nazareth," 1892).

Archbishop Feehan oversaw the greatest period of expansion of national parish schools in Chicago, which emerged in response to dramatic immigrant-driven population growth in the city. During the latter half of the 19th century, Chicago's population exploded. The boom began around 1850, when the population of Chicago was 29,963. A decade later, the city was home to 109,260, half of whom (54,586) were foreign-born. By 1910, immigrants and their children accounted for 77% of Chicago's people (Shaw, 1987). The vast majority of immigrants were Catholic, and many sent their children to Catholic schools. Between 1880 and 1900, enrollment in Catholic elementary schools increased from 405,000 students to more than 1.23 million (Fisher, 2000). Poles were particularly well-represented among Chicago immigrants, representing the largest White ethnic group in the city and the largest Catholic immigrant group. Eventually the community became known as a "Second Warsaw," and most residents of "Chicago Polonia" sent their children to ethnic parochial schools (Parot, 1981).

There were some Catholic Poles in Chicago who supported public schools—or at least opposed Catholic schools. A strain of anti-clerical sentiment among some Polish nationalists can be seen in editorial discussions in local papers, with the anti-clerical side represented most consistently by the editors of *Dziennik Ludowy.* In one appeal to Polish Catholic parents, the editors wrote,

> The children of Polish workers should attend the public schools, schools from which they may benefit a great deal! If we wish the children not to blame us when they grow up we should forbid them from going to Polish parochial schools, schools which are infested with clerical bums, disseminating unworthiness. ("Attention! To what kind of schools should we send our Polish children," 1907)

The editors call for Polish public schools, but in their absence, they advocate sending Polish children to English public schools, "even though they are not such an excellent model." These nationalists claim to represent the Polish National Alliance, an organization founded in Chicago and dedicated to supporting Polish causes and facilitating assimilation into mainstream America. For them, the handbook of Americanization is one of consent, and it is better to sacrifice education in Polish language, history, and culture than to expose children to "unreasonable clerical establishments" ("Attention! To what kind of schools should we send our Polish children," 1907), where they might fall into the “clutches of ‘black vultures’ in ‘spiritual robes’” ("Archbishop Ryan against public schools," 1908)

But the vast majority of Chicago Poles favored the emphasis on descent found in Catholic schools. In 1886, for example, Shanabruch points out that the *Chicago Tribune* reports that "as little as 10 percent of Polish children went to public schools, 'and then only after they have attended the church school and learned the principles of creed and patriotism in the mother tongue'" (Shanabruch, 1981, p. 58). By the turn of the century, 95% of Poles in Chicago were Catholic, and only 5% of Catholic Polish students did not attend Catholic schools (Shanabruch, 1981). One local Polish newspaper, *Dziennik Chicagoski,* reported:

> Proportionally, very few Polish parents send their children to public schools. They still believe that their children should first learn the Polish language which is their native tongue; the English language is taught in parochial schools as well, and they can improve in this language while at play with other children. ("Growth of parochial schools," 1905)

Another local paper, *Dziennik Zwiazkowy*, provides a possible alternative explanation for the large number of Chicago Poles who chose parochial schools over public schools. The editors of the paper present an argument that public schools have failed the Polish community, and as a result:

> The outlook for [Chicago’s] Poles is very poor. For example, the present school term has just ended. Out of the many public high schools, 1,500 have graduated. From this number, a mere 15—yes, only 15—Poles have received high school diplomas. ("Editorial," 1909)

While one-seventh of Chicago’s population was Polish, Poles only accounted for one-one-hundredth of the city’s public high school graduates. It is tempting, in accounts like this, to see parallels between the Polish experience of under-performance in the public high schools of the 19th century and the contemporary achievement gap described in chapter one of this dissertation.

Archbishop Feehan governed the Chicago church from 1880 till 1902, and he oversaw the rapid expansion and growth of the diocese as different immigrant communities sought to establish their own community parish centers and schools. By the time Feehan took office, descent-oriented ethnic parishes had already become the norm, as "the traditions of ethnic diversity were well established before he came and the waves of newcomers ensured their perpetuation" (Shanabruch, 1981, p. 103). According to Shanabruch, Feehan's primary accomplishment during these years was one of accommodation, as he pushed the Church to minister "to the needs of the people, so that, as he prayed at his elevation, 'all the birds of the air might dwell in [the Chicago Church's] branches'" (p. 103).

Feehan also shepherded the Chicago Church through the Americanist debate. According to Shanabruch, Feehan managed to stay out of the debate himself while simultaneously steering the Chicago Church down the path of conservative, nationalist, ethnic-centered parish and school development. He accepted the orientation toward descent among immigrants in the Chicago area because he "realized that denationalization, if engineered by the Church, could adversely affect religious loyalty" (Shanabruch, 1981, p. 103). Feehan recognized, like Quarter before him, that ties to the homeland were important anchors for the newly-arrived immigrant. Shanabruch writes that Feehan understood that "in the parish, in the face of adversity, the newcomer and his progeny found solace, priestly guidance, companionship, and part of the Old World in the midst of an alien society" (p. 53). At the same time, it seems that Feehan had developed a more sophisticated rationale for his descent-oriented position on Americanization than Quarter's early sentimentalism, because he "understood the interrelationship between faith and nationalism" and therefore "encouraged the formation of national parishes to prevent leakage" (Shanabruch, 1981, p. 53).[17]

This stance, which equated cultural and linguistic preservation with the protection of the faith, is marked by a fear that immigrants will "leak" out of a Church that fails to preserve cultural and linguistic ties to their land of descent. The theory, espoused by bishops McQuaid, Corrigan, Feehan, and others among the vocal Catholic press who supported the continued establishment of nationalist parishes and schools, held that if immigrants were stripped of their cultural and linguistic heritage, they would likely lose their faith soon thereafter.

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[17] According to Schnepp, "Leakage is a term rather widely used in Catholic literature to describe losses of members to the Church" (1942, p. 4). Though the term is now obscure, it was used consistently in periodicals, newspapers, and historical accounts of late 19th and early 20th century Catholic education.

Fears of leakage were played up, and perhaps exaggerated, by the conservative Catholic press. In the *Fortnightly Review*, a writer identified only as “a Catholic Missionary” warned in 1913 that “no less than 63 million [Catholics] have fallen away” from the Church, arguing that the cause of such leakage was “the use of a Protestant and Protestantizing language” ("Catholic leakage: Its cause," 1913). The foreign-born were especially susceptible because, as the missionary argued, “The use and practice of the English language unavoidably entails dreadful dangers for our Catholic immigrants” (p. 139). In a later issue of the same publication, the “Catholic Missionary” again asserted that “undue pressure on non-English speaking immigrants to force them to surrender their respective mother-tongue and adopt English” presents “a fruitful cause of Catholic leakage” ("Catholic leakage among aliens," 1913).

For those who feared leakage, public schools and the Americanization that took place in them represented a dangerous proposition, and the decision of the bishops at Baltimore in 1884 to mandate that every parish build a Catholic school represented a victory for descent-oriented Catholics over their consent-oriented peers. Because they conceived of an alternative handbook of Americanness, these ethnic conservatives saw their efforts to make Catholic schooling mandatory not as un-American but instead as "an honest endeavor to give the State better citizens, by making them better Christians" (Shanabruch, 1981, p. 57).

At the same time, others in the American clergy and wider Catholic community believed that rapid assimilation into the cultural and linguistic mainstream would prove to be the better path for American Catholic immigrants. Writer Orestes Brownson, writing decades before the Baltimore Council, summarized what came to be known as the Americanist position: “The Americanization of the Catholic body does and will go on of itself, as rapidly as is desirable, and all we have to do with it is to take care that they do not imbibe of the notion that to Americanize is necessarily to Protestantize” (as quoted in Varacalli, 2006, p. 166).

Others engaged the argument for the Americanist position directly in the Catholic press. For example, Rev. Alexander Klauder published a letter in the *Fortnightly Review* to dispute the contentions of the “Catholic Missionary” cited above, arguing against the “policy of foreignism” that the establishment of national parishes and schools represented

(Klauder, 1913). Klauder does not dispute that the Catholic community was losing members (though he does ask that the papers stop using the term “leakage” in favor of “Catholic loss,” “Catholic defection,” or “Catholic exodus”); indeed Klauder claims that “Catholics are not ‘leaking’ out of the Church; they are pouring out of it with the impetuosity of a disastrous flood” (p. 590).

The solution for Klauder and the Americanists, however, is not to allow each ethnic community to build its own church and school, because “there can be little success where there is no unity, and there will never be true unity and unanimity in this country among Catholics…as long as they are divided by a variety of languages and customs and never failing antagonisms” (Klauder, 1913, p. 593). Klauder goes on to call the policy of preserving European languages and customs in schools “a lamentable failure” and argues, like Brownson, for a “policy of gradual but safe amalgamation of our children of foreign parentage with the American people with the common language” (p. 593).

Shanabruch argues that Klauder, like Ireland, Gibbons, Brownson, and other Americanists, dismissed fears of leakage and pushed an agenda of assimilation out of a “dual desire to convert and to be accepted" (p. 79). Shanabruch, therefore, sees the inclination of Americanists toward accepting the nationality of consent as a practical move intended to both protect the flock and spread the faith. The more quickly immigrants became American and spoke fluent English, the sooner they would cease to be the targets of anti-Catholic hostility and discrimination. Fears of leakage were minimized by the Americanists, who believed that, as soon as the American Catholics blended into the mainstream, the American Catholic Church might begin to positively influence the nation.

Anti-Catholic sentiment in the mid-19th century was the driving force behind both the Americanist and nationalist perspectives on Catholic schooling and Americanization. By the 1850s, there were already signs that the Catholic parishes and schools were considered places of shelter for a struggling religious and cultural minority. The Catholic newspaper *The Western Tablet* cautioned parents in 1853 about the dangers of public education, warning them to protect their children from the "spiritual murder" that threatened Catholic children in public schools, which were described as the "nurseries of heathenism, vice, and crime" (as qtd. in Shanabruch, p. 23).

Both sides of the debate sought to shield American Catholics from anti-Catholicism via alternate handbooks of Americanization. To return to Sollers' metaphor of the "handbook of Americanization" (1986), we see that the Americanists proposed a consent-oriented handbook that encouraged rapid assimilation into the mainstream that entailed a willingness to sacrifice cultural identity but not religious affiliation. On the other hand, conservative beliefs about the inextricable connection between culture, language, and faith led nationalists to believe that the Americanist approach would result in major "leakage" from the Church, and so they embraced a descent-oriented handbook that proposed that it was possible to be American, ethnic, and Catholic, all at once.

A hybrid 'handbook of Americanness'

In his 1977 book, *The Education of an Urban Minority: Catholics in Chicago, 1833-1965* (discussed in the previous chapter), James Sanders explicitly takes up the threat of Protestantism in schools that Shanabruch alludes to, and Sanders offers the dominant image of the Catholic school and parish as a "safe harbor" for immigrants. As described in the previous chapter, Sanders also describes how the Chicago Church's tolerance for descent-oriented communities resulted in a diverse array of schools dedicated to transmitting cultural, linguistic, and religious heritage, pointing out that this tolerance did much to strengthen the loyalty of immigrant families to the system (Sanders, 1977). Sanders notes that, with its variety of ethnic educational models, the Chicago Church embraced a diverse education system that privileged the desires of the local community and protected the traditions of the homeland.

Sanders is not the only historian who points toward the Catholic immigrant development of schools and ethnic parishes as an alternative to the dominant "handbook of Americanness." In his 2002 book, *Communion of Immigrants: A History of Catholics in America,* Fisher writes, ""The Americanism controversy showed that there was more than one way to envision Catholic life in the United States. The opponents of Americanism were not necessarily un-American at all" (2000, p. 83). Fisher argues that while "the desire for national parishes struck some Catholics as divisive" many immigrant groups

> found that expressions of pride in one's heritage actually contributed to the process of becoming American. The new ethnic identities that immigrants created

> for themselves in their new country blended loyalty to ancient traditions with appreciation for the opportunities U.S. citizenship promised. (p. 53).

These Catholic imagined for themselves a hybrid handbook of Americanization that allowed them to become Americans without sacrificing their identities as Europeans and Catholics.

Some ethnic communities faced additional challenges related to ethnic loyalties. Fisher (2002) notes that, for some, “their communities would also face internal divisions over the fundamental concern of how to embrace the promise of America while remaining faithful to one's homeland” (p. 70). At one level, immigrant communities that opted for an orientation toward descent struggled against the Americanist push to assimilate while simultaneously struggling on a more intimate level with their fellow compatriots over questions of religious, political, and national identity. The Polish community in Chicago experienced this tension most acutely, and the result would be the only lasting schism among American immigrant Catholics[18].

Another source of tension within the Polish community related to charges of anti-Semitic pogroms that reportedly took place in Poland during World War I. Polish leaders vehemently denied the charges, and an investigation found “there was insufficient evidence to indict the Poles” for atrocities committed against Jews (Parot, 1981, p. 175). Nonetheless, charges of anti-Semitism led to Polish reactions—or, more precisely, as Parot notes, overreactions—published in the *Dziennik Chicagoski* and the *Narod Polski* that “made even sober observers pause and wonder” about the extent of anti-Semitism among Poles in Chicago (Parot, p. 175) after World War I.

This evidence of Polish anti-Semitism complicates the notion of loyal adherence to a descent-oriented identity. Long-established frictions between different populations in Poland led to conflicts—and even street fights—between Poles and Jews in Chicago, and the ethnic loyalty promoted by institutions like the Polish Catholic schools may certainly have contributed to these tensions. In other words, while the focus on ethnicity in Polish Catholic schools may have played a positive pedagogical role, it may also have contributed to complicated and negative relationships with people outside the community.

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[18] The Polish National Catholic Church is the only schismatic church established in the United States. It was organized in 1897 by Catholics in Scranton, Pennsylvania, who wanted Polish-speaking bishops and priests to serve Polish schools and parishes (Parot, 1981; Shanabruch, 1981).. The church still exists and has more than 25,000 members, with five active parishes in the Chicago area ("Polish national Catholic Church," 2004).

Fisher describes the central question facing American immigrants from Poland, asking, “Were they to identify themselves in America as Polish Catholics, Catholic Poles, or simply Polish Americans?" (p 72). Each way of designating the community held different nuances of identity; immigrants could identify primarily as Catholics who happened to come from Poland, as Poles who happened to be Catholic, or as Americans who happened to come from Poland. The first was preferred by Catholics who saw their religious faith as inextricably intertwined with their culture and language of the homeland, and the second was preferred by Polish nationalists who desired that American Poles continue to have a voice in the political struggles of the homeland. Finally, the third was embraced by those who, like the Americanists, desired rapid assimilation into the American mainstream.

The daily Polish newspaper *Dziennik Chicagoski* was a particularly vocal proponent of the hybrid form of American Polish Catholicism represented by the first descriptor above. The editor of the paper, Vincent Barzynski, who was also the pastor of the largest Polish parish in Chicago, St. Stanislaus Kostka, and was Archbishop Feehan’s advisor on the Polish community (Shanabruch, 1981), argued repeatedly that “it is the duty of every Pole coming to this country to become a good American; however, he should also remain a good Pole” ("Education (editorial)," 1891). Barzynski described the dynamic in detail, writing:

> A person may be a good American and also a good Pole, since it is possible to reconcile being the one with being the other…We Poles should be good Americans by conviction…We should also be good Poles by conviction. A person may be a patriotic American and still feel that he is a good Pole, or, in other words, being the one does not interfere with being the other. If this is true, then neither the duty to be a good American nor the duty to be a good Pole should stand in the way of those Poles who were brought up as Catholics and who desire to remain loyal to their faith when they come to this country. ("Education (editorial)," 1891)

For Barzynski, it is not necessary to sacrifice one’s Polish identity or one’s Catholic faith to be a good American; it is possible to reconcile all three identities. The goal of schooling in this worldview is to foster both Polish patriotism and American citizenship, and it is the duty of the parent to choose

> Schools which are most capable of training [Polish children] for good American citizenship, with moral principles that are steady and unfaultering, and besides, those schools should teach them how to be practical that they may be able not only to find a proper station in life, but also become patriots of their own nationality. ("The school question: Our reason for opposing Bohemian school agitation (editorial)," 1891)

By providing a space for the formation of a hybrid identity, Catholic schools served as what postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha calls "Third Space." The notion of Third Space is used to "describe and analyze the unsettled situations of colonized or diasporic populations," marking "the social spaces where marginalized people have forged new identities in reaction to, and often in opposition to, their marginalization" (Gutierrez, 1999, p. 488). In the case of Chicago's Poles, the parochial school represents Third Space because it allows for the formation of an identity that is not exclusively Polish, American, or Catholic, but is instead a hybrid of the three.

Joseph Parot offers a comprehensive account of the tension bound up in this question of cultural/religious/national identity in his 1981 history, *Polish Catholics in Chicago, 1850-1920: A Religious History.* Like Shanabruch, Parot recognizes the sentimental impulse and fear of leakage that initially drove the desire for cultural connections to the homeland, or the *ojczyzna,* particularly among the group who would self-identify as Polish Catholics. Parot writes of early Chicago Polonia:

> In its formative years [the community] suffered a severe case of Old World nostalgia…most acutely expressed in the common desire to secure a Polish Catholic parish ministered to by a Polish-speaking priest. Many pioneer settlers worried greatly that their religious faith would be lost without the elementary social and cultural Catholicism of the *ojczyzna.*" (Parot, 1981, p. 20)

These are the Poles who seek a hybrid identity that allows them "to be good Americans, good Poles, and religious persons" ("The school question: Our reason for opposing Bohemian school agitation (editorial)," 1891), without sacrificing any of these elements, and the parish school provided the Third Space—neither wholly Polish nor wholly American—where this identity was formed.

Parot argues that, for Poles, the question of Americanization was marginal until World War I. Because the homeland was in such political turmoil as a result of being partitioned by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, most Polish Americans were concerned not with how American they would become but with how Polish they would remain. As their homeland was "literally erased from the map of Europe" (Parot, 1981, p. 3), 1.5 million Poles left Europe for the United States. The results of partition—and a century of political strife in Poland—would

> fracture the solidarity of dozens of Polish settlements in urban America as well, where thousands upon thousands of Polish immigrants coming from these separated regions of the *ojczyzna* would find themselves inadvertently reunited, only to discover that a century of political, social, and cultural separation had taken its toll. (Parot, 1981, p. 5)

The political turmoil caused by the partition of the homeland created deep divisions and suspicions that followed immigrants into their new neighborhoods and influenced how these newly-arrived Americans conceived of their identities as Poles, Catholics, and Americans. Parot writes,

> It was not only a matter of proving one's allegiance to the cause of Partitioned Poland but also of clearly demonstrating to one's neighbors just how Polish *and* how Catholic one was…Each Polish immigrant coming to Chicago was assimilated into the urban subsociety not on the basis of any identity crisis involving Americanization (that would only come about after World War I) but on the basis of determining that one was a Catholic Pole or a Polish Catholic. The degree of one's emphasis on God or Country…was what marked one's standing in the community. There was little question that one had to choose a side immediately upon arrival. One either had to become a "clerical" or a "national." (Parot, 1981, p. 29)

Polish nationalists feared that American bishops would be so intent on maintaining the faith that they would try to turn Polish immigrants into American Catholics above all else, allowing Polish identity—and political interest in the situation in the homeland—to slip away. The clericalists, on the other hand, represented a genuine desire to maintain their Polishness and their Catholicity while simultaneously becoming American. The resulting tension manifested itself in increasingly violent ways as rival groups sought to intimidate each other, reaching a crisis point in 1869 with the vicious beating of the pastor of St. Stanislaus Kostka by six masked men (Parot, 1981, pp. 45-46).

In 1871 the archdiocese attempted to quell the intra-Pole dissent by allowing the Polish Resurrectionist order of priests to take control of Polish parishes and schools in Chicago, creating what Parot calls a “Polish Catholic 'empire' the likes of which no Polonia anywhere would ever match" (1981, p. 46). Within that empire, Poles, like other immigrants in Chicago, found a community that served as “a shock absorber of sorts for the uprooted, unattached, or unassimilated immigrant" (p. 228).

Parot focuses his history of Catholic Poles in Chicago entirely around the conflict between nationalists and clericalists, and he sees the fundamental identity question for Poles—whether one is to be a Catholic Pole or a Polish Catholic—as the defining question of the era for Poles in Chicago. This debate, according to Parot, is rooted in the politics of the homeland and is a historical consequence of the partition of Poland, resulting in what Parot calls "Polonia's acute schizophrenia" (1981, p. 97).

By emphasizing the unique nature of the Polish situation, Parot glosses over the role of the Americanist debate in the Chicago Polish community. Instead, he focuses almost exclusively on the Polish link between religion and nationalism as something unique to Poland. Parot attributes the uniquely Polish link between religion and nationalism to "the close working relationship between the Polish church and society and between the priest and the peasant,” arguing that these

> Relationships had symbolized for centuries the basic unity between *castellum* (castle) and *kosciol* (church), words which the Polish language used interchangeably to show the indivisibility of the things that were God's and the things God gave to man…[U]nsuspecting visitors to Poland seldom were able to differentiate between the socioreligious, cultural, and civil spheres. (Parot, 1981, p. 21)

According to Parot, this tight linkage among the religious, cultural, and linguistic was a unique consequence of Polish history and circumstance.

While the Polish experience was certainly influenced greatly by the political events in Poland in the century before immigration, the Polish experience of struggling over issues of identity and Americanization was not unique. As the Poles debated within their ranks over whether to identify primarily as Catholics or Poles or Americans, the

Americanist controversy raged on. Immigrant groups continued to worry about leakage, and many continued to resist Americanization out of fear of losing the faith.

In his 1991 contribution to the literature about Catholic immigrants in Chicago, *The Catholic Parish as a Way-Station of Ethnicity and Americanization: Chicago's Germans and Italians, 1903-1939,* Stephen Shaw describes how the fear of leakage and the conviction that faith, language, and culture are bound up together led to a new, distinctly Catholic conception of Americanization among immigrants. The Catholic church and school, in Shaw's description, became "way-stations" for Catholic immigrants, places where newcomers could negotiate the complicated process of becoming American without sacrificing religious, cultural, or linguistic traditions. This hybrid Catholic conception, made possible in the "way-stations" of Catholic schools and parishes, held that the acquisition of English and the preservation of the mother tongue were not mutually exclusive. In the way-station, which represents an "in-between" place, both languages and cultures could exist side-by-side. As a result, Shaw argues, Catholic immigrants instigated a new vision of Americanness, imagining a new hybrid handbook of socialization that melds consent with descent.

This hybrid form of Americanness, in which immigrants are able to both "preserve and transform" their cultural identities, finds contemporary resonance in both Delpit's challenge to Gee's claims about competing Discourses and in Bhabha's Third Space. Like Delpit—and like theories of CRP—the Catholic immigrants of 19th-century Chicago believed that it was possible to acquire the dominant Discourse without sacrificing their primary Discourse. It was possible to be a true Polish patriot, a faithful Catholic parishioner, and a model American citizen simultaneously.

An editorial in *Dziennik Zwiazkowy* articulates this Polish stance in a way that could also describe contemporary theories of CRP:

> It is a sad and painful state of affairs, if a school does not know how, or does not want, to develop a sincere love and respect for the speech of one's parents—if one sees among the school children shame, repulsion, and aversion to their mother tongue. ("Editorial," 1911)

This sentiment resonates with Delpit's argument, which argues that "acquiring the ability to function in a dominant Discourse need not mean that one must reject one's home identity and values" (1995, p. 163). Though couched in sentimental, nostalgic terms, the Poles who felt this way recognized the value of preserving the language of the home. Delpit agrees that teachers should not make students feel shamed or repelled by their mother tongue, writing, "To reject a person's language can only feel as if we are rejecting him," though she also takes that notion a step further to suggest that teachers need to take the communication skills students bring with them to the classroom to facilitate learning (Delpit, 2002, p. 47).

As in the other historical accounts reviewed above, Shaw emphasizes the fear of leakage thought to result if language, culture, and faith were divorced. Shaw notes that the German Americans "equated language with faith" (1991, p. 12), pointing as an example to Preuss's *The Catholic Fortnightly Review*, in which Preuss contends that

> English is for all practical purposes a Protestant language…in trying to preserve the faith of [Catholic immigrants] it is necessary that we scrupulously abstain, and cause others to abstain from any attempt to rob them of their language. (1908, as quoted in Shaw, 1991, p. 12)

Preuss links faith with language explicitly here, arguing that the loss of the native language will no doubt be accompanied by a loss of the native faith. Like the Poles, who felt that being good Catholics, good Poles, and good Americans were all of a piece, Preuss and the Germans Shaw discusses saw faith, language, and culture as bound up in one another. In other writing, Preuss contends that "all too often faith is lost together with language" (Preuss, 1909, p. 262) because "no prayers in a strange tongue can quicken the faith and warm the heart like those whose very words have a magic spell to awaken the memories of childhood" (Preuss, 1909, p. 263).

For immigrants, the experience of "[dwelling] among strangers who speak another tongue and profess an alien religion" (Preuss, 1909, p. 262) fostered a mindset in which faith and language became inextricably intertwined. Attitudes toward the primary Discourse, the faith of the family, and the native culture became wrapped up with notions of personal, familial, and national identity, creating a strong sense that one must maintain loyalty to every piece of the home identity if one is to maintain integrity as a Pole, a Catholic, or an American. The result is an attitude captured by a letter to the editor of *Dziennik Chicagoski*, which argued that children who have "no opportunity for religious instruction or training in the Polish language" become "a total loss to the Polish people" ("Letter to the editor," 1897).

Shaw, like Shanabruch, credits Archbishop Feehan with allowing ethnic parishes to flourish in the increasingly diverse archdiocese of Chicago during his tenure. Shaw recognizes Feehan's canny administrative management of his diverse see, pointing out that, even after the Pope called for American bishops to discourage the ghettoization of American Catholic communities in 1886, "Feehan, recognizing their necessity, supervised the establishment of a vast network of ethnic communities" (Shaw, 1991, p. 13).

Feehan's tolerance was in response to the strong desires of the Germans and Poles among his flock, who largely sought a community centered around descent. A German delegate at the celebration of Feehan's episcopal jubilee described how the orientation toward descent contributed to Americanization, stating,

> We are better citizens, better men and better Christians if we give expression to our noblest feelings in our own tongue unhindered. It is the tie that holds us together, and it presents our duties to our country and even to our God and Church. (Shaw, 1991, p. 15)

The delegate continued, explaining how the immigrant community considered the maintenance of the mother tongue and faith as a matter of the highest stakes:

> This treasure cannot and shall not be torn from us. For it and for the preservation of our German parish schools we stake our best powers. Upon these two rests our steadfastness in the faith and our loyalty to the Church. (Shaw, 1991, p. 15)

This stance echoes that of the clericalist Poles described by Parot, and so calls into question Parot's contention that the desire for a hybrid handbook of Americanization was unique to the Polish community.

Because immigrants were convinced that the loss of cultural and linguistic traditions would lead to the loss of faith, an acceptable form of Americanization could not have included the stripping of culture or language. Stark notions of assimilation were too closely tied to the fear of Protestantization, and so Catholics developed a version of Americanization that allowed them to consent to the ideals of their adopted land without sacrificing the values, traditions, or faith of their descent. Instead of choosing consent *over* descent, as the Americanist wing of the hierarchy seemed to advocate, Chicago Catholics instead opted for a variety of Americanization that featured consent *enhanced by* descent.

Feehan and his successor, Archbishop James Quigley, both sought to follow what Buetow (1988) called the “sensitive course between isolationism and assimilation” to avoid “a ‘melting pot’ that might rob minority students of their identity” (p. 283). Shaw argues that Feehan’s way-stations enabled him to “judiciously… [lead] his foreign flock on the narrow path between ethnicity and Americanization" (Shaw, 1991, p. 16). Quigley likewise allowed for Catholic parishes and schools to serve as way-stations by following a three-fold plan for immigrant Americanization that captures the essence of the Chicago Catholic approach. According to Shaw, Quigley believed that “(1) The immigrant must be kept faithful to his religion; (2) through his own language as long as necessary; and (3) he must at the same time be made a good American citizen" (p. 18). This plan was welcomed by the pro-descent Catholic press. For example, the anonymous “Catholic Missionary” of *The Fortnightly Review* argued, “We must encourage our immigrant brethren to stick to their respective languages as long as possible so as to prevent them from scattering among Protestants and falling away *en masse*” ("Apropos of the causes of Catholic defection," 1913).

While Americanists might see Quigley’s goals as fundamentally conflicting (or, at the very least, not in the immigrants’ best interests), Chicago’s “way-stations” allowed all three goals to complement one another in order to forge an American identity that was not divorced from ethnic ties. In this context, German schools became “microcosms of the parish as a whole,” places where “German immigrants could foster their own traditions while preparing to enter the larger American society" (Shaw, 1991, p. 94). Similarly, Italian schools established by Quigley in 1920 were able to explicitly claim “three primary purposes: the spiritual development of its children, the continuance of Italian as a language and a culture, and the Americanization of its pupils” (Shaw, p. 120).

Ultimately, however, John Ireland’s Americanist vision of Catholic schools was vindicated in Chicago, as the paradigm of culture-centered education in urban Chicago Catholic schools came to a close in 1915. With the appointment of the American-born George Mundelein as archbishop of Chicago, “the era of parochial autonomy” ended

(Shanabruch, 1981, p. 164). Under Mundelein, "the Chicago Catholic Church developed a new identity, more American than hyphenated" (Shanabruch, 1981, p. 155). Mundelein, like Archbishop John Ireland before him, believed that the rapid Americanization of immigrant families "would reduce nativist hostility" (Shanabruch, 1981, p. 174, and in the nativist sentiment that came with America's entry into World War I, Mundelein saw an opportunity to hasten the Americanization of Catholic parish schools. While Mundelein did not actively dismantle the system of ethnic schools in place upon his appointment, he did impose a moratorium on the construction of new ethnic schools in Chicago, and he centralized the city's Catholic schools by appointing a school board that adopted a uniform textbook policy across the diocese, effectively imposing mandatory English-language instruction throughout the city (Shanabruch, 1981).

Mundelein sought to impose uniformity on the schools, and he reigned in the largely autonomous ethnic parishes into a unified system of governance. Instead of adhering to Quigley's vision of a culturally pluralistic church in Chicago, Mundelein instead "worked toward unity of religious identity, based upon cultural homogeneity and centralization of authority" (Shanabruch, 1981, p. 174). In some ways, Mundelein was like Ireland and the Americanists of three decades earlier in his advocacy of Americanization as a way to minimize injuries from anti-Catholicism and to maximize the perception of Catholics in the United States. As World War I loomed, the desire to enhance the perception of the largely European Catholic population as patriotic Americans provided Mundelein with the "opportunity to actualize his vision" of an Americanizing church in Chicago (Shanabruch, 1981, p. 174).

Implications for contemporary immigrant schools

In this review of historical accounts of the Americanization of Catholic immigrants in Chicago under Archbishops Feehan and Quigley, four metaphors have been offered to describe the role of the Catholic parish and school. Buetow (1988) describes the "sensitive course" that Catholic schools have followed in their approach to educating immigrants. Sanders (1977), who emphasizes the hostile, anti-Catholic atmosphere in which the first ethnic Catholic schools were established, describes such schools as "safe harbors." Parot (1981), who focuses on the tension among Poles over identity as Poles, Catholics, and Americans, refers to Chicago parishes and schools as "shock absorbers" for newly-arrived immigrants struggling with their identity. Finally, Shaw (1991), who describes how Italians and Germans managed to develop a sense of Americanness that allowed desires of consent to coexist with ties to descent, offers the image of the "way-station."

The literature surrounding culturally responsive education offers the "bridge" as a fifth metaphor. Contemporary research refers frequently to the need for teachers to serve a bridging function between the school and the home, between the primary and dominant Discourses. Ladson-Billings suggests that teachers need to "bridge the school-community chasm" (2001, p. 33), and Nieto imagines the teacher "as a bridge between student culture and the dominant culture" (2002, p. 18). In a bridging model of pedagogy, teachers must engage students to help them make connections across the gap between their home culture and the school culture.

Each of these metaphors can be useful in considering education for contemporary immigrant students in Catholic schools. While the "safe harbor" and "shock absorber" functions of Catholic schools are specific functions of the context of the anti-Catholic atmosphere that immigrants faced in the late 19th century, these images may also be helpful in the context of more recent anti-immigrant sentiment, which has taken form in legislation banning bilingual education and in the U.S. English movement. Similarly, the images of the "sensitive course" and especially the "way-station" can be usefully adapted to discussions of contemporary immigrant education. In particular, the "way-station" image reflects the conviction inherent in the theory of CRP—and in Archbishop Quigley's three-fold plan for Catholic Americanization described above—that the language and culture of the home are not incompatible with the language and culture of the school. The worlds of home and school need not be mutually exclusive.

To attain cultural competence, teachers must acknowledge and appreciate, not ignore or gloss over, the home culture of all students. Delpit (1995) argues that "educators must have knowledge of children's lives outside of school so as to recognize their strengths" (p. 172). Teachers must learn as much as possible about the families, communities, and cultures of the students they will serve if they hope to build effective bridges from students' home cultures to the school culture and, ultimately, to the mainstream culture of power. Teachers with culturally responsive dispositions value and build on students' prior knowledge, and they work to instill a sense of pride in the students' home culture, utilizing the "funds of knowledge" (Moll & Gonzalez, 2001) students bring with them from home to build knowledge and achieve school success.

This bridging function of the school is reflected as well in the history of Chicago Catholic schools described above. In his eulogy at Archbishop Feehan's funeral, Archbishop Patrick Ryan of Nashville described Feehan's philosophical stance in terms that are echoed in contemporary theories of CRP and funds of knowledge. Ryan recognized Feehan's diverse immigrant constituency and suggested the purpose of the Chicago Catholic school system was to devise an alternative to those who "may urge the only way…is to thoroughly and immediately Americanize politically as well as religiously" (Kirkfleet, 1922, p. 343). Ryan highlighted Feehan's understanding that immigrants' languages were "hallowed by a thousand satisfying associations [that] must be respected" and his belief that "their old customs and wise laws [were] often the accumulated wisdom of centuries" (p. 344). Feehan believed that, for his flock, only "gradual, conservative" Americanization could "be truly permanent…[and] at once truly Catholic and truly American" (p. 344). Language, culture, and faith were intimately intertwined for Feehan's faithful, who demanded that their children's education be informed by these "hallowed" cultural, linguistic, and religious dimensions of the community.

The urge to link the school to the community is also evident in these historical accounts. Parot (1981) points out, "The church was truly the spiritual *and* social center of Polonia" (p. 217, emphasis in original), and Shanabruch (1981) argues that Chicago's Poles "created not merely a place to attend religious services but a community center" (p. 47) when they established parishes and schools. For immigrants, the church and school were centers of social, political, religious, and cultural life. In these communities, in which the school emerged from the community, the notion of building a bridge between the home and school might have even seemed absurd; they may not have perceived any gap between the two.

Just as the goal of culturally responsive pedagogy is to prepare non-mainstream students for success in school and the workplace, immigrant Catholic schools in the late 19th and early 20th century sought to ensure that immigrants “have all the ammunition they need to completely conquer the American way of life in the near future” *(*From *Il Calendario Italiano*, 1925, as quoted in Shaw, 1991, p. 122). The form of Americanization that took shape in these schools was seen as a vehicle for social mobility.

Contemporary Catholic schools might be well-served by an examination of the experience of immigrant Catholic communities of a century ago. The impulse toward incorporating cultural connections into the school has fundamentally changed as the fear of leakage has been replaced by a growing conviction that cultural competence and connections between the home and school are elements of good pedagogy—as Ladson-Billings argues, such cultural responsiveness is now often seen as “just good teaching!” (1995a). As CRP enters the mainstream as an approach to confronting the demographic imperative of improving education for minority students in the United States, more educators might benefit by considering the historical example of Catholic schooling for immigrant communities. In particular, those educators responsible for Catholic schools serving contemporary immigrants could more explicitly consider Catholic schools’ history of service to immigrant populations in order to improve instruction and increase enrollment among contemporary immigrants.

This review of the history of Catholic education for immigrants also serves, as Parot (1981) argues, to remind us “of a time when the God and Country of one's native land was a burning, timely, and most meaningful issue…of a time when language, nationality, and religion were all solidly welded into the social fabric of one's community" (p. 97). Even the anti-clerical Polish nationalists, writing in *Dziennik Zwiazkowy,* conceded that the consideration of religion was essential in any program of education because “religion is so strongly connected with the history of certain nations that it is impossible to find a definite line of demarcation between their religious and political pasts” ("Editorial," 1911).

The literature surrounding CRP, which argues persuasively that centralizing issues of culture and language can improve education, does not yet consider the link between religion and culture that Catholic schools are able to make. This link, which pervades all of these accounts of immigrant Catholic history in Chicago, is a central focus of the qualitative research that comprises the heart of this dissertation in the following chapters.

Chapter 5: Goals, Methodology and Methods

Goals

This dissertation builds on the literature reviewed in chapter two in the historical context described in chapters three and four. In particular, this project seeks to accomplish three primary goals, each of which will be addressed by one of four central research questions (discussed below). This dissertation will:

1. Identify practices, beliefs, and dispositions that resonate (or not) with culturally responsive pedagogy in both historical and contemporary Catholic education contexts;
2. Document the impact of culturally responsive approaches to education on student achievement and aspirations; and
3. Enhance theories of cultural responsiveness by considering how religious belief, identity, and practice might inflect cultural competence.

1. Identifying culturally responsive pedagogy in action

While the contemporary Catholic school system has its origins in a culture-centered approach to education for immigrant communities, theories of culturally responsive education (CRP) have not been applied to the Catholic school context. In chapter four, I examined historical accounts and documents related to the founding of ethnic Catholic schools in Chicago like J&A, describing how the practices and beliefs that guided the origins and development of the school and parish reflected the principles of contemporary culturally responsive theory. In the ethnographic research presented in chapters seven, eight, and nine, I explore the extent to which the current practices, beliefs, and dispositions of the teachers and staff at J&A resonate with theories of cultural responsiveness. In particular, I examine how the school engages with student religious belief, identity, and practice to make cultural connections with students and families. This combination of historical and ethnographic work will address two important research questions: What can contemporary educators interested in theories of culturally responsive pedagogy learn from the historical tradition and contemporary experience of

Catholic schooling for urban immigrant communities? And: What aspects of contemporary Catholic schooling can be considered culturally responsive?

2. Identifying the impact of culturally responsive pedagogy

While synchronizing culture and instructional strategies makes logical sense, there is little research evidence describing the effectiveness of culturally responsive approaches on student achievement. The existence (and persistence) of the achievement gap supports Gay's claim (1997), noted in chapter one, that students "lose out" when the culture of the teacher and the students differ, and so it makes sense that reducing cultural incongruity would improve student achievement and lessen the achievement gap. As Ladson-Billings argues, many would agree that this approach is "just good teaching!" (1995a).

However, research evidence describing such an effect is limited. In studies of Native American, Native Hawaiian, and African American students, some teaching strategies that reflect culturally responsive dispositions have been shown to be effective in improving achievement among cultural and language minority students (Au & Jordan, 1981; Howard, 2001; Lee, 1995; Phillips, 1972). This literature does not, however, offer a clear and convincing definition of what constitutes such effectiveness.

In fact, it is difficult even to say that culturally responsive approaches "work" or do not "work," because to make such arguments presumes agreement on what "successful" pedagogical practices actually achieve. As a result of the recent political emphasis on accountability, student achievement is typically measured quantitatively by considering standardized tests, reading levels, graduation rates, dropout rates, and college attendance rates. While these statistics can be significant indicators of success, they provide an incomplete picture of the impact that an educational approach can have on students' lives and aspirations. Because culturally responsive pedagogy is a holistic approach to education that seeks to do much more than raise test scores, qualitative research methods provide a critical way to assess the impact of the approach more fully.

An ethnographic study that describes the influence of culturally responsive practices on the lives of students, families, and teachers in their own words can provide a powerful and compelling description of the “success” that culturally responsive educators seek to achieve.

3. Enhancing notions of cultural competence

Among the central tenets of culturally responsive pedagogy is the need to foster cultural competence (Ladson-Billings, 1995b, 2001). Teachers who are culturally competent possess “thorough knowledge about the cultural values, learning styles, historical legacies, contributions, and achievements of different ethnic groups” (Gay, 2000, p. 44). According to Ladson-Billings (2001) culturally competent teachers understand culture and its role in education, they take responsibility for learning about students’ home culture and community, and they use student culture as a basis for learning (p. 98).

Discussions of religion as a dimension of cultural responsiveness are conspicuously absent from the literature surrounding culturally responsive pedagogy and multicultural education. Certainly religious identity is a central feature of the home Discourse for many students, but the secular context of American public schools presents an obstacle to the engagement of explicit attention to matters of religious identity and faith. In Catholic schools, by contrast, religious identity can play a major role in the development of a culturally responsive disposition. Catholic schools should be able to tap into an important institution in the landscape of the community culture—the church—in a special way.

Research Questions

This research is guided by four primary research questions, each of which is aimed at achieving one of the three goals listed above.

1. What historical qualities and practices of Catholic education resonate with CRP?
2. What qualities of Catholic education are evident at Sts. Joachim & Ann Catholic School that resonate with CRP?
3. How do religious connections between the home and school contribute to cultural responsiveness?

4. How does attending Sts. Joachim and Ann Catholic School affect the aspirations and achievement of students?

1. What historical qualities and practices of Catholic education resonate with CRP?

The history of urban Catholic schools reflects a rich tradition of culture-centered education, but the potential contributions of historical analysis to contemporary thinking about CRP have not yet been considered. Within the ideology of Catholic education for immigrants, a culture-centered pedagogy emerged that reflects contemporary theories of CRP. This project considers archival research to explore the origins of Catholic education in Chicago and the historical practices employed at J&A that reflect culturally responsive approaches. An examination of the archives of J&A, the archdiocese, and local newspapers will enhance our understanding of culture-centered pedagogy by placing it into historical context.

2. What qualities of Catholic education are evident at J&A that resonate with CRP?

This project also considers the contemporary J&A experience. By employing an ethnographic approach to observe, describe, and analyze the Discourses of the home and the school, I will identify the specific practices at J&A that resonate (or not) with CRP.

Numerous studies indicate that minority Catholic school students have outperformed their public school peers (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Greeley, 1982; York, 1996). According to Greeley's study, the "multiply disadvantaged" benefit most from this "Catholic school advantage," and Catholic schools can be effective at reducing and even eliminating the negative effect of social class on academic achievement. Bryk, et al. determined that the core curriculum, communal organization, decentralized governance, and inspirational ideology contribute to Catholic school effectiveness. This research indicates that Catholic schools are having their intended effect: facilitating social mobility for disadvantaged minority groups. Greeley argues that research demonstrating a Catholic school advantage suggests Catholic schools continue to serve the same purpose that motivated their establishment, writing, "These schools were established in great part to facilitate the upward mobility of European ethnic immigrant groups…These schools have been especially successful with upwardly mobile ‘ethnic immigrants’ and still are, whether the ‘ethnics’ be Black, Brown, or White” (Greeley, 1982, p. 87).

Though research on Catholic school pedagogy has not identified any particular instructional method unique to Catholic schools that facilitates Discourse acquisition or social mobility, descriptions of teaching practices related to language for minority students in Catholic schools provide insight into how approaches to Discourse might contribute to the Catholic school advantage. A review of narratives (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Delpit, 1996; Dilworth, 1996; Foster, 1996) indicates a strong focus on the development of the dominant Discourse, standard English. Explicit instruction in the dominant Discourse is the hallmark of a narrative offered by Bryk et al. (1993), while Delpit describes classroom instruction in her Catholic school experience as “didactic” (p. 120) but with an emphasis on the acquisition of the dominant Discourse. Delpit writes, “The careful attention to language structure focused our awareness on the differences between our spoken language and written edited English in ways that discussions or mere corrections could not” (p. 120).

Foster (1996) writes about her experience in a French-speaking Catholic school in Louisiana, where she learned to code-switch in French, distinguishing between “the French to be spoken within the confines of family, neighborhood, and home community” and the French to be spoken in school. She applies this lesson to her own Discourse acquisition, which she describes as the “delicate balancing act of knowing when to use standard English and when to use African American English” (p. 102). Foster concludes that high expectations for Discourse acquisition “worked to make me feel at ease using a language that I could not claim as my birthright” (p. 102), indicating that her Catholic school experience facilitated her ability to acquire the dominant Discourse in both French and English. Similarly, Irvine (2003) contends that her own experience as an African American in a Catholic school was effective because of the values and beliefs that her family Discourse shared with the Discourse of the school.

J&A does not explicitly embrace the theory of culturally responsive pedagogy and there is no evidence to suggest the curriculum or philosophy of J&A was based on the principles of the theory as it is described by Ladson-Billings, Gay, or others. However, as discussed in the preceding chapters, theories of culturally responsive pedagogy resonate with the history of Catholic education for immigrant communities in Pilsen and the ideology that informs Catholic education (discussed in the review of literature in chapters three and four). In order to better understand this resonance, this dissertation presents historical and ethnographic research to examine the practices, beliefs, policies, and mission of J&A to determine the extent to which they relate to the tenets of culturally responsive pedagogy as it is described in the literature. By describing the ways in which J&A is (and is not) culturally responsive, this work identifies how J&A's particular variation of culturally responsive pedagogy can contribute to the fields of both education and Catholic education.

3. How do religious connections between the home and school contribute to cultural responsiveness?

Catholic schools continue to operate as a manifestation of the belief that the Church holds the privilege to educate *in loco parentis*. This ideology of education represents a unique relationship between family and school that dramatically extends the (at least theoretical) potential for culturally responsive schooling.

Religion could be considered as just one element of culture, like food, clothing, or festivals, and, when viewed in this way, religion can contribute to a sense of cultural competence in interesting but superficial ways. But the relationship between the Church, school, and family that lies at the heart of the Catholic educational endeavor puts religion at the core of education entirely. As an extension of the family and the community, as a proxy for the parents (and, importantly, chosen *by* the parents), the Catholic school can achieve a depth of cultural competence that can not be considered for a state-sponsored school in the United States. In this framework, the school is considered a natural outgrowth of the community, intimately connected with the Church, which holds a special privilege and responsibility, both as a cultural institution in the community and as the institution deemed responsible for educating the children of that community. Catholics who buy into this perspective thus see the Catholic schools as fundamentally *theirs*: the place where their shared culture, faith, and values—all central elements of the home Discourse—are transmitted to their children.

Religious belief and identity inform both the systems of meanings and the systems of relationships in the community, and they therefore shape the cultural materials of the community. Religious belief and identity inform the strategies of action that motivate cultural productions in the community, and so in the values, dispositions, traditions, and practices of the community we should find evidence of the influence of religion.

Religion plays an important role in the home culture and community, and Catholic schools encourage explicit connections between religious identity and education. Through interviews and observations, this project interrogates the role of religion in the cultural models of the students and school, focusing on the ways that religious identity inflects cultural responsiveness.

J&A's version of cultural responsiveness informs the larger question, "What does cultural competence look like in a Catholic school?" The ideological foundation of Catholic schools suggests that the Catholic identity of a school can contribute to the achievement of cultural competence, and J&A provides a case study to situate the consideration of this question concretely. Like J&A, the Catholic schools of a century ago did not consciously employ culturally responsive pedagogy. Instead, a culture-centered pedagogy emerged that we can now recognize as having many qualities in common with what has come to be known as culturally responsive pedagogy. This study of J&A will facilitate the articulation of the ways in which the Catholic identity of a school can enrich the cultural competence of the institution and its students.

4. How does attending J&A affect the aspirations and achievement of students?

In this era of accountability, the central question asked of all educational initiatives is, "Does it work?" Through ethnographic analysis and quantitative data collection, this project illustrates how students benefit and are challenged by the culturally responsive aspects of the J&A experience and how that experience shapes their long-term aspirations and school achievement.

The accountability movement equates success with high scores on achievement tests, and I present quantitative data related to student test scores, graduation rates, and high school attendance rates in order to provide some limited descriptive measures of achievement. Certainly the administrators, faculty, and parents at J&A expect improved test scores as a result of their educational approaches, but scores only partially reflect the goals of holistic approaches to education like culturally responsive pedagogy and Catholic education. While test scores matter most to legislators, students, parents, and teachers may recognize different indicators of "success," and the ethnographic approach taken in this project provides them with an opportunity to describe "success" in their own words.

Methodology

By providing students, parents, and teachers with the opportunity to describe their experiences at J&A, my project takes a social constructivist approach to qualitative research (Patton, 2002). I believe that the most compelling and effective way to accurately depict the experience of schooling at J&A is to tell the story in the words of the J&A community itself. By taking an emic, or insider, perspective, this project uses the language of the insiders—the students, parents, and teachers—to define constructs like "success" and "improvement" and to answer the central question: "Does it work?" A constructivist approach offers study participants the chance to both define what it means for a school to "work" and to provide their interpretation of whether and how the school's approach "works" for them.

In analyzing ethnographic data, I utilized the theoretical framework of discourse analysis as described by Gee (1996; 1989 [2001]; 2002; 2005), who examines the function of language in processes of social reproduction (Althusser, 1972; Bourdieu, 1977; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Willis, 1977). As described in chapter two, Gee identifies the appropriation of the "Discourse" of the mainstream as a central means to achieving social mobility for members of non-mainstream groups. Because Gee's notion of Discourse includes but is not limited to language, I find his framework useful to explore what is happening at J&A and within culturally responsive pedagogy more broadly.[19]

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[19] It is important to clarify a point here. While I find Gee's framework of "Discourses" helpful for thinking about culturally responsive pedagogy and analysis of discourse, I remain critical of Gee's application of this framework in his 1989 [2001] writing on Discourses. As I discussed in chapter two, Gee predicts that cultural minority students would need to either sacrifice their primary Discourse or accept failure in school. I contend that this perspective on Discourse acquisition is overly deterministic, though I still believe Gee's approach to Discourse analysis in general remains a useful conceptual framework.

Like the scholars interested in cultural responsiveness, Gee talks about language but emphasizes the cultural context that gives rise to its use. When using the Discourse framework, “what is important is not language…but *saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations*” (Gee, 1996, p. 127, italics in original). Because enacting a Discourse involves adopting “distinctive ways of using (oral and/or written) language, other symbol systems, thinking, believing, valuing, acting, interacting, gesturing, and dressing” (Gee, 2002, p. 160), students whose primary Discourse differs from the dominant face difficulties that are not just linguistic but instead might more accurately be considered languacultural (Agar, 1994).

The theory of culturally responsive pedagogy holds that it is not enough to merely teach the rules of Standard English grammar to facilitate academic achievement and advanced literacy—teachers must pay attention to the broader cultural contexts at play in the students’ lives. Similarly, Gee argues that the mastery of the dominant Discourse is not a mere matter of cognitive learning—adopting a new Discourse entails taking on entire dispositions, “forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, and social identities” (Gee, 1996, p. 127). Furthermore, Gee’s connection of discourse analysis to social justice reflects the goals of culturally responsive pedagogy and Catholic education as well. He writes, “The fact that people have differential access to different identities and activities, connected to different sorts of status and social goods, is a root source of inequality in society…Since different identities and activities are enacted in and through language, the study of language is integrally connected to matters of equity and justice” (Gee, 2005, p. 22).

The theory of culturally responsive pedagogy holds that “acquiring the ability to function in a dominant Discourse need not mean that one must reject one’s home identity and values” (Delpit, 1995, p. 163), and this dissertation interrogates the extent to which J&A helps language and cultural minority students navigate the competing Discourses of home and school. Gee argues that, in order for language and cultural minority students to acquire the dominant Discourse, they need “to gain embodied experiences within Discourses that can offer them new and valued identities” (Gee, 2002, p. 174). In this consideration of J&A, I explore the extent to which students demonstrated the acquisition and development of the home and dominant Discourses, and I seek to better understand the process of Discourse acquisition that they experienced. In particular, I seek to identify the particular sites, strategies, and activities that enhanced the students' acquisition of the dominant Discourse, as well as the sites, strategies, and activities that teachers and administrators employed to draw on the resources of the students' primary Discourse.

Methods

In order to fully address each of my research questions, I employed (1) historical, (2) quantitative, and (3) ethnographic research methods in my consideration of J&A, each of which is described in detail below.

1. Archival Data (Research Question 1)

Sts. Joachim and Ann provides an opportunity to explore historical connections between contemporary Catholic education for immigrant communities, the origins of Catholic education itself, and culturally responsive pedagogy. I conducted historical research to better understand and convey the context of J&A's founding, its early employment of culture-centered pedagogy, and the ways in which the school has changed in response to changing neighborhood demographics over the past century.

I examined J&A's collection of historical documents, local newspaper archives, and the archives of the Archdiocese of Chicago (particularly the papers of Archbishop Feehan, under whom most ethnic parishes, including J&A, were established). Archival research has enabled me to describe the rationale for the foundation of the school from the perspective of the community and of the diocese. Archival materials also shed light on the perceived role of the school in the community upon its establishment.

In light of my review of literature related to the history of Catholic immigrants in Chicago at the turn of the 20th century (see chapter four), I have been able to examine the sources that other scholars have used when considering the history of Catholics in Chicago. In my research, I examined both historical accounts and the primary sources referenced in the works I discussed in the historical review presented in chapters three and four, with the following sources proving to be particularly helpful:

- Catholic newspapers*: The Western Tablet, New World, The Catholic Fortnightly Review,* and *Catholic Home* (all available in the Church History collection of the University of Notre Dame);
- Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey, a translated compilation of immigrant publications from 1880-1930 (located on microfilm at the Harold Washington branch of the Chicago Public Library); and
- Sts. Joachim and Ann school and parish archives.

Historical Data Analysis

After reviewing historical accounts of Catholic immigration to Chicago and the development of parishes and schools in light of the Americanist controversy, I developed a list of questions that guided my primary archival research during this dissertation project.

- What prompted the establishment of the Sts. Joachim and Ann parish?
- Were the parish and school established at the same time?
- Did the Polish community in Pilsen or the J&A community explicitly articulate how it viewed Americanization?
- Do any documents reflect an explicit articulation of the desire to maintain ties to the homeland?
- Which metaphors best describe the role of the school for the Polish community? Shock absorber, safe harbor, way-station, or something else?
- Which subjects were taught in English? Which in Polish? Do any documents articulate a rationale for the division of language in the school curriculum?
- To what extent was the J&A community affected by the tension within the Polish community described by Parot?
- Did members of the J&A community see the school as producing Polish Catholics, Catholic Poles, or Polish Americans?

I utilized the qualitative research software program Nvivo to organize and facilitate the analysis of much of the historical data. I transcribed archival documents into the program and coded the data according to the grounded theory approach to open coding (Charmaz, 2006, 2008; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). I recognized patterns in the data that corresponded with themes in the literature, and I collapsed the open codes to create axial codes. These axial codes were linked to themes that emerged in the literature review. The most robust codes described data related to "the need for Polish language, history, literature in schools," the possibility of a "hybrid identity: citizen and patriot, American and Pole," the sentiment that "schooling without religion is incomplete," the tendency to "conflate religion and nationalism," the claims that the community has a "need for moral, religious education," writing reflecting a belief in the "primacy of the parent in education," and claims about the "inferiority of public schools." Because the purpose of much of my archival work was to provide context and to relate the local research site to the larger historical narrative, much of the historical data were incorporated directly into the literature reviews of chapter three and especially chapter four. Other historical data are employed in chapters seven, eight, and nine to inform and enhance the "thick description" of my ethnographic work.

2. Quantitative Data (Research Question 4)

While I believe that an emic description of the experience of schooling at J&A provides a rich account of student achievement in the community's own words, I recognize that student achievement is more commonly measured by certain statistics, and so I gathered quantitative data to supplement the qualitative portion of my project. I collected and compared—to the extent that such comparisons are possible—statistical data to local public schools that serve similar demographic groups in an effort to enhance the validity of my research and to broaden the "thick description" of my ethnographic work. These quantitative data include standardized test scores in reading and math, graduation rates, ACT scores, and other quantifiable measures of achievement.

Quantitative data analysis

Quantitative data collected at J&A are be compared for descriptive purposes to available data from Chicago public schools and national data. In particular, these data are compared against data collected by the Institute for Latino Studies of the University of

Notre Dame, which systematically collects and publishes data on educational achievement among Latinos in Chicago (Institute for Latino Studies, 2002, 2005; Ready & Brown-Gort, 2005). These data are also compared with data collected and published by the State of Illinois from Stark Elementary20, the public school that serves the same neighborhood to determine the impact of attending J&A on student achievement.

3. Ethnographic Data (Research Questions 2, 3, and 4)

For a school like J&A, which takes a holistic approach to education, test scores represent only one aspect of student improvement and success. While test scores may matter most to legislators, students and parents themselves recognize different and, to them, more important indicators of success. Culturally responsive schools seek to bridge the gap between students' home culture and the culture of schooling, and an ethnographic approach provides the opportunity to observe, identify, and describe the specific ways in which the culture of J&A helps students navigate this cultural gap over time.

Even when we recognize that test scores provide only limited insight into dimensions of student achievement, it remains tempting to measure achievement at J&A by simply comparing test scores to the local public elementary school. Unfortunately, a simple one-to-one comparison is not possible: students in Catholic schools in Chicago take different standardized tests than their public school peers. While public schools administer the Illinois Standards Achievement Test, Catholic school students take the TerraNova II achievement test, which is aligned with Illinois state standards. As a result, test scores provide only a limited basis for understanding student achievement. Fortunately, in-depth ethnographic research provides a more rounded understanding of student achievement.

In my consideration of J&A, I chose ethnographic observation and interviews (Heath & Street, 2008; Van Maanen, 1988) as the primary methods of research because I sought to "uncover and describe the participants' perspectives" on their experience in the school (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 110). I focused my study on the 8th grade classroom to assess the extent to which the educational practices and attitudes of the school and its staff resonate with culturally responsive approaches. In interviews with

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[20] Pseudonym

teachers, students, parents, and staff, I explored the extent to which these moments of resonance constituted cultural competence, and I examined how the cultural competence of the faculty and staff influenced the lives and aspirations of J&A students. Furthermore, I examined the extent to which J&A takes advantage of its theoretical capacity to engage with religious identity to strengthen the school's claim to cultural competence.

I became a permanent fixture in the classroom of the 8th grade class at J&A during their last semester in the school, conducting field observations at J&A from January to May 2007. Over the course of 18 weeks, I established a regular presence in the school, spending nearly 300 hours in the school and parish, which allowed me to develop a relationship with each of the 12 students in the 8th grade class and the entire faculty and staff. The vast majority of that time was spent in class observing students and teachers, shadowing the 8th grade class throughout the school day. I observed this class in each of their classes on a regular basis: language arts, social studies, religion, literature, math, science, computers, and physical education. I spent significant time in the classrooms of the three middle grade teachers, Miss Wilson, Miss Trinh, and Mrs. Gallagher.

Observations

In order to answer these research questions, I recognized that I would need to develop nuanced understanding of the J&A experience, and ethnographic observation seemed to present the best way to get to know the school, its students, and its staff. Spindler and Spindler (1992) call for "direct, prolonged, on-the-spot" observation, calling extended, on-site fieldwork "the guts of the ethnographic approach" (p. 63). I chose to conduct ethnographic observations because my research questions and theoretical framework called for me to "discover the recurring patterns of behavior and relationships"—what Gee would call Discourses—that exist in the J&A community (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 107).

Spindler and Spindler (1992) argue that three months is an adequate amount of time to sufficiently study a single classroom community, but I decided that a full academic term would ensure adequate data to facilitate thick description. The semester also stands as a natural unit of time within the school calendar, punctuated by a series of major events: high school decisions, confirmation, the class field trip, and graduation.

I spent five months at J&A, from the first week of school after Christmas break until graduation in early May. I established a regular presence in the school, both in the classroom and out. While I expected that full participant observation would not be entirely possible (an adult is unable to realistically fully participate as a student), I attempted to follow Spindler and Spindler's (1992) recommendation to "go as far as one can to assume the role of the child" (p. 64), and so I participated in the school day as fully as I was able. I made arrangements with the principal and with the middle grade teachers to observe classes regularly and I was offered office space to share with some teachers when I was not in class.

I sat at a desk with the students in class, played basketball with them at recess, stood in line with them in the hallways, attended Mass with them on Fridays, and prayed with them before lunch. When I was not spending time with the students, I was meeting with and observing teachers. I ate lunch with teachers, I shared office space with teachers, I attended faculty meetings, and I sought opportunities to interact with teachers and staff members outside of the school. I socialized with teachers after school as they cleaned up their classrooms, outside the school as they supervised dismissal, at local fundraisers, and before and after Masses and special events at the parish. I took fieldnotes constantly, and I revisited and elaborated upon them frequently, adding commentary and early analysis to the raw observation data.

In order to understand how J&A establishes its institutional identity within the community, I also attended community events held at the parish and school. I attended Mass at J&A on a periodic basis in an effort to better understand the connection between the Catholic Church, its school, and the surrounding community. During all of these observations and activities, I carried a computer or notepad with me at all times, which enabled me to take extensive field notes that I would later elaborate, code, and analyze (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). I also carried a digital recorder with me at all times, which allowed me to record moments in classes, at school assemblies, and during religious services when I was unable to actually type or write. The recorder also served as a useful device for enhancing the validity of my fieldnotes.

Interviews & focus groups

While observations were critical for establishing myself as a presence in the school and for documenting the day-to-day practices and relationships in the school, interviews provided opportunities for exploring interesting moments I had observed in the classroom and for deepening my understanding of the practices, attitudes, and relationships I was observing. Interviews also provided me with an opportunity to check my understanding of these practices, attitudes, and relationships with the participants in the study (Weiss, 1994).

In addition, I utilized focus groups as another mode of data collection. One challenge I encountered was that students were initially reticent to engage in productive conversation during one-on-one interviews, and after consulting the literature and an expert advisor, I decided to conduct my second round of interviews in focus groups, which provided a less threatening, more social setting that facilitated greater interaction.

The literature helped me appreciate the ways in which focus groups provided opportunities for students to work together to construct understanding as a community. In choosing to conduct focus group research, I accepted the claim of Marshall and Rossman (1999), who argue, “People often need to listen to others’ opinions and understandings in order to form their own” (p. 114). I recognized that focus group research was consistent with the social constructivist methodology that informed my research design.

My decision to utilize focus groups for a portion of this study was also influenced by the rationale described by Donlevy (2007), who suggests that focus group research is consistent with the educational approach of Catholic schooling. Donlevy argues that, given the Church’s claim that “what makes the Catholic school distinctive is its attempt to generate a community climate in the school” (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1988), it is “consistent to seek the expression of Catholic students’ and teachers’ experiences within a group” (p. 301). I found, like Donlevy, that focus groups provided a setting in which “experiences and meanings … could reasonably be expected to spark the memories of others in recalling their experiences and how they viewed them” (Donlevy, p. 301).

I decided that a combination of individual interviews and focus group sessions, combined with regular observation, would maximize my efforts to get to know the community well. By spending time with students in large groups, in small groups, and one-on-one, my study was designed to provide multiple modes of interaction to get to know the students. I expected that the group setting of focus groups would increase students' comfort levels with me as a researcher (Marshall & Rossman, 1999), and I found this to be true. After the focus group sessions—which were held during lunch and were more relaxed and social than the introductory one-on-one interviews, involving three or four students and pizza and soft drinks—subsequent individual interviews were more productive and students were willing to share their thoughts and feelings more freely with me.

Sampling

Because I was interested in the effects of attending J&A, I chose to study the group of students who had been there the longest—the eighth graders. The eighth grade class of 2007 was small—12 students—and I would be able to get to know each of the students in the class. During my initial round of student interviews in January and February 2007, I interviewed all 12 students in the class. To provide more detailed description of the J&A experience, I identified six focal students to observe and interview on a regular basis throughout the course of the semester. Because I was interested in identifying the "typical" experience of being a J&A student, I asked teachers and administrators to help me identify students who represent typical cases of J&A students (Patton, 2002, p. 243). I interviewed each 8th grader once, and then chose six focal students, with the help of the teachers and principal, each of whom I shadowed and interviewed repeatedly both formally and informally throughout the term. The goal of the initial interviews (see protocol in appendix) was to establish a relationship with each student and to explore the students' J&A experience. Follow-up interviews considered specific dimensions of the research questions and were shaped largely by my on-going in-class observations and other interviews.

I also asked to interview all parents of 8th grade students. I asked parents to signal their willingness to participate in interviews via the consent form that I asked them to complete for IRB purposes. Additionally, I interviewed the members of the staff and faculty of J&A who had themselves sent their children to J&A.

Finally, I interviewed each of the teachers and administrators at J&A between January and April 2007. I decided to choose six focal teachers for follow-up interviews throughout the term. At the beginning of the study, I knew that I would focus on the three middle grade teachers because they had daily interactions with the 8th grade class. I also planned to focus on three additional teachers, though I decided to choose these additional focus informants after conducting my initial round of interviews. Finally, I conducted a series of interviews with the principal, Mr. Monroe.

These interviews with teachers and parents enhanced the validity of my research by allowing me to triangulate the students' own descriptions of their experience of schooling at J&A (Johnson, 1997). For descriptions of the informants, please see the following chapter. For complete interview protocols and the interview data log, please see the appendix.

Ethical considerations

I saw the students, administrators, and faculty of J&A as valuable contributors to this research project, and I ensured that their participation in this project did not expose them to any risk. I protected the privacy and confidence of all who participated by using pseudonyms. I believe the story of the J&A experience can best be told by the members of the J&A community, and so I was committed to the inclusion of their voices in this project. Also, I believe the study participants could provide important feedback and useful contributions to my analysis throughout the course of the project. I also wanted to ensure that I accurately reflected their perspectives, so I attempted to share all of my transcriptions of interviews and my analyses of those conversations with the study participants during the data collection and write-up process.

I was able to share interview transcripts and manuscript drafts with teachers and staff members at the school, and their feedback proved to be a valuable way to enhance the validity of my data collection and analysis. Unfortunately, I found it difficult to maintain connections with the students once they left J&A. Students did not respond to my attempts to contact them by e-mail once they were in high school, and so I was unable to ultimately share manuscript drafts with student informants.

I was also committed to protecting the integrity and reputation of the school, and so I shared my observations and analyses with school administrators and faculty involved in the study during the course of the project on a regular basis, seeking their feedback and ensuring that their perspectives have been faithfully rendered.

I am a firm believer in reciprocity, and I recognize that research can be intrusive. I offered my time and talents to the school community as the principal deemed appropriate, but he only accepted my offer once, when a teacher called in sick and he needed a last-minute substitute teacher.

Religion and the researcher

One legacy of my own family's immigrant past is my immersion in Catholic education. Catholic schools have shaped my life, even before I was born, largely because of my immigrant heritage. Three of my four grandparents attended Catholic schools, and my parents attended Catholic elementary schools, high schools, and colleges. My Italian grandfather and Irish grandmother both attended Catholic schools in St. Louis, as did my father and his six siblings. My mother's father, his nine siblings, and most of her 60 cousins attended Catholic schools in the Kansas City area.

I too am the product of Catholic schooling. I attended Catholic grade schools and a Jesuit Catholic high school. I attended the University of Notre Dame, a Catholic university, and then became a teacher in Catholic schools. For the seven years prior to graduate school (which was my first experience in a public school since a brief stint in 2nd grade), I worked in different capacities for the Alliance for Catholic Education (ACE), an alternative teacher education program at the University of Notre Dame. As an ACE teacher, I taught middle and high school language arts in a Catholic school in Mississippi, and I taught English to college students and teachers at a Catholic college in Bangladesh. As an administrator on the ACE staff, I recruited, selected, trained, and supported beginning teachers for positions in Catholic schools across the southeastern United States.

As a member of the ACE staff, I authored dozens of grant reports, grant requests, federal funding reports (ACE is an AmeriCorps program), public relations materials, and websites. Part of my job, in short, involved finding good things to say about Catholic schools and bragging about them. I wrote as an advocate and a publicist for Catholic schools. Some of that writing was research-oriented and reported objective data about the program. For example, I found that ACE enjoyed a higher retention rate among beginning teachers than traditional teacher education programs and a higher rate than other alternative teacher education programs, as less than 5% of all ACE teachers leave the field in the first two years of teaching. In addition, ACE graduates stay in teaching longer than graduates of other alternative teacher education programs and traditional teacher education programs (Dallavis, 2002, 2007). Most of my writing for ACE, however, was not research-oriented, serving instead as pure public relations, including brochures, promotional posters, website copy, annual report text, and grant reports.

I recognize, as a result of my experience, the important difference between writing as an advocate and writing as a researcher. From the beginning of this project, my goal has been to write as a researcher, and I have relied on social scientific methods and my graduate school training to help me maintain an grounded view of the data I have collected and analyzed. I have also relied on expert colleagues and mentors to ensure that my analysis and writing remains objective and that my biases and past experience not cloud my interpretations of what I observed.

As a graduate of Catholic elementary school, high school, and college and as a former Catholic school teacher, I recognized that my academic interest in Catholic education is closely related to deeply-seated aspects of my identity. I acknowledge that my experience and affiliation with Catholic schools has greatly influenced my beliefs about schooling more broadly, and I recognize that my membership in the Catholic Church and my convictions regarding Catholic education may pose challenges to maintaining an objective stance toward Catholic schools. My goal, however, is not to evaluate J&A, nor do I intend to argue against public schooling in any way, and so I do not believe my biases and preconceived notions about Catholic and public education will influence the project at hand. Instead, my goal is to put culturally responsive pedagogy and Catholic education in conversation with one another in a productive way that can benefit both fields.

Finally, I believe that rigorous reliance on the social scientific methods described here will enhance the validity of my findings, regardless of my own religious belief, identity, and practice. My goal in presenting these data is not to advocate for or against Catholic or public education or culturally responsive pedagogy; instead, I seek to provide a descriptive account of schooling in one urban Catholic school that serves an immigrant community, with the goal of extending theories of education that might help scholars and practitioners improve the educational opportunities for other students in similar circumstances.

Coding and managing data

My observations and interviews included audio recordings of classroom and out-of-school interactions with students as well as my own fieldnotes, which were transcribed (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995) and coded using the grounded theory approach to open coding (Charmaz, 2006, 2008; Marshall & Rossman, 1999; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) during and after the course of the study. Because I adopted the grounded theory approach to analysis, I left my observation agenda open-ended and engaged in early analysis as I collected data, which enabled me to shift focus as I identified patterns and themes in the data, allowing me to "cycle back and forth between thinking about the existing data and generating strategies for collecting new, often better, data" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 50). I also applied the grounded theory approach to the analysis of my interview transcripts, and, as with my fieldnote data, I considered the design of my interviews to be in flux depending on the emergent data. I therefore re-structured subsequent interviews depending on the themes and patterns that emerged during my on-going analysis of initial interviews and observations.

The data are presented in this dissertation in several formats, including interview excerpts, fieldnote excerpts, and excerpts from analytical memos. Interview excerpts are taken verbatim from transcriptions of recorded interview material. Fieldnote data consist of descriptive observations as well as verbatim quotes that were either recorded or copied down as they were uttered. Fieldnote transcripts also incorporate commentary that was added later. Analytical memos provide insight into my thinking as a researcher during the process of analyzing and interpreting data.

Data were coded electronically using the software program Nvivo 7, which allowed me to create, organize, and collapse codes and link them to analytical memos throughout the course of the project. The software allowed me to import, organize, and manage a very large data corpus—for example, interviews and focus groups accounted for nearly 29 hours of recorded data and more than 750 pages of printed transcripts. During my first pass through the data, I created nearly 800 different codes that were applied to more than 3,000 references, which I eventually organized and collapsed into 194 codes for 1,500 references. I organized these codes thematically, borrowing the structure for my coding system from the theories of culturally responsive pedagogy described in chapter two. In my final analysis, I considered 64 codes related to academic achievement, 73 codes related to cultural competence, and 57 codes related to sociopolitical consciousness.

Nvivo proved to be a valuable tool for coding and retrieving data, though at times the software made data analysis a slow process. Because Nvivo allowed me to theoretically create an infinite number of codes to apply to my data, I tended at first to over-code the data, resulting in dozens of unnecessary and irrelevant codes after my first pass through the interview data. I created so many codes in that first round of analysis that my codes became confusing and ceased to be useful. Ultimately, I scrapped my first Nvivo database altogether and started over.

The false start I experienced enabled me to be more thoughtful when coding my data “for real.” I decided to organize my data by source, and so I coded the interview data from students first, then from teachers, then from parents. When coding that data, I conceived of my codes in two tiers: etic, or outsider-imposed codes, and emic, or insider-generated codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Ultimately I developed two distinct types of emic codes, and in this section I will describe the three types of codes I developed using a few examples from my data analysis to demonstrate the ways in which the three types of codes differed. A complete list of all the codes I created and assigned to data can be found in the appendix.

Etic codes consisted of codes that I imposed on the data and were related to preconceived questions that I had prior to data collection. Many etic codes were derived from direct interview questions or from attempts to categorize participants and their experiences. The etic codes, most of which were created in advance, were assigned to direct responses to interview questions (coded "IQ"). Some examples of etic IQ codes used in my analysis of teacher interviews include:

- (IQ) Describe your first visit to J&A.
- (IQ) Why do you think parents send their kids to J&A?
- (IQ) What is the mission of a Catholic school?
- (IQ) Complete the sentence: J&A is…
- (IQ) What is J&A's role in the community?
- (IQ) Why teach in a Catholic school?
- (IQ) Why teach at J&A?

These etic IQ codes were developed prior to beginning fieldwork, and they helped me to catalog responses to questions I knew I was interested in before conducting any data analysis. They represent categories of information I created.

Emic codes, on the other hand, represent categories of information created by the participants in the study, and as such I used the participants' own words to label them. I qualified emic codes in two ways. First, I developed some emic codes to simply categorize information, and these were labeled "INF," or "informational." These codes were applied to data that either provided information that I thought might be useful for cataloguing people, places, themes, or events, or they referred to a topic or category that seemed relevant in light of other emergent data. Examples of emic INF codes include:

- (INF) J&A in transition
- (INF) pre-transition J&A
- (INF) English Language Learners at J&A
- (INF) Teacher education status and experience
- (INF) Future career plans
- (INF) Our Lady of Guadalupe
- (INF) Polish-Latino transition in Pilsen

Some emic INF codes emerged from passages coded initially with etic IQ codes. For example, in conversations about teachers' first impressions of the school and the neighborhood (passages that were initially coded "IQ First Impression of Pilsen"), I noticed frequent use of the term "gangbanger" among students, teachers and parents. I began to analyze interviews with this term in mind, creating the code "(INF) Gangs & Gangbangers" whenever a participant used the term or discussed the presence of gangs in the neighborhood. This INF code allowed me to quickly scan the corpus of data for all instances of discussion of gang members and gang activity.

Another example relates to the code "(IQ) Why teach in a Catholic school?" When asked about their reasons for choosing to teach in a Catholic school, teachers often talked about their jobs using the term "vocation." I thought it would be helpful to create a code that would enable me to quickly find all the instances of teachers using the term "vocation" to describe their professions, and so I began to label such instances "(INF) Teaching as vocation."

It is important to note that this code is different from a similar code: "Teaching is a vocation." While the emic INF codes were helpful in creating a set of categories for organizing information, they were not used to document insight into themes or value judgments. In this example, "(INF) Teaching as vocation" codes only represent instances of teachers talking about teaching as a vocation, while "Teaching is a vocation" codes represent teachers expressing the belief that teaching is their personal vocation. This is a fine point, but an important distinction. The former was a value-neutral code that catalogued all discussions of teaching as a vocation, while the latter expressed a claim made by the teacher that provided insight into the teacher's values or beliefs. For example, if a teacher claimed, "Teaching is not my vocation," this comment would be marked with the former but not the latter code. By maintaining these informational codes, I was able to track the usage of certain language. In this example, the presence of this INF code helped me to observe that the idea of "teaching as vocation" seemed to be a feature of the Discourse of Catholic school teachers regardless of whether the teacher employing the term actually felt that teaching was his or her personal vocation.

The INF codes were therefore descriptive but not thematic. They helped to paint a picture of the research site and its participants, but did not reflect interpretation, judgment, or analysis. They were helpful in organizing information that would be vital to providing the "thick description" that I sought in my ethnography but they did not facilitate real qualitative analysis. For that, I developed the third type of code that I employed, thematic emic codes, which constitute the majority of my data analysis. Thematic emic codes emerged from my fieldnotes and interview transcripts and were helpful for organizing the themes and value judgments that I found in the data.

These thematic emic codes represent beliefs, values, and attitudes that surfaced in interviews and observations. As the study progressed, some of these codes began to cluster around themes. For example, in passages coded "(IQ) Why do parents send kids to J&A?" the following thematic emic codes emerged:

Table 5.1: Sample thematic emic codes

Code	References
Parents send kids here for religious, moral, faith, value transmission	18
Parents send kids here because of community connections	9
Parents send kids here for safety reasons	8
Parents send kids here because of family tradition	7
Parents send kids here for academics and good teachers	6
Parents send kids here because they care about kids' future	4
Parents send kids here as an alternative to public school	3
Parents send kids here because it is the cheapest Catholic school in area	2
Parents send kids here for extra attention	2
Parents send kids here to learn English	2
Parents send kids here for social capital reasons	2
Parents send kids here because they trust teachers	1
Parents send kids here for discipline	1

Each of these thematic codes represents a belief expressed by a teacher about why parents choose to send their children to J&A. As I analyzed the data, I examined how this thematic cluster compared to data from parent interviews coded "(IQ) Why do you send your kids to J&A?" This sort of cross-code comparison proved valuable in determining the extent to which the perceptions and observations of teachers, parents, and students were in alignment with one another.

Collapsing Codes

After coding the data from interviews and fieldnotes by participant, I observed patterns in the codes that I had assigned. With the three tenets of culturally responsive pedagogy in mind, I organized the codes into thematic clusters. I then reviewed the data and my initial codes with the goal of creating axial codes, which were thematic codes that cut across participant categories. Collapsing codes involved revisiting the data and making interpretations about what the participants were saying, allowing me to more efficiently organize the data and to eliminate redundancies. During this process, Nvivo's software proved especially helpful, as it allowed me to merge codes that were related to organize my data points more efficiently. This process also encouraged writing additional analytical memos, in which I made preliminary connections between concepts and tested hypotheses (Charmaz, 2006). In the above example, the "(IQ) Why do parents send their kids to J&A?" codes were further organized within the umbrella category "Teacher perceptions about parents" and were collapsed as such:

Table 5.2: Sample collapsed codes in the category: Teacher perceptions about parents

Parents want values transmission
Parents send kids here for religious, moral, faith, value transmission
Parents send kids here for discipline

Parents want community
Parents send kids here for safety reasons
Parents send kids here because they trust teachers
Parents send kids here for extra attention
Parents send kids here for social capital reasons
Parents send kids here because of family tradition
Parents send kids here because of community connections

Parents care about, support student learning
Parents send kids here because they care about kids' future
Parents send kids here for academics and good teachers

Some codes did not fit neatly into these collapsed codes, so they remained under the larger umbrella code.

Table 5.3: Sample umbrella code

Teacher perspectives on parents
Parents send kids here as an alternative to public school
Parents send kids here to learn English
Parents send kids here because it is the cheapest Catholic school in area

By collapsing the codes in this way, the data corpus was organized and made more manageable, reducing the number of discrete codes by 75 percent, making data analysis and interpretation more efficient. The Nvivo software allowed me to keep all data points immediately available during the coding and collapsing process. Because the software provided one-click retrieval of the raw data points (including full interview transcripts and fieldnotes) during the coding process, I had constant access to the raw data, ensuring that it informed all of my decision-making when coding, collapsing, and organizing codes. The software also provided one-click access to analytical memos and annotations as well, which proved helpful when writing up my data.

Findings

After observing classrooms and school functions for nearly 300 hours and conducting more than 50 interviews with students, teachers, parents and other community members, I have identified several ways in which the education that takes place at J&A is—and is not—resonant with theories of culturally responsive pedagogy. Furthermore, the data I collected show that the identities, beliefs, and practices that I observed to be consistent with culturally responsive pedagogy were often inflected by the religious identities, beliefs, and practices of the community members. In particular:

- I observed teachers, inspired by religious beliefs, demonstrating a theoretically-sound caring for students in which they maintained high expectations for academic achievement;
- I observed teachers building bridges to the community—and building social capital—by taking advantage of their shared religious beliefs, identities, and practices and by demonstrating respect for the students' home Discourse while striving to teach students the dominant Discourse; and

- I observed teachers, inspired by a sense of social justice informed by their faith, working to instill a sociopolitical consciousness in students through their engagement in values transmission.

I developed and refined these observations throughout the coding process. Because I was looking at J&A through the lens of culturally responsive pedagogy, I chose to structure my ethnographic data within the ideological framework of the theory, and so each of the three analytical/interpretive chapters relates to one of the three tenets of culturally responsive pedagogy: academic achievement, cultural competence, or sociopolitical consciousness. I created axial codes that identified data associated (both positively and negatively) with tenets of culturally responsive pedagogy, and the following structure emerged from my analysis of the discourse and behavior I observed and recorded and other data. Ultimately, I mapped the themes of culturally responsive pedagogy onto the data and created six axial codes in three categories.

Table 5.4: Axial Codes

Axial Code	**Category**	**References**
Achievement	Academic Achievement	393
Caring	Academic Achievement	187
Community connections/social capital	Cultural competence	338
Cultural competence	Cultural competence	237
Sociopolitical consciousness	Sociopolitical consciousness	64
Values transmission	Sociopolitical consciousness	309

As I examined the data that were clustered within each of the three categories, I revisited the codes that were applied to the most data points to develop thematic axial codes. I looked across both axial codes for each category to determine my final set of thematic codes. For example, I considered the data marked by all the most robust codes within “achievement” and “caring,” and I recognized the following major themes within the larger category of “academic achievement.”

1. Parents and students at J&A valued teachers with high expectations for student achievement, in part because they linked academic achievement with social mobility.

2. Teachers at J&A generally had high expectations for student achievement, and those expectations were rooted in a sense of caring for students.
3. Students at J&A tended to attribute their academic achievement to the caring dispositions and high expectations they perceived their teachers to hold.
4. Teachers at J&A often attributed their caring dispositions to personal religious identity and belief.

I conducted similar thematic interpretation across the two remaining categories as well, which will be described in detail in chapters eight and nine.

Finally, I observed patterns within the discourse of teachers, parents, and students that led me to believe that the J&A community engaged in a shared Discourse that was specific to the Catholic school community. I came to regard this "way of being in the world" (Gee, 2005, p. 7) as a Discourse of Catholic Schooling that facilitated the formation of a community among teachers, students, and parents. The features of this Discourse included high expectations for academic achievement, a sense of caring for others, the notion of the school community as family or second home, and the transmission of religiously-informed and inspired values. Gee argues that "the key to Discourse is 'recognition'" (Gee, 2005, p. 27), meaning that a Discourse only exists if its users recognize its use among one another. The Discourse of Catholic Schooling I observed at J&A consisted of a number of ways of talking and acting that serve as touchstones for members of the community, including certain dispositions and attitudes that are inflected by shared religious beliefs and identity and that are captured in a shared vocabulary and enacted in shared rituals, routines, and practices. Gee calls Discourses "forms of life," describing them as "ways of acting, interacting, feeling, believing, valuing, and using sorts of objects, symbols, tools, and technologies" that allow participants "to recognize yourself and others as meaning and meaningful in certain ways" (Gee, 2005, p. 7).

Key terms in the Discourse of Catholic Schooling that I observed at J&A included notions of "vocation," "Gospel values," "care," "community," and "family." Key practices included religious observances and shared prayer. The Discourse entailed dispositions that were other-centered and service-oriented. When teachers, parents, and students used these terms or enacted these dispositions with others in the J&A community, they signaled their participation in a shared “way of being in the world,” contributing to the formation of a community centered on the school.

In summary, all of the data collection and analysis described here was completed in service to the three goals I articulated at the beginning of this chapter. Because I sought to investigate the intersection of culturally responsive pedagogy and Catholic education, which are both approaches to education that seek to educate holistically, I chose to pursue qualitative research methods that allow for a holistic consideration of the research site.

In particular, I engaged in lengthy periods of observation and in-depth interviews in order to identify practices, beliefs, and dispositions that resonated (or not) with culturally responsive pedagogy, I took copious fieldnotes and wrote many analytical memos that allowed me to document the impact of culturally responsive approaches to education on student achievement and aspirations, and I employed grounded theory approaches to data analysis that enabled me to extend theories of cultural responsiveness by considering how religious belief, identity, and practice inflect cultural competence. Culturally responsive pedagogy is, at its roots, a sociocultural pedagogy, and Catholic education is rooted in notions of community. I therefore chose research methods informed by a social constructivist perspective, recognizing that it is critically important to privilege the voices of the subjects of this study to build knowledge and extend theories about teaching and learning.

In the chapters that follow, I present and discuss data that demonstrate the extent to which the experience of schooling at J&A resonates with culturally responsive pedagogy, as well as data that indicate how religious identity, beliefs, and practices informed and shaped cultural responsiveness. This is not to say that the educational experience I observed at J&A fully reflected cultural responsiveness, as I recognized several examples of disconfirming cases, which I discuss in detail as well. The following analysis and interpretation will identify ways in which practices and beliefs evident at J&A both converged and diverged with theories of culturally responsive pedagogy.

Chapter 6: Saints Joachim and Ann School

Pilsen

The Sts. Joachim and Ann church and school are located on a residential side street about two blocks away from the busiest intersections in Pilsen. As one drives into the neighborhood from the north, the cultural feel of the neighborhood changes almost immediately after crossing under the city viaduct that separates Pilsen from University Village, a largely African American community that surrounds the University of Illinois at Chicago. South of the viaduct, most signs are in Spanish; most restaurants specialize in Mexican food; and the most common elements in the graffiti and murals that adorn buildings are depictions of the Aztec calendar, homages to migrant workers, and images of Mexican and Mexican-American heroes like Cesar Chavez and Benito Juarez.

The cultural markers that give the streets of Pilsen a distinctly Latin feel are primarily functions of language, food, and ultimately, ethnicity. The religious dimension of the local culture is also apparent in the ubiquitous images of Our Lady of Guadalupe and Jesus Christ painted on the sides of buildings, houses, and even cars. The presence of a dozen active churches in Pilsen provides further evidence of a religious element of the local culture, even though the churches themselves, at least structurally, are distinctively European in origin.

From the street, it is difficult to see through the present-day Spanish-language, Mexican-influenced cultural identity of the community to the older European roots of the neighborhood. The historical shift, from a European to a Latino immigrant community, is evident, however, when one visits the church at J&A.

Saints Joachim and Ann Catholic Church

Unlike the other churches in the neighborhood, with their towering Gothic spires, J&A's church appears non-descript; the steeple was struck by lightning in the early 1980s and the top level was dismantled. The J&A steeple was taken down, so the building does not even look like a church from outside. As the development director told me, "It's not as though we're like [another local church], where you can see [their] steeples from miles away. You have to really be on a mission to find J&A." Instead, it appears to be some sort of institutional facility; a hospital, perhaps, or a factory. It is a large brick block, with two stories and a flat roof. Only the sign above the large oak doors indicates that this is a place of worship. In three languages, the sign welcomes visitors (*¡Bienvenidos! Witamy!* Welcome!) to J&A and announces the times for *misas españoles*, *mszy polskiej*, and the English Masses.

Each week the parish offers two Masses in English, two in Spanish, and one in Polish. According to the pastor, Father Fernando, the Spanish Masses are by far the best attended. An older Polish priest usually comes to celebrate the Polish-language Mass, which is held early on Sunday mornings, and which typically draws only about 10 or 12 elderly Poles. The pastor, a Mexican-American Chicago native who was raised in a nearby neighborhood, conducts the Spanish Masses and English Masses, though he sometimes fills in for the Polish Masses as well. He told me that he's learned enough Polish to say Mass, but he has to deliver his homilies in English. There are only 15 or 20 Polish families who still belong to the parish, and, with the exception of "maybe 10 or 12 other families," the rest of the 600 families in the parish are Latino, primarily of Mexican descent.

Despite the missing steeple, the eastern European origins of the church are still evident once one enters the building. The church itself retains a distinct Old World feel; the damp, stale air and musty smell lend a palpable sense of history to the building. In the vestibule, archdiocesan and community publications in English, Spanish, and Polish are stacked just inside the outer doors, and holy water fonts are built into the walls on either side of the inner church doors. In the back of the church are banks of dozens of small votive candles, with little tin money boxes next to them for donations. Nearly all of the votives are constantly lit. From the back of the church one can see that the central sanctuary is a large room with a high ceiling held aloft by large pillars. There is a long center aisle, flanked by hard, uncomfortable-looking pews of dark wood. The pews have rickety kneelers that bang loudly when lowered and that feel like they will snap when knelt upon.

The walls are lined with dark stained glass, each depicting images of European saints and inscribed, in Polish, with the names of donors and dedications. The front of the church features classical Eastern European iconography depicting the Madonna and child, and a large, crowned statue of Mary holding an infant dominates the space behind the altar. In the winter the church is drafty and cold, and in the summer it is hot and stuffy. Water damage has caused the ceiling to crack and crumble, and large pieces of plaster have fallen in the center of the room.

Above the mildewed ceiling is the second floor of the church, once home to a thriving high school for Poles, now an empty, dark, and dusty storage area. A broad wooden staircase in the back of the church leads up to the second floor and keeps going toward the missing third floor all the way to the ceiling that was installed after the steeple fell. On the second floor, a wide, spacious, carpeted hallway extends down the middle of the building with very large classrooms behind glass and wood walls on either side. The ceiling is quite high for a second story, perhaps 15 feet high, and the very wide hallway makes one feel very small. Inside each room there are desks and old books, but no students; indeed, aside from a single remodeled bathroom, there is little evidence that anyone has set foot on this floor in decades. I am told that the space was used as an office by an auxiliary bishop a few years ago, and that church youth groups now use some of the space, but it feels empty and abandoned, and I am hard-pressed to identify evidence of recent use.

Back downstairs in the worship space, there are a handful of bright spots in this otherwise dark and silent place, all installed over the older European décor by the Spanish-speakers who began worshipping here about 30 years ago. Vivid images of Our Lady of Guadalupe flank the altar—two smaller images, one on either side of the altar, and one larger image residing in a side chapel.

One of the images in particular nicely captures the dynamic, shifting spirituality of the different peoples who have shared this sacred space. The painting features the most important Polish Catholic figure of the 20th century, Pope John Paul II, embracing the most important figure in Mexican Catholicism, Our Lady of Guadalupe. Below another of the images is the plea for the Virgin's intercession: "*Ruega por nosotros*," which means "Pray for us."

History of J&A

The parish and school (J&A) were both founded in 1903 to serve the growing immigrant Polish community that had come to Pilsen to work in the nearby Chicago stockyards and produce market. The parish emerged as a sort of parish-within-a-parish-within-a-parish. The geographical St. Pius parish was home to several national parishes: St. Adalbert's, for Poles; St. Vitus, for Bohemians; and Holy Trinity, for Croatians. The St. Adalbert parish was the third Polish parish in Chicago and "the hub of activity for the Polish American community in Pilsen" (Koenig, 1980, p. 17). At its peak, St. Adalbert served 4,000 families and enrolled 2,000 students (Koenig, 1980). By 1901, the St. Adalbert school had grown to become one of the 50 largest parochial schools in America, with 1,240 students (Preuss, 1901c).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Polish community had grown beyond St. Adalbert's capacity to serve it, and in 1903 Sts. Joachim and Ann was born. Similarly, St. Vitus gave birth to another Bohemian parish, St. Procopius, the following year. Such national parishes had become the norm in Chicago; of the 119 parishes established in the Chicago church between 1880 and 1902, 63 were national parishes. Germans and Poles accounted for the largest foreign-born communities, with 24 parishes serving German immigrants and 18 serving Poles. During these years, under Archbishop Feehan, the church in Chicago also established more parishes for the Bohemians, French, Italians, Lithuanians, Dutch, Croatians, Slovaks, Slovenes, and Blacks (Koenig, 1980).

On March 3, 1903, Sts. Joachim and Ann parish was established to accommodate the large and growing Polish population that had been settling in Pilsen to the west of St. Adalbert's (Koenig, 1980). The school was dedicated in 1903 by the newly-appointed Archbishop James Quigley and grew rapidly. In 1905, the school enrolled 373 students, but by 1920, more than 1,300 children attended J&A, which was staffed at the time by 16 Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth. The diocese reported that more than 600 parish children were forced to attend local public schools "for lack of room" (Thompson, 1920, p. 595). The parish added a high school in 1937, which was located in classroom space above the church.

By the 1950s, the parish served nearly 1,500 families and it was an active community center for both religious and civic involvement. The parish was known for its active drama program, which put on Polish-language plays that were seen by hundreds of thousands of people, and its St. Cecilia choir, which made a number of recordings (Koenig, 1980). Active parish organizations included chapters of the Sodality of Mary, the Polish Roman Catholic Union, the Polish National Alliance, the Polish Women's Alliance, the Catholic Order of Foresters, and the Holy Name Society. The parish provided members with a means for staying involved in political developments in the homeland; for example, during World War II, the pastor of J&A served as director of the Aid for Poland Drive, which raised funds and awareness of the war-time situation in Poland throughout Chicago. The parish also encouraged local civic engagement: in 1964, for example, the J&A Civic Improvement League successfully campaigned to have the city improve nearby parks (Koenig, 1980).

Over the years, as European immigrant families began to experience social mobility, the Poles, Slovenians, Bohemians, and other Europeans moved out of Pilsen while more recently-arrived Mexican immigrant families took their place. By 1978, the high school enrolled 225 girls and the grammar school served 395 children, most of whom were Latino (Koenig, 1980). Today a few Poles remain in Pilsen, but the neighborhood has, over the past few decades, taken on a distinctly Mexican flavor, and the school's population reflects the demographic change. In 2007, there were two Polish students enrolled at J&A, while nearly all the rest were Latino of Mexican descent.

People of J&A

As discussed in chapter five, I chose to study the group of students who had been at J&A the longest—the eighth graders. The eighth grade class of 2007 was small—12 students—and I was able to get to know each of the students in the class. During my initial round of student interviews in January and February 2007, I interviewed all 12 students in the class. To provide more detailed description of the J&A experience, I identified six focal students to observe and interview on a regular basis throughout the course of the semester. I shadowed and interviewed each of these focal students repeatedly, both formally and informally, throughout the term. With the input of teachers and staff, I chose to focus my observations and subsequent interviews on the following students: Armando, Abel, Felix, Solana, Vivana, and Juan.

Armando, the ringleader of the class, was the outspoken, articulate leader of the class, an avid reader and a frequent contributor to classroom discussions. Unfortunately he undermined his efforts by constantly cutting up and shouting out, and he was the teachers' first target when it was time to dole out discipline. As a result, his grades were quite low, which upset him. I once overheard him ask Ms. Trinh, "You think I *like* getting bad grades? You think I *want* to get bad grades? I'm not used to it!" Armando served as a sort of bellwether for the class; if he was interested in the discussion, he was engaged and active and kept his peers in line. If he grew bored, he would deliberately try to derail the teachers' lessons by getting them entangled in an off-topic discussion, by distracting them with out-of-the-blue questions, by shouting across the room to someone else, or by simply getting up and walking around. According to some teachers, Armando has had some interaction with gangs, or at least with people that the teachers associate with gangs. I was also told he was recently arrested as a bystander at a fight. In some ways he seems very mature, but it seems that he is still figuring out when to shout out and when to keep his mouth shut. Armando lived just a few houses down from the school, with his parents, both of whom are older than those of his peers. Both of Armando's parents were born in Chicago, and both spoke Spanish, though Armando did not. Armando described his ethnic background as Puerto Rican and Mexican, though he was careful to point out that his family had been in the United States for several generations. Armando frequently spoke about his desire to go into law enforcement, with the goal of becoming a federal Marshall like his aunt. The idea of college appealed to Armando, though he confessed that he wanted to focus on getting through high school first. He planned to attend the local diocesan high school.

Abel, the tallest student in the school, aspired to play basketball in high school, college, and beyond. Like Armando, Abel seemed to frequently know the answers in class and he was comfortable holding conversations with adults. Abel received a prestigious local scholarship to attend a private high school, and he had the opportunity to attend some of the most elite schools in Chicago. After a full semester of deliberation and campus visits, however, Abel decided to attend the local diocesan high school with his classmates because he wanted to be close to his friends and family. In class, Abel, like Armando, frequently got out of his seat to walk around the room when he became bored in class, and he was especially persistent in picking on the girls in the class. Among his favorite things to do in class was tattle on the girls—whenever one of the girls in class would break the slightest rule, he made sure the teacher was aware of it. Abel lived in a different neighborhood with his mother, Ms. Goya, who was born and raised in Pilsen. Ms. Goya, who was biracial, was raised by adoptive Latino parents and was a native Spanish speaker, though Abel did not speak Spanish. Abel's father had recently been released from federal prison and had moved back to his family home in Mexico. Finally, Abel was one of only two non-Catholics in the school, though he participated fully in all religious practices and classes.

Felix, who self-described as Mexican American, was the oldest of three boys and he lived with his mother and stepfather near the school. My fieldnotes on Felix observe that he seemed "really smart but constantly otherwise engaged" and that he frequently "instigates some of the off-task behavior." Felix was constantly reading books far above his grade level. In my fieldnotes I noted, "Felix might be the smartest kid in the class, or at least he probably gets the best grades, but he's not quite as mature as many of the others." He often played the role of Armando's sidekick, and the two of them were close friends outside of school as well. Felix often talked about wanting to enter the military after college and ultimately to become a mortician when he was older. Felix planned to attend a local military academy for high school, though as graduation approached he had second thoughts and tried to switch to the local diocesan high school that his friends were attending. His mother, Mrs. Izquierdo, insisted that he abide by his original choice, and she offered to let him transfer after his first year if he still wanted to. Felix's mother and stepfather both spoke Spanish, but Felix did not.

Solana was the newest addition to the class, having transferred in from a different Catholic elementary school at the beginning of seventh grade. She lived with her mother and her mother's boyfriend in a different neighborhood and was accustomed to moving around a lot; she told me she had attended six different elementary schools in Chicago and northwest Indiana. Solana was outgoing and personable, and was the first student to approach me in the school. She considered herself "emo" or alternative, and she listened to punk music. Solana had definite plans to attend college in order to fulfill her desire to become a veterinarian, an aspiration she had held "ever since I was small." Solana and

Abel considered themselves cousins. Their mothers, though not actual biological sisters, had grown up together and were quite close. Solana planned to attend a public high school in her neighborhood after graduating from J&A. Solana self-described as "Black-Puerto-Rican-Mexican." She described both of her parents as native Spanish speakers, but Solana herself did not speak Spanish.

Viviana transferred to J&A from Stark Elementary, the local public school, after fifth grade. Viviana was the social leader of the girls in the class, though she occasionally seemed to be embroiled in a feud with one or more of the other girls. She seemed to like to be viewed as a "tough" girl, and she frequently told me about fights and near-fights she had gotten into after school and on weekends. Viviana interacted with adults easily and comfortably, making her seem confident and intelligent in informal interactions, though she rarely participated in class discussions and often forgot to do her homework, so her grades were lower than I expected. Viviana's parents emigrated from Mexico, though she was born in Chicago. She was a native Spanish speaker and spoke accented but fluent English. Viviana was the most frequent user of Spanish in the classroom, which she usually used to talk with Catalina—she told me that she enjoyed being able to communicate with her peers in a language the teachers didn't understand. Her mother was a college graduate and a teacher at Stark Elementary, and she instilled in Viviana a strong desire to attend college herself. Like Solana, Viviana aspired to be a veterinarian or possibly a lawyer. She was accepted to attend a local Jesuit college-preparatory high school that offered a dual-language curriculum.

Juan at first struck me as something of a loner; he spent a lot of time by himself and he did not seem to fit in with the other students. He had attended J&A since pre-school, and he lived nearby with his parents and younger brother. Juan, who described himself as Mexican, was a native Spanish speaker and his parents spoke very little English. Juan also struggled with language skills, and his difficulties with language played a significant role in his high school prospects. He sought admission to a local dual-language high school, and while he was conversationally fluent he was also unable to read or write in Spanish, and so he was not qualified to attend. Juan rarely got in trouble and he always seemed to be working hard, but he was among the most low-achieving students in the class, and he struggled in nearly every subject. Juan eventually became my “buddy” in the class, as he gravitated toward me whenever there was free time. He liked to talk about and show me interesting websites he had discovered, and he often asked if he could play with my computer. While he struggled in class, he had excellent computer skills and was a proficient user of the internet. Juan liked to talk with me about comic books, movies, and music. His mother owned and operated a dollar store in Pilsen, and he often worked in the store and babysat his little brother after school and on weekends. He wanted to go into law enforcement or follow his father into construction. He wanted to go to college, but he considered it unlikely that his family would be able to afford it. Juan wanted to attend the same college-preparatory school that Viviana attended, but his test scores were too low and he was not accepted. He sought admission at a few other Catholic high schools, but eventually his family decided to send him to the public high school in Pilsen for financial reasons.

There were six other students in the class, including:

- Eva, was one of only two immigrants in the eighth grade class. She was born in Poland and had moved to the United States in fourth grade. Her mother, who worked in a salon, had married a Mexican American Pilsen native who was a fireman a few years ago. Eva arrived at J&A speaking no English, but by the time I met her in eighth grade, her accent was very slight. Because of that slight accent, as well as her dark hair and her first name, I assumed she was, like her classmates, Latina.
- Diego was a Mexican American Spanish-speaker whose parents were born in Texas. Diego’s mother worked in a factory and his father worked in construction. An altar server and a basketball player, Diego was big kid and a likeable student who struggled in class but was popular with all the students. He ran for and won student body president.
- Catalina was, along with Viviana, one of the most frequent users of Spanish in school. Catalina was born in Mexico, and she emigrated at a young age. Her mother had passed away, and her father was retired. She had a very large family, with many brothers and sisters who helped raise her.
- Ynes was a Spanish-speaker who self-described as Mexican. Both of Ynes’s parents were from Mexico. Ynes was a quiet student but she consistently made

the top grades in the class. Her mother was one of the few parents of J&A students with an advanced degree, and she worked as an accountant. Ynes's father was a janitor at a local public school.

- Jose was a gifted athlete, though he struggled in the classroom. He self-described as Mexican American, and his parents were both born in Mexico. He spoke Spanish at home and frequently relied on it in school. Jose's father cleaned police stations for a living, and his mother cleaned houses.
- Sancho was a studious, hard-working student who nonetheless struggled to make good grades. Sancho spoke Spanish at home with his parents, who were both from Mexico. Sancho's father worked in electronics sales and his mother was unemployed.

I originally asked to interview all parents of 8th grade students. I asked parents to signal their willingness to participate in interviews via the consent form that I asked them to complete for IRB purposes. Unfortunately, only seven parents indicated a willingness to meet with me, and of these, four were ultimately unable to meet with me. I conducted interviews with the remaining three parents at the school at different times during the semester, which were determined by the parents' availability. I spent about an hour each with the mothers of Abel, Felix, and Juan. I also interviewed three other parents of J&A students who were on the J&A staff—the receptionist, Mrs. Wickett; the first-grade teacher, Mrs. Gutierrez (who was Mrs. Wickett's sister); and Mrs. Hinojosa, the teacher's aide for the kindergarten class.

Finally, I interviewed all the teachers and administrators at J&A between January and April 2007. I also interviewed several teachers' aides, several members of the support staff, and parish personnel. Because I was particularly interested in the 8th grade class, I conducted follow-up interviews with each of the 8th grade teachers on a regular basis throughout the semester. I interviewed teachers who worked with each of the students from multiple grade levels, and these interviews also provided an alternative perspective on the J&A experience. I chose six focal teachers and one administrator for follow-up interviews throughout the term: Ms. Wilson, Mrs. Gallagher, Ms. Trinh, Ms. Finnegan, Ms. Holohan, Mr. Owen, and Mr. Monroe.

Ms. Wilson was the eighth grade homeroom teacher, and she was responsible for teaching literature and social studies to the middle school students. A White woman in her mid-twenties who was born and raised in a Chicago suburb, Ms. Wilson was a graduate of a major national Catholic university and a former consultant for a Chicago law firm. After a few years in the legal field, Ms. Wilson decided to change careers to pursue a more service-oriented profession. She entered an alternative teacher preparation program at a Chicago university and received a masters degree in education. Ms. Wilson, who heard about the position at J&A through a friend who knew the principal, was in her second year teaching at J&A and she planned to stay for a third year.

Mrs. Gallagher was the seventh grade homeroom teacher and taught middle school math and science. Like Ms. Wilson, Mrs. Gallagher was a White woman in her second year at J&A. A former instructor of business courses at a small local liberal arts college, Mrs. Gallagher held a masters degree in business administration from a top-tier Chicago university. She had sent her own children to Catholic schools, and their experience led her to consider teaching in a Catholic school when she was ready to retire from teaching at the college level. She had taught Mr. Owen when he was an undergraduate at her college, and he encouraged her to come to J&A to take over the middle school math and science programs. Like Ms. Wilson, Mrs. Gallagher planned to stay at J&A for the foreseeable future.

Ms. Trinh moderated the sixth grade homeroom and taught middle grades language arts and religion. She was in her first year at J&A and she was hired during the first week of classes after applying to the Archdiocese central office. Ms. Trinh held bachelors and masters degrees from Catholic colleges but did not attend Catholic elementary or public schools. A graduate of an alternative teacher education program, Ms. Trinh was in her mid-twenties and had three years experience teaching younger children in Catholic schools in other states. The daughter of Vietnamese immigrants, Ms. Trinh felt that she related to her students' experience of life in an immigrant community. Ms. Trinh did not tell her family that she was a teacher; she led them to believe that she was a development director because she feared they would not approve of her decision to be a teacher. At the end of the year Ms. Trinh announced that she would be moving to Cleveland where she would pursue opportunities to teach in another Catholic school.

Ms. Finnegan taught third grade and, in her fourth year at J&A, was one of the most senior faculty members at the school, despite being in her mid-twenties. A White woman who spoke Spanish, Ms. Finnegan was placed at J&A as a member of an alternative teacher education program. She completed the two-year program and stayed at J&A for two additional years. She earned both a bachelors and a masters degree from an elite national university in the Chicago area. Ms. Finnegan planned to move out of state after the school year to be near her fiancé, who was in medical school. She was unable to find a job in a Catholic school in her new town, so she took a job teaching in a charter school.

Ms. Holohan, a White woman, taught fourth grade and was in her second year at J&A. She was in her late-twenties and had seven years of teaching experience at Catholic schools in two other states. She had taught Mexican and Mexican-American students in Texas, where she was placed as part of an alternative teacher education program, and so she was comfortable speaking Spanish. After four years in Texas, she moved to New England for a few years prior to coming to Chicago. She learned about the position at J&A because she had been classmates with the principal in her teacher education program. She held bachelors and masters degrees from a major national Catholic university and was certified to teach English as a New Language through the same university. At the end of the year Ms. Holohan took a position at a different Catholic school in Chicago where she could pursue an administrative leadership position.

Mr. Owen, a White man in his early thirties, was the computer teacher, boys' basketball coach, and development director at J&A. He first came to J&A four years earlier at the invitation of a priest friend who was working in the parish and who needed to find a middle school math teacher. Though not certified or trained to teach, Mr. Owen taught under Sr. Jeanette for two years and then transitioned to become the development director when Mr. Monroe took over as principal. Mr. Owen attended Catholic school from kindergarten through graduate school. He held a bachelors degree and a masters in business administration, both from a local Catholic college. Mr. Owen was actively studying Spanish and practiced speaking it with parents as much as he was able. He took an active interest in many of the eighth grade students, and he served as a de facto high school advisor for most of them. At the end of the year, Mr. Owen joined an alternative teacher education program to earn his teacher certification, and he was placed in a different Catholic elementary school in the Pilsen neighborhood.

Mr. Monroe was in his second year as principal of J&A. A native of a nearby suburb, Mr. Monroe was in his late twenties and had six years of experience as a teacher and assistant principal in a Catholic school in a Texas border community. He was originally placed in Texas as part of an alternative teacher education program for two years, though he stayed on for an additional four years after completing his commitment. He was actively learning Spanish and had spent some time at language school in Guatemala the previous summer, and he was comfortable speaking Spanish to parents and children. Mr. Monroe, a self-described "Swede-a-pino" (his father is Swedish and his mother is Filipino), graduated from a major national Catholic university and holds a bachelors degree and two masters degrees—one in education and one in educational administration. He learned of the job at J&A through contacts at his university, and he planned to stay at J&A for the foreseeable future.

I chose the three middle grade teachers because they had daily interactions with the eighth grade class. I chose Ms. Finnegan and Mr. Owen because they were among the longest tenured in the school and because each was well-acquainted with the current eighth grade class. I chose Ms. Holohan because she had experience teaching in three different Catholic schools. Finally, I conducted a series of interviews with the principal, who knew each of the focal students well and who was responsible for overseeing and shaping the educational experience at J&A. The teachers I chose as focal teachers were also fairly representative of the faculty as a whole. Most of the teachers at J&A were White, highly-educated, middle class, native English speakers who did not live in the Pilsen neighborhood. Most were graduates of alternative teacher education programs, most had attended Catholic schools themselves, and most heard about and secured their position via relationships with friends or former colleagues.

The other teachers at J&A included:

- Ms. Boetticher was a graduate of a traditional teacher education program at a Catholic university. A White woman, she was in her second year at J&A and taught preschool.

- Ms. Jasper, a White woman who taught kindergarten, was a graduate of a large national Catholic university and received a masters degree through an alternative teacher education program at a different Catholic university. Ms. Jasper had taught for six years, though 2007-2008 was her first at J&A.
- Ms. Gutierrez, the first grade teacher, had taught at J&A for six years. The only Latina on the faculty, Ms. Gutierrez was a graduate of J&A herself and had sent her own children to the school. She lived in a nearby suburb with her family and was working toward her undergraduate degree.
- Ms. Beckstrom, the second grade teacher, was a White woman who had received a bachelors and masters degree from a large Catholic university. She had taught for two years in south central Los Angeles as part of an alternative teacher education program prior to coming to J&A, and 2007-2008 was her first year in Chicago.
- Ms. DeGroodt, the fifth grade teacher, also received a masters degree as part of an alternative teacher education program. One of only three White teachers who could speak Spanish, Ms. DeGroodt had been teaching at J&A for 3 years.

In all, I conducted 48 formal interviews, six focus group sessions, and dozens of informal interviews with 32 participants in the study. For interview protocols and interview data log, please see the appendix.

Roles and relationships

As a graduate of the same alternative teacher education program as several of the teachers and the principal, I knew a number of the participants in this study prior to beginning this research project. I was friends with Mr. Monroe (the principal), Ms. Holohan, and Ms. Beckstrom, and I became friendly with several other teachers during my time at J&A. The principal introduced me individually to each of the teachers, telling teachers that I would be spending some time in the middle school and that I was a researcher interested in learning as much as I could about the school.

I believe my prior relationships with some teachers helped me gather data at the beginning, as my interviews with teachers I already knew were initially much more productive than those with teachers I was meeting for the first time. Eventually, however, I got to know all of the other teachers and subsequent interviews and interactions proved to be just as productive as my initial conversations with the informants I had previously known.

The teachers I did not know were aware of my acquaintance with the principal, though this did not seem to affect their willingness to discuss the school, the students, or even his administration. Teachers responded openly and without hesitation to my questions, and the wide range of responses they provided indicated they were responding honestly. For example, teachers were willing to share their criticism of and praise for the school and administration equally. I believe I gained the trust of the teachers at the school, and some teachers confided in me during interviews or outside of class. For example, some teachers informed me that they were seeking jobs elsewhere prior to informing the principal, while others confidentially shared their concerns about individual students or about other teachers.

I attempted to position myself as an insider/outsider. I was fundamentally an outsider, because I was not a part of the J&A community and I did not know many people in the building. When introducing myself to teachers and students, however, I emphasized my shared background and interest in Catholic schools in order to establish myself as something of an insider. I believe my status as a Catholic school insider helped me establish relationships with many of the teachers, since I could relate to their experience of teaching in an under-resourced Catholic school.

My presence in the classroom was limited to an observer role with one exception, when I was asked to substitute teach for Ms. Trinh. I took the opportunity to engage the students in a discussion related to conversations we had been having in interviews, and I taught them the Edgar Allen Poe poem “El Dorado” to trigger a discussion of career aspirations. Otherwise I remained an observer in class, sitting in a student desk in the back taking fieldnotes. Occasionally students would ask me questions or ask me for help on their work, and I always helped to the extent that I could.

I got to know several of the students quite well, especially Viviana and Juan. Both of these students sought my company during free time in class and they both initiated conversations on a regular basis. Juan offered his unsolicited confidence in me occasionally. For example, he sat next to me on the bus ride from Chicago to Springfield for the class trip in May, and during the trip he told me about a girl he had been talking to on the phone. It was a girl from the local public school whom I did not know, but he swore me to secrecy because he was convinced he would get beaten up if anyone found out he had been talking to her. I was not sure whether the danger was real or imagined, or if Juan was just trying to impress me.

Viviana similarly shared her confidence in me, telling me about fights that she had gotten into, about fights she was planning to get into outside of school, about girls who had made her mad, and about boys who were irritating her. Unfortunately, I think I earned Viviana's trust by observing her cheating on a test and not turning her in. During a test early in the semester in Ms. Trinh's class, Viviana saw me notice that she had a cheat sheet in her lap, and she asked if I was going to tell on her. I must admit that, as a former teacher, I felt conflicted. However, as a researcher, I decided that it was not my place to intervene, and so I did not say anything. As a result, she started talking to me more often, and in our conversations I asked her about her decision to cheat and I tried to encourage her to avoid cheating in the future. I still wonder whether I made the right decision.

A similarly difficult ethical moment occurred in a class immediately before Easter break. The teacher had promised the students they could watch a movie in class, and she let the class choose the film. The class chose a rated-R film, though they assured the teacher that the movie was rated PG, and she let them watch it while she graded papers. I arrived about 30 minutes into the movie, and I was shocked by the language, the violence, and nudity I saw in the first few minutes that I watched. I asked the teacher what they were watching, and she said she was not sure, explaining that she allowed them to watch any PG-rated movie of their choice. Viviana told me that the boys had chosen *Evil Dead 2: Apocalypse.*

Internally, I wrestled with my teacher-self, which was dying to turn the movie off, but outwardly I sat and tried to appear passive as I took notes. I considered encouraging the teacher to stop the movie in the middle of the class, though it was immediately obvious to me that I would be overstepping my bounds. As the movie ended with a climactic battle between a demon and a naked woman in a church, I wondered whether I should do anything. I considered that there were good reasons to tell the principal that this was going on, and I considered sharing my concern with the teacher herself immediately after class. Ultimately, however, I decided that, as a researcher, the best course of action was to ask the teacher about the movie, about her decision to let the students watch it, and about her thought process as she slowly realized that the movie was not appropriate for eighth graders.

Schooling in Pilsen: Quantitative data

Before presenting the qualitative data analysis and interpretation that comprise the heart of this dissertation, it is important to consider the context of schooling in the Pilsen neighborhood. To that end, in this section I describe some quantitative data that provides contextual and descriptive information that situates the level and type of achievement that students experience at J&A and in Pilsen generally. Throughout this part of the dissertation, information about local public schools is presented to provide a context for understanding parent, student, and teacher attitudes about schooling in Pilsen. In order to understand those attitudes about achievement at J&A, it is helpful to consider the local public schools that provide their primary basis for comparison.

The dominant paradigm in educational research on Catholic education is to compare Catholic school achievement to public school achievement by examining test scores and other indicators that are common to the two pools of students (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Coleman, Hoffer, & Kilgore, 1982; Greeley, 1982; Greeley & Rossi, 1966; Wenglinsky, 2007; York, 1996). Studies emerging from this paradigm generally debate the existence of a “Catholic school advantage” based on quantitative measures of achievement. Unfortunately, the testing programs administered at J&A and the local public school, Stark Elementary differ considerably in goals, content, and in how data are reported, making basic quantitative comparisons difficult. While other researchers, including each of those listed above, have argued whether Catholic schools demonstrate higher achievement using quantitative indicators, it is not the purpose of this dissertation to engage in that debate. Instead, the purpose of this study is to provide a qualitative exploration of the academic achievement that occurs at J&A, with the ultimate goal of painting a picture of how students, teachers, and parents think about achievement in the context of a Catholic school. That said, it is helpful for contextual and descriptive purposes to consider some quantitative data on student achievement at J&A, as well as some quantitative data on achievement at the public school with which J&A competes for enrollment. The quantitative indicators discussed in this section are provided to give a general sense of student achievement and are not intended to make claims regarding Catholic school achievement as compared to public school achievement.

Demographic & financial data[21]

Stark Elementary is the local public school that serves the same segment of the Pilsen neighborhood as J&A. Located about six blocks south of J&A, Stark Elementary draws on the same population for enrollment, and some J&A students have attended Stark Elementary in the past. Like J&A, Stark Elementary enrolls predominantly Latino students from pre-kindergarten through eighth grade. According to the school's 2007 state report card, the student body was 94.1% Latino and 49.1% limited-English-proficient (LEP). While the student body at Stark Elementary was almost half LEP students, the district (the City of Chicago School District) was only 14.4% LEP, and the state was lower still, at 7.2%. Nearly all the students at Stark, 98.3%, were classified by the state as low income. Stark Elementary was approximately three times larger than J&A, with 647 students enrolled in the 2006-2007 school year, compared to 207 students enrolled at J&A in the same year. Student-teacher ratios for the school were not made public, but the district ratio was 21.1 teachers per pupil for elementary schools.

At J&A, the student teacher ratio in 2006-2007 was 15.9 to 1, slightly lower than the average for archdiocesan elementary schools (17:1). The demographic mix at J&A was similar to the population at Stark. At J&A, the student body was 90.3% Latino; of the other students, three were White, five were Black, two were Asian, and ten self-identified as multiracial. All but ten of the students in the school (95%) were Catholic. The school did not conduct any testing to determine LEP status for its students, so it is unclear how this population compares to the LEP population at Stark. Approximately half of the students (49.8%) received tuition assistance, and 81% received free or reduced lunch.

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[21] All public school demographic and financial data publicly available on-line by the Illinois State Board of Education ("Illinois school report card: Stark Elementary," 2007). All J&A school data from annual reporting document submitted to the Archdiocese of Chicago, provided by the principal ("Sts. Joachim and Ann school elementary school survey," 2006).

Table 6.1: 2006-2007 Demographic data, J&A and Stark Elementary

	J&A	**Stark Elementary**
Enrollment	647	207
% Latino	90.3%	94.1%
% Limited English proficient	NA	49.1%
% Low income	81%	98.3%
Student-teacher ratio	15.9 : 1	21.1 : 1
Per-pupil expenditure	$3,351	$10,409
Average teacher salary	$27,736	$66,043

The most striking differences in quantitative data for the two schools are financial. At J&A, the per-pupil expenditure for 2006-2007 was $3,351, and the average teacher salary was $27,736. In the Chicago city school district, the average teacher salary was 238% higher than J&A at $66,043, and the per-pupil expenditure was 311% higher at $10,409.

Achievement data[22]

Limited basic, non-testing data are available for the archdiocese and the city district, but all of the non-testing data available relate specifically to high school achievement. Nonetheless, these data provide some context for academic achievement in the local area. For the city of Chicago district, the high school dropout rate was 8.3% (compared to 3.5% statewide) and the graduation rate was 66.0% (compared to 85.9% statewide). For the archdiocese of Chicago, the high school dropout rate was less than 1% and the graduation rate was 96%. Among Catholic high school graduates, 95% go on to college. The average composite ACT scores can also be compared. The class of 2007 in city public high schools achieved an average composite score of 17.6, while the same class in Catholic schools had an average score of 22.4. Statewide, the public school average score was 20.2.

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[22] All Stark Elementary achievement data is publicly available from the Illinois State Board of Education ("Illinois school report card: Stark Elementary," 2007), as is all City of Chicago data ("Illinois school report card: City of Chicago school district," 2007). All J&A data from TerraNova test results provided by principal. All Chicago-area Catholic school achievement data from Archdiocesan Office of Catholic Schools annual report ("Office of Catholic schools report," 2008).

Table 6.2: Achievement data, Archdiocese of Chicago Catholic schools and City of Chicago public schools

	Archdiocesan schools	**City of Chicago schools**
High school dropout rate	< 1%	8.3%
Graduation rate	96%	66.0%
ACT composite average	22.4	17.6

Testing data are available for both schools as well. The State of Illinois administers its own Illinois Standards Achievement Test (ISAT) to all students between grades three and eight. The Archdiocese of Chicago administers the CTB/McGraw Hill TerraNova II Assessment to third, fifth, and seventh graders, though some schools, like J&A, opt to administer the test to every grade. For the ISAT, scores are reported as a percentage of students who meet or exceed state standards, so it is difficult to compare these achievement scores to those of J&A, whose scores are reported as raw scores and in terms of national percentile and grade equivalency. This discrepancy in how schools administer and report test scores makes it impossible to directly compare achievement quantitatively with these data alone. This discrepancy also makes it difficult for parents in the neighborhood who may wish to rely on quantitative information about school achievement to make decisions about where to send their child to school. That said, these scores do help determine the public perception of the schools, and they help shape parent decisions about school choice. For contextual and descriptive purposes, therefore, it is helpful to consider all of these scores with the caveat that they cannot be directly compared.

In terms of overall performance (Table 7.3), test scores for Stark Elementary were slightly higher (1.4%) than peer institutions in the city but were considerably lower (17.7%) than state-wide scores. Over the past five years, it seems that Stark Elementary has shown a general trend of improvement, as have the other schools in the district and in the state, though the improvement at Stark has been much more dramatic during this period. The percentage of students who meet or exceed standards on the ISAT at Stark Elementary improved by 73% over the past five years, while the district scores improved 53% and state performance improved by 23%.

Table 6.3: Percentage of students who meet or exceed state standards on ISAT, overall performance

Year	**Stark Elementary**	**City of Chicago**	**State of Illinois**
2002-2003	37.2	41.8	63.9
2003-2004	55.5	46.9	67.5
2004-2005	47.6	47.5	69.2
2005-2006	67.2	61.6	77.0
2006-2007	64.8	63.9	78.7
% increase	**73%**	**53%**	**23%**

Despite this improvement trend, Stark Elementary has never made adequate yearly progress (AYP) as determined by the federal No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. Within its district, Stark is not alone in failing to make AYP; in 2006-2007 54.6% of Chicago city schools were in school improvement status because they failed to make AYP.

In order for a school to make AYP, the school must improve test scores in both reading and math each year. Also, the state considers the school as a whole as well as subgroups of the school, disaggregated into groups based on race, class, English language ability, and exceptionalities to ensure that every group is making progress toward improvement. Each subgroup in a school must make progress in both reading and math for the school to make AYP. The state determines the benchmark for scores each year, and each year the benchmark must rise until it reaches 100% within 12 years of the passage of the act, by 2013 (Cross, 2004). In 2006-2007, the state of Illinois determined the benchmark for reading and math scores to be 55%. That is, 55% of all students (and 55% of students in each disaggregated subgroup) must meet or exceed state standards in both reading and math in order for the school to make AYP. The benchmarks were first set in Illinois at 40% in 2002-2003.

Table 6.4: Reading AYP status, Stark Elementary School

Year	**AYP status in reading**	**Groups that did not make AYP**
2002-2003	Failed	Overall, all subgroups
2003-2004	Failed	Overall, Students with disabilities
2004-2005	Passed	
2005-2006	Failed	Students with disabilities only
2006-2007	Passed	

Table 6.5: Math AYP Status, Stark Elementary School

Year	AYP status in math	Groups that did not make AYP
2002-2003	Failed	Overall, all subgroups
2003-2004	Failed	Students with disabilities only
2004-2005	Failed	Overall, students with disabilities
2005-2006	Passed	
2006-2007	Failed	Students with disabilities only

For Stark Elementary, the school as a whole would have made adequate yearly progress in 2006-2007 by meeting the state-determined benchmark of having more than 55% of the students in the school meet or exceed state standards. However, because one subgroup, students with disabilities, failed to lessen by 10% the number of students in the subgroup who did not meet standards in mathematics, the school is considered to have failed to make AYP on the whole. For many schools like Stark Elementary, the failure of a single subgroup to make AYP condemns the entire school to another year in school improvement status, and the school's continued failure to make AYP as a whole has led to it being designated for restructuring in 2007-2008.

Because this study focuses on the class of 2007 at J&A, it is helpful to specifically consider the test scores of the Stark Elementary class of 2007 as well. In these table, scores for the same class from the past two years are broken down by subject (math and reading) and are once again compared to the district and state.

Table 6.6: Percentage of Class of 2007 meeting/exceeding ISAT reading standards

Year	Stark Elementary	City of Chicago	State of Illinois
2005-2006	53.7	62.8	72.0
2006-2007	80.8	77.9	81.8

Table 6.7: Percentage of Class of 2007 meeting/exceeding ISAT math standards

Year	Stark Elementary	City of Chicago	State of Illinois
2005-2006	80.0	62.0	76.1
2006-2007	76.9	81.6	81.3

The state did not report 6th grade scores for the class of 2007, so it is difficult to determine trends in achievement for the class over time. From the data available, we can see that Stark's class of 2007 outperformed district and state gains in reading from 2005-2006 to 2006-2007. Class scores rose dramatically in reading but they dipped slightly in math. When we compare the class scores to peer institutions in the city, we see that 3% more Stark class of 2007 students met or exceeded standards in reading in 2006-2007 than in other city schools, while 6% fewer Stark students met standards in math.

Overall, it seems Stark Elementary is a fairly typical Chicago city school. Composite scores are slightly above average for the district. Like most schools in the district, Stark has failed repeatedly to make AYP, but this designation is somewhat misleading. Closer examination reveals that the school has in fact shown significant improvement over the past five years. The number of students meeting or exceeding standards has risen dramatically over the past five years, and the school's failure to make AYP in recent years has been the result of subgroups failing to make progress rather than the school population as a whole failing to improve.

These statistics, however, provide an incomplete picture of the education happening at Stark elementary in terms of achievement. In fact, it is not entirely accurate even to refer to these results as "scores," since these numbers do not refer to student test results themselves (which are not made available). Instead, these numbers only report the percentage of students who meet or exceed state standards, not raw scores, and so the best we can do is compare the percentages in two ways: to other city and state figures and to the school's own past performance. As a result, we are only able to make relative claims about achievement in the school; that is, we can only know something about student achievement relative to how the school did in the past (it improved by most measures) and how the school does compared to other schools (slightly better than its local peers, quite a bit worse than others in the state). The school and district report cards generated by the state that report this information are designed to provide only these types of relative data to allow comparison and to indicate improvement. They do not, however, tell us much about actual achievement, nor do they provide information that might inform comparisons to local private schools. Nationally-normed tests that provide raw scores might be more helpful for determining actual achievement, but even those would fail to adequately describe student achievement without careful analysis of the tests themselves and the standards they measure.

The students in Chicago-area Catholic schools do take nationally-normed standardized tests each year, which can provide some limited information about student achievement at the school. Because these test scores are reported in raw scores, national percentiles, and grade-level equivalencies, they are somewhat more useful than the ISAT scores that only indicate percentages of students who met state standards. Instead of allowing for comparisons only to local and state schools, these scores indicate student achievement relative to student performance nationally.

TerraNova data from four J&A classes over two years were provided by the principal, including data for the focus class of 2007 (Table 7.8). The national percentile data from J&A indicates that the school has shown some improvement over the past year. The average national percentile ranking for students in reading improved by more than 18%, the ranking in language improved by 8%, and the math rankings went up by 23%.

Table 6.8: National percentile data for J&A students (average of classes of 2006, 2007, 2008, and 2009), as measured by TerraNova

Year	Reading	Language	Math
2005	39.44	45.44	35.40
2006	46.73	49.26	43.84

The TerraNova data indicate that J&A students, on average, achieve just below the national average in reading, language, and math, with language being the area of greatest strength and math the area of greatest weakness. The data for the focal class are similar, as seen in Table 7.6 below. It is important to note that two students in J&A's class of 2007 did not have test results recorded for this year.

Table 6.9: J&A Class of 2007 national percentile data, as measured by TerraNova

Student Code	Reading NP	Language NP	Math NP
1	58	77	58
2	35	38	38
3	25	68	32
4	61	58	38
5	13	21	15
6	44	35	52
7	61	51	53
8	64	69	63
9	63	66	70
10	28	49	40
Mean	**45.2**	**53.2**	**45.9**

While these scores do provide some evidence of student achievement at J&A, it is again important to recognize that they fail to provide a complete picture of student achievement. The small class size makes it difficult to draw conclusions from the data set, and missing data and an outlier, student 5 in table 7.9, further skew the data to inhibit meaningful analysis.

The focal class seems to demonstrate slightly stronger math and language skills than the school as a whole, with reading scores slightly below the school average. If we eliminate the single outlier, student 5, the scores increase substantially; without student 5, the class average national percentile in reading would be 49.3, the score in language would increase to 57.3, and the math score would be 49.8. Given the difference this single student's scores make to the class average, it is difficult to read too much into these scores.

A brief examination of the results from another test, the STAR Reading Assessment (Table 7.10), underscores the problems created by the missing data. The STAR Reading test measures student grade equivalencies three times each academic year, providing teachers with helpful information about the grade level at which students are able to effectively read.

Table 6.10: Class of 2007 reading grade equivalency data, as measured by the STAR Reading Assessment

Student Code	**October 2005**	**April 2006**	**June 2006**
1	6.0	9.1	9.3
2	5.9	Absent	10.3
3	9.6	6.7	8.3
4	4.5	4.3	4.0
5	2.9	2.9	3.0
6	3.3	3.1	3.8
7	6.0	6.1	
8	6.1	6.1	5.9
9	6.6	12.9	10.1
10	2.8	Absent	Absent
11	2.5	4.2	Absent
12	2.2	2.3	Absent
Mean	4.87	5.77	6.84
Grade level	7.05	7.73	7.91

The two students who missed the TerraNova testing, students 11 and 12 in Table 7.10, were both reading far below grade level on each STAR Reading assessment. These results suggest that, had these students been present for the TerraNova tests, the class averages in reading might have been substantially lower than reported above.

While the quantitative data discussed here provide some insight into the atmosphere of academic achievement for students in the Pilsen neighborhood, this project focuses on providing qualitative data that provide richer detail about how students, parents, and teachers think about academic achievement. In the following chapters, I present, analyze, and interpret data related to academic achievement, cultural competence, and sociopolitical consciousness from my ethnographic observations and interviews, and I describe in greater detail the features of the Discourse of Catholic Schooling that I observed in the speech and actions of the members of the J&A community.

Chapter 7: Academic Achievement

Introduction

The tension was palpable as students wrote furiously on the pieces of looseleaf paper that Ms. Trinh had passed out. For the first time since I arrived at J&A a few weeks ago, every single student was hard at work, pouring their hearts out onto paper. Armando was the first to finish. He punctuated his last sentence with a flourish, jumped out of his seat, and slapped the paper on the teacher's desk. He wandered over to the window and stood, staring outside while the rest of the class finished.

The exercise Ms. Trinh assigned was unusual. She had invited the students to share their feelings about an incident that had happened early that morning, when the teachers searched the backpacks of all the middle school students. Apparently there had been a problem with students bringing digital video games and mp3 players to school, and students had been warned that these devices would be taken away if they continued to bring them. The teachers decided to enforce the ban, and the students were, not surprisingly, angry.

Ms. Trinh sensed the anger in the class and wanted to defuse it. When the eighth graders entered her room for class that afternoon, she decided to confront the situation head-on. She talked about the teachers' perspective on the incident, explaining that they only had the students' best interests at heart, saying, "We're only trying to protect your stuff so it doesn't get lost or broken." She then asked the students to take twenty minutes to write how they felt about the search, and then she collected the papers and led a discussion about the incident. After the students had an opportunity to air their grievances, Ms. Trinh offered them 30 minutes of free time, telling them,

> I'll put on some music. We're both frustrated; we'll just relax and take it easy. You can complete a worksheet for homework, you can read, you can take out the newspaper, you can write a letter to me or to the teacher that you have trouble with. I think a lot was put on you today, so I want to give you a break.

Armando reacted loudly to Ms. Trinh's offer, and he was angry. He jumped out of his seat and shouted, "We don't need a break! You guys went through our stuff, it's not like we went to a funeral today! You give these guys 15 minutes to lay down, it's not going to do anything!" The teacher responded, "Well, maybe I need that break.

In my fieldnotes, I noted that Armando seemed to be resisting being condescended to, and that he seemed to want to be challenged more than the teacher was willing to challenge him. As the student who, until that point, had been the ringleader of the class when it came to getting the teacher off-topic or asking for free time, it was interesting to note that he refused free time when it was offered. Instead, he was demanding that he be taken seriously and that his teacher spend class time teaching.

The first tenet of culturally responsive pedagogy demands that teachers maintain high expectations for student achievement. Culturally responsive teachers must "believe that all students can succeed" (Ladson-Billings, 1994, p. 44). This conviction is rooted in a constructivist pedagogy that maintains "an overriding belief that students come to school with knowledge and that that knowledge must be explored and utilized in order for students to become achievers" (p. 52). This knowledge students bring with them represents the students' funds of knowledge (Moll & Gonzalez, 2001), which are products of the students' home cultures and life experiences.

Teachers with culturally responsive dispositions view students as experts, "the primary source and center, subjects and outcomes, consumers and producers of knowledge" (Gay, 2000, p. 33). For these teachers, the goal of education is empowerment via achievement, and this goal is made manifest by demonstrating a caring disposition that conveys high expectations. Culturally responsive teachers must, above all else, care for their students, and this care takes "the form of teacher attitudes, expectations, and behaviors about students' human value, intellectual capability, and performance responsibilities" (Gay, 2000, p. 45).

In this section, I consider qualitative data related to student achievement at J&A that reveals student, teacher, and parent attitudes, beliefs, and observations about academic achievement, both in general and at J&A. Four themes are evident in these data:

1. Parents and students at J&A valued teachers with high expectations for student achievement, in part because they linked academic achievement with social mobility.
2. Teachers at J&A generally held high expectations for student achievement, and those expectations were rooted in a sense of caring for students.
3. Students at J&A tended to attribute their academic achievement to the caring dispositions and high expectations they perceived their teachers to hold.
4. Teachers at J&A often attributed their caring dispositions to personal religious identity and belief.

Theme One

Parents and students valued teachers with high expectations for academic achievement, in part because they linked academic achievement with social mobility

Parent attitudes and observations

Students and parents all had strong opinions about the perceived quality of education at Stark Elementary and at J&A. Some parents spoke from personal experience in local Chicago public schools, and some students compared the two based on their prior experience at Stark Elementary or the experience of their friends in the neighborhood. Many spoke based only on their perception of the school and its reputation in the neighborhood. The sentiments expressed were typically consistent with one parent's claim that "a lot of times just public schools aren't that good. Especially Stark."

Table 7.1: Coding of parent perspectives on academic achievement

Code	Sources	References
Parents value teachers who have high expectations	2	10
Parent believes schooling is a path to social mobility	4	7
Negative experience with public school	2	6
Parent believes Catholic school fosters high achievement	2	6
Parent attributes achievement to teacher caring	3	5
Parent observes that achievement is high at J&A	4	4

(IQ) Parents own expectations of student achievement	3	4
Parent values college highly	3	3
Potential to fall in with the wrong crowd in public school	1	3
Parent values schooling highly	2	2

The parents I spoke with held high expectations for the schooling they expected at J&A, and they valued teachers who held their children to high expectations. The two sources listed in this chart are parents of eighth graders, and they emphasized this point particularly forcefully. For example, when asked how she expected her sons' Catholic school education to compare to her own public school education, Ms. Goya told me, "I expect their education to be more on the national level." Another parent, Mrs. Hinojosa, was the kindergarten teacher's aide. All of her children are now grown, but they all graduated from J&A and she has been involved with the school for 21 years. She told me that parents send their children to J&A because of its perceived academic quality, telling me, "They're up there with their reading level and their skills. It's very good here." Mrs. Izquierdo, the mother of three J&A students, cited the challenging environment and personal attention from teachers as the most important benefits of a Catholic education, explaining that she values, "The discipline, the challenge, the way that they teach here, the ratio of professors here, the students-per-teacher." For these parents, success in school was related to students' internalizing discipline, a desire to learn, and a capacity for social mobility.

Table 7.2: Teacher perspectives on parents

Codes	Sources	References
Parents care about, support student learning	9	12
Parents have high expectations	4	6
Parents send kids to J&A for academics, good teachers	3	6
Parents send kids to J&A bc they care about future	3	4

As Table 7.12 indicates, among the teachers, the parents are also perceived as holding high expectations for their children. Mrs. Gallagher, the seventh grade homeroom teacher, explained that she liked the J&A school community precisely because parents had such high expectations for their children, telling me, "The parents have been real supportive and they have real high expectations for their kids." Later she explained that parents cared about student achievement even if they were unable to help students improve achievement themselves, as a result of language difficulties or their own lack of education:

> What I like, though, is that the parents have high expectations, and they are immediately there whenever there's—if you go and say, "I think the grades are slipping," or "I don't think that they're doing as well as they should be doing," or, you know...They might not be able to sit down with them and do the work with them, but they're certainly able to say they should be staying after school, they should be coming in for help.

Each of the parents I spoke with confirmed Mrs. Gallagher’s impression. Most had attended the local public schools, and they reported that they did not feel the same high expectations or challenges in their own experience. Ms. Goya, Abel’s mother, provides an important example of a parent who chose to send her kids to a Catholic school because of her experience in the local public schools.

Ms. Goya was born in Chicago and raised in Pilsen and she attended three of the public schools in the neighborhood. While in high school, she became pregnant, got married, and dropped out of school, though she later went back for her graduate equivalency degree (GED). She has held a number of clerical jobs, and at the time of our interview, she was pursuing college credit to become a licensed substance abuse counselor. She has three boys, and she sent her oldest son to Stark Elementary for a short time before moving him to J&A. He went on to graduate from the local Catholic high school, where her middle son was enrolled at the time of our interview. .

Ms. Goya made it clear that her own experience influenced her decision to move her children to a Catholic school—not because of the school’s religious identity, but primarily because the school represented an alternative to city public schools. She was emphatic in her distaste for local public schools: “With my experience in public schools, I’ll never send another child of mine to Chicago public schools.” When asked to elaborate on this stance, she described her experience in public schools in Pilsen emphatically, saying, “They’re horrible. They’re horrible.” She began by describing the schools she attended as overcrowded, but she quickly turned to the issue of cultural difference in the school:

> The teachers are—culturally, it's too different. They come into a school…and it becomes a culture problem because they don't understand the culture, rather than [the problem being] maybe just something educational, something educational, it becomes a culture problem where it just…I don't know how to explain it.

Ms. Goya went on to discuss her own feeling of being failed by the public school system, as she went from being "an honor student in eighth grade" to dropping out in eleventh grade. In particular, she remembered the experience of not feeling like she was being treated like a student:

> And I remember we would come to school everyday, they would make us walk through metal detectors and they would take earrings away from you. You could have gold earrings that your parents gave you, tiny ones, they would take them from you and they would keep them. And the sad part is we knew who had our jewelry because the people that worked with the school are neighborhood people and their kids were wearing our stuff. So it was more of, they treated us with a lot of disrespect. They didn't really care. I mean we had the principal telling us "you're not going to graduate. You're not going to do nothing with your life. You're not going to do…" And I don't want anybody talking my children down like that. Or telling them they're idiots or stupid or having books that were just horrible…They didn't treat any of us like students.

Mrs. Goya initially put her oldest son in a public elementary school, but she pulled him out when teachers told her they suspected he had a learning disability. She disagreed, indicating that she believed that such disabilities were over-diagnosed in the public school, and that teachers were using the diagnosis as an excuse for poor education. She said, "I told them it must be in the tortillas because it seems like all the kids have it." She then moved her son to J&A, where, she said, "he had a great experience" and graduated with his class.

Despite her own difficult experience in Pilsen public schools, Mrs. Goya did allow her older son to a local public high school after he graduated from J&A because "he was begging to go to that school" to be with his friends. His experience, however, led her to swear off local public education permanently. She explained that she pulled her son out of the public high school when she was notified that he had skipped class 52 times. She explained:

> 52 times! When I went to go take him out to put him back in Catholic School, they begged me not to take him out because [they said] he was one of their best

> students. He cut 52 times! How can he be your best student? One of your best students? If he cut 52 times? Your standards are too low.

As a result of the low standards at the school, she reported that her son "was just doing terribly" in school. Ms. Goya felt her son was being failed by the teachers at his school, because "the teachers do not care. I mean there are some teachers that do care, but…" She did not complete this sentence.

Ms. Goya went on to suggest that the way city schools were organized and administered was also partly responsible for her son's experience. She explained, "The city of Chicago needs to separate into north, south, east and west sections, and have somebody over each division, and then break it down more. Because it's more, whatever they say goes, and they don't give the child, they don't give the parent any type of say-so." The bureaucracy of the city school system made her feel powerless to get involved in her son's education, and the impersonal nature of the institution made her and her son feel disvalued as students. She explained the consequences of the system: "The child feels more like they built a perfect prison. That's what it feels like, a prison. It's not for an education." She concluded: "And there's no way. No child of mine would ever go to a public school again."

By examining these passages that describe why Mrs. Goya turned away from public schools, we can get a sense of what she values in a school. In these two passages, Ms. Goya cites a number of problems with the city of Chicago schools that influenced her decision to send Abel and his brothers to Catholic schools. She suggests that the public schools suffer from overcrowding problems. She expresses frustration about the way the schools are administered. She suggests that public school teachers do not respect or care for the students. She says that she believes the standards for student behavior and achievement were too low. Finally, she identifies a cultural mismatch between the teachers and students that inflects all of these problems.

Ms. Goya relates the cultural incongruence between school and home to issues of respect, care, high expectations, and achievement. The cultural differences, which she believes inhibited her achievement, were made manifest in how the teachers and administrators treated the students and in the messages they sent about their expectations for student achievement. She suggests the cause of this cultural mismatch might lie in how the school district is organized and administered. In her suggestion that the city district be divided up into sub-districts, Ms. Goya expresses her belief that parental involvement is important in education, as well as her belief that the school should reflect the desires and aspirations of the local community rather than the distant, impersonal, bureaucratic institution she perceived.

For Ms. Goya, the flaws of the local public schools inversely reflect the benefits of the Catholic schools. She—like all the parents and many students interviewed—expressed a strong appreciation for the low student-teacher ratio at J&A. She described the shared values among the teachers and families as an important dimension of the school, explaining that it was important to her that "the teachers look at our students like that's what they're here for." When asked why she spent so much money to send her children to J&A, she explained, "For the education. For the morals. To be honest, they reinforce the morals that I was raised with…I know they teach them here." She described instances in the past when she has had interactions with administrators and teachers at J&A that have made a difference in how the school was run and in how her children were educated. She described herself as feeling invested in the school because it reflected the values of her community and because she felt comfortable taking an active role in her sons' educations. She was most vocal in her appreciation for the high expectations that teachers at J&A held for her children, and she expressed her conviction that the primary difference between the education offered at J&A and that of the local public schools was that, at J&A, she trusted that the teachers cared about student achievement.

She drew this comparison explicitly when she described a time when she overheard a teacher at Stark Elementary tell her oldest son, "Well, I don't care what you do, at 3 o'clock I go home anyway." She explained that the mindset revealed by this comment summarized the difference between Catholic and public schools for her:

> I find a lot of public schools around here have people in them that think that they're more important then the students. They don't feel that the students are what's important. Not them, and them having their position, and what's important to the students. And what I get at J&A is: the students are important.

This perception—that students are at the heart of the institutional mission and that student achievement is central to teacher's concerns—resonates with Gay's requirement for a culturally responsive classroom that students be “the primary source and center, subjects and outcomes, consumers and producers of knowledge” (2000, p. 33).

Felix’s mother, Mrs. Izquierdo, also had three boys at J&A, and she echoed Ms. Goya’s concern that teachers hold students to high standards for achievement. In fact, Mrs. Izquierdo suggested that she wished the teachers at J&A would hold her children to even higher standards. She suggested that she greatly appreciated that the teachers held “very high expectations” then she added, “Yeah, but I do too.” She explained, “I’m always one step ahead of [my son].” She told me that she frequently would go to her sons’s teachers and ask them to send home extra homework. As a result, “The past three weeks, he’s been reading at home, science and social studies. Even if there’s no homework.”

While she acknowledged that the teachers generally have high expectations for her children, she wanted them to be asked to work even harder. She explained that she believes it is important to challenge her children, and she believes her children respond positively when they are challenged in school. For example, she attributed Felix’s personal and academic growth since moving from Stark Elementary to J&A to the teachers’ high expectations, telling me that she has seen a difference “in the behavior and just his academics. It’s more challenging. It’s more of a challenge to him.” She added, “I like to challenge them,” so she likes that the school “gives [students] a challenge … that’s a big plus in my book.”

Mrs. Izquierdo went on to link this challenge to her belief that educational achievement is linked to social mobility, and to her desire that her children, all boys, will enjoy more opportunities than she has. When I commented that “it sounds like you have really high expectations for your guys,” she responded, “Oh yeah.” She said she wants her boys to achieve “a lot higher than what I did” so “I always push them to do more than what I did. What I did was just ‘eh,’ but you guys got to be up there.”

For Mrs. Izquierdo, success in school is related to her sons’ future social mobility. She commented that she made a distinction between grades and learning, and for her, learning—not grades—defined success. She said, “All my boys, I tell them the grade that you get, it’s just a grade. What you learned and what you know is another thing. Grades are going to come and go.” She explained, “You can have straight A’s the whole year, but what do you know? What did you learn? It depends at the end of the night, at the end of the school year, what did you learn?" She suggested that she was not easily impressed with grades. For example, she might say, "You got a hundred on this test. Why did you get a hundred on this? Did you memorize all that just because you had to take a test or did you take the time to study and you're going to remember this X amount of years down the line?"

Later, Mrs. Izquierdo elaborated on her motivation to challenge her children and hold them to high expectations, explaining "I always tell them I want them to do more than what I did or my husband did. I always pressure them to do more. That's why I'm always behind them, always challenging them, one step ahead of them. I got to get them ready for the real world. It's not easy. It's not easy."

This attitude is emblematic of the J&A community in particular and of immigrant communities in general, according to Ms. Ayala, the parish community outreach coordinator. When asked to describe the school community, Ms. Ayala explained that, among the people of J&A, "there's a sense of wanting to do more. So—and what you'll find with any immigrant community is always wanting to do better than the previous generation." Mrs. Izquierdo enrolled her boys at J&A with the expectation that the school would contribute to their social mobility and thereby help fulfill her goal of seeing them achieve success greater than her own.

Mrs. Izquierdo's own educational story sheds some light on her motivations for demanding high achievement of her boys. Like Ms. Goya, Mrs. Izquierdo became pregnant as a teenager, got married, and dropped out of high school. She too eventually earned her GED and went on to further schooling to become a pastry chef. As she described her own career and educational history, she was explicit in her belief, rooted in her experience, that schooling is the key to social mobility:

> Well, like I tell them, you can never have enough schooling. Never enough, and when I went back for my GED, I showed them…I went back to school [to become] a pastry chef, and I showed them you're never too old to go back to school. You need the schooling if you want to go on. If you want to keep going and you want to get higher in life, there's always a certain test that you have to take.

Mrs. Izquierdo’s story is not unique among J&A parents. Of the three mothers of eighth graders that I spoke with, all three had become pregnant as teens and did not graduate from high school. Abel’s mother, Ms. Goya, echoed Mrs. Izquierdo’s sentiments about the link between education and social mobility, telling me that she teaches her sons that education will facilitate upward social mobility and it represents a way out of poverty:

> Education breaks down a lot of borders. When you have education, you don’t see color, you don’t see sex, you don’t see anything, you just see another mind that's going to, conversate with you and work with you and do things. And it’s worked for them. It’s worked for me, so. But it’s usually its ignorance that breeds more and more poverty.

For these parents, ignorance breeds poverty, and academic achievement provides a path to a better life. As a result, parents highly valued teachers who held high expectations of academic achievement for their children.

Student attitudes and observations

Students shared the parents’ belief that social mobility is a function of academic achievement. Each of the eighth grade students talked about academic achievement in relation to high school achievement and eventual college attendance, and most described education and academic achievement as necessary “so that you can succeed in life,” as Solana told me.

Viviana provides an example of how students link social mobility to achievement, and how that belief leads to valuing teachers who have high expectations for achievement. When asked to complete the sentence, “School is…”, Viviana chose the word “helpful,” explaining that “it’ll help me in the future a lot.” She talked about schooling in terms of utility and preparation, indicating her belief that schooling facilitates social and economic mobility. She said, “[School is] giving me a lot of opportunities for me, like for high school. Preparing me for high school, preparing me for college. Preparing me for what my career’s going to be in the future.”

Table 7.3: Sample student answers, “School is…”

Student	School is…
Abel	Important
Felix	Challenging

Juan	A safe place
Sancho	Great
Solana	Important
Viviana	Helpful
Ynes	Fun

Similarly, when asked to identify “the most important thing in school,” Viviana chose “learning—getting an education.” She went on to describe her father’s educational experience to explain her own motivation for doing well in school, explaining her belief that learning paves the path of social mobility and expressing her own determination to follow in her mother’s and not her father’s footsteps:

> Because, you know, I’ll finish high school and I’ll finish college…My grandma didn't have a lot of money, so my dad only got to finish high school, went to one year of college, and couldn’t go to school anymore because they didn't have money.

She went on to describe her mother, a college graduate and a teacher at Stark Elementary, as her “role model,” telling me, “She’s the one who—not forced me, she’s the one encouraging me: Go to school. Finish school. Get my career. Have a steady life.”

Table 7.4: Sample student responses, “The most important thing in school is…”

Student	**“The most important thing in school is…”**
Abel	Grades
Armando	Friends and teachers
Diego	Grades
Felix	Knowledge
Sancho	Our studies
Solana	That you learn, that you make good friends
Viviana	Learning—getting an education
Ynes	Getting good grades

For Viviana, the teachers at J&A reinforced her mother’s high expectations in the way that they cared for her future and pushed her to do well in school. When asked whether she has been successful at J&A, Viviana replied that she has, and she attributed her success to her teachers. She suggested that some of her peers may not recognize the value of their teachers because “some people might complain about, ‘Well they give us too much homework,'" but Viviana recognized "you're going to need that in the future, to learn it, and actually know it. It's going to help you, depending what your career is."

Here, Viviana acknowledged that students tend to overlook their teachers' contributions but she indicated her awareness that they have her best interest in mind as she again described schooling as useful for her future success. She explained that she believed her teachers wanted students to have "a good future and good education" and also "to get you forward in life." For Viviana, this meant that her teachers supported her aspirations, which she described:

> Me being a lawyer and helping my community more, and having some money. My own house, starting my family…I'm going to set goals too for myself. By going to college, finishing college, going to law school. Starting a family. After my job, that is. Obviously that comes first.

First, it's interesting to note that Viviana expects to attend college and law school; this expectation is consistent with the expectations of the rest of the class, almost all of whom expect to go to college (see Table 7.15). It's also interesting to note that Viviana considers service to her community as a vital component of personal success, along with personal wealth, family stability, and professional achievement. This sentiment was echoed by other students and was discussed as a goal of schooling by teachers and administrators. As a result, I came to regard this goal of schooling—"helping my community more"—as a feature of the Discourse of Catholic Schooling that I was observing at J&A. Because this relates to building community, this feature will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Finally, Viviana suggests that she believes that her teachers' expectations and support contribute in important ways to her capacity to realize her own personal, educational, and career aspirations.

Table 7.5: Sample of students' college and career aspirations

Student	Do you plan to go to college?	Career
Abel	Yes	Basketball
Armando	"I wouldn't mind going to college."	Law enforcement
Diego	Yes	Lawyer
Felix	Yes	Military, then mortician
Juan	"God willing."	Law enforcement or construction
Sancho	Yes	Architect
Solana	"Of course."	Veterinarian

Viviana	Yes	Veterinarian or lawyer
Ynes	Yes	I don’t know yet

Viviana described Ms. Wilson’s approach as an example of how a teacher’s support contributes to her academic achievement, explaining that she knows when teachers like Ms. Wilson have high expectations because of “the way they talk to you” and “the way they make you feel.” Viviana explained, “They make you feel like you can do better,” and in particular, “They make you feel at home—like your second home.” Teachers at J&A who care make Viviana feel so much at home that she actually wants to be in school: “They make you feel wanting to come to school.”

This description of J&A as a “second home” is one of many such comparisons students made that conceived of the school community in terms of a home or family. The language of “home” and “family” pervades student accounts of the J&A community and it represents another feature of the Discourse of Catholic Schooling that was evident at J&A, and it will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. This feature of student discourse is also linked in the data to another robust feature of student discourse—emphasis on teacher caring for students.

Theme Two

Teachers at J&A generally—but not always—held high expectations for student achievement, and those expectations were rooted in a sense of caring for students.

Just as students and parents wanted and valued high expectations for academic achievement, teachers claimed to provide them.

Table 7.6: Teacher attitudes toward student achievement

Code	Sources	References
Teachers have high expectations for student achievement	12	22
Observes that students achieve below potential	8	15
Catholic school fosters high achievement	4	4
Observes that students achieve at or above potential	2	2
Observes that students have high aspirations for education	2	2

An important question emerges when thinking about students' observations of their teachers' expectations and the teachers' claims on those expectations; namely, how do students know whether their teachers have high or low expectations? How are these expectations that the teachers report having (and that parents and students report valuing) operationalized? How are they lived? How do the teachers enact and make known their expectations?

Viviana, Armando, and Solana all cite Ms. Wilson as an example of a teacher who conveys high expectations in perhaps the most straightforward way: she tells them directly. Solana explained, "She's always like, 'I know sometimes it's hard for you to get your stuff done, but when you do it's like really well-written.'" Armando indicated that Ms. Wilson did not even need to vocalize her expectations, explaining that expectations can be conveyed "sometimes in the way they look at you." He explained, "She'll give me like a little smile or just nod her head. I know what she means sometimes."

Ms. Holohan, like nearly all the teachers at J&A, believed she held high expectations for her students. A teacher for six years at two other Catholic schools prior to coming to J&A, Ms. Holohan was the fourth grade teacher at J&A. According to Mrs. Izquierdo, Ms. Holohan represents the "ideal teacher" because she has such high expectations for student achievement. Mrs. Izquierdo described her, saying, "She's very tough, but yet sensitive, and it's very hard to get away with anything with her." In particular, she valued Ms. Holohan's academic expectations, saying, "[I] love the homework. [My middle son] had her last year and I was very, very pleased with her." Ms. Holohan agreed that she held students to high standards, telling me, "I would consider that my expectations are really high for my students." She further elaborated this claim, explaining that she tries to challenge students to facilitate higher-order skills and critical thinking, though she has found her students are unaccustomed to her level of expectations:

> What I kind of noticed is that a lot of the kids are really great at memorizing things, and they think that they're smart, because they can get a hundred on a spelling test, or they can memorize their math test.

She found, however, that students struggled when asked to engage in more difficult tasks, explaining, "But then when it came to the application part of it, they just—they couldn't take it out of context. So trying to incorporate the application of what we're learning, I think, is an important part" of what she does in the classroom.

Here Ms. Holohan suggests that she considers challenging students with high expectations to be part of her responsibility. Challenging students in this way requires extra effort on the part of the teacher. In order to successfully challenge—and not merely frustrate—students, teachers at J&A consistently recognized that they need to spend extra time with each individual student. In order to promote academic achievement, teachers recognized the need to develop personal relationships with students. In interviews, teachers identified the development of these personal relationships with students as a highlight of teaching in a Catholic school. According to teachers, the low student-teacher ratio and explicit development of a sense of community allowed for relationships between students and teachers that entailed high expectations for academic achievement. These relationships were often represented in terms of a caring disposition on the part of the teacher.

Ms. Finnegan, the third grade teacher, elaborated on the caring disposition that she felt was critical to her teaching. When asked what 'caring' means in her classroom, she provided extensive detail about how caring relates to academic achievement, community building, and values transmission. She explained that caring "kind of goes back to, I think, even just like their academic success." She elaborated that "when kids don't feel safe they just—they don't learn well and they don't generally behave well, and I think when kids know that you care about them they're going to feel safer."

Like Ms. Wilson, Ms. Finnegan acknowledged that she sometimes tells children point-blank that she cares about them, though she indicated that she hopes they know she cares by virtue of the way she treats them. She said,

> I guess the way they know that is not just because I tell them, you know, "Oh, I care for you. I love you," or whatever. But I hope it comes across in how I treat them. Like, I wouldn't say I yell at my kids… I reprimand them, but I do it in a way that tries to respect them as a person.

She emphasized that she tries to model caring for her students, and this notion that values are transmitted via modeling behavior represents another feature of the Discourse of Catholic Schooling that teachers at J&A seemed to share, and it will be discussed in more detail in chapter nine.

Ms. Finnegan elaborated on her goal of modeling caring and respectful attitudes toward her students, saying,

> And so I think caring for them in that way, hopefully, then they tend to have more respect for me and more respect for others and to see, you know, when I make a mistake, hopefully I'm going to apologize for it. And if I have a problem with someone—like, I'll tell my students. I'll be like, "That hurt my feelings that you spoke to me that way."

She summarized her notion of caring in the classroom as the creation of an environment of caring:

> I guess just that whole environment of 'I'm cared for here.'…[There is an] old saying: Kids don't care how much you know until they know how much you care. I feel like it's lame, but it's sort of true that they're not going to—they're going to be so much more open to what you have to teach them if they know that you care about them.

It is important to note that Ms. Finnegan mentioned academic success first when asked to describe how she cares for students. She suggested that she conveyed her high expectations in personal moments with students and by holding them to high standards. When asked to elaborate, she explained:

> I try to have high standards for them and I will respond to their work and I will get excited about their reading or writing progress and I'll share that with them. I'll tell them, "Oh my gosh, you know, you're improving so much!" I think they see that I care. I tutor a lot after school so I take a—I mean, well, even in class—I don't know, I feel like I take a lot of time and effort and to some extent, even though they're eight, they have to see that, you know, like, "Okay, well I'm staying after school to help you so you must know that that's important to me. In reading, they write to me about what they're reading and I write back to them, and that's another very personal kind of…I talk about their academic progress with them, like, if they're reading picture books or chapter books or stuff like that.

In other words, Ms. Finnegan demonstrates her care for her students in the "personal way of also dealing with their academic progress."

For most teachers, the high expectations that they maintained for student achievement are the product of this holistic sense of caring for the students' well-being. This caring does not demand that teachers say "I love you" or "I care for you" as Ms. Finnegan might do with her third graders. This sort of caring does not even require what Mrs. Gallagher characterizes as "a huggy type of person." Instead, the caring that teachers embrace at J&A requires personalized attention focused on student achievement, which resonates with the type of caring that Gay calls for in her explication of culturally responsive pedagogy. This type of caring, according to Gay, “is manifested in the form of teacher attitudes, expectations, and behavior about students’ human value, intellectual capability, and performance responsibilities” (2000, p. 45). This type of caring prioritizes student potential and academic achievement. Mrs. Gallagher used her own words to convey a similar sense of caring, explaining that, for her, caring is

> Not trying to be their best friend. It’s more trying to…see lots in the parent type of perspective. One of the things that I really want to see is that whatever I would expect for my kids, I want to see the same things provided here.

As Ms. Finnegan explained above, holistic caring of this sort is enacted by teachers when they spend extra time before and after school working with students, a phenomenon I witnessed every single day of my observations, and which I came to recognize as another integral part of the Discourse of Catholic Schooling enacted at J&A. Mrs. Gallagher described her fellow teachers well, saying, “Everybody here, you know—we've got people staying after school, people coming in before school, people, you know, that put in all kinds of extra time.” At different times in the semester, I observed each of the middle school teachers staying at school to work with students until after 5 o’clock, and most days Mrs. Gallagher, Ms. Trinh, and Ms. Wilson were available for early morning and late afternoon tutoring before and after school.

Table 7.7: Codes related to teachers spending extra time with students

Code	Sources	References
Student: teachers spend extra time with me	12	19
Student: my teachers give me lots of attention	8	12
Student: Teachers spend time with me outside school	6	9
Teacher: Define caring as taking extra time with students	6	6
Teacher: I spend extra time with students	6	6
Parent: Sts get extra attention at J&A	3	5
Parent: we send kids to J&A for extra attention	2	2

Each of the students praised the personal attention and extra time teachers spent with them, and all of the teachers expressed and demonstrated a willingness to work with students outside the classroom. Abel linked the extra attention he received from teachers to a sense of being cared for when he told me that the thing he liked best about J&A was "the attention teachers give you," because the attention demonstrates that "they care about you." In particular, it was important to Abel that teachers recognized and valued his own ambitions and aspirations, and he valued that "they want you to go to the next level." Abel recognized that everyone at the school seemed to care, not just the teachers, telling me, "The staff even…they care about you." Like Viviana, Abel saw connections between the care he experienced at the school, his learning, and his prospects for social mobility:

> It's just like, they're trying to push you to the next level, and trying to set up the best possible layout for you to continue your life, go the right…go toward the right way, the way you want, to be successful in whatever you do.

For Abel, the experience of being cared for meant that teachers shared his desire for social mobility and success at "the next level."

Another way that teachers conveyed holistic caring was by explicitly expressing high expectations for achievement. Mrs. Gallagher explained that she communicates high expectations precisely in order to convey that she cares for her students. When asked how students know she cares, she said her care is represented by "expectations for me." She explained, "I think that if they've got the ability to do something…we try not to let them get away with sloppy work or poor work, and [we] call the parents if they're not behaving." This type of care might not feel good to the students, but for Mrs. Gallagher, "That, to me, is kind of caring, you know?

In this statement, Mrs. Gallagher reflects the type of caring described in the literature by Noddings (1992), and she exemplifies the stance described by Gay (2000), in which culturally responsive teachers are defined by a way of caring that holds students accountable for achievement. Gay calls this "culturally responsive caring," which demands that teachers be "tough" and "intractable" in terms of having "high performance expectations and diligence in facilitating their achievement" (p. 70). Gay summarizes this stance by describing "genuinely caring teachers" as "academic taskmasters" (p. 75).

Armando, Ynes, and Viviana explained that they believed Ms. Wilson conveyed messages that indicated she cared about their achievement, and in interviews she confirmed their perceptions, though she acknowledged that she does not always feel that students live up to her expectations. She lamented, “They have so much potential … they are so smart in ways that they don’t understand.” Mrs. Gallagher echoed this sentiment, saying, “I think that the expectations have grown a lot for a lot of the kids. They have some trouble meeting them.”

This awareness of a change in expectations emerged consistently in the data, as teachers consistently considered expectations of achievement in the context of the administrative transition that the school had recently experienced. Prior to 2005, Sr. Jeanette, a sister of the order that established the school in 1903, had been principal of J&A for more than twenty years. When her order reassigned her to a different school, J&A hired its first lay principal in Mr. Monroe. At the same time, the teaching staff was completely overhauled, and by the time I visited a year later only four members of the faculty remained who had served under Sr. Jeanette.

Disconfirming evidence: The school in transition

All of the teachers had some understanding of the dynamics of Sr. Jeanette’s administration, via word-of-mouth from either the four teachers still at J&A who taught under her or from parents, students, and other staff. According to the faculty who had taught for Sr. Jeanette (which included Ms. Gutierrez, Ms. Finnegan, Mr. Owen, and Ms. DeGroodt), the primary difference between the old administration and the new was the level of expectations for academic achievement. Mr. Owen, the current development director and computer teacher, had taught a variety of grades and subjects for Sr. Jeanette. He summarized her administrative approach as one of incomplete caring, saying, “Not to knock [Sr. Jeanette]—but kids got lots of love but not enough education” during her tenure. He explained that Sr. Jeanette’s version of care for the students was detrimental to academic achievement, telling me, “Some kids were getting passed through but didn't get the basics.”

As a result, the upper grades are full of kids who were unaccustomed to the high expectations that the new principal and teachers hold. Mr. Owen explained, “Now we can do our best for the 1st and 2nd graders but there are some older kids who haven't been held to high standards in the past.” He re-emphasized that Sr. Jeanette’s care did not extend to students’ academic well-being, saying, “She really loved the kids, but at the end of the day she didn't educate anyone. She didn't educate them. They left here with a lot of her comfort," but not much academic preparation that would help them in high school and beyond.

Mr. Owen concluded with a harsh judgment, "That—I think of that as just a complete failing of her duty." He suggested, however, that things were heading in the right direction at J&A: "Now, there's a lot of love in the school, and there's also a lot of education. So kids are finally learning stuff."

In his judgment of Sr. Jeanette's type of caring, it is interesting how Mr. Owen seems to have an internal, self-developed sense of what Gay calls "genuine" care for students. The type of caring that he witnessed under Sr. Jeanette, on the other hand, failed to meet the standards of true caring, which demands that teachers must care about academic achievement if they claim to care about student well-being.

The notion that the school has raised its standards and improved achievement since the transition was echoed consistently across respondents. Parents, students, and teachers all echoed Mr. Owen's claim that the school has raised expectations in the past two years. Several students affirmed Mr. Owen's description of pre-transition J&A. Armando suggested that the lack of concern for student achievement led to a more widespread feeling that the faculty was disinterested in students. He said that, under Sr. Jeanette, "teachers didn't care what you did" in class. In particular, he noted that "everybody passed," even when they did not do their work or make good grades. He said that it was frustrating for him to be in school where "they didn't help—they didn't really try to help."

Ms. Holohan found it particularly difficult to deal with this particular dimension, in which "everybody passed," and she found that the effects of that policy lingered and still affected her teaching two years later. She explained that "the level of expectations here at J&A was so different in years past." She believed some parents and students had difficulty adjusting to the new expectations, because "for them to actually fail something was unheard of to them before last year…because that had never happened in the past…when finally it did happen, I think it kind of woke a couple of them up a little bit."

If the teachers, parents, and students presented an accurate picture of the school prior to the transition, it seems clear that J&A represented, for perhaps two decades, a

Catholic school that held its students to low standards. Furthermore, if Ms. Holohan's account is accurate, it seems a number of parents and students had accepted being held to low standards. Had this study been conducted two or three years earlier, this theme, that teachers care for student achievement, might not have been present in the data I would have collected, and I would not have identified this resonance with a major dimension of culturally responsive pedagogy.

Disconfirming evidence: Superficial caring

During the time I spent at J&A, one other teacher seemed to exhibit similarly superficial care for students. This teacher[23] talked about her care for her students, but the variety of caring that she demonstrated was not consistent with the type of caring described by Mrs. Gallagher above or by Gay (2000) and Noddings (1992) in the literature. While Ms. Smith clearly valued personal relationships with her students and seemed to feel that she had her students' best interests at heart, in interviews and through observations, some evidence suggested that her concern for academic achievement was less important than personal relationships. Instead, the caring demonstrated by Ms. Smith often fell under the category Mrs. Gallagher criticized as "huggy" and "trying to be their best friend."

The relationship between this teacher's style of caring and academic achievement emerged explicitly when talking about curriculum. When asked how she decides to divide her time with students between religion and language arts, she offered that sometimes she prefers to "just talk…about life and stuff." She said:

> With the [my class], I feel like they get more where we just talk, as well. So I don't stray off, but in a way, I kind of do. 'Cause they'll just kind of ask about life and stuff. And I think it's important to teach them, yes, the curriculum, but at the same time, you know, be open. So I kind of answer what they need to get answered. And I feel like when we're alone and together, they're very open and comfortable. And yeah, they can be loud sometimes, they're very intent on listening when it comes to that stuff more than, you know, "What are the four functions of a sentence?" Do you know what I mean?

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[23] I have chosen to avoid identifying this teacher in this section, even by pseudonym. Instead, I refer to her in this section—and in this section alone—as Ms. Smith. Ms. Smith is no longer at the school and I was unable to contact her to engage in member-checking. Because of the critical nature of this section and because I was unable to let her read this analysis, I have decided to take extra steps to ensure her anonymity.

In an early analytical memo, I flagged this moment because I had recognized as a pattern the teacher's emphasis that she teaches best when she is alone with the students, suggesting that the absence of other adults enabled her to maximize her student-teacher relationships. Initially, I coded instances representing this pattern positively as "seeks personal relationship with students." After repeated observations in class and in light of discussions like the one cited above, I began to question the focus of the personal relationship. In particular, I noted how the teacher privileged the personal relationship-based discussions about "life and stuff" over the curriculum. While the teacher emphasized the importance of student-teacher relationships, she seemed to be doing so at the expense of academic achievement rather than in service to it.

It is also interesting to note her suggestion that these special and meaningful conversations only happen when the researcher or other observers are not present. Ms. Smith made statements like this several times in informal interactions. For example, my fieldnote observations identify five interactions with Ms. Smith that took place after mornings when I did not observe her class in which she asked where I was and emphasized that she and her students had a terrific conversation when I was not present. Once she explained that this was a matter of class dynamics, telling me, "I feel like when we're alone and together, they're very open and comfortable." Another time she told me, "Usually you aren't here" when she has a good discussion in class, or else the good discussions happened "before you came."

When asked to describe the ways in which she cares for students, Ms. Smith provided a number of details that reinforced my questions about whether her central concern was for student achievement. Ms. Smith did not link caring to achievement in the same way that Mrs. Gallagher did. Instead, she said that, for her, caring "means being open and vulnerable to [students], kind of trusting them." Indeed, she revealed that she shares much of her personal life with her students, telling me, "I feel like I tell all the eighth grade a lot of stuff that I would never tell even closest friends." For Ms. Smith, care for students seemed to be about letting students get to know her personally.

> I mean, I've cried with them a couple of times here in the class when we used to kind of share about our stories. And of course these are the days that you're not there. So I'm open about my childhood when they ask. And I feel like, you know, like when I kind of start tearing up, like, you could see, like, them all

> tearing. And I was, like, "I don't want this to be like a tear fest." But I think they know it because a lot of them, I stayed after school so many days to work on their scholarships with them, their interviews, like, "This is what you need to do. This is what you need to do.

Again, important moments are described as happening only when the researcher was not present. I came to regard these frequent qualifications as insecurity on the teacher's part. I believed she was nervous that I would negatively evaluate her teaching, so she overcompensated by emphasizing the good moments that occurred when I was not present. Each time she did this, I had the distinct feeling that she was trying to convince me that she really was a good teacher.[24]

In this passage, Ms. Smith echoes the other teachers in noting that students know she cares by the extra time she spends with them after school. In this example, she does point out that her caring is made manifest in her concern for their high school applications and, by implication, their current and future academic success. That said, she initially defines her caring primarily in terms of self-disclosure.

Unlike Mrs. Gallagher, Ms. Smith did self-describe as a "huggy type of person." One way that she demonstrates caring is by offering students hugs. She explained,

> I'm more affectionate and so when I see them on the street or whatever, they'll come up and kind of hug me. Like [one of the students] will give me a hug or I can just joke at him, you know, "What are you doing outside? Are you done doing your homework?" "No." "Well, then go inside and do your homework." He'll just kind of laugh and giggle.

Again, Ms. Smith raises her concerns about schoolwork, but the primary focus of this interaction is the friendship she feels for the student and the hug. Ms. Smith enjoyed the affection and devotion that students expressed for her, and she indicated that she believed that students responded to her as a teacher because she made a practice of demonstrating affective concern. She told me that she knows students look up to her and feel close to her. As evidence, she told me that one of her students "carries my teacher picture in her wallet" and another "has a picture of me in her frame in her home." She valued these relationships, explaining that the fact that her students value her picture is "just so cool."

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[24] I also entertained the possibility that Ms. Smith was anxious about me in the classroom because she knew I was friendly with the principal, and so she may have been afraid she was being professionally evaluated.

She elaborated on the relationship, saying, "I think they know that beyond being a teacher, beyond knowing my content, beyond teaching and stuff, I really care for their emotions as well."

Ms. Smith described one of her favorite moments of the year, when a student approached her and asked,

> Ms. Smith, do you think it's okay if, like, I come back and, like, ask you for advice in high school? Do you think it's okay if I could call you up? Are you okay being my friend? I feel like I could trust you with anything.

She suggested that she enjoyed developing friendships with students, telling me that she and the other eighth grade girls "listen to the same music together." She said, "We're just dancers, like goofy. We're almost like girlfriends," but, she added, "They still have that level of respect for me, which is good because it's not, like, totally overstepping the line or whatever."

Ms. Smith's style of caring for students seems centered on developing friendships with the students and connecting emotionally. At times, it seemed that the goal of these interactions was not to learn more about the students' home lives but instead to reveal more about her own family and personal life. She described moments when "I've cried with them a couple of times here in class when we used to kind of share about our stories." When asked directly what caring means in her classroom, she answered, "It means being open and vulnerable to them, kind of trusting them. I feel like I tell all the eighth grade a lot of stuff that I would never tell even closest friends." In statements like these, it seemed that a certain emotional exhibitionism motivated the teacher-student relationship Ms. Smith cultivated with the eighth graders. This self-oriented caring struck me as distinct from the student-centered caring that Gay describes as characteristic of culturally responsive teachers.

My point is not to judge or evaluate Ms. Smith personally but to note that the data suggest that at least one teacher in the school cared for students in a manner that deviated from the variety of caring emphasized by theories of culturally responsive pedagogy. While most teachers seemed to adhere to the sort of caring that focused on academic achievement, at least this one teacher seemed to openly prioritize personal relationships over student achievement. More significantly, other teachers and administrators seemed unaware of the relationships Ms. Smith was developing in her classroom, and she was free to embrace and enact this sort of caring. As a result, it must be noted as disconfirming evidence, because it suggests that the caring at J&A, even after the transition, did not universally or systematically resonate with theories of culturally responsive pedagogy.

Theme Three

Students and parents at J&A tended to attribute academic achievement to the caring dispositions and high expectations they perceived the teachers to hold.

The community liaison, Ms. Ayala, recognized that her educational experience was an anomaly in Pilsen. Ms. Ayala graduated from the local public high school and went on to graduate from an elite liberal arts college in New England. When asked how she managed such impressive educational achievements in the context of a neighborhood where 45% of the adults have not graduated from high school (Ready & Brown-Gort, 2005), Ms. Ayala acknowledged her unique accomplishment, saying, “I get asked that a lot.” She attributed her success to the high standards that her parents held for her. Ms. Ayala said, “Expectations were high for me in my family and they were high for me in school. I happened to do very well in elementary school and high school, so they never saw that I didn't have the opportunity.”

Parents I interviewed seemed to agree with Ms. Ayala that caring was linked to achievement. When asked about what she expects from a teacher in a Catholic school, Ms. Goya emphasized a caring disposition, suggesting that the caring that leads to achievement is a function of the school’s religious context:

> I think the teachers in Catholic Schools are actually teachers, because they truly believe in education; they truly love to educate children. Not just because of a paycheck. Not just because that’s the only thing they can do. I think teachers in Catholic schools really, really, really care about kids.

She went on to suggest that teacher caring extends beyond the school day, in contrast to her experience with local public schools, where the teachers “don’t care where they go.” By contrast,

> Here [at J&A] they pay attention. They pay attention who picks them up; they pay attention who drops them off. Their school work, their behavior, even the way they look, the way they dress. And they will talk to you about it all. Being really strict about it, they just care. Care enough that the kids, they actually be on vacation and they were excited to get back to school. That says a lot about the school.

This claim echoes Viviana's earlier statement about the teachers caring so much for students that it "makes you feel wanting to be in school." It is also interesting to note how Ms. Goya makes a connection between teacher caring and student concern about school. Because the teachers care about the students, the students in turn care about school, even to the extent that they are eager to return after vacation.

Students also echoed the notion that caring and high expectations enhance achievement. When asked to describe a time when she knew her teachers cared for students, Ynes related a story about her younger brother, a sixth grader. When he started to do poorly in school, the middle school teachers approached him to "tell him he hasn't been doing good, and they try to get him to do his homework and stuff." She attributed his achievement to his teachers' concern, because "they care about what he gets on his grades and stuff." In this example, Ynes explicitly links student achievement to teacher caring.

Juan discussed his teachers in similar terms, explaining that he liked them because, in their care for him, they demonstrated a fundamental concern for his future; a concern that he says they enacted by providing him with extra attention and assistance:

> They will help you achieve your goals no matter what. They will try to help you with any material that you really need help in. They will try their hardest so that you can understand and achieve your goals, and help you plan for the future.

For Juan, that caring that leads to achievement is linked to social mobility. He explained how his teachers cared for him by making it clear that "they want you to learn the most as possible. For these years they want you to know in the future, you'll have a better job and other important things you need for life." Juan's statement is emblematic of another feature of the shared Discourse I observed at J&A—that schooling is linked to social mobility, and teacher care for students is a function of their concern for students' future success.

Table 7.8: Sample codes related to how teachers define caring

Code: Caring =	**Sources**	**References**
Caring for whole person; academic & faith & personal	8	10
Caring about academic success	6	7
Taking extra time with students	6	6
Empathizing with students	4	5
Affirming students	4	4
Demonstrating personal investment in student achievement	4	4
Having high expectations, expecting success	3	4
Making students feel safe	2	2
More than feeling loved	2	2
Being like an older sister or friend	1	2
Encouraging kids to be themselves	1	1
Having same expectations as I have for my own kids	1	1
Letting students know me personally	1	1
Modeling respect	1	1
Tough love, discipline	1	1

Teachers agreed that caring is linked to achievement. For example, Ms. Trinh linked the two explicitly when asked what kind of a difference she hoped to make for her students. She said her goals included:

> Having them feel safe, having them feel valued, having them feel loved, knowing that they're cared about. Because if the students are missing that, and they live in fear or they live in a dangerous area, or they pick up a lot of anger, they're not going to be able to learn anything anyways because their mind is somewhere else.

Here Ms. Trinh suggests that caring for students is a necessary prerequisite for achievement, particularly in a neighborhood like Pilsen, where students may "live in fear."

Theme Four

Teachers at J&A often attributed their caring dispositions to personal religious identity and belief.

When probed about the motivation behind the caring dispositions that students recognized, teachers usually suggested that their care for student achievement was related to religious identity or belief. Ms. Finnegan, for example, linked religion and caring explicitly:

> I think it's very important for students to feel supported and cared for. And so when I can tell them, "I love you and I pray for you," I think, in some ways, that helps them know, very directly, that they are cared for and, you know, loved in this place.

Ms. Finnegan suggested that she saw caring for students' achievement and well-being as a part of her job "as a role model," which, she believed, enhanced her students' sense of self-worth. She said, "To see that someone they know and they get to know really well over the course of the year has this big part of their life and that's part of the reason I'm here. As a result, she felt compelled to act in ways that resonate with the values she sought to teach, telling me, "Most of my actions are really how I teach, you know, being Christian, being Catholic."

For Ms. Finnegan, the caring that promotes achievement is rooted in her religious identity, belief, and practice. She suggested that her educational philosophy is grounded in being "a Christian role model" for her students. She went on to link achievement with a sense of being cared for as she talked about how she enacts a caring disposition:

> When kids don't feel safe they just—they don't learn well, and they don't generally behave well, and I think when kids know that you care about them, they're going to feel safer, and I guess the way they know that [I care] is not just because I tell them, you know, "Oh, I care for you. I love you," or whatever, but what I hope is it comes across in how I treat them.

This claim—that kids who do not feel safe do not learn—echoes the claim made by Ms. Trinh in the previous section, who argued that students need to feel cared for in order to focus on learning.

The principal affirmed this connection between religious identity and caring when asked about the value-added that a Catholic school offers. He argued that caring was a disposition that teachers should both demonstrate themselves and work to instill in their students. He pointed out that the primary goals of schooling are shared by Catholic and public schools, which are to "prepare these students to be successful later on in life." Both Catholic and public schools "want to just give [students] the basic skills of survival, of being able to adapt to society." He added, however, that Catholic schools have additional goals that are not necessarily shared, at least not explicitly, by public schools:

> I guess the overall goal is to prepare these kids for society but also to give them a sense of caring for their fellow person, to act in just and respectful ways, and to respect all that Jesus has created, all God has created.

Here, Mr. Monroe articulates a few features of the shared Discourse I observed at J&A. First, he explained that he imagined the goal of education to be one of preparation for future success, with educational attainment and social mobility the ultimate goals for the students. Next, he centralized the transmission of a caring disposition as the goal of Catholic schooling, and he identified that caring disposition as an identifying feature of Catholic schooling that distinguishes it from public schooling.

Instilling that sense of caring for others is central to the educational philosophy of some of the teachers as well, and indeed, it seems to be a central feature of the teachers' shared Discourse. Ms. Jasper, the kindergarten teacher, explained her understanding of the goal of Catholic schooling in precisely that way:

> I would hope that kids are taught to care for one another more than in a public school. I would hope that that character education and the faith formation behind it are a big part of what we're doing here, that we teach that we give to others and we care about others. We ask people how they're doing. We say sorry when we hurt somebody. And that there's a teaching going on throughout the years, you know, in kindergarten and all the way up through eighth grade that this is what Christ taught us, this is the way Jesus wants us to live and this is the kingdom that we're after and that we're trying to make here on earth.

This passage demonstrates explicitly how Christian language is firmly embedded in the teacher's sense of her responsibility. The notions that teacher should model "Christ-like" behavior, transmit "Gospel values," and "teach as Jesus did"—all common phrases in the teachers' lexicon at J&A—are bound up with their ideas about what it means to care for students. For teachers like Ms. Jasper and Mr. Monroe, caring and religious belief are tightly inter-related. Ms. Jasper also argued that caring for students should "definitely" be a central part of any teacher's job description. Mr. Vatske, the instructional coach, also centralized caring as critical to the mission of teaching in a Catholic school. He addressed both the academic and personal support necessary for culturally responsive caring, saying:

> I think teachers who care are teachers who I think are empathetic and they give their students extra help, extra support. They see if the students as being humans—not just numbers in a classroom—and that they just—I think they're out for the best welfare of the kids. We want them to succeed.

Here, Mr. Vatzke talks about teachers providing extra help as a function of their care for students; he discusses that care explicitly; and he relates that care to concern for academic achievement and future success in life. He described a holistic form of caring that includes "caring about their academic success" as well as "caring about their faith," which he suggested is "obvious" in the context of a Catholic school. This religious, value-laden dimension of caring does not involve "forcing my faith or my views on them" but instead is a process of "really giving them options." He explained that the religious identity and beliefs that are central to the school's mission provide the equivalent of a different lens—or a different Discourse with which the teachers view the educational project. He said that engagement with religion

> Kind of gives us another outlook on problems and on stuff like that. It's—I just think the vision is that we're concerned for the students' total educational and faith well-being. And not to force our faith on them, but give them the opportunities to explore their faith.

Here, Mr. Vatzke contends that the mission of Catholic schooling is essentially a mission of holistic, "genuine" caring for students' well-being, and he suggests that, for him, that mission is inspired by religious belief and identity. Indeed, concern for students' academic achievement is bound up in concern for their "faith well-being."

Conclusion

The data discussed in this chapter provide a glimpse into how academic achievement is considered in the J&A community, and the themes that emerged from the data begin to describe a Discourse specific to this community. The discourse of academic achievement in the J&A community is marked by parent and student desire for and teacher claims on high expectations for academic achievement. These expectations are linked to the enactment of a caring disposition on the teacher's part, and teacher caring for student achievement is perceived to relate to actual student achievement by teachers, parents, and students. Finally, teacher caring is considered central to the educational mission of the Catholic school, as is the enactment and transmission of a caring disposition. This disposition is expressed using religious language.

Obstacles to student achievement

While most teachers claimed to hold high expectations for student achievement, they also recognized that J&A students faced significant obstacles that hindered that achievement.

Table 7.9: Teacher beliefs related to obstacles to student achievement

Codes	Sources	References
Students face cultural obstacles to achievement	14	26
Students achieve below potential	8	15
Language as obstacle to learning	10	15
Parents don't know how to support students	11	14
Unsafe neighborhood inhibits achievement	8	12
Parent education status is obstacle to achievement	7	9
Parent language as obstacle to interaction	7	7
Poverty as obstacle to learning	5	6
Parent workload is obstacle to achievement	4	5

Teachers identified a number of obstacles to student achievement, many of which were described as "cultural," including poverty and the difficulties of learning a second language. Teachers also suggested that the educational experience of J&A parents might inhibit student achievement because parents are less able to fully support the achievement of their children. Others suggested that parents may be too busy to support student achievement, while a majority of the teachers suggested that the neighborhood itself inhibited achievement.

Ms. Finnegan provided a clear example of teacher perspectives on student challenges, and she cites a number of the possible obstacles to achievement when asked about the challenges she encounters in her efforts to foster achievement. She responded:

> I think another huge challenge that I face is that since so many of our kids come from a low income background and have parents who are immigrants and have parents who didn't succeed that much in education, I think—I'm not sure. That might almost be tied with language, I feel like. I think that's something that we talked about a lot as a school, like, as teachers, that you can tell a parent you need to read at home with your child every night and you need to just go over their homework with them, but part of it is a lot of these parents are busy. Maybe

> they're working two jobs just to send their child here, so they don't have time to do that at home. But there are also parents who kind of just don't know how to do that.

Here Ms. Finnegan demonstrates significant empathy for the structural, cultural, familial, and economic dynamics that may make it difficult for her students to achieve academically. She notes that her students face obstacles related to class, to their immigrant status, to their parents' educational experience, and to language differences.

One dynamic that Ms. Finnegan does not mention—but is discussed widely in the literature—is the notion that students do not value education. Cultural studies theorists like Ogbu (1987), Fordham (1988), and Willis (1977) have suggested that minority students may tend to opt out of the educational enterprise when they perceive structural obstacles to achievement. In Ogbu's formulation, African American students may be accused of sacrificing their cultural integrity by "acting White" in order to achieve academically. For Fordham, African American students may feel the need to appear "raceless" in order to experience academic success. And Willis describes working class boys who opt out of the educational exchange altogether, creating instead an alternative microculture that values "having a laff" over academic achievement. At J&A, I observed no such phenomenon. On the contrary, every student indicated that academic achievement was important despite the obstacles they recognized they faced. Each of the students suggested that, within their peer group, it was "cool" to do well in school and every student testified that they never feel any peer pressure to do poorly in school. Every student reported feeling pressure to do well in school from parents and teachers, but none reported feeling pressured by peers to devalue educational achievement. It is unclear why students at J&A, unlike those studied by Ogbu, Fordham, and Willis, valued education so highly. In light of the teachers' consistent claims that they held high expectations for academic achievement, it is possible that students internalized their teachers' expectations. Alternatively, students may have internalized their parents' concerns for their academic achievement.

That said, students still faced significant obstacles to academic achievement, and some of these obstacles were considered by their teachers to be "cultural." These obstacles hindered the teachers' attempts to build community within the school and neighborhood, and they will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, which is devoted to issues of cultural competence and community building.

Chapter 8: Cultural Competence

Introduction

Among Pilsen's most distinctive characteristics are the murals and graffiti that cover the sides of buildings throughout the community. Some murals are huge and professionally-rendered; others are tiny amateur works. Some "wall-art" is gang-related; most is not.

The first day I spent at J&A I decided to drive around the neighborhood a bit to get a feel for the community, and it was on that day that I first realized the extent to which images of Our Lady of Guadalupe dominate the local graffiti. I counted more than twenty depictions of this particular image of Mary. The largest took up the entire side of a four-story building and was perhaps thirty feet high and gorgeously painted; the smallest was a six-inch idealized caricature of the image drawn with red chalk in a bare spot on a tree. I saw the image airbrushed onto a spare tire cover on the back of a van, and I saw it screenprinted on t-shirts. I saw small statues of the image for sale on sidewalks, and I saw the image as a decal in the back window of a car.

Our Lady of Guadalupe is an image that comes from 16th-century Mexico, where a mestizo peasant named Juan Diego was reportedly visited by Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ. When Juan Diego told his bishop about the encounter, an image of *la virgin morena*[25] was miraculously imprinted on his cloak, which now hangs in a church near the site of the apparitions outside Mexico City. The image depicts a brown-skinned Mary wearing a blue cloak with stars on it. Her hands are folded in prayer and she stands before a sunburst, with the moon and an angel at her feet. The image is widely recognized as a symbol of Mexican Catholicism, and is considered not just "a very Mexican manifestation of the Virgin Mary" but also "the foundation of Mexican identity" and the foundation of Mexican Catholicism in particular (Elizondo, 1997, p. xi).

Theologians suggest that Mexican devotion to this particular iteration of Our Lady is driven by an "anthropological reversal" that responds to the *mestizaje*, or cultural mixing, that the native people of the Americas suffered at the hands of Spanish conquistadors (Elizondo, 1997). Our Lady of Guadalupe charges the oppressed with a mission to effect a spiritual *mestizaje* by demanding that their oppressors “change their entire way of acting, viewing, thinking about, and judging” (p. 112) the people they had subjugated. “Whereas the *mestizaje* of the conquest was destructive of everyone, the mestizaje of Guadalupe is reconstructive of everyone” (p. 112).

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[25] "The brown virgin," a term commonly used to refer to the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico.

The people I spoke with at J&A, however, provided a simpler explanation for Mexican devotion to the image. As one of the teachers explained, “She’s *theirs*.” Another teacher offered that Mexicans are proud that Mary chose to appear in Mexico. The image stands for them as an indicator of the dignity and worth of the Mexican people, and her feast day, December 12, is one of the most important holidays of the year in Pilsen. At J&A, Our Lady of Guadalupe’s feast day is celebrated with a sunrise Mass, the praying of Novenas, and a school-wide celebration.

Cultural competence

Culturally responsive pedagogy encourages educators to build bridges between the home and the school, demonstrating cultural competence, the second major tenet of culturally responsive pedagogy. Cultural competence requires the building of community and it requires that the members of that community share the sense that, as Armando told me once, “everybody’s one big family.” Cultural competence comes as a product of working to “create beloved community” (hooks, 1992, p. 40), which entails forming relationships and gaining knowledge across cultural divides. To form community, a teacher must become, in essence, a student of students’ cultures, acquiring “thorough knowledge about the cultural values, learning styles, historical legacies, contributions, and achievements of different ethnic groups” (Gay, 2000, p. 44). Teachers must learn as much as possible about the families, communities, and cultures of the students they will serve if they hope to build effective bridges from students’ home cultures to the school culture and, ultimately, to the mainstream culture of power. Culturally competent teachers both enhance cultural identity and academic achievement by creating opportunities for students to do well in school by utilizing—instead of disparaging or denying—the resources of their home cultures. Making cultural connections and learning about student culture are important dimensions of cultural competence, and in a neighborhood like Pilsen, where even the graffiti is religious, it seems teachers who share a religious identity with students might be able to take advantage of a particularly robust form of cultural competence.

In this chapter, I discuss qualitative data related to cultural competence at J&A that reveal student, teacher, and parent attitudes, beliefs, and observations about cultural competence, both in general and at J&A in particular. The data and analysis in this chapter are presented according to the following axial thematic codes:

1. Teachers and staff explicitly sought to create a school-centered community;
2. Students viewed the school as a "community," a "family," or as a "second home";
3. Shared religious belief, identity, and practice facilitated the formation of a school community;
4. Shared religious belief, identity, and practice inflected cultural competence; and
5. Teachers experienced difficulties developing cultural competence and encountered cultural obstacles to building bridges to the local community.

Defining terms: "social capital" and "community"

In this chapter, two central constructs are critical to my data analysis: "community" and "social capital." Before delving into data analysis, it is helpful to briefly detail how I will use these terms in this chapter.

When considering social capital in the context of developing cultural competence, I use the term in the same sense that Putnam (2000) uses it to define social capital as "social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity" (p. 21). In existing research related to Catholic schools, the "Catholic school advantage" is often credited to the increased social capital that Catholic school students seem to enjoy. For example, Greeley and Rossi found that Catholic school students who belonged to particularly robust social networks also experienced greater social mobility (1966). More recently, Sikkink and Hernández (2003) found that religiosity among Latino youth is positively associated with achievement in school, and they attribute this finding in part to the increased social capital that students seem to acquire in religious schools. They explain that religious schools provide a "pathway in which religion builds school social capital for Latinos by reducing the school-family divide" (p. 18).

According to Putnam, social networks and related norms can have two different functions—they can bond members of a similar community together and they can serve as a bridge between distinct communities. We can therefore talk about two different kinds of social capital: bridging capital (which enhances relationships between insiders and outsiders) and bonding capital (which strengthens ties among insiders).

To fully appreciate the importance of social capital for immigrant communities, we might look back to 19th-century Chicago, when Bishop Quarter expressed his sympathy for the Chicago immigrants of the late 19th century in his diary:

> Whoever looks into his own heart…if he has left the land of his nativity, friends, and home, and seeks to find a new home and new friends in a foreign land, he knows well how much needed is sympathy, encouragement and kindly greeting, to say nothing of assistance (as quoted by Shanabruch, 1981, p. 8)

Quarter's successor, Bishop Feehan, also understood that "in the parish, in the face of adversity, the newcomer and his progeny found solace, priestly guidance, companionship, and part of the Old World in the midst of an alien society" (Shanabruch, 1981, p. 53). Similarly, Putnam argues that, for immigrants, social capital is particularly important, because the process of emigration naturally serves to "devalue one's social capital" because "most of one's social connections must be left behind" (p. 390). Within the immigrant communities that form in neighborhoods like Pilsen, "immigrants rationally strive to conserve social capital" (p. 390), which can play a functional role in achieving social mobility. For example, joining associational societies and organizations provided a powerful way for 19th- and early 20th-century immigrants to enhance their social capital and facilitate social mobility. Putnam points out that, by 1910, "two-thirds of all Poles in America were said to belong to at least one of approximately seven thousand Polish associations" (p. 390). Religious communities and institutions—including Catholic schools and parishes—often served as headquarters for these ethnic associations.

Community is, according to Putnam, the “conceptual cousin” to social capital, though community carries a consistently positive connotation while social capital can be marshaled toward “malevolent, antisocial purposes” (p. 22). Bryk, Lee, and Holland (1993) suggest that being part of a community entails “membership in a set of traditions and mores that reflects the group’s purpose” (p. 128). Putnam examines the different ways that the construct of community is used in everyday discourse and ultimately defines the term when he writes:

> Community means different things to different people. We speak of the community of nations, the community of Jamaica Plain, the gay community, the IBM community, the Catholic community, the Yale community, the African American community, the “virtual” community of cyberspace, and so on. Each of us derives some sense of belonging from among the various communities to which we might, in principle belong. For most of us, our deepest sense of belonging is to our most intimate social networks, especially family and friends. Beyond that perimeter lie work, church, neighborhood, civic life and the assortment of other “weak ties” that constitute our personal stock of social capital. (pp. 273-274)

Communities are, therefore, functions of feelings of belonging to social networks, and in this list we see that this sense of belonging can derive from residential proximity, sexual orientation, employment, religion, education, race, or other associations and activities. In the case of J&A, there are multiple communities that overlap to form the J&A school community, which comprises the community of teachers, the community of students, the community of parents, and the J&A parish community. The J&A school community is also shaped by the broader Pilsen community, as well as by the religious identities, beliefs, and practices associated with Catholic schooling, which provide the purpose for the community’s existence.

Theories of culturally responsive pedagogy call on teachers to think about community in ways that cross cultural lines, to avoid defining “community in terms of being with folks like ourselves” (hooks, 1992, p. 163). Cultural competence in particular requires that teachers develop and strengthen their network of relationships with the families of the school community to forge bridging social capital. In the J&A community, we will see that teachers actually formed both bonding and bridging social capital: bonding capital by forming a strong sense of community identity within the school, and bridging capital by making connections between the school and the local community. Their success in building these two distinct types of social capital, however, varied according to type. As cultural outsiders, teachers struggled in some ways to form bridging social capital within the J&A community. But as fellow Catholics and products of Catholic schooling, they experienced some success in forming relationships with students marked by bonding social capital, and they actively sought to enhance the bonding social capital that students experienced among themselves.

Theme One

Teachers and staff explicitly sought to create a school-centered community.

The J&A faculty and staff maintained an explicit commitment to building community, contributing to a store of what I came to regard as bonding social capital. While the teachers reported some difficulties in developing bridging social capital, which will be discussed in detail below, all considered building community to be among the most important dimensions of the job of teaching in a Catholic school. The entire list of codes related to teacher perspectives on community building is listed in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Coding of teacher beliefs and observations related to community building

Codes	**Sources**	**References**
Sense of family, solidarity (internal social capital) strong among faculty/staff	14	30
Sense of community/presence of social capital enhances school quality	13	26
(INF) Teacher expresses positive attitude toward students/community	14	22
Teacher believes parents value school-community connection and the capacity of the school to tap into social capital	10	15
Teacher believes home values inhibit connections between school and home	6	13
Teacher demonstrates evidence of presence of internal social capital	9	10
Catholic schools are a light/anchor/safe haven for the neighborhood	5	9
J&A plays a role in the community, factors into local social capital	8	9

Teacher believes parents value family connection to school	6	8
Teacher believes parents value safety of the Catholic school	7	8
Catholic schools foster community, social capital	6	7
Teacher demonstrates evidence of home/family atmosphere at J&A	5	6
Catholic parishes are able to tap into social capital	4	5
Catholic education is family-centered	4	4
The family has an affect on education	4	4
School taps into social capital through community engagement	4	4
Teacher claims that social capital is strong among students	3	3
Faith motivates engagement with community	1	2

The most frequently employed codes in the data from teacher interviews related to building community were "sense of community/presence of social capital enhances school quality" (with 26 data points from 13 separate interviews) and "sense of family, solidarity, internal social capital among faculty/staff" (30 data points from 14 interviews). The notion that community-building is central to Catholic schooling is consistent with the findings of Bryk, Lee, and Holland (1993), who found that "fostering a sense of community" was a central concern for Catholic school principals (p. 155) and that schools that were deliberately organized as communities had a positive impact on student engagement and teacher commitment.

The principal, Mr. Monroe, suggested that the school plays an important role in the local neighborhood by virtue of the community that the school fosters. He explained that the sense of community formed at the school creates an enduring institutional identity that is meaningful in the local community:

> We're constant. We're here. And you know, for a hundred years we've been providing a good education and preparing some really good citizens for the local community. And hopefully they become successful. Ideally, they go to college, become successful, they come back, and they use their skills in whatever profession to help the community continue to be successful.

Mr. Monroe's statement, offered in response to a question about J&A's role in the local community, suggests that the principal views the school as playing an important role in the bonding social capital of the parish and local community. The mission of the school as articulated here is to provide a steady, stable, "constant" locus of social capital for the local community. The end result is the continual success of the local community via the education of "really good citizens." The graduates of J&A become responsible for the health of the community, and so the sense of community that is created and fostered at the school is an important element of the larger educative project at J&A. Again, we see the goal of schooling positioned as "to help the community," a notion that was identified in the previous chapter as a feature of the shared Discourse among teachers, students, and parents that was evident at J&A.

The pastor, Father Fernando, suggested that the most important role of the school in the community is related to its capacity to build and develop a sense of community. He argued that the school should work to enhance what he called "moments of community" for the families of the parish, because, he said, "I think in terms of the relationships of the families at our school [and] in terms of moments of community of families in this school and in the parish." He suggested that the role of the school should be to contribute to the store of bonding social capital in the parish, by fostering "a greater relationship and sense of unity among the families in the school and in the parish community." Furthermore, the school should create "a greater sense among all families in the parish and in the school of the importance of Catholic faith in the lives of their families." For Father Fernando, the school's potential to spread enthusiasm and interest in the faith is critical. The school plays a critical role as a vehicle for the transmission of the faith and as a center for the social network that is the faith community. He explained,

> Because I really believe if there's a sense of community, their families support each other, if there's a mission of the school, they understand the importance of the church in their lives and in their families, and when that's all there, it's going to be attractive. It's going to be attractive.

Ideally, the school plays a role in transmitting the faith to the students who attend, but it also plays a role in drawing people in the community to the church. Father Fernando concluded,

> It's going to be not only attractive, it's going to be something that people want to be a part of, stay a part of, and it's going to be attractive to other families who are going to want to be part of the J&A Parish.

Father Fernando linked the sense of community, the bonding social capital that is experienced by its members, to the well-being of the families of the neighborhood.

Father Fernando went on to suggest that the parish school serves as a sort of hub for the development of bonding social capital in the neighborhood.

> A lot of the Catholic schools in the inner city, I think they're like a light to the families in these areas. They're a light, and there's energy. They're a sign—to the families in the area—of the existence of a community of faith; of a faith community, and they're signs of a community that wants to live and give witness to their Catholic faith, to the Catholic identity. And that's what I think parochial schools do. And to people who see that, I think it speaks to them: "That's a Catholic school, and those families want the best for their kids, and there's good people there, and it's a good place to be.

Father Fernando's image of "a light in the darkness" suggests the connection between Catholic schooling and social mobility discussed in the previous chapter, but here he also explicitly links people who "want the best for their kids" to the "community of faith" that is the school community. This notion of the "community of faith," a social network that finds its reason for gathering in shared religious identity, belief, and practice, represents another feature of the shared Discourse evident at J&A.

This view of the mission of Catholic schooling related to building a community of faith resonated with the perspectives of teachers as well. Some teachers suggested that the formation of community within the school was central to the mission of Catholic schooling. Ms. DeGroodt, the fifth grade teacher, argued that community building serves as a sort of hidden curriculum in Catholic education. She said, "I think the underlying message [of Catholic schooling] is … the community aspect of Catholic schools." In particular, she believed that within the ideology of Catholic schooling "there's an underlying message that we don't just rely on ourselves and our own abilities but we rely on each other and we rely on God." This idea, that individuals need to rely on the community of faith, is not just a lesson that Ms. DeGroodt teaches; from her perspective, it is central to the mission of Catholic schooling more broadly. She explained, "I think that I've seen that message present, in not just inner city Catholic schools, but all Catholic schools. Or it should be present, I believe."

Here Ms. DeGroodt refers to a form of bonding social capital that she believes Catholic schools foster within and among the teachers, parents, and students. This point is important in the context of culturally responsive pedagogy, because theories of culturally responsive pedagogy emerged, in part, as a result of a belief that White teachers would have difficulty sharing in this sort of bonding social capital with their non-White students. Ms. DeGroodt's claim, however, suggests that the shared Discourse, which emphasizes other-centeredness and which is rooted in Catholic tradition and values, offers teachers a path toward cultural competence despite the fact that many of them are culturally different from the students they teach,. Finally, this idea that the individual must rely on the community marks another feature of the shared Discourse.

Another teacher, Mrs. Gallagher, explained that she sent her own children to Catholic schools because she appreciated the bonding social capital they developed. When talking about her children, she explained that the small school community appealed to both her and her children, "I liked the small school. I liked the idea of the long-term group that they were with—the same group and the parents knowing the kids, the kids knowing the parents." She illustrated the point with a story from her daughter's experience of Catholic schooling:

> My daughter, when she was going to college, wrote this essay about the old church ladies, and how they could never get away with anything and how, because by the time they'd do something bad, before they could get home, the gossip would be floating through the air and they'd walk in the door and they'd all be—'cause somebody would have seen them who knew who they were, who knew the parents of who they were and would call them. You know, let them know. And I think that's a great thing for a kid, and it's something that I want to support. So I kind of thought, since I got so much from it, that it would be nice to be able to give something back.

Here, Mrs. Gallagher suggests bonding social capital is an important feature in schooling and she associates that type of social capital with Catholic schools. This type of social capital involves knowing other parents, knowing other students, forming long-term relationships with other members of the community of faith, and enjoying the perks of reciprocity that come with being part of a social network. In this case, those perks meant that, as a parent, she would always know what her child was up to, because multiple members of the community were keeping an eye on her. Finally, she suggests that the opportunity to engage in and develop this sort of capital enticed her to teach in a Catholic school herself later in life.

Ms. Beckstrom noticed the bonding social capital that was present in the neighborhood and that revolved around the school as well. She explained that her favorite thing about the local community was the robust social network she observed. She said, “I just love neighbors coming over, and … parents congregating outside and the way they’re talking, and [I] just kind of get a notion of extended family.” When asked what the most important dimension of the students’ home culture is, Ms. Beckstrom responded, “It’s the family, the family, the family. Or the faith, [then] the family.” This idea of the school community as an extended family is echoed repeatedly by the students and will be described in the next section in detail.

The sense of community that was explicitly formed by the teachers and administrators of the school helped build bonding social capital among the teachers and students. This bond, supported in part by a shared Discourse, facilitated the teachers’ development of cultural competence, and one indicator of that competence was the teachers’ recognition of differing cultural notions of the family within the students’ home Discourse.

This recognition of the importance of family in the students’ home Discourse was reflected frequently by the teachers. Ms. Holohan explained that “in Mexican culture, family is a very important part to their culture.” She went on to describe her appreciation for how her students valued “their connectedness to their family.” Ms. DeGroodt explained, “I really enjoy that, for the most part, family is very important to them” and that the students’ home culture is “very family-centered.” Ms. Boetticher described her students’ home culture by emphasizing that, “I feel that our students have a rich heritage. I feel like their past is very important to their families.” Ms. Jasper credited the “closeness of family” for her students’ academic improvement. The recognition of the importance of the family was the most commonly cited observation that teachers made about the students’ home culture.

Teachers also demonstrated some cultural competence in their recognition that, within the students’ home Discourse, the notion of family was defined somewhat differently than the teachers were accustomed to. For example, teachers reported that they were initially confused about the relationships between certain students who claimed to be “cousins.” Abel and Solana, for example, consistently referred to themselves as cousins and they described their mothers as sisters. After interviewing Abel’s mother, I discovered that the women were not biological sisters, but instead were extremely close friends who had grown up together. They were “practically sisters” but were not actually blood relatives. This distinction, however, was less meaningful for them than the real relationship they experienced, which they considered sisterhood. While they were not actual first cousins, Abel and Solana treated each other as cousins, and other students treated them as though they were from the same family. These relationships brought certain privileges—for example, when Solana transferred to J&A in seventh grade, she was afforded certain social privileges that another new student would not because the students recognized that Solana was already an insider by virtue of the fact that, as Viviana told me, “she’s Abel’s half-cousin.”

This differing definition of family relationships was even formalized in the ways that the previous principal had charged tuition. It is common practice in Catholic schools to offer discounted tuition to families with more than one child at the school; Sister Jeanette extended the same discount to “extended” families like that of Abel and Solana, offering the family discount to cousins and even to children whose godparents had children at the school. By recognizing the different conception of “family” among parishioners, Sister Jeanette managed to maintain a relatively high enrollment. This manifestation of cultural competence came, however, at a high cost, and financial difficulties eventually put an end to these discount tuition practices, creating some tension for Mr. Monroe and complicating his efforts to build relationships with the community.

The teachers focused explicitly on building a school community, encouraging students to develop a sense of identity as a member of the community of faith that is gathered at J&A. This community identity represented bonding social capital as a social network that bound fellow insiders together. The shared community identity facilitated the development of relationships between the teachers and students, and it helped teachers to develop an understanding of the students’ home Discourse and culture, contributing to the teachers’ sense of cultural competence.

Theme Two

Students viewed the school as a “community, “family,” or “second home.”

Students likewise placed great value on personal connections with teachers that contributed to a sense of community. Student codes related to building community are described in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2: Coding of student beliefs, observations, and values regarding community

Student perspectives on community connections	**Sources**	**References**
Values personal connections with teachers	10	24
Community/internal social capital is strong at J&A	9	14
Catholic school is like a family, or a second home	6	7
Values local community; aspires to contribute	6	7
Values community of students at J&A	6	7
Examples of community engagement	3	4

For many of the students at J&A, the school community has become, over the years, like a second home. Viviana, for example, explained that she feels like her teachers care for her so much that J&A has become "like a second home," and in a later interview she explained that this sense of the school-as-second-home was a function of teacher community building, telling me, "They make you feel at home—like your second home. Things like that. They make you feel wanting to come to school." This sense of the school community as a second "family" or "home" is partly a function of the community's size, though it is also a result of conscious community building and the development of bonding social capital on the part of the teachers and administration.

Many of Viviana's classmates agreed. Ynes told me that Catholic school was different from public school by virtue of its size and close-knit atmosphere, saying, "I think it's like the same thing as going to a public school, but not really, because it's smaller. It's more like a family." When asked to elaborate, she explained, "Because we're like, more together, and we're closer and we know each other." Felix echoed this sentiment, explaining the appeal of the school community: "It's nice and small here; everybody knows each other." Sancho also valued the closeness of the community, and he told me that he fully expected to stay in touch with all of his classmates after they disperse to different high schools around the city. After all, he said, "We've been together nine years now [and] we all live in a very close area."

Not every class at J&A is as small as the eighth grade class of 2007. For example, the class of 2009 is the largest class in the building, with close to 30 students.

Ynes, who has a younger brother, Donaldo, in that class, suggested that the larger size does not seem to affect the strength of the class community. In Donaldo's class, even though there are more than twice as many students, Ynes assured me that "all of them get along" because "they all know each other."

Armando also recognized that the size of the school community is a factor, but he also went on to explain the consequences of the family atmosphere as stronger internal bonding, closer relationships, and less conflict. He explained, "When [Catholic school students] get into arguments and stuff, they're more of a family." He contrasts the family environment of Catholic schooling to public schools, where "they don't really know in public schools, there's just 30 of you guys and you guys don't really care, because you guys come from all over the city." He concluded by suggesting that the way the Catholic school is integrated into the community provided an additional community-building benefit, saying, "At least around here some of us see each other sometimes [outside of school]…at church, outside, in stores."

Armando went on to suggest that the community he experienced at J&A included both teachers and students. When asked what he liked best about the school, he identified the social relationships that constitute the community, saying, "Friends. Teachers. Just the fact that we're real close, we've known each other for a while. We're close."

Diego further explained that his long tenure at J&A contributed to his feeling that the school had become a familiar, comfortable place for him. He said, "Since I've been here for a long time, I think it's like a home for me. It's either I'm at home or I'm over here staying with the teachers."

Juan offered the family as a metaphor for explaining his relationship with teachers. When asked whether teachers had to "like" students in order to teach well, he responded, "Not necessarily 'like' so much, but like them enough as your family; treat them the same as your family would be the right words that would describe it. Treat them like family."

This sense of community seemed to foster feelings of ownership and protectiveness among the students. Viviana provides a good example of a student who felt it was her responsibility to safeguard the school community. When asked how she would describe J&A to a student who is considering transferring to the school, she immediately wondered about the prospective student's intentions regarding the school community. She responded:

> It depends who the person would be. If I knew the person would try, and know that you're coming here for a good reason, and not just to make the school have a bad reputation—you'd make the person feel like [J&A] was their second home.

If the prospective student had good intentions with regards to the school community, Viviana would welcome the student into the J&A family. If the student were not considering the move for "a good reason," she would feel protective and defensive of the school community.

It is interesting to note here as well that Viviana's primary concern was that the student "would try" at J&A. She went on to argue that the best reason to come to J&A is related to academic achievement—she would tell the prospective student that J&A "will help your grades go up," and "prepare you for high school." She attributed her own academic achievement to her experience of transferring from a public school to J&A, testifying that "here, it's made a lot of change for me…My grades have gone up."

Some students recognized that the sense of community they experienced in the school was a function of teacher efforts to get to know students individually and to develop relationships with them. Solana explained that the primary difference between the teachers at J&A and teachers at the other schools she had attended (all public) was that, at J&A, "It's like they actually take the time to know their students." She contrasted her time at J&A with her experience of public schooling, which had been quite different. When talking about the various public schools she had attended, Solana spoke exclusively of teachers who held low expectations and who did not demonstrate interest in knowing students personally.

These community-building efforts, which foster bonding social capital within the school community among teachers and students, are linked to the sense of caring discussed in the previous chapter. Students perceived that teachers cared about them, and this sense of caring strengthened the sense of community and comfort that students felt in the school. Felix emphasized the personal connections he felt with his teachers at J&A, explaining that the efforts that teachers made to get to know students—and in particular, their efforts to bridge the gap between their differing cultural backgrounds—was welcome primarily because, at J&A, teachers were willing to share their own backgrounds with the students. He explained,

> Ever since I was in kindergarten [teachers] always want to know about your personal life, like who's in your family. And they wouldn't want to share who their family was. But here, when I came to J&A, like all the teachers, they just—they're not shy about telling who their family is or anything.

While most students spoke of teacher efforts to promote bonding social capital—creating a sense of J&A identity as a "family" or "home" that applies to students, teachers, and parents—Felix seemed instead to be speaking of bridging social capital, or the teachers' efforts to cross the cultural divide between the teachers' background and that of the students' families. In this example, Felix attributes the teachers' success at building bridging social capital to their willingness to share their personal backgrounds with students, though in other cases it seemed that this bridging capital was facilitated, at least in part, by the religious belief, identity, and practice that teachers shared with students and parents.

Disconfirming evidence: Surprise search

Although I began my fieldwork expecting to observe evidence of cultural competence in the teacher-student relationships at J&A, I immediately learned of an incident—which I mentioned briefly in the previous chapter—that would stand as disconfirming evidence of my initial theories about cultural competence in this Catholic school. During my second week of observations at J&A, I observed the fallout of an event that caused enormous—though ultimately short-lived—tension between the teachers and students.

Early on a Wednesday morning in mid-January, the students were gathered in the cafeteria, socializing and eating breakfast prior to the start of the school day. The middle grade teachers gathered all the middle school students together and informed them that they would be searching their backpacks. Ms. Trinh, the middle school English and religion teacher, explained to me that students had been bringing "really expensive electronic stuff" to school, including portable video game devices and digital music players. Apparently some of these items had been stolen, and so the teachers had warned the students that electronic devices would no longer be permitted in the school.

That morning, Ms. Wilson, Mrs. Gallagher, Ms. Trinh, and Mr. Vatske decided to enforce the mandate by conducting a surprise search of the middle school bookbags. The teachers confiscated all the electronic devices they found and told the students that they would return the items to their parents. Gum-chewing had apparently been a problem in the school as well, so the teachers also confiscated any gum they found, and students who had gum in their bags were given silent lunch as punishment. One eighth grade student, Eva, was found with an empty gum wrapper in her bag and was given silent lunch for it. Felix described the scene later in writing:

> Today we came in the school. Everything was going good everyone was having playing cards, talking to friends, eating breakfast. Next thing you know all you see is [Ms. Trinh], Ms. Gallagher, Ms. Wilson, and Mr. Vatske heading toward our table. We thought we were leaving but then we saw you guys going through all of our bookbags. That made me mad because I didn't even receive permission. You guys just opened our book bags took out our stuff took my cd player and nobody, especially Ms. Gallagher put them back to the way they were. When I looked at my book bag again all the pockets were still open and my phone was sticking out. If somebody else saw it they could have taken it and it was for a simple thing like zippering a bag what's hard about that.

According to Ms. Trinh, the students grew frustrated and began getting loud in the cafeteria. While Mrs. Gallagher took down the names of all the students who were talking, the other three teachers searched the bags. According to Ms. Trinh, some students, like Felix, were clearly angry and hurt by the search, while others made light of it. She recalled that one student sarcastically called out, “Are you going to do strip searches now?” Eventually, almost every student in the middle school was given silent lunch for either having electronic devices, having gum, or resisting the search.

As the silent lunch list grew longer, things quickly got out of control, and the principal, who had been in his office two floors above, heard the commotion. He came down to the gym and regained control and order.

I arrived shortly after the search but did not know it had happened until later in the day. I detected tension between the teachers and students during the morning and early afternoon classes, but it was not until religion class—the last class of the day –that the incident was openly discussed. Ms. Trinh felt guilty about the search, so she decided to give the students time in class to vent their frustrations in writing.

The student reflections on the search provide valuable insight into how this action made the kids feel. For many, the decision to conduct a surprise search felt like an indication that the students were not trusted by the teachers. Some students focused on how unfair it felt to be searched, while others indicated that they felt their relationships with the teachers had been irreparably harmed by the action. Implied in each of these responses is a sense of outrage and anger that teachers would distrust students in this way. In some ways, their disappointment in the teachers' actions indicates that students had previously imagined their relationship with the teachers to be strong and trusting.

Viviana questioned the teachers' motivations, reflecting that the search made "some of us feel like we had stolen something…what made the teachers go through our stuff? Why?" Catalina echoed this question, wondering, "My thoughts were how come there[26] doing this? Why is this reason there going through our stuff!?! … I don't like the fact the I just came back to school and teachers checking through my stuff. They shouldn't be doing that!"

Catalina's assertion here indicates her belief that the search violated the normal terms of the teacher-student relationship. Felix linked this violation to his own sense of security, writing, "I don't even feel secure anymore." Viviana pointed out that the violation made the students feel like they were being accused of a crime. Juan agreed, writing, "I thought that they did not have the right to go through our stuff because we can have something personal. And that why did they have to do that it's not like we are going to bringing drugs or guns to school." Sancho also expressed "shock" at the teachers' actions, writing that such a search could only be justified if "the teachers thought we had a gun or something that could harm the school."

Armando provided the most outraged response to the teachers' actions.

> Wow, what kind of "stuff" was that? That was the dumbest, and unprivacy thing there has been in this school, since Father [name removed] was accused and convicted of rape.[27] That, that was a rape of privacy and trust. I will NEVER

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[26] I transcribed the students' writing verbatim, and I chose to leave infelicities in grammar and spelling as the students wrote them to preserve student voice in this informal writing.

[27] It is important to note that Armando's reference to the story of the former pastor is inaccurate. In June 2002 allegations that the J&A pastor had engaged in sexual misconduct with a minor were made public.

> (and mock my words) feel the same about teachers trust and friendship. Yeah, that is if Mr. Vatske, Ms. Wilson, Ms. Gallagher, and [Ms. Trinh] actually thought that for a second! We would feel the same. …You tricked us into trusting and listening to you to go in our bookbags and get a couple of cd's and cd players!? Wow look at your power, what such things you could do, wow, amaze us one more time!! No the 6th, 7th, 8th, grade teachers didn't tell us about "electronics."
> Yes, I'm p. off.
> Invasion of privacy? Yes.
> Trying to stop thieves? No.
> We could've just sent a letter home? Yes.
> Wow - I never thought we would need searches. What's next, metal detectors? Or security guards? C'mon, be for real. There is only like 250 of us.

Armando is the only student who pointed out that teachers could have taken a different approach. He is also the only student to consider the event in terms of the teachers asserting their power and authority over the students.

The student responses indicated that an implicit trust between the students and teachers was violated in this incident. The students suggested it would have been absurd for teachers to think a J&A student would bring a weapon to school, and they seemed offended at the implication. It seems they assumed that the teachers viewed them as fundamentally good kids, but this incident makes them question that belief. As Armando, Juan, Viviana, Sancho, and others suggested, the search made the students feel like criminals.

Ynes, one of the most high achieving and well-behaved student in the class, articulated the students' anger at this breach of trust, writing,

> I don't think that that is right that you guys are going through our stuff because it's not like we stole anything because those are our things. It's not fair that we are being checked for our own things because they're OURS and you guys have NO right to go through OUR stuff and take away OUR things.

Like Sancho, Juan, and Catalina, Ynes expressed disbelief that the teachers would distrust the students, writing, "It's not like we have a gun or something in our backpack." Ynes's response links the violation of the terms of the relationship – that it is "not right"

The allegations related to an incident that happened at a different parish shortly after the priest had been ordained, between 1967 and 1974. The priest was never accused or convicted of rape, but he was removed from public ministry and is listed as one of the 55 priests in Chicago who have been credibly accused of sexual misconduct ("Accused priests who worked in the Archdiocese of Chicago," 2007; Falsani, 2006).

to go through student belongings – to the students' perception of the event as an implied accusation of criminality.

Eva, who said she was "busted" for the empty gum wrapper, felt particularly victimized. Her reflections resonate with Armando's, and she suggests that the teachers' violation of her trust has irrevocably damaged her relationship with them, writing, "You know it happened it's never going to be rewinded back to the morning."

This incident put me on guard to watch for moments when the student-teacher relationship and the sense of school community might be, as Eva warned, irreparably harmed by the search. Because the search happened so early in my fieldwork, it inevitably colored my observations, leading me to question my assumptions that I would find evidence of cultural competence in the teacher-student relationships at J&A. The incident stood for me as disconfirming evidence of cultural competence, a moment that reflected a significant lack of trust on the part of the teachers and a significant lack of awareness about how such a search would make students feel. That said, I did not see any evidence of long-term damage to teacher-student relationships as a result of the search. The incident was forgotten rather quickly and was rarely mentioned by students or teachers in the following months. Instead, I came to recognize that while student trust in teachers was challenged by this situation, the student-teacher relationship was firmly established enough to withstand a few days of tension.

Disconfirming evidence: Dissent among the faculty

One teacher indicated to me that J&A was not, in her experience, a model of internal school community. While she was able to clearly articulate a vision for what the ideal Catholic school community might look like in terms of bonding social capital, Ms. Jasper did not believe she had found such a community at J&A. When asked whether J&A had been "a good fit" for her in her first few months on the faculty, she surprised me when she responded, "I don't think so." When asked to explain, she responded:

> The things that I mentioned about it being a collaborative—like, looking for a collaborative staff and a place where people really treat one another as Christ would treat someone, I think is not super present here, no. Yeah, I don't feel that the staff is very collaborative, or very strong necessarily, either. And that's been really hard, to feel like there is just a lot of things that—a lot of disorganized things, because people don't put forth the effort to follow through on things, so

> that's been hard. And I don't know if it's just coming into the school where some people have been here for a really long time, but I feel like it's not a very welcoming place in terms of some of the staff that have been here for a long time. I mean, that might just be unique to the school. But yeah, so I don't feel like it's been a great fit. I really like working with the kids, you know, like the parents. That's been fine and everything, but…

Toward the end of the semester, Ms. Jasper informed me that she was planning to leave J&A to teach in a different Catholic school, and she did indeed leave J&A after one year at the school. It is interesting to note that the disconnect she felt between her expectations and her experience at J&A were related to bonding social capital and not to bridging social capital. Her interactions with the families of the J&A community were "fine and everything," but her relationships with other staff members were strained.

While Ms. Jasper's experience and claims are important examples of evidence that may disconfirm other claims about teacher experience with regards to community at J&A, one other observation and a note about her comments merit mention to put these claims into context.

My first interaction with Ms. Jasper occurred in August of 2006, approximately five months prior to beginning my systematic fieldwork and only a few weeks after Ms. Jasper began as a new teacher at J&A. I was in the school office, helping a few teachers fold programs and stuff envelopes prior to a school festival planned to kick-off the school year. As I sat with a few other teachers, we all listened as Ms. Jasper spoke loudly to a professor from the University of Notre Dame, where she was enrolled in the English as a New Language program, explaining that she was frustrated with the J&A administration. She said that she did not agree with some of the decisions the principal had made and she expressed frustration at the overall level of organization she had witnessed in the school. Though it was early in the school year, she expressed some concern that the school may not be right for her. Several of us at the table were struck by her comments, and we discussed them in private later, primarily because we were surprised that Ms. Jasper had such strong feelings so early in the year, and that, as a new teacher, she was being boldly critical of her new boss in such a public manner.

Additionally, her claims about the lack of community are somewhat undermined by her contention that her discomfort on the faculty was the result of the fact that "some people have been here for a really long time." It is unclear to whom she might have been referring in this statement. Of the ten full-time faculty at the school, only one had been on staff for more than four years. The rest were relatively new—three teachers were in their first year at J&A, four were in their second, and two were in their fourth. Among the administrators, the pastor and principal were both in their second years at the school and the development director was in his fourth.

These two points raise questions about the validity of her concerns, and they suggest the possibility that she may have been overstating her claims. My early observation of her evident unhappiness at the school in her first few weeks led me to suspect that perhaps she was not fully invested in the school from the beginning of her tenure. The second point—the weakness of her claim about faculty seniority inhibiting community—led me to consider that perhaps she was looking to identify a scapegoat to justify her desire to move to a different school.

As a result, I am hesitant to read too much into Ms. Jasper's negative claims about community at J&A. If another teacher had made similar claims, I would consider them more strongly; no other teachers indicated any similar concerns at all, and Ms. Jasper's case seems truly discrepant. That said, these claims point to a potential future research thread involving Ms. Jasper: it may prove fruitful to interview Ms. Jasper again after a year at a different Catholic school in Chicago to determine the extent to which her experience at J&A was a simple personality conflict or rather an indicator of bigger problems within the school community.

Theme Three

Shared religious belief, identity, and practice facilitated the formation of the school community.

Bonding social capital has already been described in the previous two thematic sections as the building of a school-centered identity as the J&A "family," "community," or "home." Bonding social capital was formed at J&A in part as a function of the shared religious identity, belief, and (some) practices among teachers and the local community. In this section, I focus on evidence suggesting that the teachers' and local families' shared religious belief, identity, and practice facilitated the development of bonding social capital to strengthen the J&A "family" identity.

Mr. Vatzke, the instructional coach, provides an example of how one dimension of shared culture—religion—relates to the bonding social capital needed to build community and enhance cultural competence. When asked why he chose to teach in Catholic schools, Mr. Vatzke, a veteran of more than two decades in both Catholic and public classrooms, explained that he was drawn to Catholic schools by the opportunity to share his religious identity, belief, and practice. He explained, "It was my first teaching experience and the money wasn't great, but after the first year [in a Catholic school] back in 1989-1990, the kids, the parents, the sharing the faith—it's a pretty unique experience."

Mr. Vatske went on to explain that the ability to relate his faith to his work explicitly made an important difference for him, saying, "We teach math, we teach English, we teach history and science, but I think what really kind of grabs someone who's been in it for this long is the faith." He was drawn to the idea that "you can talk about something as personal as that with the kids and share experiences like that. And I think it is a neat thing. It's kind of hard to put your finger on, but I've always been attracted to that." Sharing religious identity, belief, and practice facilitated the development of a particular kind of school community that appealed to Vatzke despite the fact that, in Catholic schools, "the money wasn't great." In fact, Vatzke confessed that, by coming to J&A, he had to take a $20,000 pay cut from his previous job at a public school in Michigan. The bonding social capital that he expects to share with students in a Catholic school, however, made the job worthwhile despite the large salary difference.

Ms. Jasper, the kindergarten teacher, also testified to the appeal of bonding social capital she expected to find in a Catholic school. When deciding where to teach, she determined that it was critical to her that faith be centralized not just in her instruction but in her relationships with students and fellow teachers. After her first year in a Catholic school, she felt at home, explaining, "It just seemed like a good fit, because it fit well with my faith." Furthermore, the experience of sharing faith with students to build community related to her motivation for entering the profession. She said that being a part of a community of faith was “why I wanted to be a teacher and why I wanted to work in the schools that I was working in.”

When asked to elaborate, Ms. Jasper explained that she wanted to be in a school that valued “faith being an integral part of our lives.” She wanted to be in a school that recognized “That it’s not something that's separate from the rest of our lives, but it's a way to live your life, really.” Ms. Jasper explained, “That was really important to me, to have that integrated piece in the community.” She felt that it was critical to be in a school where she felt she would have “the support of the other teachers on staff.” As a result, she was drawn to Catholic schools, where she expected to experience a “common thread and the common vision” of education in the context of community. For Ms. Jasper, like Mr. Vatzke, the bonding social capital that she expected to experience among the faculty and with the students was central to her decision to teach in a Catholic school.

Ms. Jasper went on to describe in detail why she has enjoyed teaching in Catholic schools for six years, and much of her account suggests that she relied on her shared religious belief, identity, and practices to build bonding social capital with her students. For example, she talked about the religious practices that she enjoyed participating in with her students:

> I like being able to go to Mass. I like being able to—like for myself, I like taking the kids to Mass, too, but I feel like it feeds me so much in terms of the work that I do. I love being able to talk to the kids about God and I love hearing their experiences of God, too, and I love the faith community that can grow in a Catholic school, too, in terms of working with other teachers and with the parents. It's amazing.

The religious belief and identity that teachers and students share contributes to the school identity as a community and contributes to the store of bonding social capital that unites teachers with the families of the parish. Ms. DeGroodt similarly linked faith with the community atmosphere of the school when she explained how she expected the education offered at J&A to differ from that at Stark Elementary, the public school down the street. In contrast to Stark, Ms. DeGroodt argued that J&A offered “the ability to express their faith” as well as “the community feel, the family feel of our school.”

When asked to explain why J&A would offer a “family” or “community” feel and the public school would not, Ms. DeGroodt suggested that the community dynamic was a function of the way the teachers in Catholic schools imagined their mission, saying, "I think that we don't really think of this as a job. Instead, teachers saw themselves as engaged in "an act of service," and they referred to teaching as "a vocation." Other teachers used this language of vocation as well, leading me to regard it as a feature of the shared Discourse at J&A. For example, Ms. Holohan described her motivation to teach in terms of faith and vocation, saying, "I want to be able to serve my faith through what I consider my vocation, which is education." Similarly, Mr. Vatzke explained that, in a Catholic school, teachers see their jobs as "a vocation," meaning, "It's a job at times, but it's also a special calling I think." This notion of vocation is important, because it brings a religious inflection to an otherwise professional conversation.

Ms. Jasper also talked about teaching as a vocation, explaining that the sense of vocation contributes to the internal bond that forms among the faculty and that spreads to the students, ultimately defining the identity of the school community.

> What makes it a Catholic school? I think a really collaborative staff is one thing, where people want to support the effort to work together and there's this desire that we are working for something. It's not just a job, it's a vocation that we're working towards…When you walk into the doors of a Catholic school, you should see it—I mean, you should know it by the way that people treat one another. I think that's the most visible sign of acceptance of Christ, is just in the way that we treat one another. You know, you can look on the walls and see artwork or statues or crosses and crucifixes and statues of Mary and things like that and know it's a Catholic school, but to me what it means to really be Catholic is the way that you treat other people.

Ms. Jasper described the bond among students and faculty is made manifest in behavior and relationships, "in the way that we treat one another." Her description extends and informs the sense of caring described by several teachers in the previous chapter. If the hallmark of the Catholic school is related to how students and faculty relate to one another, then evidence of a caring disposition becomes critical to forming school identity. And for Ms. Jasper, that caring—"the way that you treat other people"—is a manifestation of students' and teachers' "acceptance of Christ." And so, for Ms. Jasper, community building efforts are enhanced by the teachers' capacity to relate to students with regard to their shared religious beliefs, identities, and practices.

The shared religious faith is, in fact, what Ms. Boetticher, the preschool teacher, identified as the most appealing aspect of teaching in a Catholic school. She told me a story about meeting the parent of a prospective student as she tried to explain the sort of bond that shared faith facilitates:

> The people who were considering coming here for preschool and kindergarten were invited [to an open house]. And I had one family here, the father was so excited to talk to me about what we did for religion and how we shared our faith, because it was something that he wants his children to have. So I think being able to share our faith [is a benefit of Catholic education]. This dad wanted to know, "Do you guys go to Mass? What do you do?" And so I think getting this kid's morals or helping him develop those values as well as the more traditional, going to Mass, learning about Advent and Lent, I think are both, all important.

The father Ms. Boetticher described shared Ms. Jasper's enthusiasm for teachers and students engaged in shared religious practices. Those shared religious beliefs, identities, and practices unite Ms. Boetticher with the parent across a cultural divide marked by differences in ethnicity, language, class, and educational achievement. Nonetheless, this father's desire for the teacher to help him transmit his values to his children reflects a general mission of values transmission—and a general trust that teachers in Catholic schools can be expected to transmit values *in loco parentis*—that will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. This combination of value transmission and engagement in shared religious practice contributes to the formation of a community identity. The shared community identity represents bonding social capital, while the cross-cultural connections that shared values facilitate represent bridging social capital.

Theme Four

Shared religious belief, identity, and practice inflected cultural competence.

Bridging social capital can be seen as a sort of relationship-building that occurs over a cultural (or some other) divide. In the case of J&A, it describes the attempts of mostly White, mostly upper-middle class, highly educated, primarily native English speakers to build social relationships and networks with families who are mostly Mexican or Mexican-American, mostly poor, mostly low-educated, primarily native Spanish speakers, many of whom do not have high school diplomas. In other words, it describes the teachers' attempts to develop cultural competence. Despite their many differences, at J&A the two groups do share important common cultural bonds in their religious belief and identity, which constitute a major way in which they make sense of their worlds and their lives. Religious practice too is, in part, shared, though there are culturally-specific religious practices that differ significantly between the groups.

To be sure, the most concrete manifestations of bridging social capital in action took place in the context of religious practices. The career of a student at J&A is marked at key moments by religious rituals, beginning with the *reventón* that marks the beginning of a kindergartener's first year to the Mass during which eighth graders graduate.

The beginning of the school year was celebrated with an all-community Mass, held on a Sunday, called "*Reventón.*" The word means "explosion," and in Spanish-speaking countries, a *reventón* is the equivalent of a "blow-out." In Latin America, the word is often used to promote important events or major celebrations; car dealerships, for example, will often advertise major sales as "*reventónes*." The Mass was a huge affair, with a standing-room-only crowd packed into the church. A local auxiliary bishop presided over the bilingual service, which was followed by a cultural program and traditional Mexican lunch outside in the plaza between the school and church. A local community organizer gave a keynote address during the lunch, encouraging parents to get involved in the education of their children and calling on the community to spread the news about the good things happening at J&A. After the speech, *mariachi* bands played in the plaza and students, dressed in traditional Mexican outfits, performed an elaborate dance routine.

More routine enactments of cultural competence occurred as well. Each week, the school celebrated Mass as a community on Friday morning, and each week a different class was assigned to prepare and lead the service. A student choir led the music, and students participated in the Mass by reading scripture and intercessions and by taking part as altar servers and candle-bearers.

Even more often, students were called to pray as a community. Each morning, the principal made announcements over the public address system and led the school in the pledge of allegiance. He then read a passage from Christian scripture, followed by a brief reflection on the reading, always trying to apply the lesson of the reading to students' lives. Typically, he ended by inviting the students to join him in praying an "Our Father" or "Hail Mary." Before lunch each day, Ms. Wilson led the eighth graders in prayer, though she often asked a student to lead the blessing as well.

Periodic religious rituals and routines provided other opportunities for the teachers and students to engage in shared religious practices. During all-school assemblies, the principal always began with a short moment of prayer. On Fridays during Lent, the classes participated in the Stations of the Cross, a ritual that re-enacts the final days of Jesus Christ. Each class between second and eighth grade also participated in a reconciliation service during Lent. Second graders and eighth graders spent time in religion class each day preparing for sacraments; the second grade prepared for the first reconciliation and first holy communion, while the eighth graders spent the entire year preparing for their confirmation.

During the first week of May, the entire school participated in a full rosary as part of a May Crowning ceremony. More than 50 students lined the perimeter of the church and passed a microphone, each taking a turn leading the entire school in saying a "Hail Mary" in unison.

Shared religious belief and identity served to facilitate the formation of bridging social capital between teachers and the families of J&A. While bonding social capital entails the creation of a community identity based on shared religious beliefs, identity, and (some) practices, bridging social capital entails cultural boundary crossing to build bridges between communities, and so can present a more difficult, complex task for teachers. Bridging social capital closely relates to the notion of cultural competence in the literature surrounding culturally responsive pedagogy. Cultural competence is, in part, dependent on teachers' capacity to develop bridging social capital. Teachers must know the students' culture(s) as thoroughly as possible so as to utilize that cultural understanding to facilitate academic achievement. At J&A, cultural competence was, at least in part, facilitated by virtue of the shared religious belief and identity among teachers and students.

An examination of the data codes related to teacher perspectives on cultural competence (not related to community building) suggests that some teachers were invested in centralizing culture in the school. Table 8.3 presents each of the codes related to teacher beliefs and observations regarding cultural competence at J&A.

Table 8.3: Codes related to teacher perspectives on cultural competence

Codes	**Sources**	**References**
Cultural competence evident by getting to know students well	14	25
Culture is linked to faith	11	19
Culture plays an important role in education	9	12
Cultural competence enhances school quality	5	10
There is value in connecting home and school Discourses	6	10
The goals of education are related to cultural competence	5	9
Evidence that the teacher values students’ home culture	6	8
Cultural competence via language accommodations	6	6
Students’ home culture can be an educational resource	3	4
Shared faith provides a cultural bridge	3	4
Teacher expresses a color-blind perspective	2	2
“Heroes & Holidays” approach is insufficient	2	2
Making personal connections is effective pedagogy	2	2
Teachers cross cultural lines at J&A	2	2
Shared cultural background enhances education	1	1

Here we see that teachers often recognized the connections between culture and education and the need to develop cultural competence. These codes also reflect the connections that many teachers made between cultural competence and shared religious beliefs, identity, and practices.

Teachers generally recognized the need to be culturally competent given the cultural differences between the student body and faculty. Mrs. Gutierrez, the first grade teacher, who was a Latina J&A graduate and a native of the Pilsen neighborhood, explained that many parents were attracted to J&A precisely because they perceived the school to be culturally competent. She described some of the community outreach programs that can be seen as manifestations of cultural competence in the school and parish community: “They offer Spanish mass, Spanish classes for the families. If [parents] don’t speak English, they have English classes,” and the parish offers a youth group for Spanish-speaking kids, as well as “a group for the younger kids.”

In addition, Mrs. Gutierrez argued that the religious nature of the cultural competence found in a Catholic school is important, because, as she said, “In the

Hispanic families, religion is a big thing in their families, to have their kids have some kind of religion background." Many of the non-Latino teachers made this connection between Latino culture and the value of religion in education as well, and these connections were echoed by the parents as well.

Table 8.4: Codes related to beliefs and observations about Latino culture

Code	Sources	References
Teacher: Religion is important in Latino culture	5	8
Teacher: Latinos think about and value family differently	6	8
Teacher: Latino Catholic community is vibrant and growing	6	6
Teacher: Family is important in Latino culture	5	6
Parent: Church plays an important role in Latino community	2	6

Ms. Beckstrom, the second grade teacher, explained, "I think [culture is] important [in education], and speaking specifically to this community, I think it's important to draw upon Mexican-American heritage and tradition" because "it's part of who these students are." She explained that it was "so important" that teachers engage in "drawing students' culture to tie in and make connections between what they're doing in school and at home." This claim echoes Gay's (2000) claim that culturally responsive teachers draw upon "shared communicative frames of reference" (p. 81) in the classroom, and it calls to mind Moll and Greenberg's (2001) argument that "the students' community, and its funds of knowledge" are "the most important resource for reorganizing instruction in ways that 'far exceed' the limits of current schooling" (p. 343).

Ms. Beckstrom realized that the religious identity that she shared with students led her to see her class as a cohesive group. She explained, "I think that our faith definitely acts as a cultural bridge." Shared religious belief and identity serves a bridging function because, she said, "We kind of talk about it, and it extends into our entire day." She mentioned, "I do catch myself, too, because I do have one student who is not Catholic and I often, you know, I use that pronoun 'we' a lot. Like, 'We believe.'"

For Ms. Beckstrom, shared religious identity leads her to conceive of her class as an in-group, a community bound together by shared beliefs and values. She relies on their shared religious practices and beliefs in order to strengthen her relationship with her students. In one example, she discussed how she sought to connect her own affection for the practice of praying the rosary to her students' pride in Our Lady of Guadalupe:

> [The Virgin] appeared in Mexico and they're very proud of it…because I think for them it's just a connection to Mexico and tying to their faith…they're just so proud…They are proud that she chose Mexico, you know? That's *their* lady.

She took this understanding of the religious culture of her students' home Discourse and tried to build a connection on it via religious practices that she incorporated into the classroom. She explained,

> I've always kind of felt a connection to the rosary, and so that was some kind of a meeting point that I had with my families and kids…I had a rosary and where we made rosaries and did a little prayer service at Our Lady at Guadalupe.

Ms. Beckstrom suggests here that the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe is so important in the local community because it links faith with place, connecting different elements of cultural identity. The image is important in the Mexican-American community, and she made cultural connections that relied on elements of shared religious practice combined with the students' home culture.

For many of the teachers at J&A, efforts to "draw upon" students' home culture involved taking Spanish classes and enrolling in a program to become certified teachers of English as a New Language (ENL). Ms. DeGroodt, for example, explained faculty efforts to take culture into account in terms of "working hard" to help the kids they teach:

> We're all working really hard to try to help our kids where they're at and help specifically the kids in this community. I mean, a lot of us are getting Spanish classes and getting trained to teach English language learners and all these things and I – it just seems like everyone's really working really hard to help our students here.

In fact, three of the teachers had begun taking ENL courses, most of the staff participated in voluntary afterschool Spanish courses during the first semester, and some of the teachers produced bilingual class newsletters.

Ms. DeGroodt suggested that the students' home culture needs to be integrated into the curriculum. She noted her awareness of research on the value of bringing culture into the classroom as well. She explained, "Culture, just like faith, can be related in a lot of ways to every subject." She told me that she relied on research she had encountered to form her ideas about culture in education, saying, “There's been so many studies related to if you relate what you're teaching to personal experiences it's much more—students are much more motivated, and also the learning becomes more personal and therefore they're more interested and engaged.” She concluded that “culture is a key to teaching.” As an example, she said, “When they're reading … they have to link things to themselves and almost always they're relating it to their culture or how they experience things.” Just as Gay (2000) argues that “teaching and learning cannot occur without communication or culture” (p. 77), Ms. DeGroodt concluded that integrating culture into the classroom “would be one of the most important things you could do in teaching.”

Mr. Monroe, the principal, echoed Ms. DeGroodt’s contention that culture is important in education, but he acknowledged that the school could do much more than it currently does. When asked about the importance of culture in schooling, he responded, “I think it’s very important,” but he acknowledged frankly, “I don’t think we do a good job here.” He elaborated:

> We don’t do a good job—a good enough job—here in terms of celebrating the culture. I guess we do a couple little things here and there for you know like feast days, celebrations, *Cinco de Mayo* and—what else did we do? *Dieciseis de Septiembre*, but it’s not—I just don’t think it’s enough. We don’t do anything about other than that. We have a parade outside. But I think it’s important for the students that it’s just part of their history to learn about that and I don’t think we do a good job about it.

To be fair, I believe Mr. Monroe was selling J&A a little short. I observed several cultural events and activities that he did not mention. The school hosted the *Reventon* celebration at the beginning of the year, the teachers organized a special May Crowning prayer service and celebration, and the feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe was celebrated in a major way. In addition, I observed several teachers integrate culture into class discussions in literature, social studies, and religion classes.

Mr. Monroe does demonstrate, however, that superficial, “heroes-and-holidays” approaches to cultural competence do not sufficiently reflect the important role that culture plays in education. He explained:

> I think it is important in education for the kids to know who they are, where they come from. Because they may not be getting it at home and I think we have the

> opportunity to educate them on who they are [culturally], because it helps them get a better identity of who they are, and maybe even gives them a sense of pride.

By focusing on “who they are,” Mr. Monroe noted that the school could serve a potentially empowering function for students. He focused on that liberating dimension that may emerge from an explicit focus on the cultural heritage in an immigrant community, saying,

> Who knows how that can carry over into how they do in the class? Knowing their history – knowing their family history, knowing that the struggles they’ve come from as an immigrant family. They, you know, learn more about that and know the history of their culture and their family. Like, maybe, does that motivate them? Like, “Hey, I’ve got to buckle down and graduate and become the first in my family to graduate high school.”

Mr. Monroe suggests that enhanced cultural competence may contribute to academic achievement for the students of J&A, and he indicated his desire to improve this dimension of the school during his tenure as principal, partly because he acknowledged that the cultural differences between the faculty and the student body have presented obstacles to improving achievement.

In particular, Mr. Monroe observed that some teachers lack the capacity to understand the students’ home culture, explaining:

> If you were raised a certain way and you don’t understand how maybe the family structure works, or how the expectation of these kids at home might differ than when you were growing up if you had grown up in an affluent neighborhood and nice school, and you’re in an inner-city school and some poor families. Maybe you don’t understand where they’re coming from when [parents] have to work three jobs and they can’t check their homework, you know? Or they can’t read to them at night and it’s like there has to be that kind of give. Which is very difficult, because we want to raise the expectations here for [our students]. It’s a gray area.

The principal’s thoughts on cultural difference between the teachers and students reflect the literature related to the demographic imperative to improve teacher education for minority students. He acknowledged that the different life experiences of people from different cultures may inflect how teachers and students think about schooling and learning, and he recognized that teachers are charged with a potentially difficult task—balancing high expectations with cultural awareness of the factors in students’ home lives that might inhibit achievement, saying, “Maybe there are more challenges at home that we don’t see and you may not know about and may not even understand.”

Mr. Monroe went on to explain how his awareness of his own cultural identity affected his approach to learning:

> You know, I think the same thing for myself. I didn’t – I mean I grew up in Berwyn.[28] Even that was not the greatest suburb, and I went to a decent high school, but I didn’t have the experience some of these students have…[I’m] Filipino and Swedish, which is great, but obviously there’s a different cultural experience at home than my students have. So I definitely think that there are some challenges, that the teachers just may not relate to the kids and what they’re going through.

Mr. Monroe’s fear was that the challenges of cultural difference would inhibit student achievement, and he acknowledged that he thought it was possible. He explained, “I think if [students] don’t feel that the person understands them they may think, ‘Well, I don’t actually respect what this person says if they don’t understand me.’”

Students, however, generally did not express those sorts of antagonisms toward their teachers at J&A. In fact, students sometimes perceived their teachers as culturally competent by virtue of their mere presence in a neighborhood where they are, in many ways, in the minority. When asked how he knows his teachers care about him, Armando suggested that he saw their mere presence as an affirmation of caring and a manifestation of cultural competence. He explained that they show they care “just by coming every day.” He said

> These teachers, I mean, they graduated college, you know, they have real good backgrounds and stuff. They didn’t have to teach here. They could have got a job somewhere else where they’re making ten times this, and benefits and stuff, you know? A lot more better stuff. But they chose to come here and help us.

Because Armando believes his teachers, by virtue of their education, have plentiful opportunities for lucrative careers, he considers their presence in the J&A community alone as a manifestation of their care for him and his classmates. The teachers’ outsider status—which carries with it certain privileges of class, education, and opportunity—makes their presence in Pilsen itself an act of bridging social capital in Armando’s eyes.

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[28] A nearby suburb of Chicago, which in recent years, has become home to a large Mexican-American population.

This attitude that teachers are, by their presence alone, culturally competent was echoed by Father Fernando, who praised in theological terms the cultural boundary crossing that he believed the teachers at J&A took up. He explained,

> This is mostly an immigrant community. Most of the people in this area are of Mexican descent, and for a young person who's from another area, who's Anglo and who's from another racial-ethnic background, to me that's a very strong witness of the faith. To want to come and serve the inner city in another culture than their own, which I think is very challenging. For them to want to do that, I think that's great. And so, for one, that's a great witness for the kids to see that there are other people in other cultures, other backgrounds, that want to help them and teach them. And the other thing is part of that spirit, that Christian value of giving that witness. And so that's part of it, in their presence and then also in their approach of the mercy and love of Christ towards others.

Here Father Fernando links the cultural competence and the attendant bridging social capital that Armando described to an explicitly religious identity, suggesting that the cultural border-crossing that teachers engaged in was both inspired by and a manifestation of religious belief and identity. According to Father Fernando, the cultural border-crossing that he sees in the teachers represents a willingness and an effort to build cultural competence, and it is their shared religious belief and identity that motivates their efforts to bridge the cultural divide.

The community liaison, Ms. Ayala, told a story that highlights the potential for cultural competence when teachers actively seek to build bridges to the students' homes and families. She described a Christmas project devised by the preschool teacher in which all of the students' families were invited to class for a sort of 'show-and-tell' of Christmas traditions. She explained that parents were invited to "come and share a Christmas tradition or a ritual that you do." Each student had a day to present, with their family, a Christmas tradition. Ms. Ayala reported that the teacher, Ms. Boetticher, "was really pleasantly surprised that almost all the families came." Some parents brought traditional foods, while others shared family customs. For example, "a mom came and she made tamales, because that's what they do for Christmas. And then a dad came, and they made ornaments. And then another dad came and they made, in Spanish it's called *maquetas."*[29] She explained that the parents really enjoyed and appreciated the teacher's effort to reach out to the families. According to Ms. Ayala, the parents "really felt part of" the school as a result. She said, "I think that exercise in itself was really indicative in terms of what parents want" from the teachers at J&A. The experience left the parents "feeling that their experience is valid and that their experience is one that can teach their children, can teach others … that they're learning something, but also that they can teach something.

This activity encouraged the parents to take an active role in the school community and it represents an example of a teacher tapping the funds of knowledge students have at their disposal. The invitation to families to share their cultural heritage and expertise affirmed the cultural identity of the students and their families and it empowered parents by recognizing that they bring valuable skills, traditions, and experiences to the school community and to their children's education.

Ms. Boetticher, the preschool teacher who devised the project, expanded on Ms. Ayala's account of the experience. She explained:

> Each student had a day. It was their day that they had to come in, and I invited the families to come in. And they had to share their Christmas tradition. And it could've been anything. It could've been decorating the tree, it could've been doing *las posadas*,[30] whatever was important to their family. And to me, that was great because I got to see what was important to their family. And I got to see, too, how each student interacted with their parents because most parents came in to help with the project.

This experience is particularly interesting because the teacher relied on the religious beliefs and identity that she shared with the students and their parents in order to build bridges—and her own cultural competence—by centering and examining their differing religious practices explicitly. Ms. Boetticher explicitly encouraged the consideration of cultural difference—even among preschool children—in the context of shared religious belief and identity.

While many teachers relied exclusively on the shared religious elements of culture to create a school identity, this example presents a teacher who actively sought to build bridging relationships between the home and school cultures through an activity that succeeded in teaching the teacher much about the students' home lives and cultures, in making the parents feel like a valued contributor to the students' educational experiences, and in valuing the students' home culture within the school context.

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[29] *Maquetas* are small scale-model scenes, sometimes carved in wood. A common example of a Christmas-time *maqueta* would be a scene depicting the nativity of Christ.

[30] *Las posadas* refers to a Mexican and Mexican-American tradition of re-enacting Joseph and Mary's search for lodging on the night of Christ's birth.

Theme Five

Teachers experienced difficulties developing cultural competence and encountered cultural obstacles to building bridges to the local community.

While teachers demonstrated a strong tendency toward building bonding social capital, and they made some efforts toward building bridging social capital, in interviews they more frequently described difficulties they experienced forming relationships with parents and the local community, suggesting that they struggled to develop cultural competence. In particular, a large number of data points were coded "difficulty forming teacher-parent connections, forming social capital" (23 data points from 12 sources). In table 8.5, the codes related to difficulties developing cultural competence or building community are collected together.

Table 8.5: Teacher perspectives on obstacles to cultural competence

Codes	Sources	References
Students face cultural obstacles to learning	17	45
Difficulty forming teacher-parent connections, social capital	12	23
Safety of local community inhibits connections	9	15
Student home values inhibit connections	6	13
J&A needs to reach out to parents more, engage social capital	5	8
Cultural differences exist between students and teachers	6	8
Transition has strained community relations	6	6
Cultural difference results in discomfort for the teacher	4	5
Teacher tempted to blame parents/culture for school problems	1	4

By comparing this table to table 8.3 (codes related to teacher perspectives on cultural competence), we see some discrepancies between how teachers talk about the positive hypothetical role that culture plays in education and the negative impact they believe culture has on education in reality. On the one hand, teachers profess a desire for cultural competence, a determination to tap student funds of knowledge, and a mission that involves incorporating student home culture into the classroom. At the same time, interviews with teachers include 45 data points that involve teachers identifying "cultural obstacles to learning," 23 data points suggesting that teachers have "difficulty forming teacher-parent connections," and 13 data points indicating that "student home values inhibit connections" and relationships.

It is important to note that the areas in which teachers can be said to have been successful with regard to building social capital almost exclusively relate to forming bonding social capital, or a sense of identity and community within the school. The areas in which teachers were not as successful with regard to building social capital related primarily to forming bridging social capital, or crossing the cultural boundaries between the teachers and the local community.

In the previous thematic section, Father Fernando used the image of a "light in the darkness" to describe the role that J&A plays in the local community. This image emphasizes an insular form of community. In this model, the community forms bonding social capital to work together to facilitate social mobility. Ms. Ayala, the community liaison and herself a native of the Pilsen neighborhood and member of J&A parish, explained that the strength of that bond is considerable at J&A. She said, "There's a strong loyalty among people that are parishioners here. And they've been through a lot. There was a long time when they didn't have a pastor and the parish survived when other parishes were closing." She related the bond specifically to the immigrant status of the J&A community, noting that in this community, "it's second or third generation [of immigration]." As a result, families had established connections with the parish and school over the years. For some kids, "their parents and grandparents had gone to J&A, so of course they're going to come to J&A." She summarized the bonding capital in the parish, saying, "There's a really strong loyalty and sense of identity here at J&A."

The strength of that loyalty and identity, while a fundamentally positive attribute of the school community, made it difficult for most of the teachers to build bridging social capital.[31] That said, Ms. Ayala went on to suggest that the effort of attempting to build bridging social capital is itself important. While many of the teachers emphasized the importance of building bonding social capital within the school community, Ms.

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[31] Only one of the faculty members, Ms. Gutierrez, claimed to be an insider in the local community. Though she no longer lived in Pilsen, she was born and raised there and had attended J&A as a child.

Ayala and a few others argued that building bridging social capital is critical in the context of the cultural differences between teachers and students. Ms. Ayala offered the following advice for teachers new to the Pilsen neighborhood and the J&A community:

> The key is relationship-building and getting to know not only your students but getting to know their families. And that it's a commitment beyond teaching them what's in textbooks or what your lesson plan is. Working in a community like this is about building community and so you have to be prepared to do that, because that does take a commitment of your time, more so than just preparing your lesson plans. So it is a huge demand, and I think that's what they sense, the teachers. But if you put that work in, you'll get rewarded because you'll see how parents respond.

This advice came in the context of a question about how J&A's White teachers can relate to J&A's non-White students. In response, Ms. Ayala argued for building community relationships and developing bridging social capital as a central component to good teaching, particularly when teachers are new to "a community like this." She emphasized that getting to know students and their families would be critical for any teacher attempting to bridge the cultural divide. Also, she emphasized the commitment of time that would be required by any teacher seeking to build a relationship. This claim is related to a feature of the shared Discourse discussed in the previous chapter: the teachers' recognition that spending extra time and offering extra attention is a feature of Catholic schooling.

Instead of describing the bonding social capital that many of the teachers had suggested was such a central feature of Catholic schooling, Ms. Ayala, a cultural insider in the Pilsen community herself, encouraged teachers to build bridging social capital that will enable them to better know—and therefore, better teach—the students of J&A. She suggested that overtures on the part of the teacher will be rewarded with enthusiasm and support from the parents in the community.

The teachers, however, reported a number of obstacles that hinder the development of bridging social capital and cultural competence. It is helpful here to take a step backwards in analysis and examine a set of codes prior to the final collapsing of codes into Table 8.4 above. The code "cultural obstacles to learning" was created by collapsing several preliminary codes, including those codes presented here in Table 8.6, which lists all of the preliminary codes that were applied to more than one data point.

Table 8.6: Teacher perspectives on cultural obstacles to building community

Obstacles to community	**Sources**	**References**
Parent education status as obstacle to learning	7	9
Teacher has elevated status in culture (*La Maestra*)	8	8
Parent language = obstacle to interaction	7	7
Parent workloads = obstacle to interaction	4	5
Parent workloads = obstacle to learning	4	5
Parents are intimidated by teachers	1	3
School isolated from community	1	2

There was a shared sentiment among the teachers that parents were not as involved as teachers would like them to be. Some teachers, like Mr. Monroe above, recognized that parents were not involved because they had to work long hours in multiple jobs. Others noted that language differences seemed to keep some parents away from the school. The most common suggestion from teachers was that parents "don't know how to support" their children's education. This sentiment is captured best by Ms. Beckstrom, who, when asked why she believed that students at J&A were "underperforming," responded, "I think the culture of poverty, where maybe parents that lacked educational experience." Also, she noted the presence of a home-school divide, saying, "I have heard other teachers that feel kind of a disconnect between school and home." And even though she noted that she has "been blessed with an amazing group of parents," she believed that "if they are not literate in English, even though they're invested, then they don't always know how to support" their children.

This assessment of the obstacles students at J&A encounter reflects legitimate concerns about language differences and educational achievement differences. The sentiment that parents "don't always know how to support" education, while repeated often by teachers, was never supported by any direct experience with a parent that led teachers to know this claim to be true.

Instead, it seemed that teachers interpreted the lack of communication and presence on the part of the parents as an inability to support their children's education in the ways the teachers might have expected. This conclusion led teachers to blame poverty (via parent workloads) and language difference as the primary causes of student underachievement. Ms. Finnegan echoed Ms. Beckstrom's belief that poverty, lack of educational achievement, and language were the primary challenges students faced, explaining:

> I think another huge challenge that I face is that since so many of our kids come from a low income background and have parents who are immigrants and have parents who didn't succeed that much in education. That might almost be tied with language, I feel like. I think that's something that we talked about a lot as a school, like, as teachers, that you can tell a parent, "You need to read at home with your child every night" and "you need to just go over their homework with them." But part of it is a lot of these parents are busy. Maybe they're working, you know, two jobs just to send their child here, so they don't have time to do that at home.

But, she added, "there are also parents who kind of just don't know how to do that." Here, Ms. Finnegan demonstrates some measure of cultural competence as she takes the time to question the extent to which students' home lives affect their achievement in school. It remains in some ways problematic that Ms. Finnegan, a 26-year-old White graduate of an elite private university, implies—likely without meaning to—that she knows better than her students' parents how to parent, but it is promising that she recognizes the need to consider the challenges that her students may face with which she is personally unfamiliar.

Ms. Finnegan's implied stance—that she knows more about parenting than her students' parents—can not be reduced, however, to mere arrogance or a "White superiority complex" (Tochluk, 2008), because she revealed that she had actually been approached by parents asking her for parenting advice. She said, "These parents…ask me how to raise their children!" Her response was one of incredulity, because "like, I'm 26! I don't know what I'm doing, so don't ask me!" She also related this experience to her understanding of the philosophy of Catholic education, lamenting that the parents "don't see themselves as a teacher of their child. And parents *are* the primary teacher of their child." She felt uncomfortable getting "so much respect" as a teacher, which she attributed to a cultural difference in how teachers are viewed. She said,

> So, I guess, that's a sort of a cultural thing that I'm, like, "Oh, yes, great," because parents don't yell at me. Parents don't question my authority. But then, I think, they see me as, "Well, you're the teacher. Take care of it in school." Instead of doing their part at home.

This discussion of the respect afforded to teachers raises another cultural phenomenon that was consistently cited by teachers. Ms. Finnegan was describing the idea that teachers enjoyed an elevated status in Mexican culture. Several teachers spoke of being seen as "*La Maestra,*"[32] a title of reverence used by parents and students like.

Ms. Finnegan notes that she was both pleased and repelled by the idea of teachers being accorded such respect. She was pleased and flattered, because the position of the teacher is not typically respected as highly in her own home culture, and she recognized that such respect can be helpful to her in the classroom. At the same time, however, she noted that the paradigm of education that this cultural attitude creates is inconsistent with the central tenet of Catholic education, that parents are the primary educators (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1972). While this attitude reflects a notion of teaching *in loco parentis*—perhaps in the extreme—it also ignores the primacy of the parent in education, placing full responsibility on the teacher and suggesting that parents were failing at "doing their part at home."

Several teachers explained that they believed their relationships with parents were inhibited by the fact that parents and students viewed the teacher as "*La Maestra*." With this designation, parents and students elevated the teacher as a figure whose expertise and social standing render her decisions and authority beyond reproach. The teachers believed that parents expected the teachers to know best about all decisions related to the education of their children, and so their own personal intervention was unnecessary and would even perhaps be considered meddling or even insulting.

I suspect, however, there are other factors at play in the parent-teacher dynamic at J&A. There are many barriers that prevent the development of robust bridging social capital in the J&A school community, many of which may be related to education, class, residence, race, and language. Pilsen is a neighborhood in which 45% of all adults have not graduated from high school, but all of the teachers at J&A have earned college degrees and almost all have earned graduate degrees. Pilsen is a largely Latino community, but nearly every teacher at J&A is White. Most students live within a mile or two of school, but no teachers do. The majority of students speak Spanish in their homes, but none of the teachers on staff considered him- or herself to be fluent in

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[32] Spanish for "The Teacher"

Spanish. Perhaps the cultural model of "*La Maestra"* plays a role in the development of parent-teacher relationships, but it seems likely that these other racial/cultural/linguistic/class-based differences contribute to the dynamic as well.

As tables 8.5 and 8.6 indicate, teachers frequently suggested that parents are not much involved in school affairs, and they offered a variety of explanations for their perceived lack of involvement. According to the community liaison, however, some parents rejected the teachers' perception that parents are not involved in the school. Ms. Ayala explained, "I think [J&A parents] want what every parent wants. They want a good education for their kids." She mentioned that she had raised this issue explicitly with a parent, saying,

> I was talking to a parent last week and I was saying, "You know people always complain that parents don't come to events and parents don't get involved." And she's like, "It really annoys me … If it's something that really engages me and betters my relationship with my kids, I'm going to go. If it's something that I see that benefits my kids or that my kids really enjoy it, I'm going to go. I'm going to make the time and I'm going to be there."

Indeed, each of the parents I spoke with felt active and involved in the school community. However, I was only able to get three parents who did not work at the school to meet with me, and certainly those who elected to meet with me were likely among the more active parents in the community, so self-selection influences this observation and makes it difficult to compare parent perspectives to teacher perspectives given the data available.

Only a few teachers reported having strong relationships with parents, and these were clustered in the younger grades, where the parents seemed more actively involved. For example, the preschool teacher, Ms. Boetticher, reported that she enjoyed good relationships with most parents, though the amount of interaction did vary. She said,

> [The amount of interaction] depends on the families. I personally write a weekly newsletter to each of my families. They get a weekly behavior thing. My families from last year, I know pretty much of all of them and I know a lot about their families. I taught kindergarten last year and I felt that the families, a lot of them, would come and drop their kid off. They would actually walk them to the room. And then I had a lot of parents pick up my students last year. This year, I have more grandparents pick up the kids, so I don't necessarily get the opportunities to talk to them as much. I mean, I definitely know who my

> students' parents are and I feel like I could approach them if I needed to. And they're open to that.

The teachers who reported strong relationships with parents were all teachers of lower primary grade students, and none of the middle school teachers reported having a strong relationship with parents. Even in Ms. Boetticher's description, however, there are signs that parent involvement is less active than reactive. She said, "I feel like I could approach them if I needed to," and she believed that parents would be "open to" her approaches. She did not report that parents were actively engaged in conversations about student achievement or behavior, only that they would be open to receiving reports from the teacher. Also, her use of the word "actually" suggests her surprise that parents "would actually walk [students] to the room," belying her expectation that parents would not be involved or present.

Language differences were a commonly-cited obstacle in terms of both student achievement and cultural competence, and the need for language accommodations was raised by several of the teachers. Teachers suggested that many of their students in some classes would be classified as English Language Learners if the school tested for language differences. Some teachers, like Ms. Boetticher, write a weekly bilingual newsletter that goes to parents. Others, because they lack Spanish-language skills, are unable to provide much accommodation for their ELL students.

One of the most interesting teacher comments about language came from Ms. Holohan, who had, earlier in the interview, described her students' bilingualism as one of her favorite things about teaching students from a different culture. When asked how she deals with language challenges in the classroom, however, she explained that she actually avoids talking about language differences. She said, "I don't make it a point to really talk about their language." The primary language accommodation that she made in her classroom involved letting a child use the home language when necessary. She explained, "I mean, sometimes, if a child doesn't know how to say something in English, then they're welcome to say it in Spanish," and she suggested that she had learned to make this accommodation by participating in a program to be certified as an ENL teacher.

Because most of her students, however, “are fairly fluent in English,” it was unusual that any of them would “not be able to communicate something because of the language barrier.” That said, she acknowledged,

> I do have some kids that struggle with certain vocabulary words or that sort of thing, but they always know if I can't help them, I'm like, "Okay, tell me in Spanish what you want to try to say," and if I can't help them, then they'll explain it to someone around them and then that person will tell me the word to help them.

The primary language accommodation, then, was to allow her students to use their home language and to rely on other students to help translate when her own knowledge of Spanish was insufficient. In my fieldnotes after this conversation, I noted,

> This is interesting—here she lists students' capacity to be bilingual as the best thing about being Mexican, but then says she doesn't make a point to talk about language in class. For a teacher who seems committed to multicultural education and cultural responsiveness, it seems she is missing a big opportunity. Why would a teacher avoid talking about the one thing she thinks is most valuable in the kids' culture?

Indeed, I came to regard J&A’s accommodation of language difference as a major site of missed opportunities with regards to cultural competence. Many teachers spoke about the value of bilingualism, and they shared their admiration for their students’ ability to toggle between two languages. They did not, however, take any active steps to ensure that the students’ home language was maintained, nor did they actively incorporate the use of that language into their curriculum or instruction. In fact, it seemed that incorporating Spanish into the curriculum had not been considered at all.

Ms. Jasper, for example, shared that she thought it was “really beautiful for kids to be bilingual and to have, like, two languages and be able to go back and forth between the two languages. I think it's a great thing for kids.” She thought it would be ideal to have a “bilingual classroom, where I was able to teach in both English and Spanish and teach them to read and write in English and Spanish.” Unfortunately, however, she said, “My Spanish is not so good, so we do a little bit, but not enough.” Instead, Ms. Jasper relies on identifying single words and phrases as needed, telling me, “I know the words for scissors, and I know the words for pencil—you know, the little things that you kind of need to kind of help them adjust and know what’s going on.”

Ms. Boetticher, the preschool teacher, suggested she took the same approach, although she pointed out the increased difficulty with preschoolers, as "some of the kids…had never heard English before" coming to school. She estimated that about a quarter of her students fell into that category. While she knew Spanish well enough to produce the bilingual newsletter mentioned above, in the classroom she explained that "We still do use [Spanish] when we need it, or there are certain words that we will say in both languages." For example, "when we talk about their blankets, a lot of them don't understand 'blanket' in English, so we have to call it '*cobija'* because that's what they understand." She summarized her use of Spanish in the classroom as "just like single words than directions and things."

I raised the question of Spanish in the curriculum with the principal, asking if he had considered adding Spanish to the curriculum as an additional course. He responded, "No, we haven't," explaining that he has been trying to get "extra" courses added to the curriculum since he arrived. He succeeded in getting physical education added last year, and now he's focusing on art. "We didn't have anything two years ago—there's no extra specials." He explained, "Last year we were able to start PE in the beginning of the year, and then add library in the middle of the year, and add computers this year…We identified that fine arts needs to be addressed and next year we're going to add art. And then hopefully music." He referred to a school evaluation that had been conducted by the faculty to explain that "Spanish didn't come up in our evaluation" as a priority.

Mr. Monroe did acknowledge, "I can see the benefits of [adding Spanish], because most of our kids speak Spanish, but it's conversational and street Spanish." He suggested that a background in academic Spanish would be helpful for students, particularly for students hoping to attend the dual-language college preparatory high school in the neighborhood, which requires that students be literate in both English and Spanish. While many students at J&A speak both English and Spanish, many are not literate in their home language.

There seemed to be interest in learning Spanish among parents and students. Mrs. Izquierdo, for example, told me that she regretted that her oldest son, Felix, was not bilingual, though she assured me, "He'll learn it though." She went on to explain that he will have to learn it because of the rapid growth of the local Spanish-speaking community. She said, “I think it is really important [for him to learn Spanish], because a lot of these jobs nowadays, they ask for that second language.” She explained that, in Chicago, “the second language is Spanish, because the Hispanic community is growing…so I think it is very important” that Felix become bilingual.

Students also shared that they thought it was important to study Spanish. Armando said it was important “especially growing up around here” in a “Hispanic neighborhood.” He told me that he was embarrassed because “I’m Puerto Rican and Mexican and I don’t even know Spanish.” Solana explained that she sometimes felt left out and jealous of her cousins, because they “all speak Spanish.” Juan told me that he liked it when teachers tried to speak Spanish with him. For example, Mr. Owen would practice his Spanish with Juan between classes, and Juan enjoyed helping him. He told me, “He doesn’t know that I [like it when he speaks Spanish], but I know that he tries in his head to pronounce stuff and all that. So once in a while I will try to talk to him in Spanish.”

Many of the students wanted to speak Spanish for reasons related to future social mobility rather than to maintain cultural connections. Sancho told me that he sometimes spoke English with his parents, but that he wanted to “keep on talking Spanish with them,” because he wanted to learn more Spanish. When I asked him why, he explained, “Most jobs, you would need to talk bilingual so you could—like for real estate, you would want to speak either two or three languages so more people could invest.” In other words, he saw his bilingualism as primarily an economic resource rather than a cultural resource. Felix shared this perspective, telling me that he needed to learn Spanish because, in his part of Chicago, “that’s what’s going to be the most common language.”

Conclusion

Teachers and students shared religious beliefs and identities, and teachers attempted to take advantage of this connection to enhance student learning experiences. This shared religious belief and identity enabled the successful formation of a school-centered sense of community. The formation of that community created a social network with “associated norms of reciprocity” (Putnam, 2000, p. 21), or a store of bonding social capital that the teachers, parents, and students all enjoyed. As a result, according to

Armando, at a Catholic school “you have a lot more care. You have a lot more caring. You have a lot more… skills to teach you how to be more of a family, than just a class and a number.”

This sense of family also supported the formation of a church-school-home connection, as teachers, parents and children engaged together in religious practices, including rituals and celebrations. Members of the shared religious community also seemed to share a common Discourse that relied in part on dimensions of their shared religious belief, identity, and/or practice, and this Discourse seemed to facilitate the development of cultural competence.

I observed teachers building bridges to the community—and building social capital—by taking advantage of their shared religious beliefs, identities, and practices and by demonstrating respect for elements of the students’ home Discourse while engaging in instruction using the dominant Discourse. The school curriculum facilitated some cultural competence by emphasizing shared religious practices and culturally important religious holidays, but it failed to take advantage of a major cultural asset by neglecting to make significant accommodations for Spanish-speaking students and by neglecting to build upon students’ home language abilities in any systematic or comprehensive way.

The key finding that emerges from this chapter, then is that religious belief, identity, and practice did indeed inflect the relationships that teachers developed with parents and students. That said, the data presented in this chapter suggest that the story of cultural competence at J&A is one of missed opportunities. Indeed, in reviewing the themes of this chapter, it seems that the last theme—that teachers identified obstacles to bridging the cultural divide—actually represents disconfirming evidence that challenges the hypothesis upon which this entire project is based: that Catholic schools, by virtue of shared religious belief, identity, and practice, enjoy an enhanced potential for cultural competence.

Chapter 9: Sociopolitical consciousness

Introduction

Few social issues are more controversial in the United States than abortion. Despite the controversy, the Catholic Church teaching on abortion is clear and unequivocal. The Church teaches that "human life must be respected and protected absolutely from the moment of conception" (*Catechism of the Catholic Church with modifications from the editio typica*, 1997, p. 606). As a result, abortion represents the taking of a life and is therefore, always and without exception, "gravely contrary to the moral law" (p. 606).

In light of the Church's unwavering stance on this much-disputed issue, a certain tension becomes apparent with regard to the formation of sociopolitical consciousness in a Catholic school. If sociopolitical consciousness refers to the formation of critical thinking skills and the capacity to question power structures surrounding social and political issues, then it seems that a dogmatic, unyielding, authoritative stance on certain issues would preclude or at least inhibit the formation of a truly critical lens. This tension, between the teacher's responsibility to shape in students a sociopolitical consciousness while also being asked to represent and transmit an institutional dogma, became immediately clear when the subject of abortion was raised in the eighth grade class at J&A.

During my second week at J&A, I observed a lesson in Ms. Wilson's class involving a guest speaker who had been involved in national political campaigns for the Democratic Party. The speaker, a close advisor of Al Gore's during the 2000 campaign, had asked each of the students to research a different potential presidential candidate, and on the day I observed, he was quizzing them about their candidates' positions on different issues. He introduced the lesson and caught up with the students a bit by telling them stories about famous politicians he had recently seen and by discussing the latest developments in the presidential primary campaign. His personal stories and charismatic persona provoked the students' interest and engaged them quickly. After the introduction, he began the lesson proper by asking the eighth graders to select an issue to discuss. Hands shot up, voices shouted out, and the students overwhelmingly chose abortion. I counted at least seven students who either yelled the word “abortion” or suggested it when called upon.

The guest speaker was turned to write the issue on the board, his hand hovering over the chalkboard poised to write, but when the students said “abortion” he started to write but quickly stopped. He turned around and walked quickly over to the teacher, who was standing at the back of the room. The class had been on a roll for the first few minutes, but all of a sudden, with the mention of abortion, the dynamic atmosphere evaporated and the class ground to a halt. As the guest speaker whispered something to the teacher, the students looked puzzled. Those in the front of the room craned their necks to see what was happening. Some looked at me, as if to ask, “What’s going on? What happened?”

The guest speaker finished whispering and then looked at the teacher for a moment. She nodded and then called out to the class loudly, “Let’s choose something else. What about the environment?” Abortion was not mentioned again during that class.

Sociopolitical consciousness

Culturally responsive pedagogy calls on teachers to be aware of the values and morals that are transmitted, explicitly and implicitly, to the students in their care. The particular values that are transmitted ought to reflect a sociopolitical awareness of the challenges—and particularly the power dynamics—that marginalized students can expect to encounter. Educators with culturally responsive dispositions see themselves as realists who recognize that the world is not always fair—that social structural inequalities like race, gender, and class prevent many children from receiving an equal education and a fair shot at socioeconomic success. These teachers understand that hard work is often not enough to overcome oppressive structural obstacles like racism, discrimination, and poverty. They recognize that their students and the education they receive are always socially and politically situated, and they are cognizant of their role in helping students prepare to face sociopolitical challenges. In order to do this, culturally responsive teachers encourage students to be critical thinkers, helping them form a sociopolitical consciousness that recognizes and seeks to interrupt societal injustice. More importantly, they seek to move their students toward action that benefits the common good (Delpit, 1995; Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1994).

According to Ladson-Billings (1994), these teachers therefore have a two-fold mission related to the sociopolitical dimension of education. They must help "students understand the world as it is" and they must "equip them to change it for the better" (p. 139). Teachers must not sugar-coat inequality or injustice. Instead, they must acknowledge social and political obstacles and help their students learn to succeed in spite of them. Such an approach is necessarily termed "power pedagogy," because it tackles the problems of power inequities head on, up front, and out loud (Gay, 2000, p. 21), refusing to "gloss over" them (Haviland, 2004).

In the culturally responsive classroom, the sociopolitical lens provides a critical complement to cultural competence. Delpit (1995) recognizes that cultural competence is important because it sends a message to marginalized students "that their language and cultural style is unique and wonderful," but she adds that cultural appreciation alone is insufficient. To be truly culturally responsive, teachers must acknowledge the reality that "there is a political power game that is also being played" (p. 40) and they must equip students with the critical lens and concrete skills—including, often, facility with the dominant Discourse—needed to play that game. While cultural competence helps minority students "understand the value of the code they already possess," sociopolitical consciousness helps them "understand the power realities in this country" (p. 40). Students must be prepared for the challenges they will face, as well as the social and political realities of race, poverty, and language bias that limit their capacity for social mobility.

This notion of the critical lens is woven throughout Gay's framework of culturally responsive pedagogy. Each of Gay's four dimensions of teacher practice—expectations and attitude, communication, curriculum, and instruction—must be essentially empowering, transformative, and emancipatory (Gay, 2000). By helping students become sociopolitical critics, schooling becomes liberating for students from marginalized microcultures, giving them the tools to "combat prejudices, racism, and other forms of oppression and exploitation (Gay, 2000, p. 34).

Teachers and administrators at J&A generally demonstrated a degree of personal sociopolitical consciousness, most often in terms of a social justice motivation that informed their decision to teach at J&A and that was inspired by religious belief and identity, and in particular by Catholic social teaching. Teachers typically reported that the transmission of faith and values was central to their mission as educators, and they indicated that these values reflected a social justice mission. Teachers incorporated sociopolitical issues into the classroom, guiding critical discussions of, for example, immigration, racism, the political process, and religious discrimination.

There were, however, moments when teachers avoided difficult or complicated sociopolitical issues. These moments, like the avoidance of a discussion about abortion in Ms. Wilson's class, suggest that the project of sociopolitical consciousness-formation in a Catholic school may be more fraught than the promotion of academic achievement or the fostering of cultural competence.

The data and analysis in this chapter are presented according to the following axial thematic codes:

1. The formation of a sociopolitical consciousness in the context of Catholic schooling was a complicated project, marked by a variety of tensions that required the theorization of a qualified form of sociopolitical consciousness for the Catholic school context.
2. Teachers raised sociopolitical issues in class, providing opportunities for the formation of a qualified sociopolitical consciousness informed by Catholic values and morals.
3. The "invisibility" of the Catholic values transmitted in the school complicated the potential for the formation of sociopolitical consciousness among students.

Theme One

The formation of a sociopolitical consciousness in the context of Catholic schooling was a complicated project, marked by a variety of tensions that required the theorization of a qualified form of sociopolitical consciousness for the Catholic school context.

Different teachers and administrators in Catholic schools might have approached the abortion scenario described above in a wide variety of ways. One way to consider the possibilities is to hypothesize about the two political extremes of the abortion issue. At one extreme, a strict pro-life activist Catholic school teacher might gladly take up the students' desire to discuss abortion in order to spread the political pro-life message and disseminate the Church teaching. This teacher may emphasize the authority of the Church to enforce student adoption of the Church teaching without allowing for an engagement of the complexity or nuances of the issue. At the other extreme, a pro-choice teacher who disagrees with Catholic Church teaching might openly express her stance and attempt to persuade the students to join her in opposing the Church's position without considering the validity of that position.[33]

Obviously neither of these options reflects an ideal, nor do they reflect cultural responsiveness. Because both of these approaches oversimplifies the issue and limits the extent to which students are encouraged to consider the complexity and nuance involved, they fail to foster any sort of sociopolitical consciousness. The extreme pro-life approach encourages students to adhere uncritically to the rule of a distant authority. The extreme pro-choice approach, by its explicit rejection of the Church teaching, fails to consider the Church as an institution central to the students' culture.

Although it feels contradictory to try to de-politicize a discussion about the formation of a sociopolitical consciousness, it seems that there is a relatively non-political, relatively culturally responsive, and relatively Catholic approach to the situation. Both the pro-life and pro-choice teachers could adopt a stance that both respects the Church's teaching and encourages the formation of a critical lens in students—but only to a certain extent. This qualification is where the whole notion of culturally responsive pedagogy in Catholic schools becomes complicated, because Catholic schools—by virtue of their mission to transmit the teachings and values of the institutional Catholic Church—can only encourage the formation of a particular type of sociopolitical consciousness that is informed by the teaching and tradition of the Church.

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[33] Of course, the latter teacher runs the risk of losing her job. In the context of a discussion of sociopolitical consciousness, this dynamic seems problematic. Indeed, it is precisely this dynamic that leads me to argue that Catholic schools can only engage in a certain qualified variety of sociopolitical consciousness-raising.

This type of sociopolitical consciousness only partially reflects the sort of consciousness described in the literature. The particular tension emerges when one considers the differing ways of conceiving of truth and authority in academia and in a church. Gay (2000), for example, explains her approach to sociopolitical consciousness-formation as follows:

> I want [my students] to be independent, critical, reflective, and quality thinkers and decision makers…My students are challenged to reconfigure and integrate knowledge segments from several sources to serve new purposes; to be analytical about sources of knowledge; to push the boundaries of their present knowledge frames by looking for deeper meanings and principles in descriptive texts; and to create new ways to organize and categorize information and insights. (pp. 196-197)

Elsewhere Gay describes culturally responsive pedagogy as a process that "lifts the veil of presumed absolute authority from conceptions of scholarly truth typically taught in schools." This form of sociopolitical consciousness "helps students realize that no single version of 'truth' is total and permanent" and it encourages students to ensure that any such claims to absolute truth not "be allowed to exist uncontested" (p. 35).

In the context of a school community in which the Church maintains some authority, particularly over moral beliefs that inform social values and political stances, Gay's encouragement to "reconfigure" and "push the boundaries" of authorities may only be taken so far. In the humanities and social science classrooms, this sort of "independent, critical, reflective" disposition may be desired, as it holds the capacity to disrupt existing social structures that support inequality and injustice. In the physical sciences and mathematics, independent and critical thinking that pushes boundaries often leads to important new discoveries. In the religion classroom, however, this disposition, taken to the extreme of questioning all authority about the presence or absence of objective truth and the validity of authority structures, might be perceived as—or lead to—a rejection of the teaching, tradition, or authority of the Church, thus undermining one of the central purposes of the school's organization and a critical component of the school's identity.

Those who conceive of sociopolitical consciousness as the full freedom of students to critique, question, and make informed decisions about social and political issues may therefore have trouble conceiving of a form of this freedom that is rooted in a faith tradition that is not uncomplicated by power, politics, and social controversy itself. For these critics, any notion of a Catholic sociopolitical consciousness may not qualify as true sociopolitical consciousness, or at most, it may represent only a limited, qualified form of such consciousness. For others, the idea of Catholic sociopolitical consciousness may even represent a perversion of the very notion of sociopolitical consciousness, since it ultimately is grounded in an institution that is itself one of the institutions holding power that some would claim ought to be critiqued by the formation of that consciousness.

For Catholics concerned about social justice, however, the notion of a sociopolitical consciousness uninformed by Catholic teaching and tradition is ungrounded. For them, moral stances on sociopolitical issues are necessarily informed by the teachings and tradition of the Church, and for many it would be impossible to consider values or morals outside that context. For those who accept the possibility that Catholic teaching and tradition might beneficially inform the formation of individual's sociopolitical consciousness, the potential for a culturally responsive Catholic school classroom is a reality. As a result, in this section of the dissertation I make a distinction between the culturally responsive Catholic school classroom—in which the form of sociopolitical consciousness is informed explicitly by Catholic teaching and tradition—and the culturally responsive classroom in general, which is free of any such institutional influence. As a result, I am led to consider the Catholic variety of cultural responsiveness that is possible to be "qualified culturally responsive" pedagogy.

To describe that "qualified culturally responsive" pedagogy in a Catholic classroom in the abstract, we return to the abortion scenario described above. When students raise the issue of abortion in class, a Catholic school teacher trying to engage in culturally responsive Catholic pedagogy might explain the different sides of the issue and explain the Church's teaching on the issue, encouraging students to consider the various complicated dimensions of the debate to help them understand why so many people feel so strongly about abortion. The conversation could be directed toward a rich, complex discussion of how Catholic social and moral teachings can inform not only one's actions and decisions but also how one develops an informed opinion about complicated issues in general. The conversation might also provide an opportunity to explore the nuances of the opposing arguments in the debate and the history and rationale of the Church's teaching on this and related subjects.

Again, however, institutional dogma ultimately looms over many politically-charged discussions in a Catholic school, and so any sociopolitical consciousness-raising that occurs will inevitably be rooted—or, depending on one's perspective, limited—by the Catholic school context.

Avoiding complicated issues

Navigating this nuance in reality can be complicated, especially with contested topics like abortion. In the classroom I observed, Ms. Wilson and the guest speaker made a choice to avoid the topic entirely by changing the subject. When asked about what happened, the teacher explained:

> [The guest speaker] came back and whispered to me, "Should I stay away from it? Specifically because there are candidates like Rudy Giuliani and John Kerry who are Catholic but have differing opinions on abortion from the Church."

She apparently agreed that it was best to switch to a different issue, though she noted that students were interested in the subject, because "obviously, it's a very prevalent issue."

The moment of silence after students raised the issue of abortion was filled with tension as students looked to their teacher and the political expert to talk about an issue that clearly interested them. To me, a former Catholic school teacher watching the class as a researcher looking for moments of sociopolitical consciousness-formation, I saw this moment as a rich opportunity to see how sociopolitical consciousness actually plays out in the Catholic school classroom.

Frankly, I was disappointed—as both a former Catholic school teacher and as a researcher—as the issue was left on the table and the students were left with their questions about abortion and the presidential campaign unanswered. Instead of confronting the complicated reality of politicians holding views that conflict with their religious beliefs, Ms. Wilson and the speaker decided to move on to a less controversial topic.

Later, Ms. Wilson and I talked about this moment in class and about her students' interest in and knowledge of abortion in particular. She explained her understanding of her students' knowledge of the subject and their awareness of the Church's position on it, telling me:

> I'm never sure that they fully understand maybe why it's such a hot political issue. And I'm not sure that they fully grasp the import of it, or that they even understand the differences in "late term abortion" versus the "partial birth abortion" and things like that, and abortion in the case of incest and rape. And I've never really delved in the whole, that full spectrum of the issues.

She noted that her students "clearly know that [abortion as an issue] is out there," and "they understand that it is the idea of taking a life, and they understand that the Catholic Church [believes it] is wrong."[34] She concluded, "I think that most of [my students] agree with that idea that abortion is not something that should be practiced often."

This classroom moment, then, suggests that the fraught nature of the particular social issue creates tensions for teachers trying to form sociopolitical consciousness in a Catholic school. The teacher explained to me later that she personally agrees with the Church's stance on abortion, though she nonetheless chose to change the subject. Rather than engage in a discussion about political candidates whose political stances conflict with the Church's teaching, Ms. Wilson instead dodged this "hot political issue" about which her students were clearly interested in learning, neglecting to take up an important social and moral topic about which she believed her students lacked understanding.

In an interview a few days later, Ms. Wilson suggested that she has in fact discussed abortion with the class, though not in my presence. She told me that she takes up "issues where they're very important to the Catholic faith, like abortion," explaining that "we do discuss that in class. We do discuss the Church's position." She even suggested that she tries to encourage the students to think in complex ways about difficult topics like abortion, encouraging them to "think, like, 'Why? What is it about abortion…why doesn't the Church support it?' and things like that."

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[34] This line of discourse was actually uttered without the words in brackets. When I shared the transcript with Ms. Wilson later to engage in member-checking, she asked that I correct the line to accurately reflect what she meant to say. The recording verifies that she actually said "the Catholic Church is wrong," but in e-mail correspondence, she confirmed that she meant to say "the Catholic Church believes it is wrong." I am hesitant to assign too much significance to her mis-statement, though I do believe it reflects the difficult and complicated position in which she finds herself as a transmitter of institutional stances not necessarily her own.

This consideration of abortion reflects some of the tensions involved in the project of forming a sociopolitical consciousness in the context of a Catholic school. By avoiding the subject, the teacher suggested that she felt unprepared to engage in such a complex discussion of a volatile issue. At the same time, she expressed her own agreement with the Church's position on the subject and she asserted that she did indeed encourage discussions about the topic, and that those discussions involved engaging, at least to some degree, with the complexity and nuance of the issue.

Ms. Wilson acknowledged that there were other times when she hesitated to discuss other issues in any detail with students. In particular, she found herself in a difficult position when her own personal values and beliefs conflicted with the institutional positions of the Church. When she felt her personal belief varied from that of the Church, Ms. Wilson told me that she tended to avoid the issues altogether. For example, she told me that her class hasn't "discussed gay marriage too much," because she was "a little wary" about how she would handle it. She explained, "I don't necessarily agree with the Church's position on [gay marriage], so I try to avoid discussing things like that in class."[35]

When asked about how she approaches other controversial issues, she acknowledged, "That's something I was a little bit nervous about" when she first considered teaching in a Catholic school. She described a conversation she had with the principal about how to handle differences with Church positions, and she accepted his position that, in her role as a Catholic school teacher, she had a responsibility to transmit the values and teachings of the institution. She explained, "You have to separate your personal feelings from it, and as a Catholic educator, you have to teach the kids what the official Catholic Church position is."

This reality that Ms. Wilson acknowledges—that the Catholic school teacher is required to teach Church positions—may be the reason for her avoidance of discussions of what she called "hot political issues," like abortion and gay marriage. If students take critical thinking far enough, they may conceivably come to reject the authority of the Church. In these cases, the fear of being responsible for fostering in students a sociopolitical consciousness that rejects the Church's authority may have led to Ms.

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[35] The Catholic Church is opposed to the institution of same-sex marriage.

Wilson's decisions to decline opportunities to develop a sociopolitical consciousness informed by Church teaching and tradition.

Because parents expect the social teachings transmitted at the school to be consistent with those of the Church, and because she generally accepted her role in the transmission of Church teaching, Ms. Wilson accepted the need to defer to the Church stance on these issues. She acknowledged that at times it was difficult "keeping my opinions to myself," though she emphasized that representing Church positions "doesn't mean you can't somehow encourage them to try to think for themselves."

Ms. Wilson summarized her position by describing the transmission of Church beliefs and values as central to the mission of Catholic schooling, saying that though it may be difficult at times, "that is part of why we're here…to teach the Catholic faith as the Church wants it to be taught." She recognized that it could be difficult when "you disagree with some issues," and she admitted that "it can be tough to try to keep your personal feelings out of it." Instead of voicing her disagreements, Ms. Wilson said, "I think I've done pretty well so far, you know, keeping my opinions to myself while saying, 'Here are the issues. Here's what the Church says.'"

It seems that Ms. Wilson sees the development of a sociopolitical consciousness among students to be something of a slippery slope in her Catholic school context. In this case, Ms. Wilson seemed aware that the discussion of abortion and political candidates would require a complicated and nuanced approach that she was not prepared to take up with her students extemporaneously. While she wanted the students to think critically and "for themselves," she also exhibited reticence about engaging the topic at all lest she lose control of the conversation, because she recognized her responsibility as something of an agent of Church authority. Ms. Wilson seemed anxious that the encouragement of independent thinking on some issues might lead to students taking up positions contrary to Church teaching. Because she did not feel prepared to tackle the nuances and complexities of the issue, she instead avoided it entirely. Ms. Wilson's stated position reflects the complexity of talking about sociopolitical issues in the classroom when the teacher's personal beliefs conflict with institutional positions.

Hedging

Another tension emerges when we consider Ms. Wilson's language as she describes the times in class when she has taken up abortion as a topic of conversation. Ms. Wilson clearly struggled to articulate what it is that students know and believe about abortion—for example, she mentions that they were "aware" of abortion as an issue and she questioned exactly how much they knew about the nuances of the issue. She also struggled to articulate what it is that she should be teaching about the issue—or whether she should engage the issue at all. I interpreted her difficulty as being related to her position as a person commissioned to transmit a body of values that, by her admission, are not entirely her own.

A brief analysis of her language when talking about abortion is telling. While she reflected the general truth of the Church position on abortion—it constitutes "the taking a life" and is therefore to be opposed—her language indicates a slight but important deviation from the Church teaching on the subject. By suggesting that it is acceptable for students to believe that abortion "is not something that should be practiced often," and by suggesting that it would be important for students to understand the nuances of different types of abortion, Ms. Wilson does not convey the full force of the Church's position, which is that abortion is, always and without exception, a "moral evil" (*Catechism of the Catholic Church with modifications from the editio typica*, 1997, p. 606).

This hedging of a values-informed stance is further reflected in a conversational pattern I noticed in Ms. Wilson's class. At times, Ms. Wilson asked students to apply moral values or beliefs to situations related to sociopolitical issues in literary or historical situations. After a month of observations, however, I started to notice that Ms. Wilson consistently qualified discussions by assuring students that "there's no right or wrong answer." As a result, she inadvertently brought the conversation into the slippery, fraught realm described above, between the sociopolitical consciousness that encourages students to develop independent, critical, reflective judgments and to resist traditional authorities of knowledge and the Catholic variety of qualified sociopolitical consciousness that recognizes the existence of definitive "right" and "wrong" based on moral values informed by Catholic Church teaching and tradition. The result is a complicated classroom interaction that demonstrates the tensions surrounding the formation of sociopolitical consciousness in the Catholic classroom.

The following excerpt from my fieldnotes describes a discussion Ms. Wilson led after reading a Langston Hughes short story involving a moral dilemma over accepting undeserved money.

Fieldnote Excerpt 9.1

Ms. Wilson:	This is really a conversation about values - it's a moral dilemma. Would you take the $10? How would you feel? There's no wrong answer—(emphasizes three times, especially in response to Abel saying he'd still want to buy the blue suede shoes with the money). How long do you think it took her to save up $10?
Commentary:	So she presents a moral dilemma, affirms that there's "no right answer," but then the questions she asks imply that there IS a right answer, and that Abel's answer is wrong because taking the money wouldn't be the right thing to do, because the woman made a sacrifice and because it took her so long to save the money, and because the shoes don't seem so important anymore….Values are being transmitted in this conversation but only obliquely, not directly. Students are encouraged to think for themselves, sort of. The "right" answer is being clearly conveyed all the while asserting that "there is no right answer."

This moment represents a complicated iteration of values transmission. Ms. Wilson seemed concerned that the explicit transmission of a moral judgment might inhibit student participation, so she sought to soften the force of the discussion by repeatedly assuring students that their opinions would not be evaluated as “right” or “wrong.” By presenting a moral dilemma and insisting there is “no right answer,” Ms. Wilson sent confusing messages to the students, who were accustomed to lessons in which morals and values were explicitly conveyed.

As will be demonstrated in the next section, Ms. Wilson generally positioned her classroom discussions as opportunities to apply Catholic morals and values to contemporary issues. Her discursive pattern of suspending value judgments by asserting that “there is no right or wrong answer” seemed, however, to undermine the process of forming a sociopolitical consciousness via values transmission by falsely depicting the issues as morally neutral. Making the situation even more complicated was the teacher’s unspoken assertion that there was in fact a right answer. In this case, the "right" answer was that it would be wrong to keep the money. The students were being told explicitly that "there is no right answer" while being told implicitly that there is indeed a right answer—by virtue of the repeated question ("What would you do?"), by the teacher's qualifying of those questions by asking other questions ("How long do you think it took her to save up that money?") and by the Catholic moral system that the students have been emerged in all year that teaches the value of respecting the property of others.

These moments in Ms. Wilson's classroom provide evidence that the process of developing a sociopolitical consciousness in students can be a complicated, difficult, tension-filled project, not only when the sociopolitical issues in question are controversial or when the teacher's positions differ from that of the Church but also when the teacher agrees with the institutional Church's stance.

The qualified form of sociopolitical consciousness that is possible in a Catholic school is not without benefits, as it is informed by centuries of scripture, scholarship, and tradition. And because it is informed by an important cultural institution, the Church, this form of sociopolitical consciousness may reflect a certain resonance with the values and morals of the students' homes and families. At the same time, the approach is limited in some ways. Because Catholic school teachers may be anxious about encouraging students to question any authority for fear that they will question all authority, the formation of sociopolitical consciousness in a Catholic school represents a complicated project for teachers who want to encourage the formation of a critical lens but are at the same time anxious about properly representing the institutional Church.

Theme Two

Teachers raised sociopolitical issues in class, providing opportunities for the formation of a qualified sociopolitical consciousness informed by Catholic values and morals.

Ms. Wilson's favorite class to teach was history, and although at times she avoided difficult or controversial issues in the classroom, she more frequently engaged students in interesting discussions that made connections between historical events and contemporary sociopolitical issues. I had the opportunity to observe several of these discussions, but the one I wrote about most in my fieldnotes, researcher's notebook, and analytical memos related to a class session focused on the treatment of Native Americans in the 19th-century United States.

Ms. Wilson began the class by asking the students to discuss the treatment of Native American populations in the United States. She asked why Native Americans were treated differently from White settlers and Black slaves, and students offered a variety of responses. Students noted that Native Americans were discriminated against because they had a "different religion," a "different language," "different skin color," because "they looked different," "they dressed different," "they practiced a weird religion," and, finally, according to Armando, because "they had the land that we want." Ms. Wilson then connected this treatment of Native Americans to the notion of manifest destiny, asking students to define the term and then to evaluate the idea of manifest destiny critically. The interaction is best relayed by reproducing my fieldnotes:

Fieldnote Excerpt 9.2

Ms. Wilson: What is the idea of manifest destiny?
Armando: It's our destiny to control the whole continent.
Ynes: We'll push them onto the bad land.
Ms. Wilson: The Native American reservations are pretty depressing.
Armando: The Navajo are dying, right?
Ms. Wilson: What does that do to a culture? [In reference to Native American boarding schools that strip students of their language, and "try to teach them to be White"]
Armando: It messes it up.
Ms. Wilson: What happens to a culture?
Felix: You can't pass it on.

Observation: The teacher then shifts into discussion of Chief Illiniwek, the University of Illinois mascot that the NCAA banned from dancing at halftime of basketball games. The students argued that Illiniwek should not be permitted to dance because it insults their tradition, while the teacher attempts to play devil's advocate.

Felix: It's not their right to do it. They should at least get permission.
Ms. Wilson: Why should we have to give it up? It's a U of I tradition!
Armando: But it could be insulting. Like somebody could say about the Virgin Mary…
Ms. Wilson: Is it the same thing as if they were making fun of Our Lady of Guadalupe?

Felix and Armando: Yes. Yeah!

The moment is rich as an example of culturally responsive pedagogy, as it integrates academic content with cultural competence and the formation of sociopolitical consciousness. The teacher links the academic content—the historical construct of manifest destiny—to a contemporary sociopolitical issue of interest to the students—the NCAA ban on Native American mascots and discrimination—and she picks up on the students' connection of the discussion to their shared religious identity, guiding the discussion toward a consideration of the social justice values that she is charged with transmitting in order to foster the formation of a sociopolitical consciousness.

Even with younger children, teachers made explicit connections between the religious values that they sought to transmit, the curriculum they taught, and the formation in students of a sociopolitical consciousness informed by the Catholic Church. School activities and classroom discussions were frequently related directly to religious belief and practice. Ms. DeGroodt, the fifth grade teacher, explained how religious values transmission and the formation of sociopolitical consciousness took place concretely in her classroom when she described the project her class began during Lent, in which they raised money for Heifer International, an aid organization that raises money to purchase cows for villages in developing countries. Ms. DeGroodt explained,

> A lot of what we talk about in raising money and doing things for other people, we talk about [in terms of] one of the pillars of Lent is giving and service, so that's relating what we're doing to God and our faith.

Even in weekly routines, Ms. DeGroodt tried to integrate values and faith into the classroom. She said,

> We do current events once a week and sometimes we talk about different people around the world and we pray for them. For example, if we talk about Iraq, and we hear that there was a bombing and some people died, we'll pray for those people and we'll talk about why people act the way that they do.

These moments of discussion and prayer even led to explicit considerations of difference. For example, she described a recent lesson in which they related "different faiths to our own faith and [we talked] about the Muslim faith and our faith and how they share many commonalities." These discussions of difference, violence, discrimination, and poverty all contributed to the transmission of the Catholic value of social justice and the formation of a Catholic sociopolitical consciousness in students.

In the middle grades, teachers frequently raised sociopolitical issues for student discussion. I observed discussions in social studies, in literature class, in religion, in science, and even in math class about issues of social and political interest to the eighth grade students, including immigration, cloning, teenage pregnancy, the war in Iraq, the presidential campaign, gangs, race relations, discrimination, poverty, and local violence. Ms. Wilson, the eighth grade teacher, was the teacher I observed who most frequently raised sociopolitical issues in the classroom, and in this section I present a series of fieldnote excerpts that demonstrate how this one teacher attempted to foster a sociopolitical awareness informed by Catholic teaching and tradition into her classroom discussions of social and political issues. While Ms. Wilson provided numerous examples of integrating the transmission of values into classroom conversation, she also acknowledged that she struggled at times to share her personal beliefs with the students, particularly when those beliefs conflicted with the stated position of the Catholic Church, and these moments will be considered in more detail as disconfirming evidence of this particular thematic code.

Ms. Wilson indicated that religious belief often informed classroom discussions, though “not on a personal” basis, meaning that she did not engage in intimate, personal faith-sharing with her students. Instead, she suggested, “we do discuss” religion in other classes in a more detached, academic manner, by applying religious values to stories they read in literature, to moments in history that they studied, and to issues that emerged in discussions of current events. For example, Ms. Wilson claimed, “We do discuss [religion] in literature,” particularly in ways that transmit Catholic values and inform student sociopolitical awareness, explaining that “sometimes [religion] comes up in stories [in] the idea of doing what’s good versus doing what’s easy.”

Social studies class provided a more common and perhaps natural venue for the discussion of sociopolitical issues. Ms. Wilson mentioned that she tackles “issues like abortion” in class in ways that seek to guide student discussion within the context of the shared Catholic values.[36] She described these types of issues as “issues where they’re very important to the Catholic faith,” and explained that she encourages discussion about the issue and about the Church’s position on the issue. She also indicated that she encourages students to be thoughtful about the Church’s positions, saying “I try to make the kids think, ‘Why? What is it about [issues like] abortion that the Church—why doesn’t the Church support it?’ and things like that.”

The most common time for Ms. Wilson to raise sociopolitical issues was during current events discussions in social studies class. Ms. Wilson encouraged the students to watch the news, to read newspapers and on-line news sources, and to bring in stories that interested them. Armando, who told me that he reads the newspaper every day, was the most frequent contributor to these discussions, though Felix also seemed up-to-date on current events. Both of them frequently raised issues related to the war in Iraq and to Barack Obama’s presidential candidacy. One morning, at the beginning of class, Felix excitedly shouted out, “Obama announced his presidency!” Ms. Wilson took some time to discuss the development, explaining how Obama made his announcement from the steps of the Illinois state capital building, the site where Lincoln delivered his famous “house divided” speech and the destination of the class trip that would take place at the end of the term.

Another time, Ms. Wilson raised a sociopolitical issue for discussion by sharing a story about a soldier protesting the war in Iraq. She explained the concept of “court martial” and asked the students whether the soldier should be jailed. I recorded the conversation in my fieldnotes:

Fieldnote Excerpt 9.1

Ms. Wilson: Should you be forced to fight in a war that you don't believe in?
Felix: If you signed up for it, yeah.
Ms. Wilson: I'm just asking you guys, there's no right or wrong answer. It's just your opinion. Catalina, what's your opinion? (She shrugs.) Catalina, you have to have an opinion!
Catalina: Did he believe in it before he signed up?

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[36] It is interesting that Ms. Wilson singled out abortion as an example when she discussed how she integrates sociopolitical issues and values transmission in the classroom given the discussion of abortion in the previous section. This disconnect—between what she says she does in class and what I actually observed—stands as another example of the complicated tensions that can emerge when volatile issues are considered in the context of the formation of sociopolitical consciousness in a Catholic school.

Ms. Wilson:	He did. How many think he has an obligation to go fight? (A handful of hands go up.)
Armando:	I'd rather keep him here in jail than send him over and do something dumb.
Ms. Wilson:	Ok, how many thinks he shouldn't have to go? (No one raises their hands.) No right or wrong answer—again. I agree with you guys, but I just wanted to see what you think. Jose, what are your thoughts?
Jose:	That he should go fight.
Ms. Wilson:	Yeah, it's a tough question.

During another class period that same week, Ms. Wilson discussed the rise of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in class, raising a debate over whether the KKK should be permitted to march in a nearby neighborhood. Armando astutely related their discussion of the KKK to a previous discussion of the Bill of Rights, arguing for the KKK's right to march on the grounds that "it's ok for them to march and say what they want…because of the first amendment." Ms. Wilson made cultural connections with the students, linking their shared personal heritage as descendents of immigrants and their shared identity as fellow Catholics by asking, "How many of us would be targets of the KKK?" Before the students could respond, she answered for them: "All of us. Including me, and including [the researcher], because we're not Protestant. They target people who are not White, not born here, or not Protestant." She then read from the text: "Negroes, Catholics, and Jews are the undesireable elements in America" and asked the students to provide a personal response to that statement. The rest of the conversation is recorded in fieldnote transcript 9.3:

Fieldnote Excerpt 9.3

Ms. Wilson:	What do you think about that [statement about the "undesireable element]?
Abel:	Is it because they were the first to be here, and they didn't want anyone to take their land from them?
Ms. Wilson:	Think about the immigration debate—what else might they take over?
Eva:	Their jobs.
Abel:	They'll take over civilization!
Ms. Wilson:	What is the fastest growing group in the US?
Armando:	White.
Ms Wilson:	Nope.

Abel: Mexican.
Ms. Wilson: Yeah. Mexican, Latino, Hispanic. Exactly.

Observation: Teacher tells them about David Duke, asks, "Where does the KKK presence linger, where is it still around?" Students respond: "The South." Teacher asks: "But is Chicago immune to it? They're still here; they want to march in Berwyn, in Skokie, neighborhoods of immigrants and Jews."

Teacher shares anecdote about being in DC, listening to an African American couple talking about the Washington DC Bullets basketball team changing its name to the Wizards and discussing its KKK connotations. The couple also discussed the Washington Monument and how its red beacon lights make it look like a KKK figure at night.

Ms. Wilson: I had never thought about this that way. It was thought-provoking. It doesn't affect me, but I can understand, if you were African American living in a city like this, it does make you think."
Armando: It makes you wonder.
Ms. Wilson: At least, you can see how it would be unsettling. Disturbing. When I think wizards, what do I think? Harry Potter. But this guy was old, grew up in the South, before Martin Luther King, before civil rights, in the era of segregation, and I can understand growing up in that era when the KKK was still a presence, how this would be upsetting. Just opens your eyes, makes you think about it a little bit. Think about how something that may appear one way to you is totally different to somebody else.

Observation: Ms. Wilson follows up with me in hall: "I love having these conversations with them. They really think about it..." Me: "Well, it affects them." Teacher: "It does! It really *does* affect them."

For Ms. Wilson, these moments of rich, values-laden discussion represented the best moments in teaching.

This moment, when Ms. Wilson excitedly confided in me that she loves conducting discussions in which students apply values to sociopolitical issues, was certainly one of her most genuinely enthusiastic and proud moments I observed during my time at J&A. The classroom conversation reflected cultural responsiveness in a number of ways by encouraging students to relate their own experiences of discrimination to the historical record and by asking students to "think about how something that may appear one way to you is totally different to somebody else." Ms.

Wilson sought to make connections between herself and the students by calling attention to their shared religious identity and their shared immigrant heritage and also by calling attention to her own ignorance of the experience of the African American community.

These moments, when a teacher explicitly raises sociopolitical issues in the classroom and encourages students to consider the issues in the context of the values of the Church and school, represent important opportunities for the formation of sociopolitical consciousness among students. It is important to note, however, that most of these conversations failed to explicitly identify the values that the teachers hoped to instill in students. In the next section, I discuss how the values themselves, while implicitly present in these discussions, remained largely invisible.

Theme Three

The "invisibility" of the Catholic values transmitted in the school complicated the potential for the formation of sociopolitical consciousness among students.

Parents at J&A frequently used the language of "values transmission" to describe their motivation for sending their children to J&A. When asked why they chose to pay tuition for a private school rather than send their child to a public school, parents consistently indicated their trust in the Catholic school to transmit their home values *in loco parentis.* Table 9.1 reports some of the more frequent codes related to values transmission that emerged in analyzing parent interview transcripts. While the notion of of "values transmission" was prevalent in the data, the ambiguity of the values being transmitted complicates any attempt to connect values transmission to the formation of a Catholic sociopolitical consciousness.

In this section, I describe how teachers and parents articulate the mission of Catholic schooling and the goals of J&A in terms of values transmission in order to demonstrate that, for the school's stakeholders, values transmission in the abstract was a critical dimension of the educational project taking place at J&A. Despite the centrality of values transmission in the abstract articulated by teachers and parents, the specific values transmitted were rarely explicitly described. This section demonstrates the difficulty of linking the values transmission process at J&A with the formation of sociopolitical consciousness among students.

In particular, the process of the formation of a sociopolitical consciousness in a Catholic school was complicated by the failure to articulate the particular values that inform that consciousness. While the process of transmitting certain values was particularly important to parents and teachers, the values themselves remained somewhat "invisible." To explore this observation I draw upon the work of Grace (2002), who applies Basil Bernstein's notions of framing and invisible pedagogy to Catholic schooling to argue that Catholic schools need to carefully articulate "what remains distinctive in the cultural messages carried by Catholic schools" (p. 48). In other words, teachers need to know and understand the cultural messages, or values, they are transmitting to students. At J&A, it seemed that most teachers were on board with transmitting a certain set of values, though I never did observe any systematic preparation for values transmission, nor did I observe any systematic or explicit definition of what values were to be transmitted. Instead, there was an implied understanding that everyone on staff would share a certain set of unspoken values informed by the Church.

Table 9.1: Parent perspectives on values transmission (VT)

Codes	**Sources**	**References**
Parent observes that VT has enhanced student experience	2	9
Parents' public school experience informs desire for VT for children	2	7
Parent values VT in school	3	4
Parent observes that VT has enhanced student religious identity	4	4

When asked why parents send their children to J&A, Mrs. Gutierrez, who was the first grade teacher, a graduate of J&A, and the mother of children who graduated from J&A, explained, "The point of coming to Catholic school [is] knowing the religion background that they would be getting." The appeal of Catholic schooling is, for Mrs. Gutierrez, a function of her trust that she, as a parent, and the teachers share a certain set of values, and that those values will be transmitted to her children.

The link between values transmission and the development of sociopolitical consciousness lies in the actual values that Mrs. Gutierrez expects to be transmitted. Here she uses "religion background" as shorthand for those values, while others used terms like “Gospel values,” “Catholic values,” and “Catholic morals” to talk about the particular set of values that faculty and parents expect to be transmitted in the school. The actual articulation of those values—and their application to sociopolitical issues—was, as in this case, rarely explicated clearly.

Ms. Ayala, the community liaison, articulated parent motivation in terms of values transmission more explicitly. When asked why parent send their children to J&A, she indicated that the transmission of a tradition was central. She suggested that, for many parishioners, “they’ve been going to this church for as long as they can remember and they want to pass on those values. So…they’re going to teach them…they’re kind of continuing the faith.” She linked “going to this church” with passing on “those values” that are important to them and that they associate with the church. The culturally responsive lens I am taking in this project, however, begs the questions: What exactly are those values? And how do they inform a sociopolitical consciousness that can enhance student achievement?

Ms. Ayala spent some time describing how the community values what they perceive to be high academic quality in Catholic schools in Pilsen, but she came back to the notion of social tradition and social values transmission because for the people of Pilsen, “The tradition component, I think, is huge.” In particular, Ms. Ayala linked this transmission of tradition, values transmission, and the specific religio-cultural context of the Pilsen neighborhood to explain her thinking:

> More than 90 percent of Mexicans are Catholic, and it permeates everything…we say in Spanish "*Jesús en la boca.*"[37] So whenever something happens, you see how they pray, and maybe they pray at night, and there’s religious symbols throughout the house.

In a community where religion is constantly “in the mouth” or on the tip of one’s tongue, as Ms. Ayala described, the religious school is trusted as a place where family values and beliefs will be transmitted *in loco parentis.* For these parents, Ms. Ayala suggested, the Catholic school is “almost kind of a sanctuary…a safe environment that will provide a good education that will promote the same values that they were raised in.” Again, however, the particular values are not articulated.

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[37] Spanish idiom, literally “Jesus in the mouth” but translated as “religion always on the tip of the tongue.”

Ms. Goya, Abel's mother, also argued for the value of Catholic schooling in terms of values transmission. It was important for me to probe Ms. Goya's thoughts on values transmission in particular, because she was the only non-Catholic parent I spoke with, and Abel was the only non-Catholic student in the eighth grade. A self-identified non-Catholic Christian, Ms. Goya attended a local non-denominational church called New Life Christian Church. Although she and her children were not Catholic, she valued the religious practices that occurred at J&A. She mentioned, "At least I know they're going to church at least twice a week." She also told me that her children had a strong grasp of scripture, saying, "All three of my sons know the Bible inside out, and it's not because of me. It's because of J&A."

Ms. Goya's view of the values transmission that occurred at J&A echoed that of Irvine (2003), who described her experience as an African American in Catholic schools, in which "there was more 'match' than 'mismatch' of cultures" (p. 8). Irvine recognized that the primary differences in the religious cultures of her home and school were related to norms, or practices, and not to values or beliefs. As a result, her parents and teachers, despite their different religious affiliations and practices, "shared a common mission and vision" (p. 8). Ms. Goya similarly summarized her take on religion in school, telling me that she appreciated, for example, that her son learned to value honesty at J&A. She attributed his values and morals to the influence of the school, saying, "A lot of what Abel is today has to do with J&A, because he's been here all his life, since third grade." Values and morals were a function of religion, and, for Ms. Goya, "Religion is a choice, and I choose to have my sons know of it, and hopefully have some religion in their life." She added, "And in public school that's never going to happen." Again, however, the connection between the values transmitted and the formation of a particular variety of sociopolitical consciousness is not articulated.

When asked why they think parents send their children to J&A, most teachers responded in terms of values transmission as well. Mr. Vatske, the instructional coach, argued, "I think it's just that we get the added bonus of being able to share our faith and to just, you know, use Gospel values as our springboard for that." Teachers indicated a belief that the sharing of faith and its attendant values are at the heart of teaching and learning in a Catholic school, and most teachers recognized this mission of values transmission as central to their role as a teacher in a Catholic school. Mr. Vatske, for example, explained,

> I know that [our students] could probably get the same education at a public school. They could go down to Stark and they could learn reading, writing, and math, science, and all that stuff. But I think, here, I think there's a general feeling…as far as the religious community, a faith community, that rubs off on the kids and just makes them a little more aware of their social surroundings. Makes them more compassionate towards each other. And I think the parents just look for the same values that, hopefully, they're teaching at home.

Here Mr. Vatske identifies the development of a compassionate disposition as one value that is transmitted in the school, suggesting that the school transmits a value of other-centeredness, empathy, and compassion toward others. According to Mr. Vatske, parents chose to make a financial sacrifice to place their children in a Catholic school in order that they could be confident that their children would be exposed to "the same values" that "they're teaching at home." This attitude, that teachers believed that parents choose the school because they desire values transmission, was shared in 12 separate interviews and was referenced 18 times by teachers and staff (Table 9.4).

Table 9.2: Teacher beliefs about values transmission

Codes	Sources	References
Transmission of faith is central to Catholic educational philosophy	13	26
VT is related to culture via religion	8	12
Gospel values are at our core as a Catholic school	6	9

Table 9.3: Teacher motivation to engage in values transmission

Codes	Sources	References
Personal philosophy of education centralizes student formation via VT	14	28
Ability to share faith & relate faith to learning	11	24
Sense of social justice	10	18
Desire for personal religious growth	5	6
Belief that teaching is a vocation, a calling	4	5
Desire to transmit traditional religious belief & practice	1	3

Table 9.4: Teacher beliefs related to *in loco parentis* approach to education

Codes	Sources	References
Teacher believes parents desire/value values transmission	12	18

Disconfirming: Parent sees teacher as primary educator	7	9
Teacher believes parent is the primary educator	3	5

Table 9.5: Teacher beliefs about the consequences of values tranmission

Codes	Sources	References
Influence of religion evident in classrooms because of VT	6	9
Safety is enhanced by VT	6	8
Learning/achievement is enhanced by VT	6	6
Catholicity inflects learning because of VT	2	2
Faculty community enhanced by VT	2	2

Several teachers described the process of values transmission as central to both the role of being a Catholic school educator and to their own personal philosophy of education. Ms. Beckstrom described her sense of mission when she described her goal as "trying to instill these values in them." Ms. Ayala explained that parents desire high academic achievement and "that they learn a set of values." In particular, she suggested that parents expect "that the values that they teach at home are reinforced here." Again, however, the question remains—what values are the parents hoping to see transmitted? What values are the teachers conveying that they see as so critical to their positions as Catholic school educators?

Teacher responses to the question, "Why do you think parents send their children to J&A?" clustered around two primary factors: safety and values transmission. Ms. Wilson, the eighth grade teacher, believed that parents choose the Catholic school out of concern for their safety, because "they want to keep them out of the public schools with gangs." She then related the issue of safety to the process of values transmission:

> They want them to have a better influence than you would see in many of the public schools. They want their kids to have these Catholic morals instilled in them, and to be able to learn the teachings of the Catholic school. I think they want them to receive the discipline that is more associated with a Catholic school than it is at public schools.

These two dimensions of Catholic schooling—safety and values transmission—come together in the notion of discipline, which was also valued by the teachers and parents.

This emphasis on discipline could be read as an assertion of control over students or as an instrument of oppression that insulates students from the real world and actually prevents them from developing a critical lens. The notion of discipline I observed at

J&A, however, was more focused on instilling in students a sense of self-control rather than imposing institutional control upon them. Students were encouraged to control their impulses to create an environment conducive to learning. The discipline provided an atmosphere that sought to shield the students from some of the sociopolitical dangers of the neighborhood, including poverty, gangs, violence, and discrimination. Father Fernando similarly linked discipline, safety, and the transmission of values in the school when he explained why he believed parents send their kids to J&A:

> [Parents] can choose to have their children in a school that's free, but one of the things that draws them here is because it's Catholic and they know that their kids are safe, and they're going to be learning about God. For a lot of those families, that's important to them, that their kids are safe. They're not in an environment where there's drugs or violence, and they want their children to be free from those influences, and so that's one of the motivations that they have in here. And then the other one is, for them, they want them to learn values and to have good values, and that's why they bring them here. And so those would be the reasons that people have their kids in Catholic school.

The presence of gangs and the dangers of drugs in the neighborhood were raised by nearly every participant in the study—parents, students, and teachers alike, and, as seen in Table 9.5, six teachers suggested that student safety was actually enhanced as a direct result of the values transmission that occurs at the school. In other words, teachers saw the school as a safe place precisely because certain moral and religious values—which were presumably though not explicitly inflected by a positive sociopolitical consciousness—were instilled in students.

At J&A, safety is an important concern for parents and teachers. The neighborhood is plagued with high crime rates and gang activity had recently made its presence known at the school, with persistent gang-related graffiti on school property. Most alarmingly, two public high school students had been shot in front of J&A in a gang-related drive-by shooting just before Christmas break. According to Armando, who was friends with the boys who were shot, neither of the victims were themselves in a gang, but one had an older brother who was. Both boys survived, but the specter of gang violence loomed over the school and was particularly evident in conversations with teachers and parents.

Father Fernando first introduced the relationship between values transmission and the perception of safety in Catholic schools. This relationship is important to the formation of sociopolitical consciousness at the school because gang affiliation and activity represent one of the first, most common, and most significant contexts in which adolescents in Pilsen are confronted by sociopolitical issues like poverty, discrimination, violence, and drug abuse. For many adolescents in Pilsen, joining a gang may represent the primary means by which one can take control over one's own sociopolitical situation, and the gangs certainly represented one extreme form of sociopolitical consciousness in the neighborhood, destructive though they may be.

When asked why he believed parents expected their children to be safer in Catholic schools than in public schools, Father Fernando explained that "in this community" there are "a lot of reasons," but most importantly, there is "a lot of gang violence" that affects even young children. He explained, "The gang life, the gang culture, begins when you're small, so you have like eleven-, twelve-, thirteen-year-olds." Father Fernando argued that the discipline that is instilled in a Catholic school—what he referred to as "more order, more structure"—contributes to the parents' belief that Catholic schools are safer places for their kids. He said, "In public schools, that's a lot more difficult. You can't teach necessarily religion," and because "a lot of morality comes from religion," Father Fernando believed the job of keeping kids out of gangs would become "a lot more difficult" for parents who sent their kids to public schools.

For Father Fernando, values transmission consists of the explicit teaching of religiously-determined morality, which, he believes, provides "more order" and "structure" that protects students from the "gang culture" he described. This religiously-inflected morality provides students with a framework for making decisions related to sociopolitical issues, and is therefore critical to their formation of a sociopolitical consciousness.

In the transcript below, the principal, Mr. Monroe, echoed Father Fernando's line of reasoning. Mr. Monroe argued that parents see the school as a "safe haven," and he linked that sense of safety to the process of values transmission:

Interviewer: Why do you think it's safe? What makes it safe?

Mr. Monroe: You see the way the faculty cares about the kids. I think the Catholic environment kind of adds to that.

Interviewer: What does that mean?

Mr. Monroe: Well, just the spiritual aspect in the values and ethics that we teach here. In terms of how the kids should relate to one another. How they should treat one another. I mean it's not, by any means, where it should be and the kids are acting and behaving like saints. But there is an expectation that the kids should be behaving better when they're here and I think the parents see that and I think they believe that their kids, when they're in here, that they are in an environment that's more conducive to focusing on studying and behaving better, making better decisions. Obviously that doesn't happen all the time. But in terms of the environment itself, at the local public school, maybe they won't get that. They'll obviously be exposed to possibly gang recruitment or swearing or just general bad behavior.

In this passage, Mr. Monroe suggests that the values transmission that occurs in the school results in the creation of a safer environment for schooling, and here he identifies a few particular values by relating them to "how kids should relate to one another," "how they should treat one another," "behaving better," and "making better decisions." He does not, however, explain how these values inform how students are taught to approach social and political issues.

The community liaison, Ms. Ayala, a graduate of a Pilsen area public school, concurred with Mr. Monroe's connection between values transmission and safety. When asked why parents believed J&A to be a safer place for their children, she argued that the "perception" of Catholic schools as safe derives from the process of values transmission that parents expect to occur:

> I think it's kind of this idea that it's the Catholic values, right? That respect is formed, that values are taught, that you're expected to behave a certain way. And that, I think, maybe some parents say not everyone has that in the public school. And it's easier to kind of teach with your own values in the Catholic school than one in the public, where the teachers don't participate in the faith or they don't have the same experience.

Ms. Ayala suggested that, in a Catholic school, shared religious beliefs inform the transmission of values that takes place, and shared religious practices provide opportunities to reinforce and enact those values. The transmission of values contributes to an enhanced sense of safety for parents. Ms. Ayala elaborated that the perception of safety that Catholic schools in Pilsen enjoy is based on the recognition among parents that "there's a certain order, and kids wear uniforms, they're required to go to Mass every week. So it's kind of this repetition of values that I think you don't find in a public school." In other words, the members of the Catholic school community participate in shared religious rituals, they buy into a shared set of morals and values, and they make use of a common Discourse, and, as a result, parents often believe that the Catholic school is a safer place for their children to attend school.

As Father Fernando stated above, values transmission at J&A consisted partly of the explicit teaching of morality rooted in religious belief. For other teachers, the passing on of "Catholic values" seemed to serve as a stand-in for this same idea. Mr. Monroe, the principal, used this phrase repeatedly, and so I asked him to elaborate on what he meant when he talked about "Catholic" or "Gospel" values. His response provides some insight into how the values transmitted at J&A were explicitly linked to religious belief and identity and how they were meant to inform a sociopolitical consciousness.

> Well, where can I begin? I think just with the idea of loving one another. You can talk about the Beatitudes,[38] and the Ten Commandments, how they're lived here, they're experienced here; you feel it here. They're preached here, they're reminded about it, they see it, there's a presence here. And obviously they can't get that at, those types of values that are rooted in the Catholic faith, that they don't get in the public school.

Once again, key themes are evident in Mr. Monroe's description of the school's mission, and in these themes we get a glimpse of particular values he expects to be transmitted. For the principal, passing on Catholic values means caring for others, it means recognizing a preferential option for the poor, and it means being disciplined. These values represent a certain moral code and a sense of right and wrong rooted in Catholic tradition and scripture. In particular, in this passage Mr. Monroe's reference to the Beatitudes and his emphasis on "the idea of loving one another" suggests that the values transmitted in the school contribute to the formation of a sense of social justice.

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[38] The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1997), which represents the definitive "statement of the Church's faith and of catholic doctrine, attested to or illumined by Sacred Scripture, the Apostolic Tradition, and the Church's Magisterium" (p. 5), states that "The Church's love for the poor…is inspired by the Gospel of the Beatitudes, of the poverty of Jesus, and of his concern for the poor," pointing out that concern for the poor is "a part of [the Church's] constant tradition" (p. 647). In Christian Scripture, the Beatitudes refer to Jesus Christ's declaration that certain groups are especially "blessed." The eight "blessed" groups mentioned in the Beatitudes include the poor in spirit, those who mourn, the meek, those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, the merciful, the pure of heart, the peacemakers, and those who are persecuted for righteousness. From this scripture comes one of the seven key themes of Catholic social teaching, the preferential option for the poor and vulnerable (Byron, 1998).

Ms. Beckstrom, who above described her personal mission as one of instilling values in students, elaborated her sense of values transmission as explicitly religious, explaining that she particularly enjoyed teaching in a Catholic school because "I love being a Catechist.[39] I love watching faith unfold and grow in these students." Ms. Jasper likewise emphasized the religious dimension of values transmission, linking "character education" with "faith formation" and suggesting that the former is incomplete without the latter. She summarized her perspective by saying both are "a big part of what we're doing here."

Similarly, Ms. Finnegan argued that her sense of personal spirituality and her own religious identity, belief, and practice could not be divorced from her approach to teaching, and she explained that the Catholic school context appealed to her because it allows her to be explicit about the religious grounding of the values she transmits. When asked about the effect of the Catholic school context on her teaching, she began to answer but quickly paused as she realized the depth of this connection. She then introduced her explanation by saying she would have to "basically" explain her entire "spiritual view" of life:

> I think God calls us to serve. I think Christ is the ultimate example of service, and I think that no matter where I teach, whether it's in a public school or a Catholic school, I think that's still how I would be teaching. But in a Catholic school, I get to express that, and I get to, I think, live that more openly. I also think sharing my faith with kids is really cool. I think no matter where I was, I would be praying for my students, and now I get to tell them that I'm praying for them and be very open and, you know, pray with them. I also, in terms of things that you can do, I like bringing religion and faith into, basically, behavior and talking about our behavior. I think that's a really powerful way. And you can talk about morals and stuff like that in a public school—I have friends who do that. But I think, especially because we're teaching them, you know, in religion class one thing, but then I actually get to bring that up, when I say, "Okay, well, now you're hurting someone's feelings. You know, how is that a Christian way to act?" It's that—so it's a very direct connection.

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[39] A catechist is a person who engages in religious instruction, though not necessarily in the formal role of a teacher of religion in a religious school.

Here Ms. Finnegan, like Mr. Vatske above, explicitly identifies other-centeredness as a value that is transmitted in the Catholic school. She also indicates that her personal religious values, beliefs, and identity would be similar if she were teaching in a public school, but the Catholic school context permits her greater opportunity to share her religious beliefs and values with students explicitly, providing her with opportunities to reflect directly on how the religious values she transmits shape the social awareness she seeks to instill in students.

Conclusion

The elements of the shared Discourse I observed at J&A provide some limited insight into the values that teachers say they transmit, and it is in those values that I see some connections to the sociopolitical consciousness tenet of the qualified form of culturally responsive pedagogy possible in the context of a Catholic school. I found that teachers and parents imagined the mission of Catholic schooling to be related to values transmission, and in particular, to consist of the transmission of Catholic Christian values that emphasized the development of a moral code. These values, which were often referred to as "Gospel values," "Catholic values," or "Catholic morals," were fundamentally other-centered. They were often discussed in terms of "social justice" both in and out of the classroom, and these values were rooted in the teachers' understandings of Catholic tradition and teaching. In particular, the values transmitted were related to the teachers' understandings of the Ten Commandments, the Golden Rule, and especially, for those teachers who explicitly considered Jesus Christ as a model for their teaching, the Beatitudes. The teachers provided opportunities for students to apply the beatitudinal (Lapsley 2008), social justice-oriented values they transmitted to contemporary sociopolitical issues in the classroom.

This consideration of the formation of sociopolitical consciousness at J&A reveals the need for further study. The presence of the institutional Church and its positions and authority on moral and social issues required the theorization of a qualified variety of cultural responsiveness that recognizes that the formation of sociopolitical consciousness in a Catholic school can be a fraught enterprise. In Ms. Wilson's avoidance of abortion, we observed how a teacher who liked to encourage students to think critically also avoided some issues to ensure that she be perceived as adhering to the "party line" on matters of dogma. While the formation of a critical, reflexive, independent sociopolitical consciousness informed by Catholic teaching and tradition perhaps represents an ideal, in practice it is often easier for teachers to avoid complicated subjects entirely. In Ms. Wilson's consistent qualification that "there is no right answer" to questions related to moral or social issues, we observed a different tension. By hedging the "party line" we saw how a teacher hoping to form a critical consciousness in students struggled to work around the fact that the institution maintains a certain authority to define the "right" answer to a complicated question. While a nuanced, sophisticated engagement of the dimensions of the issue and a discussion of the Church's teaching and tradition is ideal, in reality it is often easier to assure students that "there is no right answer" to complicated questions of moral and social values.

That said, teachers at J&A did engage students in conversations and classroom discussions in which they encouraged students to think critically about important social and political issues in ways that were informed by Church teachings and tradition. In these moments, the shared religious beliefs among students and teachers provided a context for critical thinking about social issues like immigration, war, and discrimination.

Initially this chapter was organized entirely around the notion of values transmission, because that was the phrase I heard often from teachers and parents at J&A. Given my "insider" status as a product of Catholic schools and a former Catholic school teacher, I presumed to know the values parents and teachers were talking about when they talked about "values transmission" in the abstract. My understanding of those values, which I knew well from my own experience of Catholic elementary school, high school, and college, relates to social justice and to the formation of an other-centered orientation, consistent with the Jesuit motto "men and women for others," the Beatitudes, the Ten Commandments, the Golden Rule, the preferential option for the poor, and the other social teachings of the Catholic Church. When I revisited the data, however, I found that the actual values said to be transmitted were rarely articulated, even when teachers were presumed to be transmitting those values to the students.

At J&A, the values transmission process constituted an important dimension of the educational project, but the values themselves remained largely “invisible.” Though values transmission was openly acknowledged and discussed, the actual values were rarely explicitly defined. Bernstein’s notion of invisible pedagogy “refers to a holistic process of educational socialization designed to produce changes in the dispositions, attitudes, and behaviors of a child as a result of involvement in a particular environment” (Grace, 2002, p. 49). The invisible pedagogy at J&A, while it may have implicitly moved students toward a sociopolitical consciousness, did not do so in any explicit or systematic way.

In some ways, it is the values transmission process itself that has been at the center of controversy over the establishment and support of religious schooling in the United States. Early Catholic immigrants withdrew from public schools in part because they felt their home values were not being transmitted in schools, and many perceived outright hostility toward their value system. John Dewey, who was opposed to any religious sponsorship of education, once described the values transmission process that takes place in Catholic schools as the “promulgation of principles inimical to democracy” (as quoted in Blanshard, 1949, p. 106). But the values I observed—albeit in a limited way given their general ambiguity and invisibility—seemed to reflect a desire to serve the common good. The features of the shared Discourse I recognized hinted at an orientation toward social justice, toward service, toward the poor, toward discipline, and toward building relationships. Further research—including data collection and discourse analysis—is needed to more fully theorize the values present in the shared Discourse of the J&A community.

Chapter 10: Conclusions and Implications

During my first visit to Sts. Joachim and Ann in March 2006, I attended an all-school Mass. When I arrived at the school, the entire student body was in the church, and Mass had just begun. I took a seat in the back and observed the familiar rituals of all-school Masses, which I knew well from my own schooling and teaching experiences. From the back of the church, I participated along with a few parents and small children. I looked around the old church, considering the residue of the Eastern European immigrants that remained alongside the evidence of the more newly-arrived Spanish-speakers. Next to old, darkened Slavic iconography hung more recent, brightly colored images of Our Lady of Guadalupe. The stained glass windows, dedicated to people whose Eastern European names I could not pronounce, let in soft light through images of saints darkened by age and grime. Above the altar hung the two bright purple banners I described before, one on either side. The banner on the left read in Spanish "*Regresa a Mi*," and its English translation hung to the right: "Return to me." I took some notes during that first Mass at J&A; mostly I just sat and thought about the banner, which was also the title of the closing hymn for that Mass, sung by the student choir led by Mr. Monroe: *Regresa a mi*.

Later that first day, as the principal led me on a tour of the building, I noticed an image painted on the gymnasium wall at J&A that captures this sentiment as well. In the mural, a large American flag is held aloft by an eagle over a field, and below the American flag are the images of a Polish flag and a Mexican flag, flowing into one another and merging in the center. On the way out of the gym, I passed under another mural that students see as they exit the building. Above the doorway is painted, "We have become not a melting pot but a beautiful mosaic. Different people, different beliefs, different yearnings, different hopes, different dreams." The murals in the gym and above the door stand as concrete reminders of the historical tradition of Catholic education for immigrant communities, and they served to inspire me to believe that lessons from that history could be applied to the school today.

As I drove home from my first visit to J&A, I thought about the hymn I heard at Mass that morning, and I reflected that the notion of "returning" was an apt metaphor for my own journey. I had grown up in Catholic schools and I had taught in Catholic schools, and after three years of graduate school, I was returning to them in a new capacity.

I also began to think about how that exhortation I heard at Mass that first day might neatly summarize the potential for Catholic schools in immigrant communities. I had already developed the theoretical framework described in the first few chapters of this dissertation, which takes into account the history of Catholic schools and makes theoretical claims about the potential for contemporary Catholic schools to engage in culturally responsive pedagogy. I had studied the history of Catholic schools in neighborhoods like Pilsen, and I had recognized the extent to which schools like J&A played an important role in these immigrant communities a century ago. I reflected that, as schools like J&A struggled to keep their doors open, they might do well to more explicitly embrace the culturally responsive practices and attitudes that seemed to serve the Poles of Pilsen so well. They might do well to call out to the new immigrants who have taken the place of the Poles in that sacred space, to invite them to return to the school that served so many other newcomers before them.

I was reminded of this phrase again a few weeks later, when I saw the front page of the *New York Times* on the day after the national "Day without Immigrants" in May 2006.[40] The *Times* featured a half-page color photo of Cardinal Theodore McCarrick, then-archbishop of Washington, D.C., standing on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, facing an enormous crowd of protesters on the National Mall (Swarns, 2006). As I considered the image of Cardinal McCarrick standing before the nation's most famous gathering place, I became hopeful that the Catholic Church might embrace a role similar to the one it played for previous generations of immigrants. The image gave me hope that Cardinal McCarrick, on behalf of the schools that he represents, might invite the immigrant community to "*regresa a mi.*"

So far, though, Catholic schools have struggled to fulfill this role. While the demographic statistics cited in chapter one demonstrate that the Latino population in Catholic schools is indeed growing, it is not growing in proportion to the growth of the

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[40] The "National Day Without Immigrants" was a national one-day boycott of workplaces and schools by legal and illegal immigrants held on May 1, 2006.

Latino community in the United States. Recent reports suggest that among Latinos in the United States, only 3% send their children to Catholic schools (Notre Dame Task Force on Catholic Education, 2006). The call to "*regresa*" to Latinos in our city's Catholic schools is either not being made or not being heard.

Urban Catholic schools in the United States face a host of problems. More than 1,300 Catholic schools, or more than 15% of them, have closed since 2000, forcing more than 300,000 students to find new schools. Regardless of whether the Catholic school advantage exists, the closing of these schools is an important issue for the common good, as it has cost taxpayers approximately $20 billion for public schools to absorb these displaced students (Hamilton, 2008). The economic and personnel issues that plague urban Catholic schools have made it difficult for these schools to focus on issues of curriculum, instruction, and cultural responsiveness.

This dissertation project is rooted in the belief that it can be productive to explore the intersection of urban Catholic schooling in immigrant communities and theories of culturally responsive pedagogy. There are a number of reasons why this consideration is important to the field of teacher education, to the field of Catholic education, and to the common good. Nearly 300,000 Latino students attend Catholic schools, but there has been little research telling their story. The literature devoted to culturally responsive pedagogy has thus far completely overlooked religious school contexts, and so this dissertation was designed with the goal of considering student and teacher religion as a dimension of culture in a context where that dimension can be freely shared and considered. As school voucher programs proliferate in urban areas like Milwaukee, Cleveland, Washington, DC, and throughout Florida, urban Catholic schools have been increasingly called to serve some of our nation's poorest students. The history of urban Catholic schools, described in chapters three and four, suggest that Catholic schools are capable of serving marginalized students from immigrant communities, and that history suggests that Catholic schools might enjoy an important ideological congruence that could facilitate their engagement in culturally responsive practices.

When I began this project, I hypothesized, in the context of the history of Catholic education and the theories of culturally responsive pedagogy, that Catholic schools would—by virtue of the shared religious beliefs, identity, and practices among teachers, students, and families—have an enhanced capacity to engage in culturally responsive pedagogy. I developed this project based on the line of reasoning that, if culture is central to education, and if religion is an important dimension of culture, then the consideration of religion in education can enhance a teacher's capacity to be culturally responsive.

Conclusions

My findings suggest that the practices and attitudes of teachers at J&A did indeed resonate with theories of culturally responsive pedagogy in important ways. Historically, I discovered that the immigrant community of Poles in Chicago created Catholic schools in order to preserve cultural, linguistic, and religious connections. The schools served as places that valued the home Discourse of the students without sacrificing the acquisition of the dominant Discourse. They were "way-stations" (Shaw, 1991), "shock absorbers" (Parot, 1981), "safe harbors" (Sanders, 1977), and, as Mr. Monroe offered, "safe havens," serving as Third Spaces where students could develop hybrid identities as Poles, Americans, and Catholics simultaneously.

Academic Achievement

In the contemporary classrooms of J&A, I found that the teachers held students to high standards of academic achievement, and that these standards were motivated by a sense of caring about students' future success and social mobility. I observed that students evinced a desire to be held to high standards. Students expressed a consistent belief that their teachers cared for them and they believed that teacher caring contributed to their academic achievement. According to the teachers, this caring for student achievement was inflected by the teachers' religious beliefs and identity. There was one important discrepant case of a teacher who seemed to prioritize relationships with students over academic achievement, but overall the dominant themes among teachers, parents, and students reflected high expectations and caring for achievement.

Cultural Competence

This category is a bit more conflicted. Generally, I observed teachers and administrators explicitly working to build a sense of community centered on the school.

Students consistently talked about the school in terms of “community” and “family,” and they often referred to the school as a “second home.” Teachers, administrators, parents, and students all indicated that their shared faith and (for non-Catholics) faith-inspired values facilitated relationships and bonds between the home and the school. Teachers, however, indicated that they experienced difficulty connecting with parents and the local community, which limited their ability to build cultural competence and bridging social capital. The school curriculum facilitated some cultural competence by emphasizing religion and culturally important religious holidays, but it failed to take advantage of a major cultural asset by neglecting to make significant accommodations for Spanish-speaking students. Additionally, there was one important divergent incident, a surprise search of student belongings, when the student-teacher relationship was damaged by teacher actions that undermined efforts to demonstrate cultural competence. Over time, however, it became clear that student-teacher relationships survived the surprise search, as the incident faded quickly from students’ memories and did not seem to create any lasting negative effects on the school community.

I found it helpful to think about cultural competence in terms of social capital, borrowing Putnam’s distinction between bonding and bridging social capital. As teachers explicitly formed a sense of identity centered on the school, and as students felt they were a part of a school community, I recognized the utility of bonding social capital for the members of that community. Furthermore, I found that the shared religious beliefs, identity, and practices among the teachers and students contributed to a shared Discourse among community members, which facilitated the cohesion of that school community and that contributed to a store of bonding social capital between the teachers and students. This shared religious belief, identity, and practice and the shared Discourse also facilitated the cultural competence of the teachers, though I found that teachers struggled to build bridging social capital with the local community. Bridging cultural differences proved difficult and complicated for many of the teachers, and I recognized numerous missed opportunities for cultural competence as a result of the cultural divide.

Sociopolitical Consciousness

This category was the most complicated, as certain contextual factors made the formation of sociopolitical consciousness at J&A a fraught endeavor. Teachers and administrators at J&A generally demonstrated a strong consciousness of the social and political issues facing their students, and they expressed their concerns about these issues most often in terms of a social justice motivation inspired by religious belief and identity. Indeed, many teachers claimed that their disposition toward social justice influenced their decision to teach at J&A. Teachers typically reported that the transmission of religious belief and values was central to their mission as educators, and they believed that these values reflected a shared social justice mission.

The formation of sociopolitical consciousness among students was complicated, however, by the context of the Catholic school. Church doctrine and official teaching seemed to inhibit some teachers' willingness to consider social and political issues in much detail. As discussed in chapter nine, Ms. Wilson's anxiety about adequately representing Church teaching led her to avoid discussions about the volatile issues of abortion and same-sex marriage, missing opportunities to both transmit Church teaching on the issues and to help students think critically about important social and political issues that will affect their lives. My observations led me to conclude that Catholic school teachers need to be prepared to deftly guide student discussions about such important but volatile issues in ways that foster sociopolitical awareness in the context of Church teaching and tradition.

In my discussion of this dynamic, I recognized that some may argue that true sociopolitical consciousness is outright impossible in the Catholic school context. If religion is reduced to mere dogma, then this position is understandable. In chapter nine, however, I argued that the Catholic Church's teachings on social justice demonstrate a way by which a sociopolitical consciousness can be formed in the context of Church teaching and tradition, and I theorized a nuanced form of qualified sociopolitical consciousness that might be possible in the Catholic school context.

Finally, I found that teachers and parents viewed Catholic education as a process of values transmission. The particular values transmitted contributed to the formation of a sociopolitical consciousness, though again this process was complicated. While the clarity of the Catholic Church teaching complicated discussions of social and political issues, the transmission of values was complicated by the ambiguity of the values in question. Teachers and parents rarely articulated the values they expected to be transmitted in the Catholic school, and while there was a general assumption that "Catholic values" were related to social justice, they were rarely articulated explicitly.

Implications

Ultimately it is my hope that this work draws attention to the intersection of Catholic education, immigration, and culturally responsive education. I have not yet encountered any work in the field of cultural responsiveness related to Catholic schools, nor have I met anyone in Catholic education who talks about or applies theories of culturally responsive education in the context of the Catholic classroom. And yet history tells us that Catholic schools have tremendous experience addressing the cultural, social, and linguistic needs of immigrant students.

Religion and culturally responsive pedagogy

The findings presented in this dissertation contribute to two distinct fields of inquiry. First, this project builds on the work of Geneva Gay, Gloria Ladson-Billings, and others who developed theories of culturally responsive pedagogy. This work extends those theories of culturally responsive pedagogy in the field of teacher education in three primary ways. This dissertation considers culturally responsive pedagogy in the historical context of urban Catholic immigrant education, it explores religion as a dimension of culture in culturally responsive pedagogy, and it illustrates the complexity and fraughtness of the development of culturally responsive pedagogy in a school.

First, this project places theories of culturally responsive pedagogy into historical context in the discussion of the history of urban Catholic schools. As mentioned in chapter two, Ladson-Billings (1999) made connections between the educational experiences of contemporary cultural minority students and those of the immigrants of a century ago, though she failed to discuss how millions of European immigrants resisted the stark assimilation they experienced in public schools by building Catholic schools. Those immigrants created their own schools in which they could both "preserve and transform" (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993) their cultural identities at their own pace. The contributions of these Catholic immigrants to notions of culture-centered education have thus far been completely overlooked in the literature surrounding culturally responsive pedagogy. The historical research presented in chapters three and four of this dissertation argues that Ladson-Billings and others might extend their understanding of the contemporary demographic imperative by explicitly considering the historical experience of immigrants in urban Catholic schools in the United States.

Second, this project tests the resonance of those theories of culturally responsive pedagogy in the contemporary experience of urban Catholic education at J&A. This work suggests that religion is a dimension of culture that has been overlooked in the literature related to cultural responsiveness, and it argues that theories of culturally responsive pedagogy ought to consider—and perhaps encourage—engagement with religious belief, identity, and practice. If we are to accept, as sociocultural theories of learning do, that culture is critical to education, and if we accept that religion is often an important component of culture, we must acknowledge the importance of taking up religion in education. Religion is an important dimension of the primary Discourse for millions of American students, and this dissertation suggests that teachers who take responsibility for learning about student religious identity, belief, and practice might enhance their capacity to be culturally responsive.

Though some would argue that the secular context of public schools would inhibit engagement with religious dimensions of culture, there are more than two million children in the United States in Catholic schools who may benefit from such explicit considerations of religious belief, identity, and practice in the classroom. Additionally, the Supreme Court's decision in *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris* (2002) to allow public funding to go to private schools through voucher programs in urban areas has led to an increase in the numbers of poor and minority students attending Catholic schools in the areas where these programs have been established. School choice programs increase the numbers of children who experience urban Catholic schooling, and so this consideration of culturally responsive pedagogy in the Catholic school context informs the common good as well.

Catholic schools may not be the only beneficiaries of attention to the intersection of culturally responsive pedagogy and religious belief, identity, and practice. Some scholars, including religious studies professor Stephen Prothero (2007), argue that the secular context of American public schools does not even necessarily prohibit taking up religion in the classroom. Prothero argues that "the constitutional objection" to teaching about religion in public schools is "misinformed," and he provides evidence that "Supreme Court justices are all but begging for public schools to teach about religion" (p. 171),[41] though he is careful to distinguish between teaching and preaching.

Prothero argues for the civic benefit of religious literacy, claiming that "in a world as robustly religious as ours" it is critical that students and teachers have a working understanding of both their own and others' religious beliefs and practices (p. 182). While some elements of the religious dimension of culture that I observed at J&A would certainly not be acceptable in public schools, the development of an enhanced understanding and awareness of religious belief and tradition that Prothero calls for certainly seems in line with culturally responsive pedagogy's calls for cultural competence.

This work also suggests that the spiritual dimensions of student life merit consideration. Spiritual identity, belief, and practice are often—but not always—related to religious belief, identity, and practice. Spirituality is similar to religion in that it represents a cultural production that helps individuals make sense of their lives, and as such it can be considered similarly. The research I present here demonstrates how teacher attention to the religious lives of students could, at times, enhance expectations for achievement and cultural competence, resonating with Noddings's argument that educators "must be concerned also with the emotional, spiritual, and intellectual aspects of self" (1992, p. 49). Noddings notes, "The spiritual aspect of the self…gets almost no attention in today's public schools" (p. 49), though I would suggest that the findings presented in this dissertation support her argument that culturally responsive educators might profitably engage student spirituality as well as religion.

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[41] Prothero points to *Abington v. Schempp* (1963) as evidence, in which Justice Thomas Clark wrote, "Nothing we have said here indicates that such study of the Bible or of religion, when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education, may not be effected consistent with the First Amendment" (as quoted in Prothero, p. 160). Other cases that support Prothero's claims include *McCollum v. Board of Education* (1948), *Stone v. Graham* (1980) and *Edwards v. Aguillard* (1987).

Complicating culturally responsive pedagogy

Finally, this project demonstrates the complexity of cultural responsiveness and the complicated nature of taking it up. Researchers in the field of culturally responsive pedagogy typically offer detailed descriptions of exemplary teachers who model culturally competent dispositions, providing images of “dreamkeepers” (Ladson-Billings, 1994) who might be emulated by beginning teachers. While these exemplars can be helpful, they also tend to ignore the complicated moments, the complexities, and the fraughtness that many teachers encounter when attempting to take up cultural competence or sociopolitical consciousness in the classroom. Gay (2000) reminds us that, when beginning teachers’ cultural backgrounds differ from those of the students they serve, centering culture in the classroom can be a process filled with struggle. The literature tells us much about what good culturally responsive teachers look like, but it does not tell us much about the process of becoming culturally responsive. This ethnography provides some descriptive evidence of the process of taking up cultural responsiveness in the classroom.

Ms. Wilson’s classroom, for example, was an anxious place in the moments when students raised the subject of abortion, and her hesitation to take up certain social and political issues in the Catholic school context illustrates the fraughtness that many teachers seeking to take up culturally responsive dispositions experience (Gere, Haviland, Buehler, & Dallavis, 2006, 2007). The existence of unwavering Church teachings on social issues makes the development of a sociopolitical consciousness in students a complicated affair, and in this work I have theorized a qualified form of sociopolitical consciousness that is informed by Church teaching and tradition. For some, this qualification of the critical lens renders it meaningless because it may be seen as limiting the students’ capacity to think freely. For Catholic school teachers committed to social justice, however, sociopolitical consciousness must be informed by Church teaching and tradition, and so theories of culturally responsive pedagogy must include forms of sociopolitical consciousness that are grounded in or inflected by religious belief, identity, and practice.

Describing a Catholic habitus

This project also contributes to the field of inquiry into Catholic schooling. This research takes up Professor Lee Shulman's call "to question how learning takes place in faith-based contexts" because, he contends, "there is a huge need to research how learning, indeed, how the very complex process of formation in a profession, occurs in a climate where faith is taken seriously" (Notre Dame Task Force on Catholic Education, 2006, p. 9).

In particular, this work responds in part to the call for research made by British researcher Gerald Grace (2002), who called for "some systematic analysis of the varieties of Catholic habitus" (p. 38). The shared Discourse of the J&A community described briefly throughout this dissertation is similar to the "deep-structured cultural dispositions within a community" that social theorist Pierre Bourdieu calls habitus.

Boudieu's notion of habitus (1980) refers to a system of dispositions common to people who may be considered the products of similar conditioning forces. Bourdieu uses the term to describe how certain cultural dispositions are reproduced across generations among members of particular social classes or cultural groups, and he defines the term as

> systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (1980, p. 53).

The sheer grammatical complexity of Bourdieu's definition of habitus makes it clear that this is a complicated, nuanced concept that is not easily taken out of the context of Bourdieu's larger body of social theory. Grace, however, takes up a particular dimension of Bourdieu's sense of habitus; namely the notion that habitus describes "regularities, relations and structures that pre-exist the individual and have been socially constituted (Codd, as quoted in Grace, 2002, p. 38). In other words, habitus refers to the ways in which cultural and social institutions and histories shape—and are shaped by—individuals. Grace specifically discusses the capacity of habitus to serve as "an adaptive mechanism" and a "habit-forming force" (p. 37) that arises from a social milieu. Grace raises the case that researchers interested in studying Catholic education and its effects need to “construct a more systematic and nuanced account of the habitus of Catholic education” in order to fully understand how cultural and social forces at play in Catholic schools affect the aspirations and experience of the children they serve.

The shared Discourse I observed at J&A might be considered a case of the Catholic school habitus that Grace posits. Grace refers to a habitus of Catholic schooling that reflects “the experience of Catholic education and socialization” (p. 38), noting that these experiences are multiple and mediated by complex local factors, resulting in the observation that there is “no simple unitary habitus of Catholic socialization” in Catholic schools. Wills (1972), for example, provides a description of a Catholic school habitus that differs greatly from the Catholic school habitus experienced by the students of J&A. Wills referred to “a vast set of intermeshed childhood habits” as he described his own Catholic childhood as a series of

> Prayers offered, heads ducked in unison, crossings, chants, christenings, grace at meals; beads, altar incense, nuns in the classroom, alternately too sweet and too severe, priests garbed in black on the street and brilliant at the altar, churches lit and darkened, clothed and stripped to the rhythm of liturgical recurrences…all things going to a rhythm, memorized, old things always returning, eternal in that sense, no matter how transitory. (Wills, 1972, pp. 15-16)

This description of life in Catholic school, contrasted with the preceding chapters presented here, demonstrates the capacity for change and variation in Discourses of Catholic Schooling and they affirm Grace’s claim that there is “no simple unitary habitus” of Catholic schooling.

What does remain constant across habituses of Catholic schooling is the mission of the faculty to provide “a cultural relay for Catholic habitus” (Grace, 2002, p. 43). The constitution of the faculty may have changed—to speak in generalizations, the nuns and priests Wills describe have been replaced by twenty-something White women with masters degrees at J&A—but the charge to engage in religiously-inflected values transmission has remained the same.

Identifying missed opportunities

This work also contributes to the field of Catholic education by recognizing areas of “missed opportunities” that those engaged in preparing Catholic school leaders might consider. One of these missed opportunities relates to concepts Grace borrows from another social theorist. Grace (2002) applies Basil Bernstein's notions of framing and invisible pedagogy to Catholic schooling, suggesting that Catholic schools need to carefully articulate "what remains distinctive in the cultural messages carried by Catholic schools" (p. 48). In other words, teachers need to know and understand the cultural messages, or values, they are transmitting to students. At J&A, it seemed that most teachers were on board with transmitting a certain set of values, though as discussed in chapter nine, I never did observe any systematic preparation for values transmission, nor did I observe any systematic or explicit definition of what those values were exactly.

The central missed opportunity I observed at J&A emerged when considering how values transmission relates to sociopolitical consciousness. The school's teachers claimed to engage in values transmission but they seemed unprepared to explicitly articulate those values, much less to connect those values to the formation of a sociopolitical consciousness. At J&A, the values remained largely ambiguous and even "invisible." Though they were openly acknowledged and discussed, they were rarely explicitly defined. Bernstein's notion of invisible pedagogy "refers to a holistic process of educational socialization designed to produce changes in the dispositions, attitudes, and behaviors of a child as a result of involvement in a particular environment" (p. 49). The invisible pedagogy at J&A, while generally one that moved students toward a sociopolitical consciousness, could have done so more explicitly and systematically. One important first step those involved in Catholic school leadership preparation might take would be to encourage principals and pastors to produce a statement articulating the values that a Catholic school seeks to instill in its students and then articulate a religion curriculum that ensures that those values are fully considered in the classroom.

Urban Catholic schools, like their public counterparts, have experienced a rapid increase in minority enrollment, and in some major urban (arch)dioceses, cultural and linguistic minority students will soon comprise the majority of students in Catholic schools. Little has been written, however, about cultural diversity in Catholic schools, the demographic imperative and how it relates to Catholic schools, or the potential for culturally responsive approaches to education in Catholic schools. The findings of this dissertation suggest that there is much in Catholic schooling that resonates with theories of culturally responsive pedagogy, but that without explicit attention to cultural responsiveness, there remains potential for missed opportunities for enhancing instruction.

As mentioned above, for example, Catholic school leaders might more systematically ensure that teachers are transmitting values that foster a sociopolitical consciousness in students. In addition, school leaders might enhance the formation of sociopolitical consciousness by preparing teachers more thoroughly for the particular community context of the school. This preparation would enhance the cultural competence of the teachers and could include language classes, cultural sensitivity training, meetings with parents and community leaders, and professional development related to culturally responsive practices. Cultural competence can be extended toward the students as well, as teachers can be trained to better take advantage of the funds of knowledge kids bring with them to school. In schools like J&A that serve a growing Latino immigrant population, integrating Spanish in the curriculum would be a strong first step. Another important gesture toward culturally responsive pedagogy would be to engage the faculty in regular discussions about the Catholic identity of the school and to encourage them to meet regularly with parents and other community stakeholders.

Overall, Catholic school leaders might enhance their schools by more explicitly taking up each of the three major tenets of culturally responsive pedagogy. For example, at J&A, the teachers tended to hold high expectations for student achievement, but this disposition was not universal and it was not systematically articulated or supported by the school. Similarly, teachers tended to care for their students, but again, this dynamic may have been a function of the particular teachers' personalities who happened to be teaching when I observed. Teachers tended to claim that culture played an important role in education, but that culture was not actively integrated into the curriculum or into everyday instruction. As discussed above, teachers tended to see themselves as transmitters of values, but those values were typically not articulated. Catholic school leaders might better ensure that the Catholic school maintains its status as a "cultural relay" (Grace, 2002, p. 43) by explicitly and systematically taking up culturally responsive pedagogy's demands for high expectations, caring dispositions, cultural competence, community building, values transmission, and sociopolitical consciousness.

Finally, this consideration of the education that takes place in urban Catholic schools has implications for communities that are home to immigrant populations as well. Mr. Monroe touched on the way in which the work of Catholic schooling contributes to the common good of Pilsen at large when talked about the role of J&A in the community as a "constant." He pointed out that J&A had maintained a century-long presence in Pilsen that has contributed to civic welfare by producing "good citizens" who achieve academically and then, ideally, come back to the neighborhood to work toward its improvement. As a result, the school's capacity as a "cultural relay" contributes to the common good of the local community. He said:

> And hopefully they, you know, become successful. Ideally they go to college, become successful, they come back, and they use their skills in whatever profession to help the community continue to be successful.

In other words, the principal hopes that each graduate of J&A will *regresa* to Pilsen to ultimately contribute to the common good.

Future research

Though this dissertation contributes to the fields of culturally responsive pedagogy and Catholic schooling by putting them into conversation for the first time, this work only represents a starting point for an exploration of the intersection of these two fields on inquiry. A number of future research strands are identified here that can be taken up to make further contributions to the field.

Discourse analysis

As mentioned above, the values shared and transmitted within the J&A community were typically ambiguous and were rarely explicated. I did observe, however, that teachers, students, and parents made use of a shared Discourse that I came to think of as a Discourse of Catholic Schooling, and in the details of this Discourse I believe some of the values parents and teachers expected to be transmitted might be recognized. Though I did not conduct a detailed micro-level discourse analysis, I recognized a number of features of this Discourse, including each of the following sentiments:

- One goal of schooling is to produce graduates who will contribute to the local community.
- An important goal of schooling is to instill a caring, other-centered disposition in children.
- The school is a community of faith that is like a "second home" or a "family."
- Teachers care about students holistically.
- Teachers deliberately model Christian or Catholic behavior to transmit values that are rooted in Catholic tradition and scripture.
- Teachers acknowledge Jesus Christ as a model teacher.
- Teachers spend extra time with students outside of the classroom.
- Teachers care for students because they are concerned about students' future educational success and social mobility.
- Teachers view teaching as a vocation, or "an act of service."
- Discipline is valued.
- Teachers explicitly value sharing their faith with students.
- Teachers integrate religious values into content lessons and into discussions of interpersonal behavior.
- Teachers see themselves engaged in social justice work and they raise issues of social justice in the classroom.

This list of dimensions of the Discourse of Catholic Schooling I observed at J&A indicates that teachers and parents imagined the mission of Catholic schooling to be bound up in the transmission of Catholic values that emphasize an other-centered morality. The transmission and internalization of these "Gospel values" represent, for some, "the value-added of Catholic schools" (Lapsley, 2008). The current data corpus can be re-analyzed using methods of micro-discourse analysis to refine my observations about the features of the Discourse of Catholic Schooling I believed to exist among the J&A community.

Historical research

Additionally, more historical research is needed to determine the extent to which culturally responsive practices were employed in the urban Catholic schools of a century ago. This project was inhibited by a limited archive at J&A, though other parishes in the area may have kept better records, including records of textbooks used, curricular materials, or instructional practices.

Quantitative measures

This dissertation sought to provide a qualitative view of the experience of schooling at J&A. Future research using quantitative measures might support or enhance the conclusions made here.

Additional ethnographic research

Further ethnographic research is needed at other sites to test the hypotheses offered here. This study of J&A represents a single case of an urban Catholic school serving an immigrant community; future research should consider other cases of urban Catholic schools in similar urban communities to validate or disprove my observations and interpretations.

Recommendations

The process of completing this dissertation research has convinced me of the potentially transformative role that Catholic schools can play in immigrant education, and so I have devised a research agenda that will enable me to explore the feasibility of a number of reforms among Catholic schools that might enhance their capacity to serve Spanish-speaking immigrants and their children. Specifically, I believe Catholic schools can contribute to addressing the demographic imperative described in the introduction in a number of ways.

- Catholic education leaders (principals, pastors, university educators, bishops, superintendents, and university presidents) should make the education of Spanish-speaking Catholic immigrants a national priority.
- This priority should be articulated and publicized widely.

- This priority should be supported with professional development that helps teachers and principals in Catholic schools apply principles of culturally responsive pedagogy.
- Scholars in Catholic education should develop both theoretical and practical guides for implementing culturally responsive pedagogy in the Catholic school context.

In other words, Catholic schools can more effectively and more explicitly take up the call proclaimed on the banners at J&A: *Regresa a mi*. Return to me.

Final thoughts

My wife and I recently experienced a different sort of *regresando,* when we visited her family in Dallas and attended Mass at her childhood parish, where she and her three siblings attended elementary school. During Mass, we were surprised to find a priest from the bishop's office presiding over the service instead of the pastor, who had been at the parish long enough to have given my wife her first communion and to have heard her first confession. During the homily, the bishop's aide reported that he had sad news—he had come to tell the congregation that their long-time pastor had been removed from the priesthood after 25 years in the parish. Accusations of sexual impropriety had been made and investigated, and the bishop had a difficult conclusion to pass on to the parish—the pastor was being removed from ministry. Many defended the accused priest, convinced that someone they had known for 25 years could never have done what he was accused of doing to young boys. I will never forget hearing the bishop's aide sternly tell those loyal parishioners: "You just have to face the fact that this happened."

It is an understatement to say it was the most uncomfortable Mass I had ever attended. Perhaps because of that discomfort, I remember well what the bishop's aide said about the outgoing priest: "Your pastor, like all priests, like all people, is both graced and flawed. If you expect more of us priests—if you expect more of any other person—than you expect too much."

This notion—that all people are both graced and flawed, captures my own attitude toward my research in Catholic education. If all people are graced and flawed, then so are their institutions. The Church and its schools are no exception.

After reading this nearly 300-page discussion of Catholic education, which ultimately points toward the promise of the institution, one might conclude that I may be willfully ignorant of the flaws of Catholic education. The priest abuse scandal, the proliferation of elite private Catholic academies, the massive school closures, the history of religious colonialism, the stories of cruel discipline, the closed-mindedness that pervades too many Catholic classrooms—Catholic schools can claim countless flaws.

Catholic schools are not perfect, and they are not for everybody. They do not represent a cure-all for urban school reform, nor do they stand as an unassailable model for immigrant education. They are flawed, as all schools are, but they are also graced, and I began this research project with the intention of exploring the particular ways in which that grace manifests itself. I believe that Catholic schools have something unique to offer immigrant students in urban areas, and I devoted this research project to bringing those graces to the light of critical examination, that we might learn to better educate a growing segment of our population for the common good.

It is not that I am ignorant of the flaws of Catholic schools or the Catholic Church, nor am I untroubled by them. I could have written a dissertation about each of those flaws, but I believe my contribution to the common good is strongest in the examination, articulation, and dissemination of the ways in which Catholic schools might contribute to the common good. As a result, it is my hope that this dissertation identifies ways in which:

- Catholic schools can best serve the marginalized;
- Catholic schools can make a substantive and positive contribution to the national debate surrounding immigration;
- Catholic schools can contribute to the scholarship surrounding culturally responsive education;
- Catholic schools can benefit by explicitly employing culturally responsive approaches to schooling;

- Catholic schools can facilitate true bi-culturalism among our nation's newest immigrants, enabling them to integrate successfully into our society, culture, and economy.

Catholic schools have played an important role in facilitating the social mobility of my immigrant ancestors, and I recognize that the privilege I now enjoy—the privilege of an academic career—is largely thanks to Catholic education. I hope, over the course of my own career and lifetime, to watch—and contribute—as Catholic schools play a similarly important role for the newest wave of immigrants. I hope to see Catholic schools once again serve as an important institution for American immigrants, but to do so, they must renew their mission to immigrants; they must call out more loudly and confidently: *Regresa a mi*.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Protocols for student interviews

1st interview

8th Grade Students

Duration: Approximately 45 minutes per student

Target Date: January 2006

Script: Today we're going to spend some time getting to know each other, and I'm going to ask you questions about your family, your neighborhood, and your school.

- I'll begin by telling you a little bit about my family, and then I'll ask you some questions about your family
  - [Introduce self]
  - Can you describe your family for me?
    - Do you have any brothers or sisters?
      - Do/did any attend J&A?
    - Who do you live with?
    - Where were you born?
    - Where were your parents born?
    - What do your parents do for a living?
    - What language do you speak at home?
      - Do your parents speak English?
    - Do you go to Church?
      - Where?
      - How often?
      - With whom?
- Let's talk about your neighborhood.
  - When did your family move to Chicago?
    - Why did they come to Chicago?
  - Does your family ever travel to Mexico?

    - How often?
    - For how long?
  - If student is an immigrant:
    - Can you tell me what it was like when you came to the US for the first time?
    - What is the hardest thing about immigration?
  - Describe your neighborhood for me.
  - Complete: My favorite thing about my neighborhood is…
  - Complete: My least favorite thing about my neighborhood is…
  - What are the most important places in your neighborhood?
  - Who do you like to spend time with after school?
    - Where do your friends go to school?
  - What do you do after school?
    - Describe a normal afternoon and evening for me.
  - Walk me through a normal weekend.
    - What do you like to do?
    - Where do you go?
    - Who do you spend time with?
- Now I'd like to ask you some questions about J&A and your experience here.
  - Complete: School is…
  - (If not native English speaker) When did you start learning English?
    - Do you think learning English is important?
    - Why?
    - Is learning English hard?
    - Do you think it is important to keep speaking Spanish?
  - Why did you come to J&A?
  - Can you describe your first day at J&A for me?
  - Complete: J&A is….
    - Can you walk me through a normal day at J&A for you?
    - Complete: My favorite thing about J&A is…
    - What do you wish was different about J&A?

  - Do any of your teachers speak Spanish?
    - Do you like speaking with your teachers in Spanish?
    - Why?
  - Complete: In school, the most important thing is…

- Before we finish, is there anything else I should know about you? About J&A?

Interview Protocol
2nd Interview
8th Grade Students

Duration: Approximately 30-45 minutes per student
Target Date: March 2007

Script: Today we're going to talk again for about a half-hour. We'll talk about school for a little bit and then we'll talk about your neighborhood, community, family, and culture.

- Catching Up
  - What are you doing in school this week?
  - What is the most interesting thing you've done in school since we last met?
  - Tell me a story about something fun that happened at school recently.
  - I asked you this question a few weeks ago, but I wonder what you think now: In school, what is the most important thing?

- Let's talk about your teachers at J&A for a few minutes.
  - Who is your favorite teacher? Why?
  - Complete: My teachers at J&A are …
  - Complete: My teachers at J&A think I am …
  - Complete: My principal is…
  - J&A is a Catholic school. What does that mean to you?
    - Do you like being in a Catholic school? Why/why not?
    - How is being in a Catholic school different from being in a public school?

- Let's talk about culture for a few minutes.
  - When I say the word culture, what do you think of?

    - How do you identify yourself and your family? Choose all that apply, and identify which is the best.
- Mexican
- Mexican-American
- American
- Latino
- Hispanic
- Chicano
- Other?

- Describe your own culture for me. Look for and probe any of the following that emerge:
    - Family
    - Religion
    - Language
    - Traditions
    - Homeland
    - Food
    - Festival
    - Heroes
- What are some traditions in your culture?
- What is your favorite thing about your culture?
- Complete: The best thing about being Mexican (or other identifier) is…
- Complete: The most difficult thing about being Mexican is…
- What is the most important thing in your culture?
- Who are the most important people? Why?
- Do you know anyone with a different culture from you?
    - How is their culture different?
    - How is it similar?
- What do most Americans think about your culture?

- Before we finish, is there anything else I should know about your culture? About what you think of success?

Interview Protocol
3rd Interview
8th Grade Students

Duration: 30-45 minutes
Target Date: May 2007

Today we're going to talk about what you want to do after you graduate from J&A. I also want to ask you some questions about what you want to do when you get older. First, we'll talk about success and what you think it means to be successful.

- First, I'd like to ask you some questions about successful people you know.
    - Who is the most successful person you know?
        - Is anyone in your family successful?
    - What do you think it means to be successful?
        - What does it take to be successful?
        - Can you tell me three things that you need to do to be successful?
        - How does school help you become successful?
    - Complete: In life, the most important thing is …
    - Do you think it is difficult for someone from Pilsen to become successful?
        - Why/Why not?

- Now I'd like to ask you some questions about what you want to do after you leave J&A.
    - What do you think about graduating from J&A later this year? How does it make you feel?
        - What do you want to do after you graduate from J&A?
        - Where do you want to go to high school?
        - Do you want to go to college?
        - What do you want to study?
    - What type of job would you like to have when you're older?

  - What do you think you need to know to get that job?
  - Do you plan to stay in Chicago for a long time?
    - If so: Why? What do you like about Chicago?
    - If not: Where do you want to live when you are older?
  - How do you get ahead in the United States?

- Before we finish, is there anything else I should know about your school? About your plans for when you’re older?

Appendix 2: Protocols for faculty and staff interviews

Interview Protocol
1st Interview
Faculty & Staff

Duration: 30 minutes per teacher/staff member
Target Date: January-February 2007

Script: Today I'd like to ask you some background questions about your teaching experience first, and then we'll talk a bit about your experience here at J&A and in the community.

- We'll begin with some initial background information.
    - Where are you from?
        - Where do you live?
    - Do you go to Church?
        - Where?
    - Why did you decide to teach/work at a Catholic school?
        - How long have you been here at J&A?
        - How long have you been a teacher?
        - How long do you plan to stay in Catholic schools?
    - Where else have you taught?
        - What subjects and grade levels have you taught?
        - Describe the student population in your last teaching position.

- Let's talk about J&A.
    - Why did you decide to take a job at J&A?
        - Can you tell me about your first impression of J&A? Walk me through your very first day on the job.
    - Complete: J&A is…
    - Complete: J&A students are …

        - Do you ever see your students outside school? Where?
    - Complete: The parents of J&A students are…
        - How much interaction do you have with students' parents?

- I'd also like to ask you some questions about the Pilsen/Little Village neighborhood.
    - How would you describe the neighborhood that J&A is in?
        - Can you tell me about the first time that you came here? What were your first impressions of the neighborhood?
            - Listen for and probe any mention of being in a racial/ethnic minority: Did you feel out of place? Do you still? How does that make you feel?
    - Why do you think parents send their kids to J&A?
        - What does J&A offer that public schools do not?
    - What role does J&A play in the local community?

Interview Protocol
2nd Interview
Faculty & Staff

Duration: 30-45 minutes
Target Date: April-May 2007

Script: Today I'd like to talk to you about your teaching and about your students and their aspirations. I'd also like to hear about what you think it takes for your students to be successful in school and after they graduate.

- I'd like to start by asking you a few questions about how you think about teaching.
    - Complete: In school, the most important thing is…
    - Do you speak Spanish?
        - If so, do you speak Spanish at school? Why/why not?
        - Do you think it is important for your students to learn standard English? Why/why not?
        - Do you think it is important for your students to continue speaking Spanish? Why/why not?
    - J&A is a Catholic school. What does that mean to you?
        - What makes a Catholic school Catholic?
    - Complete: The most important thing I can teach my students is…
        - Complete: My students will be successful if they …
    - What are your expectations for your students in school?
        - How do you deal with students who do not meet your expectations?

- Let's talk a bit about your students and their aspirations.
    - Where will your students go to high school?

    - How many of your students do you think will drop out of high school?
    - How many of them do you think will go to college?
    - What types of jobs do your students want to get when they are older?
  - What are the greatest assets your students have that will help them be successful after they leave J&A?
    - Without naming any names, can you tell me a story about a student you have that you think will be very successful?
  - What are the biggest obstacles your students face to becoming successful?
    - Can you tell me about a student that you have concerns about?
  - Complete: A successful J&A graduate is…

- I'd also like to get your impressions about J&A.
  - What do you think J&A does best? What can other schools learn from J&A?
  - Can you tell me a story that epitomizes J&A approach to education?
  - What do you think J&A could do better?

Appendix 3: Protocols for parent and guardian interviews

Interview Protocol
1st interview
Parents of 8th Grade Students

Duration: Approximately 1 hour per parent
Target Date: February-April 2006

Script: Thank you so much for taking the time to meet with me. As you know, I'm spending the semester in ______'s classroom, studying the role that J&A plays in the community. Today I'd like to ask you some questions about your family, your neighborhood, and your student. I'd also like to ask you what you think about education and Catholic schools.

- I'll begin by telling you a little bit about my family, and then I'll ask you some questions about your family.
    - *[Introduce self]*
    - Can you describe your family for me?
        - How many children do you have?
            - Do/did any of the others attend J&A?
        - Who lives in your home?
        - Where were you born?
        - Where were your children born?
        - What do you do for a living?
        - What language do you usually speak in your home?
        - Do you go to Church?
            - Where?
            - How often?
            - With whom?

- Let’s talk about your neighborhood.
    - When did your family move to Chicago?
        - Why did you come to Chicago?
        - Do you plan to stay here?
    - Does your family ever travel to Mexico?
        - How often?
        - For how long?
    - *If parent is an immigrant*:
        - Can you tell me what it was like when you came to the US for the first time?
        - What is the hardest thing about immigration?
    - Describe your neighborhood for me.
    - Complete: My favorite thing about my neighborhood is…
    - Complete: My least favorite thing about my neighborhood is…
    - What are the most important places in your neighborhood?

- Let’s talk about culture for a few minutes.
    - When I say the word culture, what do you think of?
    - Describe your own culture for me.
        - *Look for and probe any of the following that emerge:*
            - Family
            - Religion
            - Language
            - Traditions
            - Homeland
            - Food
            - Festivals
    - What are some traditions in your culture?
    - What is your favorite thing about your culture?
    - What is the most important thing in your culture?
    - Who are the most important people? Why?

    - Do you know anyone with a different culture from you?
        - How is their culture different?
        - How is it similar?
    - What do most Americans think about your culture?
- Now I'd like to ask you some questions about J&A and your family's experience there.
    - Complete: J&A is…
    - Why did you decide to send your child to J&A?
        - Complete: My favorite thing about J&A is…
        - What do you wish was different about J&A?
    - Complete: In school, the most important thing is…

- Let's talk about the teachers at J&A for a few minutes.
    - Complete: My child's teachers at J&A are …
    - Complete: The teachers at J&A think my child is …
    - Complete: J&A principal is…

- Where will you send your child to high school?
    - Does your child want to go to college?
    - Do you want your child to go to college?
- What type of job would you like your child to have when he/she is older?
    - What do you think he/she needs to know to get that job?
    - How do you get ahead in the United States?
- What do you think it means to be successful?
    - What does it take to be successful?
    - Can you tell me three things that you need to do to be successful?
    - How does school help someone become successful?
    - Complete: In life, the most important thing is …
    - Do you think it is difficult for someone from Pilsen to become successful?
        - Why/Why not?
- What are your hopes for your family?

- Finally, is there anything you thought I would ask about that I didn’t ask? Is there anything else that you think I should know about your child, your family, the neighborhood, or J&A?

Appendix 4: Participant data

Student demographic & religion data

Name	Sex	Age	Residence[42]	Religion	Parish
Abel	M	14	7.68	Christian	Nondenominational Christian church
Armando	M	14	0.2	Catholic	J&A
Catalina	F	13	1.85	Catholic	J&A
Diego	M	13	0.02	Catholic	J&A
Eva	F	14	0.02	Catholic	Other Catholic parish in Pilsen
Felix	M	14	0.33	Catholic	J&A
Jose	M	13	0.11	Catholic	J&A
Juan	M	13	7.7	Catholic	none
Sancho	M	13	0.42	Catholic	J&A
Solana	F	13	6.88	Catholic	J&A
Viviana	F	14	0.68	Catholic	J&A
Ynes	F	13	0.39	Catholic	J&A

Student ethnicity, nationality, and linguistic data

Name	Birthplace	Bilingual?	Ethnicity[43]	Parents' Birthplaces
Abel	Chicago	No	Mexican	Mexico, Texas
Armando	Chicago	Spanish (some)	Puerto Rican/Mexican	Chicago
Catalina	Mexico	Spanish	Mexican	Mexico
Diego	Chicago	Spanish	Mexican-American	Texas, Mexico
Eva	Poland	Polish	Polish	Poland
Felix	Chicago	No	Mexican-American	Chicago
Jose	Chicago	Spanish	Mexican-American	Mexico
Juan	Chicago	Spanish	Mexican	Mexico
Sancho	Chicago	Spanish	Mexican	Mexico
Solana	Chicago	No	Black/Mexican	Mexico, Chicago
Viviana	Chicago	Spanish	Mexican	Mexico, Chicago
Ynes	Chicago	Spanish	Mexican	Mexico

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[42] "Residence" refers to the distance from the students' residence to the school.

[43] "Ethnicity" reports how students described their own ethnicity when asked.

Student schooling data

Name	Schools attended since kindergarten	Enrolled at J&A since…	High school plans
Abel	2	1st grade	Catholic
Armando	2	4th grade	Catholic
Catalina	3	PreK-3, 6-8	Public
Diego	1	preK	Catholic
Eva	3 (1 in US)	4th grade	Catholic
Felix	4	4th grade	Public
Jose	1	pre-K	Catholic
Juan	1	pre-K	Public
Sancho	1	Kindergarten	Catholic
Solana	6	7th grade	Public
Viviana	3	6th grade	Catholic
Ynes	2	6th grade	Catholic

Faculty/Staff residential and religious data

Name	Role	Residence[44]	Religion
Ayala, Ms.	Community liaison	< 1.0	Catholic
Beckstrom, Ms.	2nd grade teacher	8.31	Catholic
Boetticher, Ms.	Pre-K teacher	7.1	Catholic
DeGroot, Ms.	5th grade teacher	7.21	Catholic
Finnegan, Ms.	3rd grade teacher	4.32	Catholic
Gallagher, Mrs.	7th grade teacher	8.57	Catholic
Gutierrez, Mrs.	1st grade teacher	12.87	Catholic
Hinojosa, Mrs.	K Teacher's Aide	0.11	Catholic
Holohan, Ms.	4th grade teacher	8.15	Catholic
Jasper, Ms.	K teacher	8.84	Catholic
Monroe, Mr.	Principal	8.28	Catholic
Owen, Mr.	Development Dir.	1.55	Catholic
Trinh, Ms.	6th grade teacher	9.32	Catholic
Vasquez, Fr.	Pastor	0	Catholic
Vatske, Mr.	Instructional Coach	35.75	Catholic
Wicket, Mrs.	Admin Asst.	0.11	Catholic
Wilson, Ms.	8th grade teacher	9.35	Catholic

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[44] 'Residence' refers to the distance between the person's home and the school.

Faculty/Staff educational and professional data

Name	Education	Certification	Teaching Experience	Years at J&A
Ayala, Ms.	Bachelors	NA	NA	2
Beckstrom, Ms.	Masters	Teaching	3	1
Boetticher, Ms.	Bachelors	Teaching, ENL	4	2
DeGroot, Ms.	Masters	Teaching	4	4
Finnegan, Ms.	Masters	Teaching	4	4
Gallagher, Mrs.	Masters	Teaching	2	2
Gutierrez, Mrs.	Some college	No	7	7
Hinojosa, Mrs.	Unknown	NA	NA	21
Holohan, Ms.	Masters	Teaching, ENL	8	2
Jasper, Ms.	Masters	Teaching, ENL	7	1
Monroe, Mr.	Masters	Teaching, Admin	7	2
Owen, Mr.	Masters	No	3	3
Trinh, Ms.	Masters	Teaching	3	1
Vasquez, Fr.	Unkown	NA	NA	2
Vatske, Mr.	Masters	Teaching, Admin	20	1
Wicket, Mrs.	Unknown	NA	NA	7
Wilson, Ms.	Masters	Teaching	2	2

Faculty/Staff ethnicity and linguistic data

Name	Race/Ethnicity[45]	Bilingual
Ayala, Ms.	Latina	Spanish
Beckstrom, Ms.	White	No
Boetticher, Ms.	White	Learning Spanish
DeGroot, Ms.	White	Spanish
Finnegan, Ms.	White	Spanish
Gallagher, Mrs.	White	No
Gutierrez, Mrs.	Latina	Spanish
Hinojosa, Mrs.	Latina	Spanish
Holohan, Ms.	White	Spanish
Jasper, Ms.	White	No
Monroe, Mr.	Asian/White	Learning Spanish
Owen, Mr.	White	Learning Spanish
Trinh, Ms.	Asian-American	Vietnamese
Vasquez, Fr.	Latino	Spanish
Vatske, Mr.	White	No
Wicket, Mrs.	Latina	Spanish
Wilson, Ms.	White	No

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[45] Again, this column reports self-described racial/ethnic identity.

Parent information (as reported by students)

Name	Occupation	Birthplace	Bilingual	Education[46]
Abel: Father	Farmer (in Mexico)	Mexico	Spanish	
Abel: Mother	Social Security clerk	Chicago	Spanish	GED
Armando: Father	Building Manager	Chicago	Spanish	HS
Armando: Mother	Babysitter	Chicago	Spanish	Some college
Catalina: Father	Retired	Mexico	Spanish	
Catalina: Mother	Deceased	Mexico	Spanish	
Diego: Father	Construction worker	Mexico	Spanish	
Diego: Mother	Factory worker	Texas	Spanish	
Eva: Mother	Works in a salon	Poland	Polish	
Eva: Stepfather	Firefighter/Electrician	Chicago	Spanish	
Felix: Mother	Pastry chef	Chicago	Spanish	GED
Felix: Stepfather	Computer technician		Spanish	BA
Jose: Father	Janitor	Mexico	Spanish	
Jose: Mother	House cleaner	Mexico	Spanish	
Juan: Father	Construction worker	Mexico	Spanish	
Juan: Mother	Operates a dollar store	Mexico	Spanish	10th
Sancho: Father	Electronics sales	Mexico	Spanish	10th
Sancho: Mother	Unemployed	Mexico	Spanish	
Solana: Father	City sewer worker	Mexico	Spanish	HS
Solana: Mother	Bakery	Chicago	Spanish	12th grade
Viviana: Father	Retired	Mexico	Spanish	HS
Viviana: Mother	Teacher	Chicago	Spanish	BA
Ynes: Father	Janitor	Mexico	Spanish	
Ynes: Mother	Accountant	Mexico	Spanish	BA

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[46] Blank spaces indicate that I did not learn the education status of the parent.

Appendix 5: Interview log

Student Interviews

Student	Int. 1	Length	Int. 2	Length	Int. 3	Length
Abel	01/24/07	33 min	05/09/07	23 min		
Armando	02/05/07	37 min	04/23/07	33 min	05/08/07	34 min
Catalina	03/05/07	26 min				
Diego	03/05/07	25 min				
Eva	03/06/07	30 min				
Felix	02/26/07	31 min	05/10/07	28 min		
Jose	03/05/07	19 min				
Juan	02/20/07	38 min	04/30/07	27 min	05/30/07	Unrec.
Sancho	03/05/07	23 min				
Solana	03/06/07	29 min	05/08/07	20 min		
Viviana	03/06/07	32 min	04/23/07	20 min		
Ynes	03/06/07	26 min				

Student Focus Groups

Pseudonym	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2
Abel	02/28/07	Absent
Armando	02/21/07	05/08/07
Catalina	02/26/07	05/09/07
Diego	02/28/07	05/10/07
Eva	02/26/07	05/09/07
Felix	02/28/07	05/08/07
Jose	02/28/07	05/10/07
Juan	02/28/07	05/10/07
Sancho	02/21/07	05/08/07
Solana	02/21/07	Absent
Viviana	02/26/07	05/09/07
Ynes	02/21/07	05/09/07

Faculty/Staff Interviews

Name	Int. 1	Length	Int. 2	Length	Int. 3	Length
Ayala, Ms.	04/17/07	49 min				
Beckstrom, Ms.	02/27/07	42 min				
Boetticher, Ms.	03/12/07	35 min				
DeGroot, Ms.	02/27/07	42 min				
Finnegan, Ms.	03/13/07	23 min	05/23/07	18 min		
Gallagher, Mrs.	03/13/07	33 min	05/10/07	17 min		
Gutierrez, Mrs.	03/13/07	12 min				
Hinojosa, Ms.	03/21/07	25 min				
Holohan, Ms.	02/27/07	33 min	05/09/07	39 min		
Jasper, Ms.	03/21/07	36 min				
Monroe, Mr.	02/13/07	41 min	05/23/07	36 min	05/23/07	41 min
Owen, Mr.	01/18/07	76 min	04/18/07	Unrec.	04/24/07	Unrec.
Trinh, An	01/24/07	35 min	05/08/07	39 min		
Vasquez, Fr.	04/02/07	32 min				
Vatzke, Mr.	05/30/07	34 min				
Wicket, Mrs.	05/30/07	17 min				
Wilson, Ms.	01/18/07	42 min	05/10/07	31 min		

Parent Interviews

Name	Int. 1	Length
Goya, Mrs.	05/23/07	39 min
Leon, Mrs.	05/07/07	21 min
Izquierdo, Mrs.	04/24/07	37 min
Hinojosa, Ms.	03/21/07	25 min
Gutierrez, Mrs.	03/13/07	12 min
Wicket, Brenda	05/30/07	17 min

Appendix 6: Observation log

Week	**Arrive**	**Depart**	**Days**	**Ints.**	**Focus Groups**	**Hrs. On-Site**
Prelim. Visits			3	0	0	10.5
1	1/8	1/9	2	0	0	9.5
2	1/16	1/18	3	2	0	18.5
3	1/22	1/25	4	2	0	19.5
4	1/31	2/1	2	0	0	12.5
5	2/5	2/5	1	1	0	5.25
6	2/12	2/16	3	1	0	13.75
7	2/20	2/22	3	1	1	19
8	2/26	2/28	3	3	2	16.75
9	3/5	3/7	3	6	0	20.75
10	3/12	3/15	4	4	0	19.25
11	3/21	3/23	3	4	0	14.5
12	3/26	3/30	0	0	0	0
13	4/2	4/4	3	1	0	16.5
14	4/9	4/13	0	0	0	0
15	4/17	4/19	3	2	0	10.5
16	4/23	4/25	3	4	0	17.25
17	4/30	5/4	3	1	0	13
18	5/7	5/10	4	9	3	28.5
19	5/14	5/18	0	0	0	0
20	5/22	5/23	2	4	0	11.75
21	5/29	5/31	2	3	0	20.5
Totals			**54**	**48**	**6**	**297.75**

Appendix 7: Coding summary

Interview Data Coding Summary

Initial Analysis (prior to collapsing)
Data from Interview Transcripts only

Informants	Major Coding Categories	Functional Codes	References
Teachers	Community, Social Capital	13	66
	Culture	26	130
	Education	41	214
	J&A	85	295
	Language Issues	9	60
	On Research & Researcher	2	6
	Personal	45	247
	Perspectives on Parents	42	188
	Perspectives on Students	50	121
	Perspectives on Teaching	120	428
	Pilsen	13	54
	Religion	17	41
Students	Aspirations	20	92
	Personal	22	142
	Pilsen	11	58
	Race & Ethnicity	7	9
	Religion & Values	16	57
	Spanish	10	42
	Thoughts on school	121	550
Parents	Background & Family	7	20
	J&A	33	81
	On Schooling	22	52
	Pilsen	12	34
	Race, Ethnicity, & Culture	10	16
	Religion & Values	9	25
Totals		**763**	**3028**

Appendix 8: Faculty/Staff codes by category

Summary

Categories	**Codes**	**References**
Community, Social Capital	13	66
Culture	26	130
Education	41	214
J&A	85	295
Language Issues	9	60
On Research & Researcher	2	6
Personal	45	247
Perspectives on Parents	42	188
Perspectives on Students	50	121
Perspectives on Teaching	120	428
Pilsen	13	54
Religion	17	41
Totals	**463**	**1850**

Detailed subcategories and codes

Codes	Sources	References
Community, Social Capital		
Community at J&A - appealing, important	13	25
(Inf) Social capital plays role in getting job	9	10
Community at J&A - need to get parents more involved	6	9
Connection - Catholic parishes & community	4	5
Importance of building community, social capital, relationships	2	5
Community among teachers	3	3
Community service puts faith in action	1	2
School isolated from community	1	2
Community = continuity	1	1
Community = higher achievement	1	1
Connection - School & Church = important to parents	1	1
Social capital as obstacle for White teacher	1	1
Strong relationships needed for strong school	1	1

Culture		
Connection - Religion & Culture	11	17
Cultural differences with students	6	8
Blaming the parents or culture	2	6
(Inf) Whiteness	4	5
(IQ) Favorite things about students' culture	4	5
Cultural discomfort - gender, fighting, morality	4	5

(IQ) Define culture	4	4
Culture - value of knowing your roots	3	4
Latino community is vibrant, growing	4	4
(Inf) Culture of poverty	2	3
(Inf) Hispanic vs. Latino Nomenclature	3	3
(IQ) Describe students' culture	3	3
(Story) Cultural Difference moment	2	2
Color-blind perspective	2	2
Heroes & holidays view of culture - rejected	2	2
Latino Catholicism is vibrant	2	2
(Inf) Anxiety about stereotyping	1	1
(Story) value of shared cultural background	1	1
Americanization	1	1
Purpose of religious practice = socialize into Catholic habits	1	1
Education & Culture		
→Cultural obstacles to learning	14	26
→Culture affects education	6	9
→(IQ) Role of culture in education	8	8
→Immigrant status affects education	3	5
→Multicultural education is important	2	2
→Multicultural education motivated by faith	1	1

Education		
(Story) Expectations of moving to non-Catholic school	1	1
(Story) High School Application Process	1	1
Catholic-Public Comparison		
→(Inf) Catholic HS vs. Public HS	2	2
→(Inf) Public vs. Catholic salary	1	2
Public Schools		
→(Inf) Public school perception, experience	12	15
Catholic Schools		
→(IQ) How is a Catholic school different	13	18
→(Inf) personal Catholic school experience	8	10
→(IQ) Mission of Catholic schools is…	7	8
→(IQ) Religion looks like in my classroom	6	8
→Emphasis on values, morals, religion makes school safer	5	7
→Low salary is an obstacle to staying in Catholic ed	5	6
→Catholic school tuition can be obstacle	3	3
→Nuns as an important indicator of Catholicism	3	3
→Catholic school saturation in Pilsen	1	1
→Church teaching – required to teach	1	1
→(Inf) Catholic school closures	1	1

→(Story) Large, thriving Latino Catholic school	1	1
→(Story) Prayer in school	1	1
→(IQ) Why teach in a Catholic school	11	13
→→Ability to transmit values, morals, faith is important	11	17
→→Ability to pray, share faith with students – appealing	9	14
→→Catholic ed fits my ed philosophy	8	9
→→Ability to relate everything back to faith	5	6
→→Ability to openly express faith-based motivations	4	4
→→Catholic ed is family-centered	4	4
→Appeal of Catholic Schools		
→→Gospel values at our core as Catholic school	6	9
→→Catholic schools are a light, anchor, safe haven for the community	5	7
→→Catholic schools foster community	6	7
→→Catholic school context challenges me to live my faith	3	5
→→Immigrants see Catholic school as safe haven	4	5
→→Catholic school is structured, disciplined	3	3
→→Catholic schools perceived as safer	2	3
→→Immigrants drawn to Catholic schools, church	2	3
→→Catholic schools perceived as excellent academically	2	2
→→Catholicity inflects class discussion	2	2
→→Catholic school allows curriculum flexibility	1	1
→→Discipline issues are easier at Catholic school	1	1
→→Easy to be Catholic in Catholic school	1	1
→On local Catholic HS		
→→(Inf) Cristo Rey admission dilemma	2	3
→→(Inf) Holy Trinity	2	3
→→(Inf) J&A efforts to help HS selection	2	3

J&A		
(IQ) Does J&A prepare kids for HS	4	5
(IQ) Why parents send kids to J&A	10	12
Community engagement		
→(Inf) Community service projects	1	1
→(IQ) Role of J&A in the community	8	8
→Efforts to help educate parents	1	1
→J&A community has strong social capital	1	1
→J&A needs to reach out to community more, market itself	5	8
Describing J&A		
→(IQ) Classroom demographics	6	8
→(IQ) Describe your first visit to J&A	6	6
→(IQ) J&A is...	7	7
→(IQ) J&A's value-added	9	12

→(Story) How principal represents J&A to new teachers	1	1
→(Story) J&A grads reminiscing	1	1
→Happiness at J&A	3	3
→**Strengths**		
→→(Inf) New resources	1	1
→→(IQ) What J&A does well	6	6
→→(Story) Reading has improved	2	2
→→Admin will support prof dev	1	1
→→Catholic identity is a strength at J&A	2	2
→→J&A is best Catholic school in area	2	2
→→Racial tolerance at school	1	1
→→Reading focus has led to improvement	5	8
→→Reading focus helps ELLs	4	4
→→**Teachers**		
→→→(Inf) Teachers are Type-A, neurotic, driven	1	1
→→→Collaboration among teachers & admin	3	4
→→→Teacher youth is benefit	1	1
→→→Teachers are committed to J&A	5	6
→→→Teachers are highly qualified	5	6
→→→Teachers support one another	3	4
→→→Teachers work hard at J&A	2	3
→**Weaknesses**		
→→(Inf) Unsolicited criticism of J&A	2	4
→→(IQ) How J&A can improve	5	9
→→J&A is a challenging place to be	1	1
→→J&A is chaotic	1	2
→→Physical plant of the school as obstacle to community	2	2
→→School isolated from community	1	2
→→Difficult times at J&A	2	2
→→**Academic**		
→→→J&A is underperforming	1	1
→→→Test scores need improvement	1	2
→→**Administrative**		
→→→Difficulty attracting & retaining teachers	1	1
→→→Financial difficulties of J&A	1	2
→→→Organization & communication need improvement at J&A	5	5
→→→Teacher frustrated by lack of communication, unclear expectations	1	5
→→→Working to improve professional development for teachers	1	1
→→**Catholic Identity**		
→→→(Story) Frustration with culture of religion at J&A	1	1
→→→Catholic identity needs improvement at J&A	4	6
→→**Cultural**		

→→→Faculty demographics contrast with community demographics	1	3
→→→Mexican culture not integrated in school	2	3
→→→Student bilingualism is undervalued	2	2
→→**Curricular**		
→→→(Inf) Need to ID special needs kids at J&A	1	1
→→→Curriculum needs improvement at J&A	4	6
→→→Need for better after-school care	2	2
→→**Discipline needs improvement at J&A**	2	2
→→→J&A was stricter when I was a student	1	1
→→**Teachers**		
→→→Difficulty getting teachers to buy in to changes	1	1
→→→J&A faculty & staff are overwhelmed	1	1
→→→Teachers gossip, bicker	3	3
Family environment fostered		
→(Story) Family invited into school	2	2
→Family affects education	4	4
→Family atmosphere at J&A	3	4
→Family brought together by Church	1	1
→Family concept is different - appealing	4	5
→Family important in Latino culture	5	6
→Isolated in classroom	1	1
→J&A = community of faith	1	1
→J&A families are loyal to J&A	1	1
→J&A feels like home	2	3
Magnificat (partnership with university)		
→(Inf) Magnificat	4	10
→(Story) Principal's assessment of Magnificat	1	2
State of the School		
→(Inf) Enrollment decline at J&A	2	2
→(Inf) J&A in transition	8	9
→(Inf) Long-term viability of J&A	1	2
→(Inf) Pre-transition	8	11
→Efforts to increase enrollment	1	1
→Honesty about challenges J&A faces	1	1
→How enrollment affects religion at school	1	1
→Transition = academic improvement	9	11
→Transition = best for younger sts	1	1
→Transition = higher expectations	3	3
→Transition = improved resources	4	4
→Transition = lower enrollment	1	1
→Transition = turbulent with parents	2	2
→Transition = weakened community	3	3

→Transition = younger teachers	2	2
→Transition improvement from awful to better	1	1
→Transition requires patience	3	3

Language Issues		
(Inf) ELLs in my class	2	2
(Inf) Language accommodations at J&A	6	6
(IQ) Students' Spanish	6	8
(IQ) Teacher's Spanish	11	14
ENL influenced ed & culture views	1	1
Home language vs. School language	5	8
Language as obstacle to learning	10	15
Language is not explicitly addressed	2	3
Spanish in use in school	3	3

On Research & Researcher		
Confiding in researcher	1	1
Researcher skews or misses data	1	5

Personal		
(Inf) Personal cultural norms	4	5
(Inf) Future plans	9	12
→(Inf) Considering a graduate degree	1	1
→Desire to remain in Catholic school	7	8
Community Engagement		
→(Inf) Teacher's involvement in the neighborhood	5	7
Education & Professional		
→(Inf) Alternative teacher ed program	9	11
→(Inf) Career change	1	1
→(Inf) Catholic school attendance	8	10
→(Inf) Comparison to previous teaching job	4	10
→(Inf) J&A Graduate	2	2
→(Inf) Teacher background info	16	29
→(Inf) Teacher education status	10	13
→(Inf) Teaching experience prior to J&A	6	8
→(IQ) Tenure at J&A	10	10
→(Story) Juarez grad to elite college	1	1
(Story) Outreach director background	1	1
Family-Personal Life		
→(Inf) Teacher's own kids in Catholic schools	4	5
→(IQ) Self-Description	5	5
→(IQ) Teacher living situation	4	4

Personal Motivations		
→(Inf) Personal commitment to J&A	3	3
→(Inf) Teaching as vocation, calling	4	5
→(IQ) Why teacher came to J&A	5	6
→Low student-teacher ratio = appealing	3	4
→Magnificat = exciting prospect	3	3
→Motivated by desire for field experience	1	1
→Motivated by desire to give back	5	7
→Motivated by desire to serve common good, make a difference	6	6
→Motivated by faith, opportunity to share faith	9	10
→Motivated by interaction with kids, families	2	2
→Motivated by Magnificat	2	2
→Motivated by ND connection	2	2
→Motivated by personal religious growth	5	6
→Motivated by previous experience with Catholic schools	3	3
→Motivated by social justice	4	7
→Motivated by spiritual focus	1	1
→Willingness to take a pay cut	1	1
Religiosity		
→(Inf) Church-going and parish involvement	13	15
→(IQ) What does it mean to be Catholic	1	1
→(Story) Being a confirmation sponsor	1	1
→(Story) Personal faith experience	2	2
→Attributing divine intervention	2	4
→Catholic = being a good person	2	2
→Catholicity is central to my identity	6	6
→Difficulty articulating Catholic identity	1	1
→Faith - reliance in difficult times	2	3

Perspectives on Parents		
Parents care about, support student learning	9	12
→Parents have high expectations	4	6
→Parents send kids to J&A for academics, good teachers	3	6
→Parents send kids to J&A bc they care about future	3	4
Parent sees teacher as primary educator	7	9
Parent is the primary educator	3	5
(IQ) What are parents like	3	3
Parents send kids to J&A as alternative to public school	3	3
Parents send kids here because its cheapest catholic school	1	2
Parents send kids to J&A to learn English	2	2
(Inf) Students' parents were J&A grads	1	1

(Story) Parent accuses teacher of racism	1	1
Parents learn English from kids	1	1
Parent Involvement		
→Parent interaction – inconsistent	7	7
→Parent interaction – frequent	5	5
→Parent interaction – difficult	4	4
→(Story) Getting a parent involved by trade	1	1
→(Story) Interaction with Jose’s dad	1	1
→(Story) Spanish-speaking parents highly involved	1	1
Parent Obstacles		
→Parents don’t know how to support students	11	14
→Parent education status as obstacle to learning	7	9
→Parent language = obstacle to interaction	7	7
→Parent workloads = obstacle to interaction	4	5
→Parent workloads = obstacle to learning	4	5
→Parents need help supporting students	3	4
→Parents are intimidated by teachers	1	3
→Parents don’t value education	2	2
→Parents are too young	1	1
Parents want Community		
→Parents send kids here because of community connection	7	9
→Parents send kids here for safety	7	8
→Parents send their kids to J&A bc of tradition	6	7
→Parents want to be involved at school	2	4
→Parents desire stability in school	1	2
→Parents dislike teacher turnover	1	2
→Parents send kids to J&A for extra attention	2	2
→Parents send their kids here for social capital reasons	2	2
→Parents send kids here because they trust us	1	1
Parents want Value Transmission		
→Parents send kids to J&A for religious, moral, faith, value transmission	12	18
→Parents send kids to J&A for discipline	1	1
Positive Attributes		
→Parents are hard-working	3	4
→Parents are amazing, to be admired	3	3
→Parents are critical constituents	1	1

Perspectives on Students		
(Inf) Current 8th graders - assessment	5	10
(Inf) Teacher gets emotional talking about sts	1	1
(IQ) J&A students are...	7	7

→Students are mix of good and bad	1	2
→Students are like any other middle schoolers	1	1
Achievement		
→Students are low ability, behind	6	11
→Student success depends on HS	3	3
→(Story) Student showing improvement	2	2
→Teacher feels unprepared for low ability levels	2	2
→Students are at grade level or above	1	1
→Students are average, acdg to test scores	1	1
→Students are low ability but not stupid	1	1
→Students are not living up to potential	1	1
→Students are not prepared for HS	1	1
→Test scores, grades not enough to measure success	1	1
→Uncertain about student preparedness for HS	1	1
Challenges Students Face		
→Poverty as obstacle to learning	5	6
→Students experience racism	5	5
→Students are concerned about HS, college	3	4
→Students are worldly, have seen so much	4	4
→Students & parents need help thinking about HS	2	3
→(Inf) Difficult home lives of students	2	3
→Students = limited experience outside Pilsen	2	2
→(Story) Students and racism	1	1
→Immigration status uncertain	1	1
→Students know it's not gonna be easy for them	1	1
→Students will have to pay for own college	1	1
Negative Traits		
→Student religiosity frustrates teacher	4	5
→Students are products of their community	1	2
→(Story) Students are too grown-up	2	2
→Students don't take care of school	1	1
→Students lack personal responsibility	1	1
Positive Traits		
→Students have potential	4	4
→Students want to be good students, are interested in learning	3	4
→Students avoid gang trouble at J&A	3	3
→Students are enthusiastic about faith	1	2
→Students are generous	2	2
→Students are good kids	2	2
→Students are kind	2	2
→Students are respectful	2	2

→Students are strong, resilient	2	2
→Students support each other	2	2
→(Story) Student generosity	1	1
→Can ID J&A students by attitude	1	1
→Students are energetic	1	1
→Students are independent	1	1
→Students are socialized to be good students	1	1
→Students do take care of school	1	1
→Students get along, don't fight	1	1
→Students get strong social skills at home	1	1

Perspectives on Teaching		
Principal's expectations of teachers	1	2
Teaching at J&A is a dream come true	1	2
(IQ) Most important thing I teach	2	2
Teacher insecurity about ability	1	1
Teaching has changed me	1	1
Teaching is low prestige job	1	1
Dimensions of Cultural Responsiveness		
→**Caring**		
→→Desire for personal relationship with sts	3	12
→→Caring = caring for whole person; academic & faith & personal	8	10
→→(Inf) What caring means in my class	8	8
→→Caring = caring about academic success	6	7
→→Caring = taking extra time with students	6	6
→→Concerned about students' futures	4	6
→→Teacher spends extra time with students	6	6
→→Caring = empathizing with students	4	5
→→Caring = affirming students	4	4
→→Caring = demonstrating personal investment in student achievement	4	4
→→Caring = having high expectations, expecting success	3	4
→→Teacher as martyr	1	4
→→Teachers respect students	4	4
→→Caring is motivated by faith	3	3
→→Caring = critical to my ed philosophy	2	2
→→Caring = making sts feel safe	2	2
→→Caring = more than feeling loved	2	2
→→Desire to be loved by students	1	2
→→Failure to truly care, pre-transition	2	2
→→Students = need to feel they are cared for	2	2
→→Students taught to care for each other	2	2

→→Teacher as older sister or friend	1	2
→→(Story) Showing an R-rated film in class	1	1
→→Caring = encouraging kids to be themselves	1	1
→→Caring = having same expectations as I have for my own kids	1	1
→→Caring = letting students know me personally	1	1
→→Caring = modeling respect	1	1
→→Caring = tough love, discipline	1	1
→→Caring manifested in actions, not words	1	1
→→Students engaged by personal relationships, real-life discussions	1	1
→→(Inf) Teacher gets emotional talking about sts	1	1
→→Teachers care about kids	1	1
→**Cultural-Community Competence**		
→→Connection – School, Parish, Family	11	19
→→Teachers get to know kids, families personally	10	17
→→Home & School Disconnect	6	8
→→Teacher has elevated status in local culture = La Maestra	8	8
→→Connection –making home & school connection is important	4	7
→→Imposing personal cultural norms on sts	4	7
→→Cultural competence by relating to sts	4	6
→→Cultural competence is important	3	5
→→Cultural competence needed to be good teacher	3	5
→→Connection – home values & school values	3	4
→→Faith – cultural bridge with students	3	4
→→Tapping into student culture	3	4
→→Goal= impart cultural knowledge to kids to prepare them for HS, life	1	3
→→Teacher sees parents at Mass or in parish	3	3
→→Teacher learns from students' culture	2	2
→→Teachers cross cultural lines	2	2
→→(Story) Knowing a kid personally makes a difference	2	2
→→Weak parish-school connection	2	2
→→Weak priest-school connection	1	2
→→Making real-world connections to school	1	1
→→Teacher feels like an outsider	1	1
→**Expectations**		
→→High expectations	6	11
→→(IQ) Teacher's expectations	6	7
→→Academic achievement takes backseat to personal relationships	1	4
→→Low expectations of students, pessimistic	2	4
→→High expectations of social, moral behavior	3	3
→→Academic achievement is primary focus	2	2
→→Students have high aspirations for education	2	2
→→(Story) Effects of high expectations	1	1

→**SocioPolitical Consciousness**		
→→Social reproduction in action	6	6
→→Goal = empower students	4	6
→→Goal = Citizenship, civic leadership, Americanization	4	6
→→Goal = service-oriented, faithful kids	2	3
→→Reluctance to engage controversial issues	1	2
→→Goal = holistic education, including family	2	2
→→Teacher lets students discuss real life issues over curriculum	1	1
→→Goal = prepare future Church leaders	1	1
→→Goal = forming Latino leaders	1	1
→→Want kids to have same opportunities I had	1	1
→→Goal = break cycle of poverty via schooling	1	1
→**Values Transmission**		
→→Values are shared within J&A community – appealing	5	8
→→Moral development linked to social development in Catholic school context	6	7
→→(story) Moral development moment	2	2
→→(Story) Teaching social skills explicitly	1	1
→→**Teaching & Faith**		
→→→Transmission of faith is what makes school, teachers Catholic	6	10
→→→Teachers model, witness morality, faith, values	6	9
→→→Teaching is service for us	5	5
→→→(Inf) Teaching as vocation, calling	4	5
→→→Role model, called to model Christ-like behavior	3	4
→→→Teaching at J&A fosters personal religious growth	3	4
→→→Traditional Catholic school model appeals	1	3
→→→Teachers don’t exude Catholic identity	1	2
→→→Teaching as a means to work for social justice	2	2
→→→Personal growth through professional development	1	1
→→→Purpose of religious practice = socialize into Catholic habits	1	1
→→→Students model or expected to model Christian behavior	1	1
→→→Teacher disagrees with church teaching	1	1
→→→Teachers should support student religious life	1	1
→→→Why take kids to Mass	1	1
Goals of Teaching		
→Goal is to prepare sts to succeed	7	9
→Goal = Citizenship, civic leadership, Americanization	4	6
→Goal = empower students	4	6
→Schooling for social mobility	4	5
→Social development = primary focus	3	4
→Goal = service-oriented, faithful kids	2	3
→Goal= impart cultural knowledge to kids to prepare them for HS, life	1	3
→Goal = expose kids to everything and hope something sticks	1	2

→Goal = holistic education, including family	2	2
→School provides identity	2	2
→School provides identity separate from gangs	2	2
→Goal = break cycle of poverty via schooling	1	1
→Goal = forming Latino leaders	1	1
→Goal = prepare future Church leaders	1	1
→Goal = students have a good experience at school	1	1
→Idealistic view of teaching	1	1
→Success = confident critical thinkers	1	1
→Success = going to excellent HS	1	1
Instruction & Pedagogy		
→(Inf) Planning & Curriculum decisions	2	6
→Informal about assessment, curriculum decisions	1	4
→(Inf) Conducting assessment in class	1	3
→(Story) Springfield Field Trip	1	1
→Efforts to help low achievers	1	1

Pilsen		
(Inf) Defining Inner City, Urban	1	1
(Inf) Gangs & Gangbangers	7	14
(Inf) Polish-Latino transition	6	9
(Story) Field trip out of Pilsen	1	1
(Story) Grafitti & Our Lady of Guadalupe	1	1
(Story) Reflect on shooting near school	4	4
(Story) Students are too grown-up	2	2
Nobody takes responsibility for this neighborhood	1	1
Pilsen - comfortable for teacher	1	1
Pilsen = become more dangerous	2	2
Pilsen = unsafe, negative effect on kids	8	12
Safety is a concern	4	4
Whites would be good for Pilsen	1	2

Religion		
Religion important in Latino culture	5	8
(Inf) Our Lady of Guadalupe	5	5
Religion gives meaning to lessons	5	5
Religion = going to church, prayer	3	3
Religion = more than religion class and Mass	3	3
Religion = treating others well, evident in relationships	2	3
Religion = interacting with priest	2	2
Religion = studying, celebrating holidays	2	2
Religion influences faculty interactions	2	2

(Story) Confirmation preparation	1	1
(Story) Confirmation teacher's take on confirmation	1	1
Religion = participating in Sunday Mass	1	1
Religion = service & giving	1	1
Religion = text book	1	1
Religion = visual symbols	1	1
Religion curriculum lacking	1	1
Religion was more prominent when I went to J&A	1	1

Appendix 9: Student codes by category

Summary

Categories	Functional Codes	References
Aspirations	20	92
Personal	22	142
Pilsen	11	58
Race & Ethnicity	7	9
Religion & Values	16	57
Spanish	10	42
Thoughts on school	121	550
Totals	**207**	**950**

Detailed subcategories and codes

Codes	Sources	References
Aspirations	1	1
(Inf) Career aspirations	10	15
(Inf) College aspirations	12	14
Anxiety about post J&A life	5	9
(IQ) Success in life is...	2	4
Desire to help the community	2	2
(IQ) Obstacles to success	1	2
(IQ) What it takes to succeed	1	2
(IQ) Who helps me achieve success	1	2
(IQ) In life the most important thing is...	1	1
On High School	1	1
→ (Inf) Expectations of HS	10	13
→ (Inf) Choosing a HS	7	8
→ (IQ) How J&A has prepared me for HS	4	5
→ (Inf) Applying to HS	2	4
→ (IQ) Success in HS	2	3
→ (Inf) HS classes	2	2
→ (Inf) HS entrance exam reflections	2	2
→Anxiety about public HS	1	1
→ (Inf) HS Scholarship	1	1

Personal		
(IQ) What I am good at	6	16
(Inf) Experience outside Chicago	7	8
(Inf) Internet Access	3	3
Keep my gifts to myself	1	2

Role Model	1	1
Activities		
→ (IQ) What I do outside of school	9	25
→ (Inf) Basketball Team	2	2
→ (Inf) Working	1	1
Family		
→ (IQ) Family origin	9	18
→ (IQ) Parents' occupations	9	14
→ (Inf) Sibling's Status	8	13
→ (IQ) Parents' Education	8	8
→Thankful to parents	1	8
→ (Inf) J&A Sibling	5	6
→Different conception of family	2	5
→ (Inf) Living situation	3	4
→ (Inf) J&A Parent	2	2
→ (Inf) Absent parent	2	2
→ (Inf) Frequent moving	1	1
→ (Inf) Parent in Mexico	1	1
→ (Inf) Parent Incarcerated	1	1
→ (Inf) Teenage mother	1	1

Pilsen		
(Inf) Gangbangers	7	11
(IQ) Describe your neighborhood	9	9
(IQ) Positive Aspects of the neighborhood	8	8
(Inf) Violence	4	8
(IQ) Most important places in neighborhood	6	6
(IQ) Worst aspects of the neighborhood	6	6
On local public schools	3	5
Story about the neighborhood	2	2
Live outside this neighborhood	1	1
Accustomed to violence	1	1
Neighborhood improving	1	1

Race & Ethnicity		
Attitude toward other minorities	1	2
Desire to not be judged	2	2
(IQ) Favorite thing about ethnicity	1	1
If teachers were Mexican…	1	1
Making connections	1	1
(Inf) Self description	1	1

Thoughts on immigration	1	1

Religion & Values		
(IQ) Being Catholic	8	14
Casual religiosity	9	12
Catholic school & community	3	4
Church as safe place	4	4
Church-going habits	3	4
(Inf) Confirmation	3	3
(IQ) Favorite thing about being Catholic	3	3
Helping others & Community service	3	3
(Inf) Non-Catholic	2	2
Political stance	1	2
Religion & Culture	1	1
Religion at home	1	1
Religion doesn't matter	1	1
Religious identity uncertainty	1	1
School's response to student questioning faith	1	1
Thankful for sending me to Catholic school	1	1

Spanish		
(Inf) Spanish in the home	9	12
Reasons to know Spanish	7	7
(Inf) Spanish at school	5	5
Desire to learn Spanish	4	4
Learning English	2	3
Student rejects Spanish	2	3
Switching languages	3	3
Embarrassed to not know Spanish	2	2
Parent encourages Spanish use	1	2
(Inf) Spanish Mass	1	1

Thoughts on School		
Difficulties in School		
When I get bored in class	5	9
When school is not challenging enough	4	6
When I've hated school	3	3
Being searched	2	2
Difficulty paying attention in school	2	2
Wasting time with schoolwork	2	2
Being myself	1	1
Difficulty asking for help	1	1

Everything went downhill	1	1
When I don't do well	1	1
Discipline	2	2
When teacher loses control	5	7
Punishment	4	5
Bad kids	3	4
Fighting	3	4
How I feel about getting in trouble	3	4
Value of Discipline	1	2
Being sent out of the room	1	1
Maturing	1	1
Story of getting in trouble	2	2
→Skipping school	1	1
Home and school	1	1
Homework	3	3
Difficulty doing schoolwork at home	2	2
Making connections btwn schoolwork and life	1	1
On Catholic schooling		
Catholic education	8	16
Difference btwn Catholic & public school	10	14
glad to be in Catholic school	2	2
Prayer in school	2	2
Future of Catholic schools	1	1
On J&A		
(IQ) Why my parents sent me to J&A	9	19
Community at J&A	9	14
(IQ) What could J&A improve	8	11
(IQ) What I like about J&A	7	9
(Inf) Changes at J&A	5	8
(IQ) Describing J&A	5	7
(Inf) Low enrollment Small class size	6	7
Like a second home	5	6
Frustration with classmates	3	5
(Inf) Tuition	3	5
J&A's reputation vs other Catholic schools	4	4
(IQ) Memory of 1st day at J&A	4	4
Reluctant to leave J&A	4	4
How J&A has changed me	2	3
J&A as alternative to public school	3	3
(IQ) J&A is...	3	3
Thankful for sending me to J&A	1	3

(IQ) What J&A does well	3	3
Why more kids don't come to J&A	2	2
Desire to attend J&A by public school kids	1	1
(IQ) Normal day at J&A	1	1
Protective of J&A	1	1
Without J&A, who knows where I'd be	1	1
On schooling	**1**	**1**
(Inf) Grades	11	19
Pressure to do well in school	6	14
Intrinsic motivation to learn	8	11
(IQ) In school the most important thing is...	8	9
(Inf) Reading habits	7	9
(IQ) Why it's important to do well in school	5	9
Desire for high expectations	5	7
(IQ) School is ...	7	7
(IQ) What you need for a good life	5	6
(IQ) Success in school is...	3	3
When I've loved school	3	3
Assignments I like	2	2
(Inf) MySpace	2	2
How school makes me successful	1	1
(Inf) Test scores	1	1
School community		
Fitting in	3	3
Friendship	2	2
Having fun at school	1	2
(Inf) Gender dynamics	1	1
Outsider	1	1
Thankful to classmates	1	1
Teachers		
High expectations	8	15
Give me attention	8	12
Thankful to teachers	1	11
Caring	8	10
Help me achieve or understand	8	9
Spends time with me outside school	6	9
(IQ) What teachers know about my talents	6	8
(IQ) Advice to teachers	6	7
Uncaring teachers	5	7
Attitudes toward teachers	6	6
Get to know me well	5	6

(IQ) I learn most from	5	6
(IQ) I like best	6	6
Teacher need to like sts	6	6
Want me to be successful	5	6
Let us get to know them personally	3	5
Need to like teachers to learn	5	5
(IQ) When teachers like you	4	5
Care for whole person	2	4
Good teaching	4	4
Hardworking	2	4
Take time with me	3	4
Ideal teacher	2	3
Relates to me, there's a connection	2	3
Conflicts with teachers	1	2
Fun	2	2
Negative experience with teacher	2	2
Respects us	2	2
Approachable, Easy to talk to	1	1
Dedicated to her job	1	1
Explain things clearly	1	1
I learn a lot from them	1	1
Ideal relationship with teachers	1	1
Low achievement	1	1
Need for chemistry	1	1
Pick on me	1	1
Put up with a lot	1	1
Talk about current events	1	1
Will protect us	1	1
What we learn	**4**	**4**
(Inf) Religion class	6	8
(IQ) What I like to learn	5	5
Learning social skills in school	3	4
Religious Identity	3	4
Manners & Politeness	1	2
(IQ) What I am good at in school	2	2

Appendix 10: Parent codes by category

Summary

Name	Functional Codes	References
Background & Family	7	20
J&A	33	81
On Schooling	22	52
Pilsen	12	34
Race, Ethnicity, & Culture	10	16
Religion & Values	9	25
Totals	**93**	**228**

Codes	Sources	References

Detailed subcategories and codes

Codes	Sources	References
Background & Family		
(Inf) Parent background info	2	7
(Inf) Family member attended J&A	4	4
Parent education status	2	4
(Inf) Teen pregnancy	2	2
Difficulties at home	1	1
Involvement in child's life	1	1
Parents send kids to J&A bc its tradition	1	1

J&A		
Catholic school effect	2	9
(IQ) Why send kids to J&A	4	5
(IQ) What is success at J&A	2	3
HS decision process for J&A sts	2	2
(Story) Disciplinary incident at J&A	1	1
(Story) HS decision process for J&A student	1	1
J&A graduates current status, careers	1	1
Community at J&A	1	1
→J&A is one big family	2	3
→(Inf) Parents who care	2	2
→(IQ) How to involve more parents at J&A	2	2
→J&A parents are most concerned about	2	2
→(IQ) Describe the culture of J&A	1	1
→Cultivating sense of family at J&A	1	1
→J&A influences the home	1	1

→Need for J&A to involve more parents	1	1
J&A Teachers		
→Caring teachers	2	5
→(IQ) Describe the teachers at J&A	3	3
→Regular contact with teachers	2	3
→(IQ) Interaction with teachers	1	2
→Excellent pedagogy at J&A	2	2
→Teachers have high expectations	1	1
→Teachers have vocation to teach	1	1
→Teachers want to be at J&A	1	1
Positives of J&A		
→Students get attention at J&A	3	5
→(IQ) Value-added from J&A	4	4
→Student achievement improves, is high at J&A	4	4
→(IQ) What does J&A do well	3	3
→Appeal of low student teacher ratio	2	3
→Student develops religious identity	3	3
→J&A as safe place	1	2
→Student learns social skills at J&A	1	2
→(IQ) How J&A facilitates success	1	1

On schooling		
I want better for my kid	3	5
(IQ) Parent's own expectations	3	4
Importance of college	3	3
(IQ) Ideal teacher	1	2
Home culture vs School culture	1	2
Importance of schooling	2	2
Schooling as path to social mobility	2	2
Student career aspirations	2	2
(IQ) Advice to teachers	1	1
(IQ) Most important thing in school	1	1
(Story) Parent supports learning at home	1	1
Measuring achievement – learning vs. grades	1	1
School-community connection	1	1
Schooling as path to racial harmony	1	1
Value of learning how to learn	1	1
Describing good schooling		
→Desire for student to be challenged	1	6
→Desire for discipline	2	5
→Desire for high expectations	2	5

→Need to stay on top of kids	1	3
→Desire for moral development	1	2
→Need for school to respect students	1	1
→Need to prepare for the real world	1	1

Pilsen	0	0
Threats in Pilsen	3	5
(Inf) Gangbangers	3	4
Need for safety and protection in Pilsen	2	4
(Inf) Family roots in Pilsen	3	3
Pilsen conception of family	1	2
Polish-Latino Connection	2	2
(Story) Son's experience with gangs	1	1
Negative view of Pilsen	1	1
Public school experience	1	1
→Previous public school experience	2	6
→The wrong crowd	1	3
→(Story) Experience with public school	1	2

Race, Ethnicity, Culture		
Culture in the school	2	4
(Story) Cultural differences in school	1	2
Cultural attitudes toward education	1	1
Language		
→(Inf) Parent’s Spanish	2	2
→(IQ) Importance of learning Spanish	1	1
Latino community		
→Community among Latinos	1	1
→Importance of the Latino community	1	1
Race		
→Experience in multi-racial settings	1	2
→Racelessness @ J&A	1	1
→Racial tolerance within school community	1	1

Religion & Values		
(Inf) Church-going & parish involvement	2	6
Church in the community	2	5
Religion & Culture	1	3
Student develops religious identity	3	3
(Inf) Parent's religious background	1	2
Pilsen conception of family	1	2

Religion is important to my family	2	2
(IQ) Most important thing in life	1	1
(IQ) What does success look like for your child	1	1

Appendix 11: Axial Codes

Achievement codes

The data, as described in chapter five, consisted primarily of observation fieldnotes, and interview and focus group transcripts. I read and then re-read each interview and observation, creating open, or flexible, codes as I read. For chapter seven, for example, I then clustered all the data that were both positively and negatively associated with academic achievement, and this coding category comprised evidence of parent, student, and teacher perceptions and beliefs about academic achievement. These data included discourse and behavior indicating attitudes about how to improve achievement, the identification of obstacles to achievement, and beliefs about the importance of academic achievement. These data also included disconfirming evidence, or moments from classroom observations and interview discourse when academic achievement seemed to be undermined by students, teachers, or school policy.

After examining the data it became clear that a second category was needed for a particularly robust set of thematic codes. Teachers, students, and parents consistently used a single word to describe both teacher and student motivation for achievement in school: "caring." The literature, with its emphasis on a form of caring that includes fundamental concern for high achievement (Gay, 2000; Noddings, 1992), led me to expect to encounter caring as a code within the umbrella of academic achievement, but its prevalence in the data warranted a separate family of codes for more explicit and focused elaboration and consideration. Approximately one-third (21 of 64) of the final thematic codes dedicated to academic achievement related specifically to caring, and so the data were pulled out and organized separately from other data related to academic achievement but unrelated to caring. After extensive review of the data and the creation and collapse of axial codes, I was left with 64 robust codes associated with academic achievement. Of these 64 codes, 21 were related to caring dispositions and 43 were related to other aspects of academic achievement. Caring codes were applied to 187 references in the data, and other achievement codes were applied to 393 data points. Disconfirming case codes were applied to 25 data points. After completing the axial coding, the qualitative data that was associated with academic achievement was categorized in two parts: data related to academic achievement itself and data related to the caring disposition that encourages achievement.

After further analysis of these data points, I recognized patterns of themes within these two sections, and I created axial thematic codes to organize my write-up. During the course of writing and revising, each of the thematic codes has been revised repeatedly.

Cultural competence codes

Initially, I created codes to cluster all data that were both positively and negatively associated with cultural competence. This coding category comprised evidence of parent, student, and teacher perceptions and beliefs about cultural competence and related constructs, such as community-building and social capital. These data included discourse indicating attitudes about how one builds community, identifying obstacles to cultural competence, and revealing beliefs about the role of culture in schooling. These data include disconfirming evidence as well, or moments from classroom observations and interviews when cultural competence seemed to be undermined by students, teachers, or school policy.

As with the academic achievement data, I found that a second category was needed for a particularly robust set of thematic codes that emerged within the larger category of cultural competence. Teachers, students, and parents consistently used a single word to describe a construct related to cultural competence in school: “community.”

The literature, with its emphasis on building bridges to the local community in order to facilitate cultural competence (Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 2001; Nieto, 2002), led me to expect to encounter thoughts about community and community-building as a code within the umbrella of cultural competence, but its prevalence in the data warranted a separate code for more explicit elaboration and consideration. Most of the codes dedicated to cultural competence relate specifically to community-building, and so those data were pulled out and organized separately from other data related to cultural competence but unrelated to community-building. After extensive review of the data, creating axial codes and collapsing them, I was left with 72 robust codes associated with cultural competence. Of these 72 codes, 41 were related to community-building and 31 were related to other aspects of cultural competence. Community-building codes were applied to 338 references in the data, and cultural competence codes were applied to 237 data points. Disconfirming case codes were applied to 33 data points.

After further analysis of these data points, I began to recognize themes within and across these two sections of codes, I articulated these themes as final axial thematic codes. During the process of writing, rewriting, and revising, these thematic codes were re-articulated repeatedly to best and most accurately reflect what I saw in the data with regard to cultural competence.

Sociopolitical consciousness codes

Initially, I organized codes to cluster all data that were both positively and negatively associated with sociopolitical consciousness. This coding category comprised evidence of parent, student, and teacher perceptions and beliefs about sociopolitical consciousness and related constructs, such as social justice and values transmission. These data included discourse indicating sociopolitical attitudes about the purpose of schooling, identifying beliefs about the mission of Catholic education, and revealing beliefs about the process of values transmission in schooling. These data includes disconfirming evidence as well, or moments from classroom observations and interviews when the critical lens seemed to be undermined by students, teachers, or school policy.

As with the two previous thematic categories, I found that a second sub-category was needed for a particularly robust set of thematic codes that I created within the larger category of sociopolitical consciousness. Teachers, students, and parents consistently used the term “values” to describe the goals of Catholic schooling. In particular, teachers and parents indicated that a core dimension of the educational project at J&A—and in Catholic schools more generally—was a process of values transmission. The particular sociopolitical consciousness encouraged at J&A was closely tied to the particular values that were transmitted, so these coding categories are related.

The literature, with its emphasis on the development of a critical lens for considering the sociopolitical dimensions of students’ lives (Delpit, 1995; Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 2001; Nieto, 2002), led me to expect to encounter perspectives on community values within the umbrella of sociopolitical consciousness, but the prevalence of the notion of values transmission in the data warranted a separate code for more explicit elaboration and consideration as an element of a Discourse of Catholic Schooling. The majority (40 of 57) of all thematic codes dedicated to sociopolitical consciousness related specifically to values transmission, and so those data were pulled out and organized separately from other data related to sociopolitical consciousness but unrelated to values transmission. After extensive review of the data and the creation and collapse of axial codes, I was left with 57 robust thematic codes associated with sociopolitical consciousness. Of these 57 codes, 40 were related to values transmission and 17 were related to other aspects of sociopolitical consciousness. Values transmission codes were applied to 309 references in the data, and other sociopolitical consciousness codes were applied to 64 data points. Disconfirming case codes were applied to 11 data points.

After further analysis of these data points, I recognized patterns within and across these two sections, and I created final axial thematic codes.

Summary of axial codes

Coding Categories	**Functional Codes**	**References**
Caring	32	109
Community & Social Capital	75	301
Cultural Competence	108	292
Expectations & Achievement	59	166
SocioPolitical Consciousness	21	61
Values Transmission	58	267
Total:	**353**	**1196**

Detailed subcategories and codes

Codes	**Sources**	**References**
Caring		
Defining Caring		
Caring = caring for whole person; academic & faith & personal	8	10
Caring = caring about academic success	6	7
Caring = taking extra time with students	6	6
Caring = empathizing with students	4	5

Caring = affirming students	4	4
Caring = demonstrating personal investment in student achievement	4	4
Caring = having high expectations, expecting success	3	4
Teacher as martyr	1	4
Caring = making sts feel safe	2	2
Caring = more than feeling loved	2	2
Teacher as older sister or friend	1	2
Caring = encouraging kids to be themselves	1	1
Caring = having same expectations as I have for my own kids	1	1
Caring = letting students know me personally	1	1
Caring = modeling respect	1	1
Caring = tough love, discipline	1	1
Disconfirming Cases of Caring		
Failure to truly care, pre-transition	2	2
(Story) Showing an R-rated film in class	1	1
Evidence of Caring		
(Inf) What caring means in my class	8	8
Concerned about students' futures	4	6
Teacher spends extra time with students	6	6
Teachers respect students	4	4
(Inf) Teacher gets emotional talking about sts	1	1
Caring manifested in actions, not words	1	1
Claims that teachers care about kids	1	1
Motivation for Caring		
Desire for personal relationship with sts	3	12
Caring is motivated by faith	3	3
Caring = critical to my ed philosophy	2	2
Desire to be loved by students	1	2
Students = need to feel they are cared for	2	2
Students taught to care for each other	2	2
Students engaged by personal relationships, real-life discussions	1	1

Community & Social Capital		
Benefits of School Community		
Community at J&A - appealing, important	13	25
Catholic schools foster community	6	7
Catholic schools are a light, anchor, safe haven for the community	5	7
Immigrants see Catholic school as safe haven	4	5
Importance of building community, social capital, relationships	2	5
Catholic schools perceived as safer	2	3
Students avoid gang trouble at J&A	3	3

Community = continuity	1	1
Community = higher achievement	1	1
Strong relationships needed for strong school	1	1
Community among Faculty-Staff		
(Inf) Social capital plays role in getting job	9	10
Collaboration among teachers & admin	3	4
Teachers support one another	3	4
Community among teachers	3	3
Teachers gossip, bicker	3	3
Isolated in classroom	1	1
J&A = community of faith	1	1
Family at J&A		
Family important in Latino culture	5	6
Family concept is different - appealing	4	5
Family affects education	4	4
Family atmosphere at J&A	3	4
J&A feels like home	2	3
Students support each other	2	2
(Story) Family invited into school	2	2
Family brought together by Church	1	1
J&A families are loyal to J&A	1	1
Students get along, don't fight	1	1
Home-School-Community Connections		
Connection - Catholic parishes & community	4	5
Catholic ed is family-centered	4	4
(Inf) Difficult home lives of students	2	3
Connection - School & Church = important to parents	1	1
Community Engagement		
(IQ) Role of J&A in the community	8	8
J&A needs to reach out to community more, market itself	5	8
Community service puts faith in action	1	2
School isolated from community	1	2
(Inf) Community service projects	1	1
Efforts to help educate parents	1	1
Parents want Community		
Parents send kids here because of community connection	7	9
Parents send kids here for safety	7	8
Parents send their kids to J&A bc of tradition	6	7
Parents want to be involved at school	2	4
Parents desire stability in school	1	2
Parents dislike teacher turnover	1	2

Parents send kids to J&A for extra attention	2	2
Parents send their kids here for social capital reasons	2	2
Parents send kids here because they trust us	1	1
Students are products of their community	1	2
Students get strong social skills at home	1	1
Obstacles to community		
Low Enrollment		
(Inf) Enrollment decline at J&A	2	2
Efforts to increase enrollment	1	1
Parent education status as obstacle to learning	7	9
Parents need to be more involved	6	9
Parent language = obstacle to interaction	7	7
Parent workloads = obstacle to interaction	4	5
Parent workloads = obstacle to learning	4	5
Parents are intimidated by teachers	1	3
School isolated from community	1	2
Teacher feels like an outsider	1	1
Transition		
Transition = turbulent with parents	3	3
Transition = weakened community	2	2
Transition = lower enrollment	1	1
Pilsen		
(Inf) Gangs & Gangbangers	7	14
(Inf) Polish-Latino transition	8	12
(Story) Field trip out of Pilsen	6	9
(Story) Grafitti & Our Lady of Guadalupe	4	4
(Story) Reflect on shooting near school	4	4
(Story) Students are too grown-up	2	2
Nobody takes responsibility for this neighborhood	2	2
Pilsen - comfortable for teacher	1	1
Pilsen = become more dangerous	1	1
Pilsen = unsafe, negative effect on kids	1	1
Safety is a concern	1	1
Social Capital		
(Inf) Social capital plays role in getting job	9	10
J&A community has strong social capital	1	1
Social capital as obstacle for White teacher	1	1

Cultural Competence		
Color-blind perspective	2	2
Cultural competence is important	4	8

Goal of Ed = Cultural Competence for kids (accessing White Discourse)	1	3
Defining & Describing Culture		
(IQ) Define culture	4	4
(IQ) Describe students' culture	3	3
Culture – value of knowing your roots	3	4
Heroes & holidays view of culture – rejected	2	2
Effect of culture on education	6	9
(IQ) Role of culture in education	8	8
Immigrant status affects education	3	5
Multicultural education is important	2	2
Multicultural education motivated by faith	1	1
Teacher has elevated status in local culture = La Maestra	8	8
Bridging Cultures, Making Connections		
(Story) value of shared cultural background	1	1
Connection – home values & school values	3	4
Connection – Religion & Culture	11	17
Connection – School, Parish, Family	11	19
Making real-world connections to school	1	1
Tapping into student culture	3	4
Teacher learns from students' culture	2	2
Teachers cross cultural lines	2	2
Connection –making home & school connection is important	4	7
Cultural competence by getting to know sts	4	6
Teacher sees parents at Mass or in parish	3	3
Teachers get to know kids, families personally	10	17
Disconfirming		
Home & School Disconnect	6	8
Imposing personal cultural norms on sts	4	7
Faith – cultural bridge with students	3	4
Weak parish-school connection	2	2
Weak priest-school connection	1	2
Challenges of Student Culture		
(Inf) Culture of poverty	2	3
(Story) Cultural Difference moment	2	2
Blaming the parents or culture	2	6
Cultural differences with students	6	8
Cultural discomfort – gender, fighting, morality	4	5
Cultural obstacles to learning	14	26
Valuing Student Culture		
(IQ) Favorite things about students' culture	4	5

(Story) Knowing a kid personally makes a difference	2	2
Latino Catholic community is vibrant, growing	6	6
Language Issues		
(Inf) Language accommodations at J&A	6	6
(IQ) Students' Spanish	6	8
(IQ) Teacher's Spanish	11	14
ENL influenced ed & culture views	1	1
Home language vs. School language	5	8
Language as obstacle to learning	10	15
Language is not explicitly addressed	2	3
Spanish in use in school	3	3
Self Reflexivity		
(Inf) Anxiety about stereotyping	1	1
(Inf) Whiteness	4	5

Expectations & Achievement		
J&A is best Catholic school in area	2	2
(IQ) Teacher's expectations	6	7
Disconfirming		
Academic achievement takes backseat to personal relationships	1	4
Goals of Education		
Goal is to prepare sts to succeed	7	9
Goal = Citizenship, civic leadership, Americanization	4	6
Goal = empower students	4	6
Schooling for social mobility	4	5
Goal = expose kids to everything and hope something sticks	1	2
Academic achievement is primary focus	2	2
Goal = break cycle of poverty via schooling	1	1
Goal = forming Latino leaders	1	1
Success = confident critical thinkers	1	1
Success = going to excellent HS	1	1
High expectations	**6**	**11**
High expectations of social, moral behavior	3	3
Transition = higher expectations	3	3
(Story) Effects of high expectations	1	1
Negative Attitudes toward Sts		
Student religiosity frustrates teacher	4	5
Low expectations of students, pessimistic	2	4
(Story) Students are too grown-up	2	2
Students are products of their community	1	2
Students don't take care of school	1	1

Students lack personal responsibility	1	1
Positive Attitudes toward Sts		
Students have potential	4	4
Students want to be good students, are interested in learning	3	4
Students avoid gang trouble at J&A	3	3
Students are enthusiastic about faith	1	2
Students are generous	2	2
Students are good kids	2	2
Students are kind	2	2
Students are respectful	2	2
Students are strong, resilient	2	2
Students have high aspirations for education	2	2
Students support each other	2	2
Can ID J&A students by attitude	1	1
Students are energetic	1	1
Students are independent	1	1
Students are socialized to be good students	1	1
Students do take care of school	1	1
Students get along, don't fight	1	1
(Story) Student generosity	1	1
Students get strong social skills at home	1	1
Student Achievement		
Students are low ability, behind	6	11
Transition = academic improvement	9	11
Student success depends on HS	3	3
(Story) Student showing improvement	2	2
Catholic schools perceived as excellent academically	2	2
Teacher feels unprepared for low ability levels	2	2
Test scores need improvement	1	2
J&A is underperforming	1	1
Students are at grade level or above	1	1
Students are average, acdg to test scores	1	1
Students are low ability but not stupid	1	1
Students are not living up to potential	1	1
Students are not prepared for HS	1	1
Test scores, grades not enough to measure success	1	1
Uncertain about student preparedness for HS	1	1
(Story) Reading has improved	**2**	**2**
Reading focus has led to improvement	5	8

SocioPolitical Consciousness		

Teacher lets students discuss real life issues over curriculum	1	1
Want kids to have same opportunities I had	1	1
Americanization	1	1
Goals of Education		
Goal = Citizenship, civic leadership, Americanization	4	6
Goal = empower students	4	6
Schooling for social mobility	4	5
Social development = primary focus	3	4
Goal = service-oriented, faithful kids	2	3
Goal= impart cultural knowledge to kids to prepare them for HS, life	1	3
Goal = holistic education, including family	2	2
Goal = break cycle of poverty via schooling	1	1
Goal = forming Latino leaders	1	1
Goal = prepare future Church leaders	1	1
Success = confident critical thinkers	1	1
SocioPolitical Challenges		
Poverty as obstacle to learning	5	6
Social reproduction in action	6	6
Students are worldly, have seen so much	4	4
Reluctance to engage controversial issues	1	2
Students know it’s not gonna be easy for them	1	1
Students experience racism	5	5
(Story) Students and racism	1	1

Values Transmission		
(IQ) Mission of Catholic schools is...	7	8
Disconfirming	5	8
In Loco Parentis		
Parent sees teacher as primary educator	7	9
Parent is the primary educator	3	5
Parents want Value Transmission		
Parents send kids to J&A for religious, moral, faith, value transmission	12	18
Parents send kids to J&A for discipline	1	1
Morals & Social Skills		
Moral development linked to social development in Catholic school context	6	7
(story) Moral development moment	2	2
(Story) Teaching social skills explicitly	1	1
Results of Value Transmission		
(IQ) Religion looks like in my classroom	6	8

Emphasis on values, morals, religion makes school safer	5	7
Religion gives meaning to lessons	5	5
Students avoid gang trouble at J&A	3	3
Catholicity inflects class discussion	2	2
Religion influences faculty interactions	2	2
(Story) Prayer in school	1	1
Students are socialized to be good students	1	1
Teacher Motivation		
Ability to transmit values, morals, faith is important	11	17
Ability to pray, share faith with students - appealing	9	14
Motivated by faith, opportunity to share faith	9	10
Catholic ed fits my ed philosophy	8	9
Motivated by desire to give back	5	7
Motivated by social justice	4	7
Ability to relate everything back to faith	5	6
Motivated by desire to serve common good, make a difference	6	6
Motivated by personal religious growth	5	6
(Inf) Teaching as vocation, calling	4	5
Ability to openly express faith-based motivations	4	4
Traditional Catholic school model appeals	1	3
Teaching as a means to work for social justice	2	2
Motivated by spiritual focus	1	1
Personal growth through professional development	1	1
Teaching & Faith		
Transmission of faith is what makes school, teachers Catholic	6	10
Teachers model, witness morality, faith, values	6	9
Gospel values at our core as Catholic school	6	9
Teaching is service for us	5	5
Role model, called to model Christ-like behavior	3	4
Teaching at J&A fosters personal religious growth	3	4
Catholic identity is a strength at J&A	2	2
Church teaching - required to teach	1	1
Students model or expected to model Christian behavior	1	1
Teacher disagrees with church teaching	1	1
Teachers should support student religious life	1	1
Purpose of religious practice = socialize into Catholic habits	1	1
Why take kids to Mass	1	1
(Story) Confirmation preparation	1	1
(Story) Confirmation teacher's take on confirmation	1	1
Defining Religion		
Religion = going to church, prayer	3	3

Religion = more than religion class and Mass	3	3
Religion = treating others well, evident in relationships	2	3
Religion = interacting with priest	2	2
Religion = studying, celebrating holidays	2	2
Religion = participating in Sunday Mass	1	1
Religion = service & giving	1	1
Religion = text book	1	1
Religion = visual symbols	1	1
Religion important in Latino culture	5	8
(Inf) Our Lady of Guadalupe	5	5

Appendix 12: Collapsed Axial Codes

Summary

Collapsed Coding Categories	**References**	**Remaining Codes**
Academic Achievement	580	64
Cultural Competence	575	73
SocioPolitical Consciousness	373	57
Total:	**1528**	**194**

Academic Achievement Codes: 580 total references

	Sources	**References**
Caring		**187**
Disconfirming Cases of Caring	9	15
Defining Caring		**53**
Caring is both cognitive & affective	10	12
Caring is primarily cognitive	9	11
Caring is primarily affective	7	9
Caring is a performance	8	9
(IQ) What caring means in my classroom	8	8
Caring is relational	3	4
Evidence of Caring		**98**
Evidence from Students		**80**
Caring in Actions	18	25
Cognitive Caring	14	25
Both Cognitive & Affective Caring	13	19
Relational Caring	7	11
Evidence from Teachers		**8**
Cognitive Caring	4	6
Relational Caring	1	1
Affective Caring	1	1
Evidence from Parents		**10**
General Caring	2	5
Caring in Actions	1	2
Cognitive Caring	1	2
Affective Caring	1	1
Motivation for Caring		**21**
Desire for personal relationship with students	3	10
Caring = critical to my ed philosophy	5	6
Caring is motivated by faith	3	3
We teach kids to care	2	2

Achievement		**393**
Disconfirming Achievement Cases	4	10
Teacher attitudes on student achievement		**135**
Observations		
Observes that students achieve at or above potential	2	2
Observes that students have high aspirations for education	2	2
Observes improved achievement	11	19
Observes that students achieve below potential	8	15
Beliefs		
Teachers have high expectations for student achievement	12	22
Catholic school fosters high achievement	4	4
(IQ) Teacher's expectations of student achievement	6	7
About obstacles to achievement		
Parent education status is obstacle to high achievement	7	9
Parent workload is obstacle to high achievement	4	5
Unsafe neighborhood inhibits achievement	8	12
Beliefs about the goal of schooling		
Academic Achievement	10	14
Cultural Competence	4	6
Social Justice	13	18
Parent attitudes on student achievement		**45**
Observations		
Parent observes that achievement is high at J&A	4	4
Examples of student career aspirations	2	2
Parent observes that J&A teachers have high expectations	1	1
Beliefs		
Parent believes schooling is a path to social mobility	4	7
Catholic school fosters high achievement	2	6
Parent attributes achievement to teacher caring	3	5
(IQ) Parents own expectations of student achievement	3	4
Values		
Parents value teachers who have high expectations	2	10
Parent values college highly	3	3
Parent values schooling highly	2	2
Parent values learning highly	1	1
Student attitudes on student achievement		**203**

Observations		
I feel pressure to do well in school	6	14
Beliefs		
Schooling is linked to social mobility	6	8
I do poorly when…		
Bored	5	9
Teachers have low expectations	4	6
Frustrated	2	2
Teachers influence my achievement when		
Teachers make a connection with me	16	47
Teachers have high expectations	10	19
Teachers spend extra time with me	12	19
Teachers are good instructors	11	14
Values		
Student values learning highly	11	15
Student values being held to high expectations	5	7
Student values grades highly	4	5
It's cool to be smart	4	5
Test scores are not highly valued	1	1
Aspirations		
College aspirations	12	15
Career aspirations	10	15
Desire to help the community	2	2

Cultural competence codes: 575 total references

Community Connections & Social Capital		**338**
Disconfirming Cases of Community Connections	5	8
Parent perspectives on community connections		**22**
Beliefs		
Cultural connections matter in education	1	2
Cultural connections are not important in education	1	1
School is a gathering place for local community	1	1
Observations		
Church plays an important role in Latino community	2	6
Family atmosphere is present at J&A	2	3
Growth of Latino community makes language connection important	1	1
Need for school to make stronger parent connections	1	1
Teachers and parents make connections at J&A	2	3
Values		

Home culture values family, community	1	1
Parents value prior social capital at J&A	1	1
Parents value stability of staff	1	2
Student perspectives on community connections		**63**
Observations		
Catholic school is like a family, or a 2nd home	6	7
Community at J&A, strong internal social capital	9	14
Examples of community engagement	3	4
Values		
Values local community; aspires to contribute	6	7
Values personal connections with teachers	10	24
Values community of students at J&A	6	7
Teacher perspectives on community connections		**245**
Beliefs		
About Catholic schools and community connections		
Catholic schools are a light/anchor/safe haven	5	9
Catholic schools foster community, social capital	6	7
Catholic ed is family-centered	4	4
About community connections and education		
Sense of community/presence of social capital enhances school quality	13	26
Faith motivates community engagement	1	2
About how parents value community connections		
Parents value school-community connection (ability of school to tap into social capital)	10	15
Parents value family connection to school (prior social capital)	6	8
Parents value safety of Catholic school	7	8
About obstacles to community engagement		
Difficulty forming teacher-parent connections, tapping social capital	12	23
Safety of local community inhibits connections	9	15
J&A needs to reach out to parents more, engage social capital	5	8
Transition has strained community relations	6	6
About students		
Positive attitudes toward students/community	14	22
Student home values inhibit connections	6	13
About the family and education		
Latinos think about & value family differently	6	8
Family affects education	4	4
Observations		
Sense of family, solidarity, internal social capital among faculty/staff	14	30
Internal social capital is present - examples of teachers getting jobs	9	10

J&A plays a role in the community, factors in local social capital	8	9
Family/Home-y atmosphere present at J&A	5	6
Catholic parishes tap into social capital	4	5
School taps into social capital through community engagement	4	4
Social capital is strong among students	3	3

Cultural Competence		**237**
Disconfirming Cases of Cultural Competence	10	25
Parent perspectives on cultural competence		**18**
Beliefs		
Culture is linked to faith	1	3
Observations		
Culture matters in education	2	4
Home culture differs from school culture	2	5
Local culture does not highly value education	1	1
Student develops religious identity at J&A	3	3
Student learns social skills at J&A	1	2
Student perspectives on cultural competence		**3**
Beliefs		
Culture is linked to faith	2	2
Observations		
We're taught manners & social skills at J&A	1	1
Teacher perspectives on cultural competence		**191**
Beliefs		
About cultural competence		
Color-blind perspective	2	2
Cultural competence enhances school quality	5	10
Goals of education related to cultural competence	5	9
Heroes & Holidays approach is insufficient	2	2
Shared cultural background enhances education	1	1
Value of connecting home and school Discourses	6	10
About culture		
Culture is ethnicity	3	3
Culture is linked to faith	11	19
Culture plays a role in education	9	12
Kids need to learn about other cultures	2	2
Student culture can be an educational resource	3	4
Teacher values students' home culture	6	8
Observations		
About cultural competence		
Examples of cultural competence by getting to know students	14	25

Making personal connections is effective pedagogy	2	2
Shared faith provides a cultural bridge	3	4
Some language accommodations made at J&A	6	6
Teachers cross cultural lines	2	2
About cultural obstacles to learning	17	45
About student culture		
Cultural differences exist between students and teachers	6	8
Teacher experiences discomfort with cultural difference	4	5
Teacher has elevated status in local culture (La Maestra)	8	8
Tempting to blame parents, culture for problems	1	4

Sociopolitical consciousness codes: 373 total references

SocioPolitical Consciousness		**64**
Disconfirming cases of sociopolitical consciousness	1	1
Parent perspectives on SPC		**2**
Beliefs		
Culture, poverty are obstacles to mobility	1	1
Open-mindedness facilitates colorblindness	1	1
Student perspectives on SPC		**3**
Observations		
Evidence of injustice		
Being searched in school	2	2
Beliefs		
Discrimination is an obstacle	1	1
Teacher perspectives on SPC		**58**
Beliefs		
Politicized Perspectives on Education		35
Schooling as Americanization	4	6
Schooling as social justice	4	6
Schooling for religious formation	4	6
Schooling for social mobility	5	6
Schooling to acquire Discourse, socialization, prep for mainstream "real world"	4	5
Schooling for cultural competence	2	4
Schooling as transformative	2	2
Observations		
Challenges to fostering SPC		23
Poverty as obstacle to learning	5	6
Social reproduction in action	6	6
Students experience racism	5	5

Student awareness of structural challenges	4	4
Teacher reluctance to engage controversy	1	2

Values Transmission		**309**
Disconfirming Cases of Values Transmission	6	10
Parent perspectives on VT		**26**
Beliefs		
Values values-transmission in school	3	4
Observations		
VT has enhanced student experience	2	9
Public school experience informs desire for VT	2	7
VT has enhanced student religious identity	4	4
Experience of injustice in school	1	2
Student perspectives on VT		**63**
Beliefs		18
Uncertain about religious identity, belief	4	4
Religious identity is important	5	6
Everyday, casual religiosity	4	4
Political stance informed by VT	3	3
Catholic school fosters community	1	1
Observations		45
(Inf) Confirmation experience	8	14
(Inf) Church-going habits	9	12
We learn social skills in school	4	6
Faith in action, through service	3	4
VT helps me become a better person	2	3
Religion valued but not discussed at home	3	3
Parent desires VT	2	2
School's response to student questioning faith	1	1
Teacher perspectives on VT		**210**
Beliefs		
Values-Transmission = Transmission of Faith		
Transmission of faith central to Catholic ed philosophy	13	26
Linking VT & Culture via religion	8	12
(Inf) Defining religion	7	10
Gospel values are at our core as a Catholic school	6	9
Purpose of religious practice = socialize into Catholic habits	1	1
Motivated to engage in VT by…		
Ed philosophy that centralizes student formation via VT	14	28
Ability to share faith & relate faith to learning	11	24
Social justice	10	18
Personal religious growth	5	6

Belief that teaching is a vocation, a calling	4	5
Desire to transmit traditional religious belief & practice	1	3
In Loco Parentis approach to education		
Parents want Value Transmission	12	18
Disconfirming - Parent sees teacher as primary educator	7	9
Parent is the primary educator	3	5
(IQ) Defining the mission of a Catholic school	7	8
Observations		
Consequences of Values-Transmission		
Catholicity inflects learning	2	2
Faculty community enhanced by VT atmosphere, religion	2	2
Learning enhanced by VT	6	6
Religion evident in classrooms bc of VT	6	9
Safety is enhanced by VT	6	8
Students socialized into the faith	1	1

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